A GRAMMAR OF THE NISGHA LANGUAGE

by

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ABSTRACT

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

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

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

ABBREVIATIONS

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

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

P_{AI}	Predicate taking one (Absolutive) argument and followed by an Indirect Object
P_{ASc}	Predicate taking one (Absolutive) argument and a Specified complement
P_{EA}	Predicate taking one Absolutive argument and one Ergative argument
P_{EAI}	Predicate taking one Absolutive argument and one Ergative argument and followed by an Indirect Object
P_{EASc}	Predicate taking one Absolutive argument, one Ergative argument and a Specified complement
P_{ESc}	Predicate taking one Ergative argument and a Specified complement
P_0	Predicate taking no arguments
PAS	Passive
PAS.I	Indefinite Passive
PERF	Perfective
PL	Plural
PREP	Preposition
PROC	Proclitic
PROG	Progressive
PRON	Pronoun
PROX	Proximal
PTC	Particle
Q	Question--Interrogative
R	any resonant
$\dot{R}$	any glottalized resonant
RECIP	Reciprocal
RED	Reduplication or Reduplicated segment
REFL	Reflexive
REL	Relative
REL.E	Relative-ergative
REP	Reportive
RESTR	Restrictive
S	Subject (of an intransitive verb)/ Any Non-Velar fricative

s.	someone /something
Sc	Specified complement
s.o.	someone
s.t.	something
SUB	Subordinator
Subj	Subject (of an intransitive verb)
SUFF	Unnamed suffix
s.w.	somewhere
TR	Transitive
V	(a) any vowel; (b) verb
V:	any long vowel
X	any Velar fricative
YFS	Younger Fluent Speaker
(46.1-2)	Boas 1902, p. 46, lines 1 to 2

SYMBOLS

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

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

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

Nisgha language.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

0.3. EXTANT SOURCES ON THE LANGUAGE:

0.3.A. NON-SCHOLARLY SOURCES:

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

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

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

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

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

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

0.3.B. SCHOLARLY SOURCES:

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

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

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

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

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

reliable and the translations are often also inaccurate.

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

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

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

0.4. THE PRESENT STUDY.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

traditional grammars:

- language is used as a means of communication between human beings. The structure of language is not totally independent, but is intimately linked to the need of expressing certain concepts. Sentences are not uttered in a vacuum, but as part of meaningful discourse. It is crucial to recognize the pragmatic function, as well as the structure, of different types of clauses relative to each other. The various levels of language are not just hierarchically ordered, but interrelated, and are analyzed separately only for convenience.

- the present form of a language is the result of centuries of historical development. Its parts have not evolved at the same rate. In some cases, different stages or layers of development may be recognized. Nevertheless speakers must not be presumed to be aware of this development either consciously or unconsciously.

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

NOTES

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

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

[3] Apparently the Tsimshian were allowed certain sites in return for payment of a tax (Mr. Bert McKay).

[4] Trails along which the Interior peoples journeyed to obtain oolichan grease from Coastal peoples.

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

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

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

[7] Most of this research (by Rigsby on Nisgha and Gitksan, Tarpent on Nisgha, Jean Mulder on CT) is still unpublished.

[8] cf. Collison: the Haidas speak Tsimshian, but the Tsimshians do not speak Haida.

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

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

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

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

their texts are still recognizably Nisgha or Gitksan.

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

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

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

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

17 lil̓ḳit-m ʔama·tálq̓askʷ lit. Feast of praise. Would now be spelled *lil̓gidim amaadalg̓askw*.

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

19 This material has recently been published by the museum.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- The problem of *t-* shaped morphemes: in T 1981a the singular DM **t** was assumed to be a connective, the occurrence of which depended on syntactic conditions; its relationship with the plural **tip** and its underlying presence after the determinate connective =S were first presented in T 1986. The underlying presence of the 3 suffix **-t** on all predicates (except ambient) in regular clauses, and its loss before the connectives =S and =ɬ through Deaffrication were not recognized before this study.

- Plural formation, reduplication: this study gives a tighter presentation of the analyses presented in T 1980 and T 1983b but differs from them only in minor details. The more speculative aspects as to the probable history of certain highly irregular or no longer plural forms have been omitted here. An error in T 1983b resulted from the inadvertent replacement of the term 'syllabic' used in T1980 by the term 'resonant', resulting in incorrect rules for some of the partially reduplicated forms (as was made abundantly clear in Thompson 1984); here the correct original term 'syllabic' has been restored.

- Possession: the presentation here follows T 1986, incorporating the underlying presence of the DM **t** noted only in a footnote to that paper.

- Postclitics: the presentation here follows the main lines of T 1981c and 1984 and uses some of the same examples; however, the labels and the glosses for the various proclitics sometimes differ. A major difference is in the treatment of ==sin *-sin*, which in those papers was paired with ==qat *-gat* and wrongly glossed, while ==sɨɬ *-sihl* was not included. When Tarpent 1984 was discussed at the XIXth ICSNL, a comment by Eloise Jelinek put me on the track of the meaning of ==sɨɬ *-sihl*.

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

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

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

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

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

[30] cf. T 1982a and 1987.

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

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

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

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

PART I

CHAPTER 1: OVERVIEW

1.1. MAJOR CHARACTERISTICS OF NISGHA.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

e.g. Er gang <u>in</u> das Haus hin<u>ein</u>	He went <u>into</u> the house
... <u>aus</u> dem Haus her<u>aus</u>	... <u>out</u> of the house

lu:=ɬá: **čim**-wílp
in-sit in-house

S/he stayed <u>in</u> the house.
Luut'aa ts'im wilp.

qalksə= ɬó?otkʷ wil **qalksə**= nó?-[t]= ɬq̓alàx̣an
through=crawl where through=hole-[3]=NC fence

S/he crawled <u>through</u> a hole in the fence.
<u>Galksih</u>lo'otkw wil <u>galksi</u>no'oh<u>l</u> <u>k</u>'ala<u>x</u>an.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. glottalized stops are very lenis. There seems to be a build-up of air pressure, giving an impression of voicing.
ex. ʔtá: 'to sit' *t'aa* : Aiyansh (A), Greenville (G) [ʔtá:]; Kincolith (K) [ʔdá:]

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

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

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

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

'bear (esp. black)': A, G, K smáx *smax*
C fú *fu* (a Tsetsaut word; [f] is foreign to the Nisgha consonantal inventory, and among the Athapaskan languages, it is typical of Tsetsaut).

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

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

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

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

NOTES

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

CHAPTER 2: SURFACE PHONOLOGY

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

2.1. CONSONANTS:

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

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

There are both dental and lateral affricates, but no palato-alveolar affricates. There is no plain lateral affricate corresponding to the glottalized one, a feature shared with the Salish languages (except Comox).
The points of articulation of the fricative series are less numerous than those of the stop series. Nisgha shares with its neighbors the absence of a bilabial fricative, and it has no dental fricative either.

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

NISGHA CONSONANT CHART

	NON-VELARS				VELARS		
	Labial	Dental	Sibilants	Lateral	Anterior Velar	Labio-Velar	Uvular/ Glottal
STOPS & AFFRICATES							
Glottalized	p̓	t̓	c̓	ƛ̓	k̓	k̓ʷ	q̓
Non-Glott.	p	t	c		k	kʷ	q
FRICATIVES			s	ɬ	x	xʷ	χ
RESONANTS	**SYLLABICS**				**GLIDES**		
Non-Glott.	m	n		l	y	w	h
Glottalized	m̓	n̓		l̓	y̓	w̓	ʔ

In addition to the relationships shown on the consonant chart:

- The two-dimensional array shows glottalized stops and resonants as being far apart; in fact there are some instances of interchange between /m̰/and /p̰/. Similarly labials and labio-velars are shown far apart; but there are some instances of interchange between /m̰/ and /w̰/ initially (2.1.B.3.a.1.).

- Glottalized and non-glottalized consonants (for both stops/affricates and resonants) have a close relationship, and glottalization and deglottalization rules occur. Glottalized affricates and the corresponding fricatives also have a close relationship.

- The Velar stops and fricatives have a close relationship, and fricativization of stops and stop-formation from fricatives occur regularly; similarly all the fricatives (except for /s/) and the corresponding non-glottalized resonants have a close relationship evidenced by interchange between them.

2.1.B. CONSONANTAL ALLOPHONES.

2.1.B.1. STOPS AND AFFRICATES.

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

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

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

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

glottal stop.

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

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

2.1.B.1.a. Bilabials:

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

#_V	/pá4/	[bá4]	'to be spread flat, smoothed (cloth, etc.)'	*bahl*
	/p̓á4/	[p̓á4]	'(a name)'	*P'ahl*
	/pú·l̓aχ̣/	[bú·l̓ʌ χ̣]	'a preparation of stemmed crabapples'	*buul̓aχ̣*
	/p̓ú·l̓ukʷ/	[p̓ú·l̓uk̓ʷ]	'a pinch (of s.t.)'	*p'uul̓ukw*
V_V	/hápaχ̣/	[hábʌ χ̣]	'lid'	*habaχ̣*
	/tχ̣ap̓aχ̣.../	[tχ̣ʌ p̓ʌ χ̣]	'(pref.) completely'	*tχ̣ap'aχ̣...*
	/cí·pilks/	[ʤí·bɪlks]	'to disappear completely, to burn to the ground'	*jiibilks*

	/c̃i·p̓iɬkʷ/	[c̃i·p̓ɪɬk̆ʷ]	'to tie up for the night'	*ts'iip'ihlkw*
	/q̓apa· qán/	[q̓Aba·GÁn]	'piece of wood'	*k̲'aba gan*
	/q̓ap̓a·lú·/	[q̓ʌ p̓a·lʊ́·]	'gun, rifle'	*k̲'ap'aaluu*
VC_V	/piɬpáɬ/	[bɪɬb̥áɬ]	'(pl.)to be spread flat, smoothed'	*bihlbahl*
	/p̓ixp̓áƛ̓iks/	[p̓ɪçp̓áƛ̓ɪks]	'(pl) to be soaked, drenched'	*p'ixp'atl'iks*

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

It is voiced before vowels: [b]

#_V	/pán/	[bán]	'belly'	*ban*
	/pil̃isT/	[bɪl̃íst]	'star'	*bil̓is(t)*
V_V	/hápax̣/	[hábʌ x̣]	'lid'	*habax̲*
	/cápin/	[dzábɪn]	'you made it'	*jabin*
	/ḳipú·/	[gɪbʊ́·]	'wolf'	*gibuu*
R_#	/wílpiy̓/	[wílbɪʔɪ̥]	'my house'	*wilbiẏ*
	/ʔampóqkʷ/	[ʔʌ mbɔ́q̓k̆ʷ]	'poplar'	*ambok̲kw*

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

C_V	/pixpi·l̃isT/	[bɪçb̥i·l̃íst]	'each and every star'	*bixbiil̓is(t)*
	/xpá·w̓/	[çb̥á·ʊ̥]	'jaw'	*xbaaẇ*

It is voiceless finally and before a consonant.

Finally, it is aspirated: [p̓]

V_#	/cáp/	[ʤáp̚]	'to make, do s.t.'	*jap*
	/ḳíp/	[gɪp̚]	'to eat s.t.'	*gip*
R_#	/wílp/	[wílp̚]	'house'	*wilp*

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

#_C	/ptó?/	[pd̥ó?ʔ]	'door'	*pdo'o*
	/pc̆á·n/	[ptʂ̆á·n]	'totem pole'	*pts'aan*
V_CV	/cápti·t/	[ʤápd̥i·t̬]	'they made it'	*japdiit*
_C#	/húpx̣/	[húpx̣]	'forehead'	*hupɣ*

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

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

#_V	/p̆áƛiks/	[p̆áƛɪks]	'to be soaked, drenched'	*p'atl'iks*
V_V	/líp̆isT/	[líp̆ɪs]	'to sew'	*lip'is(t)*
	/ḳíp̆isk^{w}/	[gíp̆ɪsḱ^{w}]	'to eat berries while picking'	*gip'iskw*
C_V	/p̆ixp̆áƛiks/	[p̆ɪçp̆áƛɪks]	'(pl) to be soaked, drenched'	*p'ixp'atl'iks*
R_V	/ḳílp̆il/	[gílp̆ɪl]	'two (objects)'	*gilp'il*

2.1.B.1.b. Dentals:

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

#_V	/tó?/	[dó?ɣ]	'cheek'	*do'o*
	/t̓ó?/	[t̓ó?ɣ]	'to pin s.t.'	*t'o'o*
V_V	/hatá·x/	[hAtá·ç]	'steering wheel'	*hadaax*
	/hat̓á·qs/	[hAt̓á·qs]	'to push with a pole'	*hat'aaks*
VR_V	/tintín/	[dɪndín]	'bell'	*dindin*
	/c̓imt̓ín/	[ʦ̓ɪmt̓ín]	'valley'	*ts'imt'in*
V_C	/skʷátkʷ/	[sgʷátkʷ]	'to joke, to be easy'	*sgwatkw*
	/c̓át̓kʷ/	[ʦ̓át̓kʷ]	'(sun) to shine'	*ts'at'kw*
V_#	/hít/	[hít̚]	'said (s/he)'	*hit*
	/hít̓/	[hít̓]	'to stick to s.t.'	*hit'*
	/q̓á·t/	[q̓á·t̚]	'shark'	*k'aat*
	/q̓á·t̓/	[q̓á·t̓]	'cane'	*k'aat'*

Dentals also contrast with sibilant affricates:

- glottalized /t̓/ contrasts with glottalized /c̓/:

#_V	/t̓ó?/	[t̓ó?ɣ]	'to pin s.t.'	*t'o'o*
	/c̓ó?/	[ʦ̓ó?ɣ]	'to separate, pull apart'	*ts'o'o*
V_V	/?á·t̓ikskʷ/	[?á·t̓ɪkskʷ]	'to arrive'	*aat'ikskw*
	/yác̓ɪskʷ/	[yáʦ̓ɪskʷ]	'animals'	*yats'iskw*

V_#	/hát̓/	[hát̓]	'marten'	*hat'*
	/hác̓/	[hátʂ̓]	'to bite s.'	*hats'*

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

#_V	/táp/	[dáp̓]	'liver; to measure, judge s.'	*dap*
	/cáp/	[ʣáp̓]	'to make s.'	*jap*
V_V	/hátiks/	[hádɪks]	'to swim'	*hadiks*
	/ʔáciks/	[ʔáʣɪks]	'to be arrogant'	*ajiks*
V_#	/hít/	[hít̓]	'what s/he said'	*hit*
	/híc/	[hítʂ̓]	'to send s.'	*hits*

The glottalized dental stop /ʔt̓/ also contrasts with the glottalized lateral affricate /ʔƛ̓/:

#_V	/ʔt̓é·q/	[ʔt̓é·q̓]	'to eat too much, too fast'	*t'eeq*
	/ʔƛ̓é·q/	[ʔƛ̓é·q̓]	'a smear on the mouth'	*tl'eeq*
V_V	/ʔá·ʔt̓iksk^{w}/	[ʔá·ʔt̓ɪksk̓^{w}]	'to arrive'	*aat'ikskw*
	/p̓áʔƛ̓iks/	[p̓áʔƛ̓ɪks]	'to be soaked, drenched'	*p'atl'iks*

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

It is voiced before vowels: [d]

#_V	/táp/	[dáp̓]	'liver; to measure, judge s.'	*dap*

	/toʔ/	[dɔ́ʔ̥]	'cheek'	*do'o*
V_V	/ʔhátiks/	[hádɪks]	'to swim'	*hadiks*
	/titóʔ/	[dɪdɔ́ʔ̥]	'cheeks'	*dido'o*
R_V	/ʔálta/	[ʔálda]	'alpine fir'	*alda*
	/ʔantó·ʔ/	[ʔAndɔ́·ʔ̥]	'next door'	*andoo'o*

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

C_V	/kʷstíns/	[kʷsd̥íns]	'five (non-humans)'	*kwsdins*
	/xtá·/	[çd̥á·]	'mattress'	*xdaa*
	/ptál/	[pd̥ál]	'ribs; (water) to rise'	*pdal*

It is voiceless finally and before a consonant.

Finally, it is aspirated: [t̥]

V_#	/ʔá·t/	[ʔá·t̥]	'fishnet, to fish with a net'	*aat*
	/kʷsít/	[kʷsít̥]	'autumn'	*kwsit*
R_#	/sínt/	[sínt̥]	'summer'	*sint*
	/c̓íl̓t/	[c̓íl̓t̥]	'mitts, gloves'	*ts'il̓t*
C_#	/ʔáxʷt/	[ʔáxʷt̥]	'porcupine'	*axwt*

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

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

_C#	/statx/	[sd̥átç]	'stinging nettles'	*sdatx*

R_C#	/támtx/	[dámtç]	'fern species'	*damtx*
	/txáy̓tkʷ/	[tɣ̥áʔʌytḱʷ]	'thunder'	*tyaýtkw*
#_C	/tx̣ó·x̣kʷ/	[tx̣óx̣ḱʷ]	'to eat (pl)'	*tx̱oox̱kw*
	/t ḳún/	[tg̥ún]	'this'	*tgun*

V_CV : here /t/ is part of the syllable it closes; it is unreleased:

/nikʷó·tti·t/	[nɪgʷɔ́·td̥i·t̒]	'their father'	*nigwootdiit*
/hathátiks/	[hathádɪks]	'to swim (pl)'	*hathadiks*

Special cases:

(1) /t/+ /t/:

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

/nikʷó·t+t/	[nɪgʷɔ́·t̒t̒]	'h. father'	*nigwoott*

When a morpheme **{t}** (Determinate marker or 3E pronoun) is in contact with a word beginning with a consonant, actual realization depends on that consonant:

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

/ɬḳu t *Tommy*/	[ɬkʊt·ɔ́·mi]	'Little Tommy'	*hlgu t Tommy*
/wʔi· t *Charlie*/	[wʔi·t·sá·li]	'Big Charlie'	*ẇii t Charlie*

c. If the consonant is /t/, as in the combination /t ʔan/ '3E REL.E'

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

/tʔ/	/ɲ̃ĩ+[t] t ʔan càp+t/	[ɲ̃ĩt ʔAn ʤápt́]	'S/he is the one that's+[3] 3E REL.E make.s+3	who made it' *Ǹit an japt*
/tʔ/	/ʔatʔá·ʔiksk^{w}/	[ʔatʔá·ʔɪksḱ^{w}]	'to come, to arrive (pl.)'	*at-aat'ikskw*
/ʔ/	/siʔá·/	[sɪʔá·]	'to start (s)'	*sit'aa*

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

2.1.B.1.b.2. <u>/ʔ/ is a preglottalized, voiceless dental stop</u>:

#_V	/ʔimís(t)/	[ʔɪmís]	'to write'	*t'imis(t)*
	/ʔá·/	[ʔá·]	'to sit'	*t'aa*
V_V	/tiʔá·/	[dɪʔá·]	'to be sitting, to be home'	*dit'aa*
	/ɬíʔiẏ/	[ɬíʔɪʔɨ]	'my ball'	*hlit'iẏ*
R_V	/ʔik^{w}ánʔin/	[ʔɪg^{w}ánʔɪn]	'to make s. fall'	*t'igwant'in*
	/x̣ɬíʔin/	[x̣ɬíʔɪn]	'to like a food'	*xlit'in*
C_V	/ʔixʔák/	[ʔɪçʔáḱʏ]	'to forget s.(pl.)'	*t'ixt'ak*
V_#	/ɬíʔ/	[ɬíʔ]	'ball'	*hlit'*
	/háʔ/	[háʔ]	'marten'	*hat'*
R_#	/ỹínʔ/	[ỹínʔ]	'nit'	*ỳint'*

_C#	/c̓áɬ̓kʷ/	[ʦ̓áɬ̓ḱʷ]	'(sun) to shine'	*ts'at'kw*
	/ɬíɬ̓t/	[ɬíɬ̓ṭ]	'h. ball'	*hlit't*

2.1.B.1.c. Sibilant affricates:

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

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

#_V	/cáp/	[ʤáp̓]	'to make s.t.'	*jap*
	/c̓áp/	[ʦ̓áp̓]	'tribe, village'	*ts'ap*
	/cí·p/	[ʤí·p̓]	'to melt away, evaporate'	*jiip*
	/c̓í·p/	[ʦ̓í·p̓]	'to close one's eyes; to tie s.t. w. a knot'	*ts'iip*
V_V	/ʔáciks/	[ʔáʤɪks]	'to be arrogant'	*ajiks*
	/hac̓iks/	[haʦ̓ɪks]	'(unstressed) fiercely, looking or acting rough'	*hats'iks*
VR_V	/lámcaẓ/	[lámʤʌẓ]	'to come in (pl.)'	*lamjaẓ*
	/nímc̓aẓ/	[nímʦ̓ʌẓ]	'to inhale s.t.'	*nimts'aẓ*
V_#	/híc/	[híʦ]	'to send s.'	*hits*
	/hác̓/	[háʦ̓]	'to bite s.'	*hats'*

They also contrast with their dental counterparts (**2**.1.B.1.b) as in:

#_V	/cóq/	[ʤɔ́q̓]	'to stay, camp, live'	*joḵ*
	/tóq/	[ʤɔ́q̓]	'to take s. (pl.)'	*doḵ*

	/ʔčák/	[tsʔákʸ]	'(fire, light) to be out'	*ts'ak*
	/ʔťák/	[ťʔákʸ]	'to forget s.'	*t'ak*
	/ʔčú·č/	[tsʔú·ts]	'bird'	*ts'uuts'*
	/ʔťú·č/	[ťʔú·ts]	'coal'	*t'uuts'*
V_V	/ʔáciks/	[ádzɪks]	'to be arrogant'	*ajiks*
	/hátiks/	[hádɪks]	'to swim'	*hadiks*
VR_V	/ʔanʔčóʔ/	[ʔʌntsʔóʔ]	'(place of a) land slide'	*ants'o'o*
	/qanʔťóʔ/	[ɢʌnʔťóʔ]	'safety pin'	*gant'o'o*
V_*	/híc/	[híts]	'to send s.'	*hits*
	/hít/	[hít]	'said (s/he)'	*hit*

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

*_V	/ʔáqʔ/	[tsʔáqʔ]	'clam'	*ts'aḵ'*
	/sáqʔ/	[sáqʔ]	'to crack, be cracked'	*saḵ'*
	/ʔčóʔ/	[tsʔóʔ]	'to separate, pull apart'	*ts'o'o*
	/sóʔ/	[sóʔ]	'(to take) food home from a function'	*so'o*
	/ʔčí·pkʷ/	[tsʔí·pkʷ]	'to be tied with a knot'	*ts'iipkw*
	/sí·pkʷ/	[sí·pkʷ]	'to hurt, be sick'	*siipkw*
VR_V	/lámcaχ/	[lámdzʌχ]	'to come in (pl.)'	*lamjaχ*
	/támsaq/	[dámsʌq]	'to remain tight-lipped'	*damsaḵ*

V_#	/mó·c/	[mɔ́·t̑ʂ]	'to be softened, decaying'	*moots*
	/mó·s/	[mɔ́·s]	'thumb'	*moos*
	/ʔí·c/	[ʔí·t̑ʂ]	'to fry, sear, iron s.t.'	*iits*
	/ʔí·s/	[ʔí·s]	'urine; to urinate'	*iis*

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

It is voiced before vowels: [ʣ]

#_V	/cám/	[ʣám]	'to boil, cook s.t.'	*jam*
	/cí·c/	[ʣí·t̑ʂ]	'Grandmother (term of address)'	*Jiits*
V_V	/ʔácɨks/	[ʔáʣɪks]	'to be arrogant'	*ajiks*
	/qacá·q/	[ɢA ʣá·q̑]	'cross'	*gajaaq*
VR_V	/lámcaχ/	[lámʣA χ]	'to come in (pl.)'	*lamjax*
	/ʔancám/	[ʔA nʣám]	'cooking pot'	*anjam*

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

VC_V	/cipcáp/	[ʣɪpʤáp̑]	'to make s.t. (pl.)'	*jipjap*

It is voiceless finally and before a consonant.

Finally, it is aspirated: [t̑ʂ]:

V_#	/yác/	[yát̑ʂ]	'to hit, chop s.t., to kill (people)'	*yats*
	/ƙó·c/	[ƙʲɔ́·t̑ʂ]	'yesterday'	*k'yoots*

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

V_CV	/yácti·t/	[yáʦd̥i·t̑]	'they hit,chopped it; they killed them'	*yatsdiit*
_C#	/q̓ó·cx̣/	[q̓ɔ́·ʦx̣]	'gills and entrails'	*k̲'ootsx̲*
	/w̓ácx̣/	[w̓áʦx̣]	'otter'	*ẇatsx̲*
	/hayáckʷ/	[hʌ yáʦk̑ʷ]	'a "copper"' (ceremonial shield)	*hayatskw*

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

#_V	/ĉáq/	[ʦ̓áq̑]	'nose'	*ts'ak̲*
	/ĉú·ĉ/	[ʦ̓ú·ʦ̓]	'bird'	*ts'uuts'*
V_V	/niĉí·ĉ/	[nɪʦ̃i·ʦ̓]	'grandmother'	*nits'iits'*
	/hináĉax̣/	[hɪnáʦ̓ʌ x̣]	'to spank s.o.'	*hinats'ax̲*
VR_V	/húmĉax̣/	[húmʦ̓ʌ x̣]	'to kiss s.o.'	*humts'ax̲*
	/qúlĉax̣/	[ɢọlʦ̓ʌ x̣]	'to carry s. on one's shoulders'	*golts'ax̲*
V_C	/ĉixĉík/	[ʦ̓ɪçʦ̓ík̑ʸ]	'wagon, wheelbarrow, baby carriage'	*ts'ixts'ik*
	/ĉax̣ĉáx̣/	[ʦ̓ʌ x̣ʦ̓áx̣]	'hail'	*ts'ax̲ts'ax̲*
V_#	/ké·ĉ/	[gʸɛ́·ʦ̓]	'(further) downriver, South'	*geets'*
	/k̓utáĉ/	[k̓udáʦ̓]	'coat'	*k'udats'*
VC_V	/háĉtit/	[háʦ̓d̥it̑]	's/he bit it/h.'	*hats'dit*
	/niĉí·ĉt/	[nɪʦ̃i·ʦ̓t̑]	'h. grandmother'	*nits'iits't*

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

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

The glottalized lateral affricate /ƛ̓/ contrasts with the glottalized dental stop /t̓/:

#_V	/ʔƛ́ə́·q/	[ʔƛ́ə́·q̓]	'a smear on the mouth'	*tl'eek*
	/t̓ə́·q/	[t̓ə́·q̓]	'to eat too much, too fast'	*t'eek*
V_V	/yáʔƛiksk^{w}/	[yáʔƛɪksk̓^{w}]	'to slip and fall'	*yatl'ikskw*
	/ʔá·t̓iksk^{w}/	[ʔá·t̓ɪksk̓^{w}]	'to arrive'	*aat'ikskw*

with the dental affricate /c̓/:

#_V	/ʔƛ́áq̓/	[ʔƛ́áq̓]	'lower lip'	*tl'ak'*
	/c̓áq̓/	[c̓áq̓]	'clam'	*ts'ak'*
V_V	/yáʔƛiksk^{w}/	[yáʔƛɪksk̓^{w}]	'to slip and fall'	*yatl'ikskw*
	/yác̓isk^{w}/	[yác̓ɪsk̓^{w}]	'animals'	*yats'iskw*

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

#_V	/ʔƛ́ó·č̓/	[ʔƛ́ó·č̓^{y}]	'mud'	*tl'ook'*
	/č̓ó·c/	[č̓^{y}ó·c̓]	'yesterday'	*k'yoots*
V_#	/c̓áʔƛ/	[c̓áʔƛ]	'(music) record'	*ts'atl'*
	/c̓áč̓/	[c̓áč̓^{y}]	'plate'	*ts'ak'*

It also contrasts with the nonaffricated lateral /ɬ/:

#_V	/ƛ̓áq̓/	[ƛ̓áq̓]	'lower lip'	*tl'aḵ'*
	/ɬáqs/	[ɬáqs]	'nails, claws'	*hlaḵs*
V_V	/sa.ƛ̓é·ʔ/	[sa·ƛ̓ɛ́·ʔ̓ɛ̓]	'to get undressed'	*saatl'ee'e*
	/ta·ɬé·/	[da·ɬɛ́·]	'sleet'	*daahlee*
V_#	/c̓áƛ̓/	[ʦ̓áƛ̓]	'(music) record'	*ts'atl'*
	/cáɬ/	[ʥáɬ]	'to fail, be defeated; to eat s.t. up'	*jahl*

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

#_V	/ƛ̓é·q/	[ƛ̓ɛ́·q̓]	'a smear on the mouth'	*tl'eeḵ*
	/ƛ̓óq̓ac/	[ƛ̓ɔ́q̓ʌʦ̓]	'rhubarb'	*tl'oḵ'ats*
	/ƛ̓ó·k̓/	[ƛ̓ɔ́·k̓ʸ]	'mud'	*tl'ook'*
V_V	/kʷá·ƛ̓aẋ/	[gʷá·ƛ̓ʌẋ]	'snail, slug'	*gwaatl'aẋ*
	/haɬ(h)ú·ƛ̓aqɬkʷ/	[hʌɬÚƛ̓ʌqɬk̓ʷ]	'to boil'	*hahl(h)utl'aḵhlkw*
	/sa·ƛ̓é·ʔ/	[sa·ƛ̓ɛ́·ʔ̓ɛ̓]	'to get undressed'	*saatl'ee'e*
C_V	/ƛ̓ixƛ̓ó·k̓t/	[ƛ̓içƛ̓ɔ́·k̓t̓]	'to be muddied (pl)'	*tl'ixtl'ook't*
V_#	/c̓áƛ̓/	[ʦ̓áƛ̓]	'(music) record'	*ts'atl'*
	/ḳíƛ̓/	[gíƛ̓]	'red sockeye'	*gitl'*

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

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

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

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

[gʸáp̓]	'to dip for s.t.'	*gap*
[gʸɛ́·ɬ]	'to lie (down)'	*geehl*
[gʸɔ́·]	'to be moored, parked'	*gyoo*
[gʸʊ́kʷsx̌ʷ]	'to wake up'	*gyukwskw*
[ɬágʸu·χ̌x̌ʷ]	'bent file for woodcarving'	*hlagyuuχkw*
[k̓ʸáp̓]	'ten (animals, skins)'	*k'ap*
[k̓ʸá·l̂]	'to be one-eyed'	*k'aal*
[k̓ʸɛ́·x̌ʷ]	'one (animal, skin)'	*k'eekw*
[k̓ʸɔ́·l]	'one (person)'	*k'yool*
[k̓ʸu·χ̌ʷ]	'and again' (contracted form of [k̓i· huxʷ])	*k'yuuxw*

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

[gíp̓]	'to eat s.'	*gip*
[k̟íl̓]	'one (object)'	*k'il*

but a degree of palatalization occurs before long /i/ which has a more fronted realization than its short counterpart (**2**.2.A.1.a.1.): this is especially so with the glottalized consonant:

[gí·k̟ʷ]	'hemlock tree; to buy s.t.'	*giikw*
[sk̟ʸí·k̟ʸ]	'chickadee'	*sḵ'iik'*

Only unglottalized dorso-velars occur before the non-velar fricatives /s/ and /ɬ/; unglottalized palato-velars occur before other consonants. Glottalized palato-velars may occur before any consonants. Morphophonemic alternations with the palato-velar fricative /x/ (**2**.1.B.1.b.1.) and the glottalized palatal resonant /y̓/ (**2**.1.B.3.b.1.b.) do not make a distinction between palato- and dorso-velars, e.g. with the rule of pre-stress Velar fricativization (**10**.1.B.1.b.3.a.1.a.), here with reduplicated examples:

[t̓ɪç̓t̓áḵʸ]	'to forget s.t. (pl.)'	*t'ixt'ak*
[x̓ɪç̓x̓ó·k̟ʸt]	'to be muddied (pl.)'	*tl'ixtl'ook't*
[ʔʌ ç ʔáks]	'streams'	*ax'aks*

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

/yú·χkʷin/	[yú·χgʷɪn, yú·χgun]	'Eat!'	*Yuuxgwin!*
/k̟ʷiɬ/	[k̟ʷɪɬ, k̟uɬ]	'around, about'	*kw'ihl*

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

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

where there is no alternation.

In stressed position, [gʊ́] and [k̓ʊ́] do not alternate with [gʷí] and [k̓ʷí] , as in

[ʔʌgʊ́]	'what'	*agu*
[mi·gʊ́nt̓]	'strawberries'	*miigunt*
[k̓ʊ́xʷ]	'to split s.t.' (e.g. a tree with wedges)	*k'uxw*

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

- Even though treating [gʊ́] and [k̓ʊ́] as underlying /kʷi/ and /k̓ʷi/ might work where the [ʊ́] is short, the problem remains for sequences with long [ʊ́·], as in:

[gʊ́·ɬ]	'Take it!'	*Guuhl!*
[gʊ·n̓]	'right now'	*guun*
[k̓ʊ́·ɬ]	'year'	*k'uuhl*

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

/siwilá·ks/ [sɪwɪlá·ks, sʊl̰lá·ks, sʊ·lá·ks] 'to learn s.'

siwilaaks

/mə wila·/ [mɪ wɪla·, mʊU̯la·, mʊ·la·] '... how you ...(tr. vb.)'
... mi wilaa ...

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

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

[gɪwɪl, gʸʊwɪl, gʸʊ·l] 'even more...' *gyuwil...*

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

Similarly, the word

[gʸʊwʌdán, gʸʊ·dán] 'horse' *gyuwadan*

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

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

[k̓ɪ́l̓]	'one (object)'	*k'il̓*
[k̓ʸá·l̓]	'one-eyed'	*k'aal̓*
[k̓ʸɛ́·k̓ʷ]	'one (animal, skin)'	*k'eekw*
[k̓ʸɔ́·l]	'one (person)'	*k'yool*

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

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

/lák/	[lákʸ]	'to occur as an amorphous mass'	*lak*
/lu·=lák+T+t/	[lu·lágɪt]	'Throw/pour it/them all in!'	
in==occur.as.mass-DEF-3			*Luulagit!*
/lák+aʔ/	[lák̓ʸaʔa̰]	'to spill a mass of things'	
occur.as.mass-DET			*lak'a'a*

Nisgha has general morphophonemic rules adapting suffix vowels to the preceding consonant (**10**.1.A.1.a.1.), and causing some final consonants to change before a suffix vowel (**10**.1.B.1.b.3.b.), but the alternation here is purely phonetic.

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

The phonetic dorso-velars occurring before /i/ and /u/ could be considered as representing phonological dorso-velars, with contrast with the palato-velars occurring only before /u/. There is also one case where dorso-velar "g' occurs before short /o/, in the interjective predicate [gɔ́m̓] *Gom̓!* 'Go ahead! Do it!' (**5**.11.): this could be considered a marginal case, and short /o/ and /u/are largely in complementary distribution. But this strictly phonemic interpretation would not do justice to all the facts and would cause needless complication in the statement of morphophonemic rules.

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

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

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

/ḳé·ks/	[ḳɛ́·ks] ‹ cakes	'cake'	*keeks*
/ḳá·n̓isk^{w}/	[ḳá·n̓ɪsk^{w}] ‹ can + AP suffix - ʔsk^{W}	'to can, to do some canning'	*kaanískw*

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

Contrast between Nonglottalized and Glottalized anterior Velars:

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

#_V	/ḳ̓áp/	[ḳ̓^{y}áp̓]	'ten (animals, skins)'	*k'ap*
	/káp/	[g^{y}áp̓]	'to dip for s.t.'	*gap*
	/ḳ̓íl̓/	[ḳ̓íl̓]	'one (object)'	*k'il'*
	/ḳíl̓/	[gíl̓]	'to pick, gather s.t. (berries, clams, etc.)'	*gil'*
	/ḳ̓ú·ɬ/	[ḳ̓ú·ɬ]	'year'	*k'uuhl*
	/ḳú·ɬ/	[gú·ɬ]	'Take it!'	*Guuhl!*
V_#	/č́áḳ̓/	[ʦ́áḳ̓^{y}]	'plate, dish'	*ts'ak'*
	/č́ak/	[ʦ́ak^{y}]	'(fire, light) to be out'	*ts'ak*

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

- With labio-velars:

#_V	/ké·ɬ/	[gʸɛ́·ɬ]	'to lie (down)'	*geehl*
	/kʷéʔɬ/	[gʷɛ́ʔɛɬ]	'sack; scrotum'	*gwe'ehl*
	/ḳí·kʷ/	[gí·ḵʷ]	'hemlock tree; to buy s.t.'	*giikw*
	/kʷḯ·kʷ/	[gʷḯ·ḵʷ]	'marmot'	*gwiikw*
	/ḳ̓itá·/	[ḵ̓ɪdá·]	'oolichan rake'	*k'idaa*
	/kʷ̓itá·t/	[kʷ̓ɪdá·t]	'to be alone in a boat or vehicle'	*kw'idaat*
#C_	/skát/	[sgʸáṯ]	'to be born'	*sgat*
	/skʷátkʷ/	[sgʷátkʷ]	'to joke, to be easy'	*sgwatkw*
V_#	/lák/	[lák̟ʸ]	'to occur as a mass'	*lak*
	/lákʷ/	[lák̟ʷ]	'firewood'	*lakw*
	/sḵ̓í·ḵ̓/	[sḵ̓ʸí·ḵ̓ʸ]	'chickadee'	*sk'iik'*
	/pí·ḵ̓ʷ/	[bí·ḵ̓ʷ]	'(to tell) lies'	*biikw'*
_C#	/ták̟ɬ/	[dák̟ɬ]	'tie, ribbon, band (not 'necktie')'	*dakhl*
	/hákʷɬ/	[hákʷɬ]	'hook'	*hakwhl*
	/ʔáks/	[ʔáks]	'water, stream; to drink'	*aks*
	/ʔákʷs/	[ʔákʷs]	'whitewash, lime'	*akws*

- With Uvulars:

*_V	/ká4kʷ/	[gʸá4ǩʷ]	'to pierce, stab, gaff s.t., to give s.o. an injection'	*gahlkw*
	/qá4kʷ/	[Gá4ǩʷ]	'to pierce s.t. through'	*gahlkw*
	/ḳús(t)/	[gʊ́s]	'that'	*gus*
	/qús/	[Gọ́s]	'to jump'	*gos*
	/ʔǩáp/	[ʔǩʸáp̣]	'ten (animals, skins)'	*k'ap*
	/ʔq̓áp/	[ʔq̓áp̣]	'piece'	*k'ap*
*C_	/ská/	[sgʸá]	'herring'	*sga*
	/sqán/	[sqán]	'fish scales'	*sgan*
V_*	/ʔčák/	[ʔtšáǩʸ]	'(fire, light) to be out'	*ts'ak*
	/ʔčáq/	[ʔtšáq̓]	'nose'	*ts'ak*
	/ʔčáʔǩ/	[ʔtšáʔǩʸ]	'plate, dish'	*ts'ak'*
	/ʔčáʔq̓/	[ʔtšáʔq̓]	'clam'	*ts'ak'*
	/né·ʔǩ/	[nɛ́·ʔǩʸ]	'orphan'	*neek'*
	/né·ʔq̓/	[nɛ́·ʔq̓]	'dorsal fin'	*neek'*
V_C	/ták4/	[dáḳ4]	'tie, ribbon, band (not 'necktie')'	*dakhl*
	/táq4/	[dáq4]	'hammer'	*dakhl*
_C*	/sé·ks/	[sɛ́·ks]	'to splash water on s.'	*seeks*
	/sé·qs/	[sɛ́·qs]	'spruce tree'	*seeks*

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

V_*	/lák/	[láǩʸ]	'to occur as a mass'	*lak*

	/lax/	[laç]	'fur, body hair'	*lax*

The glottalized palato-velar stop /k̓/ contrasts with the glottalized palatal resonant /y̓/ and with the glottal stop /ʔ/:

#_V	/k̓áns ..../	[k̓ʸáns]	'(X)...'s property'	*k'ans... (X)*
	/y̓áns/	[y̓áns]	'leaf, blade of grass'	*y'ans*
	/k̓ɨɬé·ʔ/	[k̓ɪɬɛ́·ʔɛ]	'to push off at an angle'	*k'ihlee'e*
	/ʔɨɬé·ʔ/	[ʔɪɬɛ́·ʔɛ]	'blood, to bleed'	*ihlee'e*
V_#	/sák̓/	[sák̓ʸ]	'to stretch'	*sak'*
	/ʔasáy̓/	[ʔʌ sáʔɪ]	'foot, leg'	*asay'*
	/tík̓/	[dík̓ʸ]	'to be embarrassed'	*dik'*
	/titíy̓/	[dɪdíʔɪ]	'to look after s.'	*didiy'*

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

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

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

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

#_V	/kát/	[gʸát]	'man; people'	*gat*
	/kúkʷskʷ/	[gʸúkʷsk̓ʷ]	'to wake up'	*gyukwskw*
V_V	/k̓iké·ɬ/	[gɪgʸɛ́·ɬ]	'to be lying (down), to be in bed (sg)'	*gigeehl*

	/ɬáku·x̣kʷ/	[ɬágʸU·x̣ḱʷ]	'bent file for woodcarving'	*hlagyuux̱kw*
VR_V	/ʔamké·k/	[ʔʌ mgʸɛ́·ḱʸ]	'duck species'	*amgeek*
	/ʔankát/	[ʔʌ ngʸáť]	'parent'	*angat*

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

C_V	/tax̣kát/	[dʌ x̣g̥ʸáť]	'to be strong (sg)'	*dax̱gat*
	/x̣ská·k/	[x̣sg̥ʸá·ḱʸ]	'eagle'	*x̱sgaak*
	/sḳí/	[sg̥í]	'(object) to be (somewhere)'	*sgi*
	/lax̣sḳí·k/	[lʌ x̣sg̥í·ḱʸ]	'the Eagle clan'	*Lax̱sgiik*

It is voiceless finally and before a consonant.

Finally, it is aspirated: [ḱʸ]

V_#	/č̓ák/	[ʦ̓áḱʸ]	'(fire, light) to be out'	*ts'ak*
	/č̓ixč̓ík/	[ʦ̓ɪçʦ̓íḱʸ]	'wagon, wheelbarrow, baby carriage'	*ts'ixts'ik*
VC_#	/č̓ú·sk/	[ʦ̓ú·sḱʸ]	'to be small'	*ts'uusk*

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

V_CV	/č̓áktit/	[ʦ̓ákd̥i:t̥]	'they put it out [fire, light]'	*ts'akdiit*
	/č̓ixč̓íksim̓/	[ʦ̓ɪçʦ̓íksɪm̓]	'your (pl.) wagon/ wheelbarrow/baby carriage'	*ts'ixts'iksim̓*

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

V_S#	/má·ks/	[má·ḳs]	'to put a net in the water'	*maaks*
	/qá·kɬ/	[ɢá·ḳɬ]	'mouse'	*gaakhl*
#_SV	(The S is always /s/)			
	/ksíɬkʷ/	[ḳsíɬk̓ʷ]	'salamander, lizard'	*ksihlkw*
	/ksú·wʔ/	[ḳsǔ·ʔʊ̥]	'processed hemlock cambium (a food)'	*ksuuẇ*
#_SRV	/ksláxʷ/	[ḳsláxʷ]	'to be undermost'	*kslaxw*
#_SCV	/ksqó·q/	[ḳsɢ̥ɔ́·q̓]	'to be first'	*ksgook̲*
V(R)_SV	/q̓amksi·wá·/	[q̓ʌ mḳsi·wá·]	'white person'	*k̲'amksiiwaa*
	/wìlptikɬé·ʔ/	[wìlpd̥ɪḳɬɛ́·ʔɛ̥]	'jail' (lit. 'house of binding')	*wilpdikhlee'e*
V_S#	/hátiks/	[hádɪḳs]	'to swim'	*hadiks*
	/ʔáks/	[ʔáḳs]	'water; to drink'	*aks*
	/wʔi·ʔó·ks/	[wʔi·ʔɔ́·ḳs]	'to be wide'	*ẇii'ooks*
	/tákɬ/	[dáḳɬ]	'tie, ribbon, band' (not 'necktie')	*dakhl*
VR_S#	/táyks/	[dáyḳs]	'"Indian ice-cream"'	*dayks*
	/cí·pilks/	[dzí·bɪlḳs]	'to burn to the ground'	*jiibilks*
	/ksímks/	[ḳsímḳs]	'to scrape s.t. (e.g. snow off a road)'	*ksimks*

VC_S#	/ḳ́itks/	[gítḳs]	'to search'	*gitks*
V_SC#	/pláksk^{w}/	[pl̥áḳsk̟^{w}]	'to be tired'	*plakskw*
	/sq̓úksk^{w}/	[sq̓úḳsk̟^{w}]	'(supplies) to run short'	*sḵ'okskw*
	/yáƛ̓iksk^{w}/	[yáƛ̓ɪḳsk̟^{w}]	'to slip and fall'	*yatl'ikskw*

2.1.B.1.e.1.a.2. /k̓/

/k̓/ is a preglottalized palato-velar stop. It is somewhat depalatalized before short stressed /i/ but otherwise ~ ..gly palatalized.

#_V	/k̓é·k^{w}/	[k̓^{y}ɛ́·k̟^{w}]	'one (animal, skin)'	*k'eekw*
	/k̓ó^{ʔ}/	[k̓^{y}ɔ́^{ʔ}ɣ]	'backbone of a fish'	*k'yo'o*
	/ḳ̓itá·/	[ḳ̓ɪdá·]	'oolichan rake'	*k'idaa*
#C_V	/x̱k̓áyɬ/	[x̱k̓^{y}áyɬ]	'payment for traditional services rendered'	*xk'ayhl*
	/sḵ̓i·k̓/	[sk̓^{y}í·k̓^{y}]	'chickadee'	*sk'iik'*
	/tk̓ə.../	[[t]k̓ɪ... ~ [tk̓^{y}A...]	'dropping down to a lower level (proclitic)'	*tk'i.../tk'a...*

(Note: the /t/ is prone to loss in this position, **10**.2.A.2.b.1.).

V_V	/stiḵ̓é·k^{w}/	[sɕɪk̓^{y}é·k̟^{w}]	'playmate, little brother or sister'	*sdik'eekw*
	/haḵ̓ó^{ʔ}/	[hʌ k̓^{y}ɔ́^{ʔ}ɣ]	'[the] back'	*hak'yo'o*
V_#	/c̓áḵ̓/	[c̓ák̓^{y}]	'dish'	*ts'ak'*
	/ƛ̓ó·k̓/	[ƛ̓ɔ́·k̓^{y}]	'mud'	*tl'ook'*

V_C	/ʔáḱt/	[ʦʔáḱʸt̂]	'h. dish'	*ts'ak't*
	/ƛʔó·ḱt/	[ƛʔɔ́·ḱʸt̂]	'to be muddied'	*tl'ook't*

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

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

2.1.B.1.e.1.b.1. /ḳ/

/ḳ/ is a plain dorso-velar stop.

It is voiced before vowels: [g]

#_V	/ḳúxʷ/	[gÚxʷ]	'to shoot and kill s.'	*guxw*
	/ḳóm̓/	[gɔ́m̓]	'Go ahead [= do it]!'	*Gom̓!*
V_V	/ʔaḳú/	[ʔʌgÚ]	'what; thing'	*agu*
	/x̣pəḳú·ɬ/	[x̣ɓɪgÚ·ɬ]	'Catch it!' (in mid-air)'	*X̱biguuhl!*
	/mi·ḳúnt/	[mi·gÚnt̂]	'strawberries'	*miigunt*
VR_V	/ʔanḳú/	[ʔʌngÚ]	'[one's] concern'	*angu*

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

#C_V	/tḳún/	[tgÚn]	'this'	*tgun*
	/ɬḳú·ɬkʷ/	[ɬkÚ·ɬḱʷ]	'(one's own) child; to give birth to a child'	*hlguuhlkw*
V_CV	/ʔanʔax̣ḳú/	[ʔʌnʔʌx̣gÚ]	's.t. none of one's business'	*an'ax̱gu*

2.1.B.1.e.1.B.2. /ƛ̓/

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

#_V	/ƛ̓utáč/	[ƛ̓Udáʧ]	'coat'	*k'udats'*
	/ƛ̓ú·ɬ/	[ƛ̓Ú·ɬ]	'year'	*k'uuhl*
V_V	/ɣiƛ̓ú·ɬ/	[gɪƛ̓Ú·ɬ]	'years ago'	*gik'uuhl*
#C_	/tƛ̓ú·ʔilksk^{w}/	[[t]ƛ̓Ú·ʧɪlɣsƛ̓^{w}]	'heavy windstorm'	*tk'uuts'ilkskw*
	/tƛ̓u.../	[[t]ƛ̓Ú]	'around (in a circle) (proclitic)'	*tk'u...*

(cf. note p. 61).

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

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

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

The labio-velar stops /k^{w}/ and /ƛ̓^{w}/ are pronounced with only slight lip-rounding. Finally and before a consonant they sound like a velar followed by a voiceless [ʊ̯]. They do not occur before long or short /u/.

The two labio-velar stops /k^{w}/ and /ƛ̓^{w}/ contrast with each other:

#_V	/k^{w}ink^{w}ántk^{w}/	[gʷɪngʷántƛ̓^{w}]	'to touch s.(pl.)'	*gwingwantkw*
	/ƛ̓^{w}inƛ̓^{w}án/	[ƛ̓^{w}ɪnƛ̓^{w}án]	'to be palsied, uncoordinated'	*kw'inkw'an*

#C_	/skʷiné·ʔ/	[sg̥ʷɪné·ʔɛ̯]	'yellow cedar'	*sgwinee'e*
	/sk̓ʷinhítkʷ/	[sk̓ʷɪn·ítɬʷ]	'to stand at the end of a line or row'	*sk'inhitkw*
V_#	/múkʷ/	[mʊ́ɬʷ]	'to be ripe'	*mukw*
	/múk̓ʷ/	[mʊ́k̓ʷ]	'to be bruised'	*mukw'*
	/kʷí·kʷ/	[gʷí·ɬʷ]	'marmot'	*gwiikw*
	/pí·k̓ʷ/	[bí·k̓ʷ]	'(to tell) lies'	*biikw'*

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

#_V	/kʷí·kʷ/	[gʷí·ɬʷ]	'marmot'	*gwiikw*
	/ḳí·kʷ/	[gí·ɬʷ]	'to buy s.t.'	*giikw*
#C_	/skʷátkʷ/	[sg̥ʷátɬʷ]	'to joke, to be easy'	*sgwatkw*
	/skát/	[sg̥ʸáɬ]	'to be born'	*sgat*
	/skʷiné·ʔ/	[sg̥ʷɪné·ʔɛ̯]	'yellow cedar'	*sgwinee'e*
	/sḳiníst/	[sg̥ɪníst]	'pine'	*sginist*
V_#	/ʔtákʷ/	[ʔtáɬʷ]	'to twist s.t.'	*t'akw*
	/ʔták/	[ʔtáɬʸ]	'to forget s.'	*t'ak*
V_C	/má·kʷs/	[má·kʷs]	'snow (on the ground)'	*maakws*
	/má·ks/	[má·ḳs]	'to put a net in the water'	*maaks*
VC_C	/lílkʷs/	[lílkʷs]	'to steal'	*lilkws*
	/líɬks/	[líɬḳs]	'to stand guard, to watch'	*lihlks*

	/ʔánkʷs/	[ʔánkʷs]	'to be cooked, baked, done'	*ankws*
	/hánks/	[hánḳs]	'(water) to be shallow'	*hanks*

Labio-velar stops contrast with uvular stops:

#_V	/kʷántkʷ/	[gʷántqʷ]	'to be close enough to s. to touch it'	*gwantkw*
	/qántkʷ/	[ɢʌ́ntqʷ]	'to be straight'	*gantkw*
V_#	/lákʷ/	[láqʷ]	'firewood'	*lakw*
	/láq/	[láq̓]	'(animal) to live in water'	*laq*
	/ʔú·kʷ/	[ʔʊ́·qʷ]	'homebrew'	*'uukw'*
	/ʔú·q/	[ʔʊ́·q̓]	'brass, copper'	*uuq*
CV_#	/lu·sa·ná·ɬkʷ/	[lʊ·sa·ná:ɬqʷ]	'to be amazed at s.'	*luusaanaahlkw*
	/ná·ɬq/	[ná:ɬq̓]	'breath'	*naahlq*

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

V_#	/ʔtákʷ/	[ʔtáqʷ]	'to twist s.'	*t'akw*
	/ʔtáxʷ/	[ʔtáxʷ]	'to sweep, brush s.'	*t'axw*
	/múkʷ/	[mʊ́qʷ]	'ripe'	*mukw*
	/múxʷ/	[mʊ́xʷ]	'ear(s)'	*muxw*
	/pí·kʷ/	[bí·qʷ]	'(to tell) lies'	*biikw'*
	/cí·xʷ/	[ʤí·xʷ]	'porpoise'	*jiixw*

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

It is voiced before vowels: [gʷ]

#_V	/kʷiné·x̣kʷ/	[gʷɪnɛ́·x̣k̓ʷ]	'(object) to be cold'	*gwineex̱kw*
	/kʷálkʷ/	[gʷálk̓ʷ]	'to be dry'	*gwalkw*
V_V	/nikʷó·t/	[nɪgʷɔ́·t̓]	'father'	*nigwoot*
	/n̓akʷa·wóq/	[n̓agʷa·wɔ́q̓]	'to sleep late'	*ńagwaawoḵ*
R_V	/kʷàlkʷa·hó·n/	[gʷálgʷa·hɔ́·n]	'dried fish'	*gwalgwa hoon*

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

#C_V	/skʷátkʷ/	[sgʷátk̓ʷ]	'to joke, to be easy'	*sgwatkw*
	/tkʷá/	[tgʷá]	'crystal, glass'	*tgwa*
#CC_V	/x̣skʷiné·qs/	[x̣sgʷɪnɛ́·qs]	'to feel cold'	*x̱sgwineeḵs*
VC_V	/ɬkú·ɬkʷiý/	[ɬḳú·ɬgʷɪʔɬ]	'my child'	*hlguuhlgwiý*

It is voiceless finally and before a consonant.

Finally, it is aspirated: [k̓ʷ]

V_#	/ḳí·kʷ/	[gí·k̓ʷ]	'to buy s.t.'	*giikw*
	/cákʷ/	[dzák̓ʷ]	'to kill s.'	*jakw*
	/múkʷ/	[múk̓ʷ]	'to be ripe'	*mukw*
R_#	/yánkʷ/	[yánk̓ʷ]	'to be mouldy'	*yankw*
	/háykʷ/	[háyk̓ʷ]	'odor, spirit'	*haykw*

C_#	/cápkʷ/	[dzápk̓ʷ]	'to be made'	*japkw*
	/ɬóq̓kʷ/	[ɬɔ́q̓k̓ʷ]	'to swallow s.t.'	*hlok̲'kw*
	/ʔáx̣kʷ/	[ʔáx̣k̓ʷ]	'night'	*ax̲kw*

Before a consonant, it is unaspirated: [k̓ʷ]

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

/kʷsít/	[kʷsít̓]	'autumn'	*kwsit*
/kʷstáqs/	[kʷsd̥áqs]	'to abandon s.'	*kwsdak̲s*
/kʷɬi·/	[kʷɬi·]	'all over, randomly (proclitic)'	*kwhlii...*

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

/súkʷs/	[sÚkʷs]	'driftwood'	*sukws*
/lílkʷs/	[lílkʷs]	'to steal (s.)'	*lilkws*
/hákʷɬ/	[hákʷɬ]	'hook'	*hakwhl*

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

#_V	/k̓ʷácikskʷ/	[k̓ʷádzɪḳsk̓ʷ]	'to rock, to teeter'	*kw'ajikskw*
	/k̓ʷó·tkʷ/	[k̓ʷɔ́·tk̓ʷ]	'to be missing, lost'	*kw'ootkw*
	/k̓ʷiní·skʷ/	[k̓ʷɪní·sk̓ʷ]	'to bend down'	*kw'iniiskw*
V_V	/cak̓ʷiskʷ/	[dzák̓ʷɪsk̓ʷ]	'animal'	*jakw'iskw*
	/múk̓ʷilkskʷ/	[mÚk̓ʷɪlḳsk̓ʷ]	'(water) to be roiled'	*mukw'ilkskw*
VR_V	/qílk̓ʷaʔ/	[ɢẹ́lk̓ʷʌʔʌ̥]	'kerchief'	*gelkw'a'a*
	/k̓ʷink̓ʷán/	[k̓ʷɪnk̓ʷán]	'to be palsied, uncoordinated'	*kw'inkw'an*

V_s	/sipí·k̓ʷs/	[sɪbí·k̓ʷs]	'pacifier'	*sibiikw's*
V_#	/t̓úk̓ʷ/	[t̓úk̓ʷ]	'navel'	*t'ukw*
	/k̓ʼú·k̓ʷ/	[k̓ʼú·k̓ʷ]	'animal's tail'	*k'uukw*
	/pí·k̓ʷ/	[bí·k̓ʷ]	'(to tell) lies'	*biikw*
#s_V	/sk̓ʷin.../	[sk̓ʷɪn]	'at the end of a line or row (proclitic)'	*skw'in...*

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

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

#_V	/qó?/	[gɔ́?ɣ́]	'to go s.w., to go get s.'	*go'o*
	/q̓ó?/	[q̓ɔ́?ɣ́]	'thimbleberry'	*k'o'o*
#s_V	/sqán/	[sɣ́ʌn]	'fish scales'	*sgan*
	/sq̓an.../	[sq̓ʌ́n]	'... bush, support'	*sk'an...*
V_V	/k̓é·qan/	[k̓ʸɛ́·gʌn]	'to drill a hole in s.'	*k'eegan*
	/k̓é·q̓an/	[k̓ʸɛ́·q̓ʌn]	'to chase s. away'	*k'eek'an*
	/qaqítkʷ/	[gʌgétk̓ʷ]	'to be difficult, expensive'	*gagetkw*
	/qaq̓ítkʷ/	[gʌq̓étk̓ʷ]	'to howl (e.g. wolf)'	*gak'etkw*
R_V	/y̓imqan/	[y̓ímgʌn]	'your whiskers, your beard'	*y'imgan*
	/mímq̓an/	[mímq̓ʌn]	'Smile!'	*Mimk'an!*
V_C	/ʔampóqkʷ/	[ʔʌmbɔ́q̓k̓ʷ]	'poplar'	*ambokkw*

	/ɬóq̓kʷ/	[ɬóq̓ḵʷ]	'to swallow s.t.'	*hlok̲'kw*
V_#	/sáq/	[sáq̓]	'to be sharp, very cold'	*sak̲*
	/sáq̓/	[sáq̓]	'to crack'	*sak̲'*
	/né·q/	[nɛ́·q̓]	'hooves'	*neek̲*
	/né·q̓/	[nɛ́·q̓]	'dorsal fin'	*neek̲'*
R_#	/y̓ímq/	[y̓ímq̓]	'whiskers, beard'	*y̓imk̲*
	/mímq̓/	[mímq̓]	'to smile'	*mimk̲'*

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

#_V	/qáɬkʷ/	[qáɬḵʷ]	'to pierce s. through'	*gahlkw*
	/káɬkʷ/	[gʸáɬḵʷ]	'to pierce, stab, gaff s.'	*gahlkw*
	/kʷálkʷ/	[gʷálḵʷ]	'to be dry'	*gwalkw*
	/qús/	[qṣ́s]	'to jump'	*gos*
	/ḵús(t)/	[gʊ́s]	'that'	*gus*
V_#	/láq/	[láq̓]	'to live in water'	*lak̲*
	/lák/	[lák̓ʸ]	'to occur as a mass'	*lak*
	/lákʷ/	[lák̓ʷ]	'firewood'	*lakw*
	/sáq̓/	[sáq̓]	'to crack'	*sak̲'*
	/sák̓/	[sák̓ʸ]	'to stretch'	*sak'*
	/ʔú·q/	[ʔʊ́·q̓]	'copper, brass'	*uuk̲*
	/ʔú·k̓ʷ/	[ʔʊ́·k̓ʷ]	'homebrew'	*uukw'*
R_C#	/silímqs/	[sɪlímqs]	'to raise s. (pl) (children, animals)'	*silimk̲s*

	/silímks/	[sɪlímḳs]	'to compose songs'	*silimks*
V_S#	/táqɬ/	[dáqɬ]	'hammer'	*daḵhl*
	/tákɬ/	[dáḳɬ]	'tie, ribbon, band'	*dakhl*
	/hákʷɬ/	[hákʷɬ]	'hook'	*hakwhl*
	/táqs/	[dáqs]	'flounder'	*daḵs*
	/ʔáks/	[ʔáḳs]	'water, stream, to drink'	*aks*
	/ʔákʷs/	[ʔákʷs]	'whitewash, lime'	*akws*
C_#	/nísq/	[nísq̓]	'upper lip'	*nisḵ*
	/lískʷ/	[lísḱʷ]	'to hang (pl.)'	*liskw*

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

V_#	/wóq/	[wɔ́q̓]	'to sleep'	*woḵ*
	/wóq̓/	[wɔ́q̓]	'to dig s̱.'	*woḵ'*
	/wóχ̣/	[wɔ́χ̣]	'to bark'	*woχ*

and with the glottal stop /ʔ/:

#_V	/q̓áp/	[q̓áp̓]	'piece'	*ḵ'ap*
	/ʔáp/	[ʔáp̓]	'bee, wasp'	*ap*
	/q̓á·t/	[q̓á·t̓]	'shark'	*ḵ'aat*
	/ʔá·t/	[ʔá·t̓]	'fishnet; to fish w. a net'	*aat*
V_V	/páq̓askʷ/	[báq̓ʌsḱʷ]	'to feel (with the hands)'	*baḵ'askw*
	/páʔaskʷ/	[báʔasḱʷ]	'wind'	*ba'askw*

V_#	/wóq̓/	[wɔ́q̓]	'to dig s.t.'	*wok'*
	/wʔó?/	[wʔɔ́?ɣ]	'to call, invite s.o.'	*wo'o*
	/né·q̓/	[né·q̓]	'dorsal fin'	*neek'*
	/skʷiné·?/	[sgʷɪné·?ɣ]	'yellow cedar'	*sgwinee'e*

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

It is voiced before vowels: [ɢ]

#_V	/qán/	[ɢʌ́n]	'tree, log, wood'	*gan*
	/qó·t/	[ɢɔ́·t̓]	'heart'	*goot*
	/qúkʷ/	[ɢǫ́kʷ]	'watertight basket'	*gokw*

V_V [ɢ] is often fricativized as [ɣ] especially between unstressed vowels:

	/qaqítkʷ/	[ɢaɣétkʷ]	'to be difficult, expensive'	*gagetkw*
	/máqat/	[mʌ́ɢʌt̓ , mʌ́ɣʌt̓]	'Put it away!'	*Magat!*
R_V	/qanqán/	[ɢʌnɢʌ́n]	'trees, logs'	*gangan*
	/ʔamqó·t/	[ʔʌmɢɔ́·t̓]	'to remember s.'	*amgoo(t)*

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

S_V	/sqínx/	[sɣénç]	'little finger'	*sgenx*
	/sqáns/	[sɣáns]	'elbow'	*sgans*
	/x̣ɬqáyxʷ/	[x̣ɬɣʌ yxʷ]	'to sneak up on s.t. (an animal)'	*xhlgayxw*
	/qasqó·/	[ɢʌ sɣɔ́·]	'the size of ...'	*gasgoo*
	/ksqó·q̓/	[ksɣɔ́·q̓]	'to be first'	*ksgook'*

It is voiceless finally and before a consonant.

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

V_#	/c̓aq/	[ʦ̓áq̊]	'nose'	*ts'aḵ*
	/pté·q/	[pd̥ɛ́·q̊]	'"tribe", clan'	*pdeeḵ*
	/tóq/	[dɔ́q̊]	'to take s.t. (pl.)'	*doḵ*
R_#	/y̓ímq/	[y̓ímq̊]	'whiskers, beard'	*ẏimḵ*
	/qalʔínq/	[ɢʌlʔínq̊]	'traditional storage box'	*ḡal'inḵ*
	/kálq/	[gʸálq̊]	'outside'	*ḡalḵ*
S_#	/q̓íɬq/	[q̓ẹ́ɬq̊]	'chest'	*ḵ'ehlḵ*
	/qásq/	[ɢásq̊]	'to be bitter'	*ḡasḵ*

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

V_C	/c̓áqt/	[ʦ̓áq̊]	'h. nose'	*ts'aḵ*
	/qó·qti·t/	[ɢɔ́·qd̥i·t̊]	'in front of them'	*ḡooḵdiit*
_C#	/n̓é·qɬ/	[n̓ɛ́·qɬ]	'killer whale'	*ṅeeḵhl*
	/m̓áqs/	[m̓ʌ́qs]	'pants'	*ṁaḵs*
	/sú·qskʷ/	[sʊ́·qsk̊ʷ]	'to dive'	*suuḵskw*

(but it is aspirated before a Velar stop in

	/ʔampóqkʷ/	[ʔʌmbɔ́q̊k̊ʷ]	'poplar'	*amboḵkw*)
R_C#	/límqs/	[límqs]	'to grow (pl.)'	*limḵs*
	/c̓iw̓ínqɬ/	[ʦ̓ɪw̓ínqɬ]	'cape, point'	*ts'iẇinḵhl*

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

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

#_V	/ɋáq/	[ɋᴀ́q̓]	'to be open'	*k'ak*
	/ɋó·qst/	[ɋɔ́·qst]	'maple'	*k'ookst*
V_V	/qaɋítkʷ/	[ɢᴀ ɋẹtḱʷ]	'to howl (e.g. wolf)'	*gak'etkw*
	/haɋúɬ/	[hᴀ ɋǫ́ɬ]	'filleting knife'	*hak'ohl*
VR_V	/támɋan/	[dámɋᴀ n]	'to pull on s.t. (e.g. a rope)'	*damk'an*
	/ɋawɋá·w/	[ɋᴀ u̯ɋá·u̯]	'crow'	*k'awk'aaw*
V_#	/ĉáɋ/	[ʦ̌áɋ]	'clam'	*ts'ak'*
	/né·ɋ/	[nɛ́·ɋ]	'dorsal fin'	*neekhl*
	/lú·laɋ/	[lʊ́·lᴀ ɋ]	'ghost, corpse'	*luulak'*
R_#	/míɋ/	[míɋ]	'to smile'	*mimk'*
	/ksámɋ/	[ksámɋ]	'blue-black clay'	*ksamk'*
#_C	The C is /s/ or /t/:			
	/sɋé·x̣kʷ/	[sɋɛ́·x̣ḱʷ]	'to be dark (e.g. at night)'	*sk'eexkw*
	/tɋ́iskʷ/	[tɋẹsḱʷ]	'to attack, charge s.'	*tk'eskw*
	/tɋal.../	[[t]ɋᴀ l]	'flush against ... (proclitic)' (cf. note p. 61.)	*tk'al...*
_C#	/ɬóɋkʷ/	[ɬɔ́ɋk̓ʷ]	'to swallow s.t.'	*hlok'kw*

VC_V	/q̓atq̓átx̣/	[q̓ʌtq̓átx̣]	'to patch s.t. (pl.)'	*k̲'atk̲'atx̲*
	/q̓apq̓úyp/	[q̓ʌpq̓ọ́yp̓]	'bunchberry'	*k̲'apk̲'uyp*

2.1.B.2. FRICATIVES.

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

2.1.B.2.a. Laminal fricatives: /s/ and /ɬ/

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

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

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

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

#_V	/sa·/	[sa·]	'suddenly'	*saa*
	/ɬa·/	[ɬa·]	'by now'	*hlaa*
	/sáxʷ/	[sáxʷ]	'mouth (of a river)'	*saxw*
	/ɬáxʷ/	[ɬáxʷ]	'underside'	*hlaxw*

	/sóʔ/	[sɔ́ʔɣ̍]	'(to take) food home from a function'	*so'o*
	/ɬóʔ/	[ɬɔ́ʔɣ̍]	'to go, walk (pl.)	*hlo'o*
#_CV	/sḳí/	[sg̥í]	'(object) to lie, be, be put (s.w.)'	*sgi*
	/ɬḳí/	[ɬg̥í]	'children (offspring)'	*hlgi*
	/sy̌ó·n/	[s.y̌ɔ́·n]	'glacier'	*sẏoon*
	/ɬy̌ó·n/	[ɬ.y̌ɔ́·n]	'elkhide'	*hlẏoon*
#C_C	/x̣sqalánq/	[x̣sɢʌ lánq̓]	'to serve s.t. (a food) last'	*x̱sgalank̲*
	/x̣ɬqáyxʷ/	[x̣ɬɢʌ́ yxʷ]	'to sneak up on s.'	*x̱hlgayxw*
V_V	/misóʔ/	[mɪsɔ́ʔɣ̍]	'sockeye salmon'	*miso'o*
	/haɬóʔ/	[hʌ ɬɔ́ʔɣ̍]	'sail, cloth'	*hahlo'o*
V_#	/mó·s/	[mɔ́·s]	'thumb'	*moos*
	/mó·ɬ/	[mɔ́·ɬ]	'barrel-shaped fish-trap; barrel'	*moohl*
VC_#	/táqs/	[dáqs]	'flounder'	*dak̲s*
	/táqɬ/	[dáqɬ]	'hammer'	*dak̲hl*
V_C#	/máskʷ/	[másḱʷ]	'reddish-brown'	*maskw*
	/máɬkʷ/	[máɬḱʷ]	'to be announced'	*mahlkw*
R_C#	/...mskʷ/		(suffix, 7.2.C.2.b.4.c.)	*...mskw*
	/...mɬkʷ/		(suffix, 7.2.C.2.b.4.b.)	*...mhlkw*

_CC#	/qí̓sx̣kʷ/	[ɢé̓sx̣k̓ʷ]	'to stop talking, shouting, crying, etc.' (= Fr. se taire)	*gesx̱kw*
	/qí̓ɬx̣kʷ/	[ɢé̓ɬx̣k̓ʷ]	'to shout, holler'	*gehlx̱kw*

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

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

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

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

	/ʔanx̣sksí·skʷ/	[ʔʌnx̣sḳsí·sk̓ʷ]	'payment made as compensation for a crime'	*anx̱sksiiskw*
#_V	/sí·pkʷ/	[sí·pk̓ʷ]	'to be sick'	*siipkw*
	/sá/	[sá]	'day'	*sa*
V_V	/lí̓sims/	[lí̓sɪms]	'the Nass River'	*Lisims*
	/m̓isá·x/	[m̓ɪsá·ç]	'daybreak'	*m̓isaax*

#C_V	/ksáx^{w}/	[ksáx^{w}]	'to go out'	*ksaxw*
	/k^{w}sít/	[k^{w}sít]	'autumn'	*kwsit*
	/χsít/	[χsít]	'to vomit'	*χsit*
V_#	/mʔás/	[mʔás]	'to grow'	*mas*
	/mó·s/	[mɔ́·s]	'thumb'	*moos*
#_RV	/smáx/	[smáç]	'meat; body, corpse; bear'	*smax*
	/snáχ/	[snáχ]	'hawthorn berries'	*snaχ*
	/swán/	[swʌ́n]	'to blow on s.'	*swan*
	/syʔé·n/	[s.yʔé·n]	'bottom (of a boat, container)'	*syeen*
	/smʔínc/	[s.mʔínʦ]	'to shoot at a blaze scar on a tree'	*smints*

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

#_CV	/spíks/	[spʔíks]	'high-bush cranberry'	*spiks*
	/skʔí·kʔ/	[skʔʸí·kʔʸ]	'chickadee'	*sk'iik'*
	/sqanʔíst/	[sqʌ nʔíst]	'mountain'	*sqanist*
C_#	/má·k^{w}s/	[má·k^{w}s]	'snow (on the ground)'	*maakws*
	/ʔáks/	[ʔáχs]	'water, stream, to drink'	*aks*
	/sílk^{w}saχs/	[sílk^{w}sʌ χs]	'midday'	*silkwsaχs*
R_#	/síns/	[síns]	'to be blind'	*sins*
	/haɬáʔls/	[hʌ ɬáʔʌ ls]	'to work'	*hahlals*
	/ʔáws/	[ʔʌ́ Us]	'sand'	*aws*

V_C#	/ʔcú·sk/	[ʦʔʊ́·skʸ]	'to be small'	*ts'uusk*
	/nísq/	[nísqˀ]	'upper lip'	*nisq*
	/liskʷ/	[lísqʷ]	'to hang (pl.)'	*liskw*
V_RV	/lisy̓ʔé·n/	[lɪs.y̓ʔɛ́·n]	'mink'	*lisy'een*
	/misʔáws/	[mɪs.ʔʌ́ʊ̯s]	'red ochre'	*mis'aws*
V_CV	/nisqáʔ/	[nɪsqáʔʌ]	'Nisgha (person), the Nisghas'	*Nisga'a*
	/hiscóqs/	[hɪsʤɔ́qs]	'to go camping'	*hisjoqs*
*C_RV	/kslá̓xʷ/	[kslá̓xʷ]	'to be undermost'	*kslaxw*
	/xsẃ̓inq/	[xs.ẃ̓inqˀ]	'herring eggs'	*xsẃinq*
*C_CV	/pstáy̓ʔ/	[psqáʔɬ]	'blue grouse'	*psday*
	/kʷstimó·s/	[kʷsqɪmɔ́·s]	'nine (non-humans)'	*kwsdimoos*
	/xsqalánq/	[xsqʌ lánqˀ]	'to serve a food second or last'	*xsqalanq*
VR_C#	/líʔpilskʷ/	[líʔpɪlsqʷ]	'to mend (esp. nets)'	*lip'ilskw*
	/liḱíʔnskʷ/	[lɪḱíʔnsqʷ]	'grizzly bear'	*lik'inskw*
	/wáʔnimskʷ/	[wáʔnɪmsqʷ]	'to seat people at a function'	*waanimskw*
VC_C#	/máqskʷ/	[máqsqʷ]	'to stand (pl.)'	*maqskw*
	/kúkʷskʷ/	[gʸúkʷsqʷ]	'to wake up'	*gyukwskw*
	/ʔákst/	[ʔákst]	'to be wet'	*akst*
V_CC#	/qísxkʷ/	[gésxqʷ]	'to stop talking, crying, laughing, etc.'	*gesxkw*
VRC_#	/límqs/	[límqs]	'to grow (pl.)'	*limqs*
	/silímks/	[sɪlímks]	'to compose songs'	*silimks*

2.1.B.2.a.2. /ɬ/

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

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

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

#_V	/ɬíɬʔ/	[ɬíɬ]	'ball'	*hlit'*
	/líɬ/	[líɬ]	'wedge'	*lit*
	/ɬó·c̓/	[ɬó·tsʔ]	'whitefish'	*hloots'*
	/ló·c̓/	[ló·tsʔ]	'elderberries'	*loots'*
	/ɬáqs/	[ɬáqs]	'nails, claws'	*hlaqs*
	/láqs/	[láqs]	'to bathe'	*laqs*
V_V	/hí·ɬukʷ/	[hí·ɬuǩʷ]	'morning'	*hiihlukw*
	/mí·lukʷ/	[mí·luǩʷ]	'to dance'	*miilukw*
	/kslá·ɬaqs/	[kslá·ɬʌqs]	'to kick s.t. (pl.)'	*kslaahlaqs*
	/lá·laqs/	[lá·lʌqs]	'to bathe (pl.)'	*laalaqs*
V_#	/ʔtá·ɬ/	[ʔtá·ɬ]	'to adhere'	*t'ahl*
	/ʔtál/	[ʔtál]	'to split s.t. (a tree)'	*t'al*

V_C#	/máɬkʷ/	[máɬk̓ʷ]	'to be announced'	*mahlkw*
	/málkʷ /	[málk̓ʷ]	'to throw s.t. into a fire'	*malkw*
VC_V	/ɬuxʷɬákʷs/	[ɬUxʷɬákʷs]	'to shake oneself (e.g. wet dog)	*hluxwhlakws*
	/luxʷlúxʷ/	[lUxʷlÚxʷ]	'to refuse to give, etc. s.t. (pl.)'	*luxwluxw*
	/ɬipɬán/	[ɬɪpɬán]	'human body'	*hliphlan*
	/liplé·t/	[lɪplɛ́·t̓]	'priest'	*lipleet*

It also contrasts with the palatal fricative /x/:

#_C	/ɬpín/	[ɬb̥ín]	'whale'	*hlbin*
	/xpíl̓/	[çb̥íl̥̓]	'ten [objects]'	*xbil'*
V_#	/mó·ɬ/	[mɔ́·ɬ]	'barrel'	*moohl*
	/mó·x/	[mɔ́·ç]	'to act like s.o.'	*moox*
	/tá·ɬ/	[dá·ɬ]	'Lady! Ma'am!'	*Daahl!*
	/tá·x/	[dá·ç]	'perimeter'	*daax*

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

#_V	/ɬáp/	[ɬáp̓]	'to be deep'	*hlap*
	/ɬóqs/	[ɬɔ́qs]	'sun, month'	*hlok̲s*
	/ɬú·t̓uxʷ/	[ɬÚ·t̓Uxʷ]	'to value, treasure s.t., to cherish s.o.'	*hluut'uxw*
V_V	/miɬá/	[mɪɬá]	'bile'	*mihla*
	/hí·ɬukʷ/	[hí·ɬUk̓ʷ]	'morning'	*hiihlukw*

	/tá·ɬakʷ/	[ʔa·ɬáǩʷ]	'tomorrow'	*t'aahlakw*
V_#	/míɬ/	[míɬ]	'fire, to burn'	*mihl*
	/ǩú·ɬ/	[ǩúˀí·ɬ]	'year'	*k'uuhl*
#_R	/ɬy̓ó·n/	[ɬ.y̓ó·n]	'elkhide'	*hly̓oon*

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

#_C	/ɬǩí·kʷ/	[ɬgí·ǩʷ]	'(female's) sister'	*hlgiikw*
#C_V	/kʷɬi·.../	[kʷɬi:]	'(proc.) all over, randomly'	*kwhlii...*

In this position there is a certain amount of neutralization with the liquid /l/. A despirantization rule in this position (**10**.1.B.1.b.4.) is part of the morphophonemics and accounts for alternations such as:

	/ɬáxʷ/	'underside'	/ksláxʷ/	'to be undermost' (prefix {ks-})
#C_RV	/χɬn̓a·.../	[χɬ.n̓a·]	'(proclitic) trying to be inconspicuous'	*xhlnaa...*
#C_CV	/χɬqáyxʷ/	[χɬqʌ́yxʷ]	'to sneak up on s.'	*xhlgayxw*
VR_V	/ʔcinɬíǩ/	[ʔsɪnɬíʔʸ]	'squirrel'	*ts'inhlik'*
	/qún̓ɬaq/	[gǫ́n̓ɬʌq̓]	'to be stunned (by a blow)'	*gonhlaq*
VC_V	/ɬipɬán/	[ɬɪpɬán]	'(human) body'	*hliphlan*
	/ɬixɬá·k/	[ɬɪçɬá·ǩʸ]	'to be scratched (pl.)'	*hlixhlaak*

VR_#	/ʔím4/	[ʔím4]	'pail'	*imhl*
VC_#	/hákʷ4/	[hákʷ4]	'hook'	*hakwhl*
V_C#	/ná·4q/	[ná·4q̓]	'breath'	*naahlk*
	/siʔó·4kʷ/	[sɪʔɔ́·4k̓ʷ]	'to get firewood'	*si'oohlkw*
V_CV	/má4ti·t/	[má4qi·t̓]	'they told it'	*mahldiit*
	/ká4hó·n/	[gʸa4hɔ́·n]	'to pitch or gaff fish'	*gahlhoon*
VC_C#	/ʔáq4kʷ/	[ʔáq4k̓ʷ]	'to succeed in reaching one's goal; to (finally) make it'	*aqhlkw*
VR_C#	/wóʔom4kʷ/	[wɔ́ʔɔm4k̓ʷ]	'cradle (hanging)'	*wo'omhlkw*
V_CC#	/qí4χkʷ/	[gɛ́4χ̣k̓ʷ]	'to shout, holler'	*gehlgkw*
	/lí4ks/	[lí4k̓s]	'to stand watch, to guard, babysit'	*lihlks*
V_CCC#	/mí4χkʷs/	[mí4χ̣kʷs]	'moxibustion'	*mihlgkws*

2.1.B.2.b. Velar fricatives

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

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

V_#	/lá̓x/	[lá̓ç]	'fur, body hair'	*lax*
	/laχ̣/	[lá̓χ̣]	'on, surface of ...'	*laχ*
	/tá̓x/	[dá̓ç]	'hill'	*dax*
	/tá̓xʷ/	[dá̓xʷ]	'to die, be dead (pl)'	*daxw*
	/ʔá̓χ̣/	[ʔá̓χ̣]	'lake'	*t'aχ*
	/ʔá̓xʷ/	[ʔá̓xʷ]	'to brush, sweep s.t.'	*t'axw*
#_C	(except before other fricatives)			
	/xtá·/	[çʤá·]	'mattress'	*xdaa*
	/xʷtá̓x/	[xʷʤá̓ç]	'to be hungry'	*xwdax*
	/χ̣tá̓x/	[χ̣ʤá̓ç]	'to eat with s.o.'	*χdax*
#_R	(glottalized resonant only)			
	/χ̣ʔn̓á/	[χ̣.ʔn̓á]	'understand s.t. (words, language)'	*χ̣ʔn̓a*
	/xʔn̓úkʷ/	[ç.ʔn̓Ú́k̓ʷ]	'Iknouk' (a river)'	*Xʔn̓ukw*
	/laχ̣ xʔá·t/	[lʌ χ̣ç.ʔá·t̓]	'(an inlet)'	*Laχ̣ X'aat*
VC_V	/ʔá·pxin/	[ʔá·pçɪn]	'to be light(weight)'	*aapxin*
	/ʔá·pχ̣an/	[ʔá·pχ̣ʌ n]	'to nail s.t.'	*t'aapχ̣an*
*C_V	/txáks/	[tʤáks]	'net-float'	*tyaks*
	/tχ̣a.../	[tχ̣a·]	'all ... (prefix)'	*tχ̣aa...*
R_#	/ʔí̓lx/	[ʔí̓lç]	'oolichan grease'	*t'ilx*
	/tí̓lχ̣/	[dí̓lχ̣]	'tongue'	*dilχ*
C_#	/mátx/	[mátç]	'mountain goat'	*matx*
	/ʔʤátχ̣/	[ʔʤátχ̣]	'to patch s.t.'	*k'atχ*

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

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

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

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

The suffix {-ʔx} (7.2.C.2.b.1.c.1.) has the complementary shapes /(C)ʔix/ and /(C)ʔay/ after non-uvulars and uvulars respectively.

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

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

/pxántk^{w}/	[pçántk^{w}, pɣántk^{w}]	'to appear suddenly'	*pyantkw*
/txáks/	[tçáks, tɣáks]	'net-float'	*tyaks*
/ƛipxé·s/	[ƛipçé·s, ƛipɣé·s]	'"lavaberries", stonecrop'	*t'ipyees*

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

/tx̣a·.../	[tx̣a·, t(h)a·]	'all, every ...'	*tx̣aa...*

2.1.B.2.b.1. /x/

/x/ is a voiceless palato-velar fricative.

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

V_V: only in suffixed forms (otherwise, /y/ occurs, **2**.1.B.3.b.1.):

	/lú·xa/	[lʊ́·çᴀ]	'[Is it] alder?'	*Luuxa?*
	/hó·pixiy̓/	[hɔ́·bɪçɪʔɨ]	'my spoon'	*hoobixiý*
V_#	/táx/	[dáç]	'hill'	*dax*
	/hó·pix/	[hɔ́·bɪç]	'spoon'	*hoobix*
	/lú·x/	[lʊ́·ç]	'alder'	*luux*
	/ʔá·t̓ix/	[ʔá·t̓ɪç]	'to touch, sense, guess s.t.'	*aat'ix*
VR_#	/límx/	[límç]	'to sing'	*limx*
	/ʔúlx/	[ʔúlç]	'salmonberry sprouts (a food)'	*ulx*
	/hánx/	[hánç]	'to be thin (not thick)'	*hanx*
VC_#	/mátx/	[mátç]	'mountain goat'	*matx*
VRC_#	/liḳímtx/	[lɪgímtç]	'fleece, wool'	*ligimtx*
	/támtx/	[dámtç]	'fern species'	*damtx*
V_RV	/ʔaxʔáks/	[ʔᴀçʔáks]	'streams'	*ax'aks*
	/mixmá·x(t)/	[mɪçmá·ç]	'(boats, vehicles,) to be loaded'	*mixmaax(t)*

V_CV	/hixkʷáɬt/	[hɪçgʷáʔʌɬt]	'crock'	*hixgwaɬt*
	/tixtitálq/	[dɪçdɪdálqˇ]	'to talk to s.o. (pl.)'	*dixdidalǧ*
	/qaxqé·kskʷ/	[GA çgɛ́·kskʷ]	'to slide on one's rear (pl.)'	*gaxgeekskw*

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

	/xn̓úkʷ/	[ç.n̓úkʷ]	'Iknouk (river)'	*Xn̓ukw*

*_CV	/xpíɬ/	[çpíɬ]	'ten (objects)'	*xbiɬ*
	/xtá·/	[çdá·]	'featherbed, mattress'	*xdaa*

VR_C	/hakimxʔúntkʷ/	[hA gɪmçʔúntkʷ]	'hand-towel'	*hagimx'untkw*
	/qanxtáqs/	[GA nçdáqs]	'sternsheet (?)'	*ganxdaqs*

VC_V in a medial cluster following a stressed vowel: [ç]

/ʔá·pxin/	[ʔá·pçɪn]	'to be light(weight)'	*aapxin*

*C_V [ç] only in very deliberate pronunciation; usually realized as a devoiced [y̨]:

/pxántkʷ/	[py̨ántkʷ]	'to appear suddenly'	*pyantkw*
/txáks/	[ty̨áks]	'net-float'	*tyaks*
/txáy̓tkʷ/	[ty̨áʔʌytkʷ]	'thunder'	*tyay̓tkw*

2.1.B.2.b.2. /Xʷ/

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

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

Like /x/, /xʷ/ does not occur prevocalically; unlike /x/, it can be the initial but not the final member of a consonant cluster.

The labio-velar fricative /xʷ/ contrasts with the other Velar fricatives (see above 2.1.B.2.b.) and finally also with the labio-velar resonants /w/ and /ẘ/:

V_#	/hú·xʷ/	[hʊ́·xʷ]	'saw-whet owl'	*huuxw*
	/tú·ẘ/	[dʊ́·ʔʊ̯̊]	'over there'	*duuẇ*
	/lá·xʷ/	[lá·xʷ]	'trout'	*laaxw*
	/tá·w/	[dá·ʊ̯]	'ice; to be frozen'	*daaw*
	/sitxé·xʷ/	[sɪtɣɛ́·xʷ]	'to change s.t.'	*sityeexw*
	/ʔé·ẘ/	[ʔɛ́·ʔʊ̯̊]	'insides, guts'	*ts'eeẇ*

/xʷ/ occurs only in a few positions:

V_#	/sáxʷ/	[sáxʷ]	'to shake, wave s.t.'	*saxw*
	/hú·xʷ/	[hʊ́·xʷ]	'saw-whet owl'	*huuxw*

V_V: only in suffixed forms:

	/hú·xʷa/	[hʊ́·xʷʌ]	'[Is it] a saw-whet owl?'	*Huuxwa?*
	/ɬú·ʔux̌ʷiẏ/	[ɬʊ́·ʔʊx̌ʷɪʔ̰]	'I treasure it, I cherish h.'	*Hluut'uxwiẏ*
V_CV	/haxʷták̓ʷ/	[hʌ xʷdák̓ʷ]	'bow, yew'	*haxwdak̓w*
	/luxʷtí·tix/	[lʊxʷd̥í·dɪç]	'to be hungry (pl.)'	*luxwdiidix*
V_C#	/ʔáxʷt/	[ʔáxʷt̚]	'porcupine'	*axwt*

	/ʔíˑʔuxʷt/	[ʔíˑʔUxʷt̬]	'men, boys'	*ii'uxwt*

#_C only before stops:

/xʷtákʷ/	[xʷq̓ák̓ʷ]	'to shoot'	*xwdakw*
/xʷtáx/	[xʷq̓áç]	'to be hungry'	*xwdax*

2.1.B.2.b.3. /χ/

/χ/ is a voiceless uvular fricative; it has a wider distribution than /x/ and /xʷ/.

#_V [χ] can occur phonetically in initial position before a vowel, but in this position it seems to always represent an underlying sequence /χh/ (see **2**.1.B.3.b.3.a.):

/χhaʔ/	[χáʔᴬ , x.aʔᴬ]	'(male) slave'	*χha'a*
/χháykʷ/	[χáyk̓ʷ, x.ayk̓ʷ]	'to capsize'	*χháykw*
/χhóʔoks/	[χóʔɔks , χ.óʔɔks]	'(body part) to have a rash'	*χho'oks*

V_V	/q̓alaχan/	[q̓ᴀláχᴀn]	'fence'	*k'alaχan*
	/qé·χan/	[gɛ́·χᴀn]	'to grind, mash s.t.'	*geeχan*
VC_V	/t̓á·pχan/	[t̓á·pχᴀn]	'to nail s.t.'	*t'aapχan*

/χ/ occurs in positions similar to those of the other Velar fricatives, but participates in more clusters.

V_#	/t̓áχ/	[t̓áχ]	'lake'	*t'aχ*
	/q̓óˑχ/	[q̓ɔ́ˑχ]	'to yawn'	*k'ooχ*

#C_V (only where C is /t/)

/tx̣a·.../	[tx̣a·]	'all ... (proclitic)'	*tɣaa...*
/tx̣ux/	[tx̣o̞ç]	'halibut'	*tɣox*
/tx̣ó·x̣kʷ/	[tx̣ɔ́·x̣ḱʷ]	'to eat (pl.)'	*tɣooɣkw*
/tx̣é·msim/	[tx̣ɛ́·msɪm]	(name of the culture hero)	*Tɣeemsim*

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

/tx̣a·.../	[tx̣a·, tʰa·, ta·]	'all...'	*tɣaa...*
/tx̣ó·x̣kʷ/	[txɔ́·x̣ḱʷ, tʰɔ́·x̣ḱʷ, tɔ́·x̣ḱʷ]	'to eat (pl.)'	*tɣooɣkw*

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

/txáks/	[tçáks, tɣ̟áks]	'net-float'	*tyaks*

#_C/#_R This is a very common position because of the prefix {x̣-} 'eating ..., consuming ..., taking one's share of ...' *ɣ...* (7.1.B.2.a.1.a.7.). However, not all words where /x̣/ is the initial member of a cluster start with this prefix.

#_R	/x̣mi:kúnt/	[x̣mi·gʉ́nt̪]	'to eat strawberries'	*ɣmiigunt*

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

/x̣n̓á/	[x̣.n̓á , x̣ʌ n̓á]	'to understand s.t. (words)'	*ɣna*
/x̣ʔaná·x/	[x̣.ʔʌ ná·ç]	'to eat bread'	*ɣ'anaax*

#_C	/x̣táx/	[x̣d̥áç]	'to eat with s.o.'	*x̱dax*
	/x̣k̓ú·ɬkʷ/	[x̣k̓ʊ́·ɬk̓ʷ]	'[s.o.'s] age'	*x̱k'uuhlkw*
#_SR	/x̣sw̓ínq/	[x̣s.w̓ínq̓]	'herring eggs; to eat herring eggs'	*x̱sw̓ink̲*
#_SC	/x̣stá·/	[x̣sd̥á·]	'to win'	*x̱sdaa*
	/x̣sk̓u·sí·t/	[x̣sg̥ʊ·sí·t̓]	'to eat potatoes'	*x̱sguusiit*
	/x̣skʷiné·qs/	[x̣sg̥ʷɪnɛ́·qs]	'to feel cold'	*x̱sgwineek̲s*
	/x̣ɬqáyxʷ/	[x̣ɬɢʌ́yxʷ]	'to sneak up on s.'	*x̱hlgayxw*
VR_#	/tílx̣/	[dílx̣ , dílᴬx̣]	'tongue'	*dilx̱*
	/qínx̣/	[ɢẹ́nx̣ , ɢẹ́nᴬx̣]	'path, road; (tree) to fall'	*genx̱*
VC_#	/hupx̣/	[họ́px.]	'forehead'	*hupx̱*
	/w̓ácx̣/	[w̓áʦx̣]	'otter'	*w̓atsx̱*
	/wítx̣/	[wítx̣]	'food eaten with oolichan grease'	*witx̱*
V_C#	/tx̣ó·x̣kʷ/	[tx̣ɔ́·x̣k̓ʷ]	'to eat (pl.)'	*tx̱oox̱kw*
	/ʔáx̣kʷ/	[ʔáx̣k̓ʷ]	'night'	*ax̱kw*
V_RV	/max̣múxʷ/	[mʌx̣mʊ́xʷ]	'earrings'	*max̱muxw*
	/nax̣ná·x̣/	[nʌx̣ná·x̣]	'duck'	*nax̱naax̱*
	/nax̣ńá/	[nʌx̣ńá]	'to hear s.t.'	*nax̱ńa*
V_CV	/pax̣páx̣/	[bʌx̣b̥áx̣]	'to run uphill'	*bax̱bax̱*
	/qax̣qóʔ/	[ɢʌx̣ɢ̥ɔ́ʔɣ̥]	'to go get s. (pl.)'	*gax̱go'o*
VR_C	/ʔúmx̣kʷ/	[ʔʊ́mx̣k̓ʷ]	'to hate s., not to be able to stand s.'	*umx̱kw*

VS_C	/qísx̣kʷ/	[qésx̣k̓ʷ]	'to stop talking, etc. (= Fr. se taire)'	*qesɣ̱kw*
	/qɬ́xx̣kʷ/	[qɬ́xx̣k̓ʷ]	'to shout, holler'	*qeɬɣ̱kw*
VC_V	/ʔtá·px̣an/	[ʔtá·px̣ʌn]	'to nail s.t.'	*t'aapɣ̱an*
	/kʷálkʷx̣an/	[gʷálkʷx̣ʌn]	'to dry s.t.'	*gwalkwɣ̱an*
VR_SRV	/ʔanx̣snikʷó·tkʷ/	[ʔʌn(ʌ)x̣snɪgʷɔ́·tk̓ʷ]	'adoptive father'	*anɣ̱snigwootkw*
VR_SCSV	/ʔanx̣sksí·skʷ/	[ʔʌn(ʌ)x̣sksí·sk̓ʷ]	'payment made as compensation for a crime'	*anɣ̱ksiiskw*

2.1.B.3. RESONANTS:

Resonants can be divided into *syllabics* (/m//n//l/ and their glottalized counterparts) and *glides* (/w//y//h/ and their glottalized counterparts). Although /h/ and /ʔ/ are realized phonetically as a fricative and a stop respectively, they are included in the inventory of phonological resonants because much of their behavior parallels that of the true glides (similarly in Lillooet). The latter are partly in complementary distribution with Velar fricatives (**2**.1.A.2.b.2.) although some of their behavior is shared with the syllabics.

Non-glottalized syllabic resonants are normally voiced. They are unreleased finally. The non-glottalized glides are rare in final position (where /h/ in particular does not normally appear although it can be postulated for an earlier stage of the language, **10**.2.B.1.c.1.c.2.b.

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

glottalized glides end in a whispered vowel.

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

/c̓ál̓/	[c̓ál̥̓]	'eyes'	*ts'al̓*
/c̓ál̓t/	[c̓áʔᴬlt]	'h. eyes'	*ts'al̓t*
/pc̓áy̓t/	[pt̓s̓áʔᴵ]	'to comb s.t. (one's hair)'	*pts'ay̓*
/pc̓áy̓tkʷ/	[pt̓s̓áʔᴬytk̓ʷ]	'to comb one's hair'	*pts'ay̓tkw*
/tá·w̓ɬ/	[dá·ʔᴬU̯ɬ]	'to leave'	*daaẇihl*
/c̓áw̓qs/	[t̓s̓áʔᴬU̯qs]	'shoes'	*ts'aẇak̲s*

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

/tá·w̓ɬ/	[dá·w̓lɬ]	'to leave'	*daaẇihl*
/c̓áw̓qs/	[t̓s̓áw̓ᴬqs]	'shoes'	*ts'aẇak̲s*

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

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

/limʔó·y̓/	[lɪmʔɔ́·ʔɪ̀]	'traditional funeral song'	*lim'ooy̓*
/ɬim̓ó·l̓/	[ɬɪm̓ɔ́·l̓]	'to wrap s.t.'	*hlim̓ool̓*

Both occur in the next examples (which are fully reduplicated forms, 8.2.B.1.) :

/ʔalʔál̓aq/	[ʔʌlʔál̓ʌq̓]	'to be aggressive, etc. (pl.)'	*al'al̓aḵ*
/ʔanʔún̓s/	[ʔʌnʔÚn̓ɪs]	'sleeve'	*an'un̓s*
/ʔawʔá·w̓iskʷ/	[ʔʌU̯ʔá·w̓ɪsḱʷ]	'to be curly'	*aw'aaẃiskw*

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

/mɔ́ʔn/	[mɔ́ʔɔ́n]	'salt'	*mo'ɔn*
/ʔí:ʔuxʷt/	[ʔí·ʔUxʷt̓]	'men, boys'	*ii'uxwt*

2.1.B.3.a. Syllabics:

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

/lláy̓/	[l·lá·ʔɟ]	'to be large (pl.)'	*llay̓*
/nn̓í·l̓ukʷ/	[n·n̓í·l̓uḱʷ]	'to be long (pl.)'	*nn̓iil̓ukw*

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

/qa+nn̓í·l̓ukʷ+ə/[ɢa.n·n̓í·l̓ʊgʷɪ.../	'the length of ... [several things]'	*gann̓iil̓ugwi...*

Although only unglottalized nasals and liquids can actually have syllabic

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

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

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

#_V	/mítkʷ/	[mítkʷ]	'to be full, plentiful'	*mitkw*
	/m̓ítkʷ/	[m̓ítkʷ]	'to be scattered, in powder form'	*m̓itkw*
	/máskʷ/	[máskʷ]	'to be clay-colored, reddish brown'	*maskw*
	/m̓áskʷ/	[m̓áskʷ]	'to fart'	*m̓askw*
	/múkʷ/	[mʊ́kʷ]	'to be ripe'	*mukw*
	/m̓úkʷ/	[m̓ʊ́kʷ]	'to catch fish'	*m̓ukw*
V_V	/t̓imís/	[t̓ɪmís]	'to write'	*t'imis*
	/tim̓ís/	[dɪm̓ís]	'how much/many'	*dim̓is*
	/ɬimó·mis .../	[ɬɪmó·mɪs]	'[X] ... helped ... [Y]'	*hlimoomis... (X... t ...)*
	/ʔó·m̓is/	[ʔó·m̓ɪs]	'pillowcase'	*oom̓is*
	/ɬimó·m/	[ɬɪmó·m]	'to help s.o.'	*hlimoom*
	/ɬim̓ó·l̓/	[ɬɪm̓ó·l̓]	'to wrap s.'	*hlim̓ool̓*
V_#	/t̓ám/	[t̓ám]	'to write s.t.'	*t'am*
	/tám̓/	[dám̓]	'to press s.t.'	*dam̓*
	/ʔá·m/	[ʔá·m]	'to be good'	*aam*

	/ɬim4á·m̓/	[ɬɪm4á·m̓]	'shin'	*ɬ'imhlaam̓*
V_C	/ɬámtkʷ/	[ɬámtkʷ]	'to be written'	*ɬ'amtkw*
	/tám̓tkʷ/	[dá?ʌmtkʷ]	'to be pressed'	*dam̓tkw*
#S_V	/smáx/	[smáç]	'meat, body, bear'	*smax*
	/sm̓íinc/	[s.m̓íinʦ]	'to shoot at a blaze scar'	*sm̓iints*

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

/m̓íitkʷ/	[m̓íitkʷ]	'to be scattered, in powder form'	*m̓itkw*
/w̓íitkʷ/	[w̓íitkʷ]	'to come (from s.w.) to be back'	*w̓itkw*

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

/m̓íiʔ/ [m̓íiʦ] or /w̓íiʔ/ [w̓íiʦ] 'to be squeezed (between two surfaces, e.g. fingers in a door)' *m̓its' / w̓its'*

/m̓i4í4imks/ [m̓i4í4ɪmks] or /w̓i4í4imks/ [w̓i4í4ɪmks] 'to choke (on liquid)' *m̓ihlihlimks / w̓ihlihlimks*

/lá·m̓i·/ [lá·m̓i·] or /lá·pʔi·/ [lá·pʔi·] 'Hurry up and ...!' *laam̓ii / laap'ii*

2.1.B.3.a.1.a. <u>/m/</u>

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

#_V	/mí·luk^{w}/	[mí:luǩ^{w}]	'to dance'	*miilukw*
	/mó·ɬ/	[mɔ́·ɬ]	'barrel-shaped fish-trap, barrel'	*moohl*
V_V	/ɬimó·m/	[ɬɪmɔ́·m]	'to help s.o.'	*hlimoom*
	/ʔamúk^{w}s/	[ʔᴀ mŰk^{w}s]	'to listen'	*amukws*
V_#	/cám/	[ʤám]	'to boil s.t.'	*jam*
	/k^{w}ó·m/	[g^{w}ɔ́·m]	'dust, ashes'	*gwoom*

#_M Initially before another /m/ or /m̓/ : syllabic realization:

/mmíɬk^{w}/	[m̩míɬǩ^{w}]	'to be lit, shining (star, etc)'	*mmihlkw*
/mm̓á·l/	[m̩m̓á·l]	'canoes'	*mm̓aal*

#C_V (after /s/ or /x̣/)

/smáx/	[smáç]	'meat; body, bear'	*smax*
/x̣miy̓é·n/	[x̣mɪy̓ɛ́·n]	'to smoke'	*x̣miy̓een*
V_C /límx/	[límç]	'to sing'	*limx*
/ʔímɬ/	[ʔímɬ]	'pail'	*imhl*
/qámks/	[GᴀmkS]	'arrowhead'	*gamks*
V_CV /cimcám/	[ʤɪmʤám]	'to boil s.t. (pl.)'	*jimjam*
/ʔamqó·kit/	[ʔᴀ mGɔ́·gɪt̆]	'to be pretty'	*amgoogit*
VC_V /mitmítk^{w}/	[mɪtmítǩ^{w}]	'to be full, plentiful (pl.)'	*mitmitkw*
/max̣múx^{w}/	[mᴀ x̣mŰx^{w}]	'earrings'	*max̣muxw*
V_CC /ƛ̓ámtk^{w}/	[ƛ̓ámtǩ^{w}]	'to be written'	*ƛ'amtkw*

	/wóʔomɬkʷ/	[wɔ́ʔɔmɬk̓ʷ]	'hanging cradle'	*wo'omhlkw*

2.1.B.3.a.1.b. /m̓/

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

#_V	/m̓á·l/	[m̓á·l]	'canoe'	*ṁaal*
	/m̓ó·c̓iks/	[m̓ɔ́·t̓sɪks]	'breast; (baby) to nurse'	*ṁoots'iks*
	/m̓úkʷ/	[m̓ʊ́k̓ʷ]	'to catch fish'	*ṁukw*
V_V	/ʔó·m̓is/	[ʔɔ́·m̓ɪs]	'pillowcase'	*ooṁis*
	/ham̓ó·q/	[hʌm̓ɔ́·q̓]	'cow parsnip'	*haṁook̲*
V_#	/tám̓/	[dám̓]	'to press s.t.'	*daṁ*
	/wánsim̓/	[wʌ́nsɪm̓]	'Sit down! (pl)'	*wansiṁ*
#R_V	Only after /m/ in reduplicated forms:			
	/mm̓á·l/	[m̩m̓á·l]	'canoes'	*mṁaal*
#S_V	/sm̓ínc/	[s.m̓ínt̓s]	'to shoot at a blaze scar'	*sṁints*

V_C(#) only if the C is (part of) an inflectional suffix:

	/t̓imɬá·m̓t/	[t̓ɪmɬá·ʔʌmt̓]	'h. leg'	*t'imhlaaṁt*
	/kóm̓sim̓/	[gɔ́ʔɔ́msɪm̓]	'Go ahead! (pl)'	*Goṁsiṁ!*
VR_V	/ʔamm̓á·l/	[ʔʌmm̓á·l]	'cottonwood'	*amṁaal*
	/qanm̓ó·c̓iks/	[gʌnm̓ɔ́·t̓sɪks]	'baby bottle'	*ganṁoots'iks*

VC_V	/m̓itm̓ítkʷ/	[m̓ɪtm̓ɪtk̓ʷ]	'to be scattered, in powder form (pl.)'	*m̓itm̓itkw*
V_CC	/timtám̓tkʷ/	[dɪmdáʔᴬ mtk̓ʷ]	'to be pressed, squeezed (pl.)'	*dimdam̓tkw*

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

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

#_V	/naχ̣/	[náχ̣]	'snowshoes'	*naχ̣*
	/n̓aχ̣/	[n̓aχ̣]	'bait'	*n̓aχ̣*
	/nó·m̓/	[nɔ́·m̓]	'our mother'	*noom̓*
	/n̓ú·m̓/	[n̓ú·m̓]	'us'	*n̓uum̓*
V_V	/sḳinist/	[sgɪnist]	'pine'	*sginist*
	/sqan̓ist/	[sgᴀ n̓ist]	'mountain'	*sgan̓ist*
V_#	/qin/	[gɛ́n]	'skunk'	*gen*
	/qin̓/	[gɛ́n̓]	'to chew (s.t.)'	*gen̓*
V_C	/tá·pχ̣anskʷ/	[t̓á·pχ̣ᴀ nsk̓ʷ]	'nail'	*t'aapχ̣anskw*
	/tá·pχ̣an̓skʷ/	[t̓á·pχ̣ᴀ ʔn̥sk̓ʷ]	'to nail, to do the nailing'	*t'aapχ̣an̓skw*
	/kintkʷ/	[gintk̓ʷ]	'to be fed [s.t.], to be given s.t. to eat'	*gintkw*
	/qin̓tkʷ/	[gɛ́ʔn̥tk̓ʷ]	'to be chewed'	*gen̓tkw*

In the speech of Kincolith, the glottalized nasal /n̓/ is sometimes replaced by the glottalized lateral /l̓/ before an unstressed vowel. This occurs especially with the proclitic /n̓i·/ 'down on ...' *n̓ii...*, Kincolith /l̓i·/ (Boas' transcriptions, recorded in Kincolith, consistently show <li:>; as McCullagh also uses the

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

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

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

#_V	/né·q/	[nɛ́·q̓]	'hooves'	*neek̲*
	/nóʔ/	[nɔ́ʔɣ]	'hole, to have a hole'	*no'o*
V_V	/ʔanó·q/	[ʔʌ nɔ́·q̓]	'to like, approve of s.'	*anook̲*
	/ná·naχ/	[ná·nʌ χ]	'pairs of snowshoes'	*naanax̲*
	/tiní·/	[dɪní·]	'Athapaskans (Déné)'	*Dinii*
V_#	/qán/	[ɢʌ́ n]	'tree, log, wood'	*gan*
	/hó·n/	[hɔ́·n]	'fish, esp. salmon'	*hoon*
	/si·lín/	[si:lín]	'to chase, go after s.'	*siilin*
#_C	only before /t/ in two related words:			
	/ntá/	[ndá]	'place, which way'	*nda*
	/nté·ʔ/	[ndɛ́·ʔɛ̰]	'"Pass the ..."'	*Ndee'e ...*
#_R	only before another /n/ or /n̓/ in reduplicated forms:			
	/nn̓ī·ʔukʷ/	[n̩n̓ī·ʔuk̓ʷ]	'to be long (pl)'	*nn̓iiʔukw*
#S_	/snáχ/	[snáχ]	'hawthorn berries'	*snax̲*
V_C#	/sqáns/	[sɢ̥áns]	'elbow'	*sgans*
	/qínχ/	[gẹ́n(ʌ)χ]	'path, road; (tree) to fall'	*genx̲*
	/sínt/	[sínt̓]	'summer'	*sint*

V_CC#	/ɬíntx/	[ɬíntç]	'to be angry, mad'	*hlintx*
	/ɬántkʷ/	[ɬántk̂ʷ]	'to sway, move in one spot'	*hlantkw*
V_CV	/ɬinɬíntx/	[ɬɪnɬíntç]	'to be angry (pl.)'	*hlinhlintx*
	/sinhó·n/	[sɪnhɔ́·n]	'to go after fish'	*sinhoon*
VC_V	/naxná·x/	[nʌ xná·ẋ]	'duck'	*naxnaax*

2.1.B.3.a.2.b. /n̊/

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

#_V	/n̊áx/	[n̊áx]	'bait'	*ṅax*
	/n̊úẘ/	[n̊Úʔʊ̥]	'to die, be dead'	*ṅuẇ*
	/n̊íks/	[n̊íks]	'to claim s.t.'	*ṅiks*
V_V	/sqan̊ist/	[sɢʌ n̊íst]	'mountain'	*sgaṅist*
	/han̊i·t̊á·/	[hʌ n̊i·t̊a·]	'chair'	*haṅiit'aa*
	/sin̊áʔaskʷ/	[sɪn̊áʔask̂ʷ]	'to bait one's traps'	*siṅa'askw*
V_#	/qín̊/	[ɢẹ́n̊]	'to chew (s.t.)'	*geṅ*

*R_V only after /n/ as a result of reduplication:

	/nn̊i·t̊á·/	[n̩n̊i·t̊á·]	'to be sitting (on s.t.)'	*nṅiit'aa*
*C_V	/xn̊a·.../	[x.n̊á]	'to understand s.t. (words)'	*xṅa*
	/xɬn̊a·.../	[xɬn̊a·]	'(proc.) trying to be inconspicuous'	*xhlṅaa...*
V_C(*)	/qín̊t/	[ɢẹ́ʔn̩t̂]	'Chew it!'	*Geṅt!*

	/qín̓taχ/	[Gẹ́ʔn̩dʌ χ̣]	'to chew food for s.o.'	*geńdax̱*
	/ʔanʔún̓s/	[ʔʌ nʔÚʔn̩s]	'sleeve'	*an'uńs*
VC_V	/naχn̓á·/	[nʌ χ̣n̓á]	'to hear s.t.'	*nax̱ńa*
V_CC	/si·lín̓skʷ/	[si:líʔn̩sḱʷ]	'to hunt'	*siiliṅskw*

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

The two laterals /l/ and /l̓/ contrast in non-initial positions; /l̓/ does not occur in initial position except in the interjection /l̓é/. However, in Kincolith speech it occurs before unstressed vowels in some forms where other speakers have /n̓/ (see remark under **2**.1.B.3.a.2.).

V_V	/ʔalískʷ/	[ʔʌ lískʷ]	'to be weak'	*aliskw*
	/qal̓ískʷ/	[Gʌ l̓ískʷ]	'to let go'	*galiskw*
	/mí·lukʷ/	[mí·lUḱʷ]	'to dance'	*miilukw*
	/nn̓í·l̓ukʷ/	[n̩n̓í·l̓Uḱʷ]	'to be long (pl.)'	*nńiil̓ukw*
V_#	/č̓ál/	[tš̓ál]	'to fillet salmon; half-smoked salmon fillets'	*ts'al*
	/č̓ál̓/	[tš̓ál̓]	'eyes, face'	*ts'al̓*
V_C#	/síls .../	[síls]	'(X) is drunk'	*... sils...(X)*
	/síl̓s/	[síʔɪ̯ls]	'to spin yarn'	*sil̓s*
V_CC	/ḳílskʷ/	[gílsḱʷ]	'to moan'	*gilskw*
	/ḳíl̓skʷ/	[gíʔɪ̯lsḱʷ]	'to pick, gather (berries, clams, etc.)'	*gil̓skw*

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

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

#_V	/lá·n/	[lá·n]	'fish eggs'	*laan*
	/lílkʷs/	[líɬkʷs]	'to steal'	*lilkws*
	/lú·c/	[lÚ·ʂ]	'(hair, fur) to fall, shed'	*luuts*
V_V	/milít/	[mɪlít̚]	'steelhead'	*milit*
	/qaná·lukʷ/	[ɢA ná·lUk̟ʷ]	'sparks'	*ganaalukw*
	/wilá·x/	[wɪlá·ç]	'to know s.'	*wilaax*
V_#	/ptál/	[pdál]	'ribs; to rise'	*pdal*
	/ʔúl/	[ʔúl]	'black bear'	*ul*
	/lipwé·l/	[lɪpwé·l]	'frying-pan'	*lipweel*

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

/pláskʷ/	[pl̥áskʷ, pɬáskʷ]	'to be tired'	*plaskw*
/χlíl̓/	[χ̟l̥íl̓, χ̟ɬíl̓]	'to be delicious'	*xlil'*
/χlip.../	[χ̟l̥ɪp, χ̟ɬɪp]	'(proc.) at the tip'	*xlip...*

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

/kʷɬi· .../	[kʷɬi·, kʷli·]	'(proc) all over ...'	*kwhlii...*

#_R/#R_ only before or after another /l/ in reduplication:

	/l̓il̓ik^{w}s/	[l̥il̓ik^{w}s]	'to be stealing, to always steal'	*lil̓ik̓ws*
V_C#	/kál̓s/	[gʸál̓s]	'mussels'	*gal̓s*
	/k^{w}al̓k^{w}/	[g^{w}al̓k̓^{w}]	'to be dry'	*gʷal̓k̓ʷ*
	/č̓iml̓ilx/	[ʦ̓ɪml̓ilç]	'beaver'	*ts̓il̓ilx*
VR_V	/ʔall̓isk^{w}/	[ʔA ll̓isk̓^{w}]	'to be weak (pl.)'	*all̓isk̓w*
	/saqanl̓ak^{w}s/	[sA GA nl̓ak^{w}s]	'woodpile'	*saganl̓ak̓ws*
V_RV	/ʔalʔal̓aq/	[ʔA lʔal̓A q̓]	'to show anger aggressivenes, determination, (pl.)'	*al̓al̓aq̓*
V_CV	/m̓ilm̓al̓/	[m̓ɪlm̓al̓]	'to button s.t. (pl.)'	*m̓il̓m̓al*
VC_V	/liple·t/	[lɪplɛ́·t]	'priest'	*lipleet*
V_CC#	/ptal̓tk^{w}/	[pg̓al̓tk̓^{w}]	'to climb'	*pdal̓tk̓w*
	/tx̣al̓px̣/	[tx̣al̓px̣]	'four [non-humans]'	*tx̣al̓px̣*
V_C#	/lal̓t/	[lal̓t̓]	'worm, snake'	*lal̓t*

2.1.B.3.a.3.b. /l̓/

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

V_V	/qate·l̓ip/	[GA dɛ·l̓ɪp̓]	'anchor'	*gadeel̓ip*
	/ʔal̓aq/	[ʔal̓A q̓]	'to show anger, determination, agressiveness'	*al̓al̓aq̓*
	/pil̓ist/	[bɪl̓ist]	'star'	*bil̓ist*

V_#	/lé·l̓/	[lɛ́·l̓]	'to forbid s.o. to do sthg'	*leel̓*
	/c̓ál̓/	[ʦ̓ál̓]	'eyes, face'	*ts'al̓*
V_C#	/c̓íl̓t/	[ʦ̓íʔɪlt̓]	'mittens, gloves'	*ts'il̓t*
	/q̓ó·l̓t/	[q̓ɔ́·ʔɔlt̓]	'six (non-humans)'	*k̲'ool̓t*
	/ḳstú·l̓t/	[ksd̥ʊ́ʔʊlt̓]	'tears'	*ksduul̓t*
V_CV	/líl̓kit/	[líʔlkɪt̓]	'feast, to hold a feast'	*lil̓git*
	/haɬál̓sisim̓/	[hʌɬáʔʌlsɪsɪm̓]	'"Work!" (pl.)'	*Hahlal̓sisim̓!*
	/q̓o·l̓tó·l/	[q̓ɔ·ʔɔldɔ́·l]	'six (humans)'	*k̲'ool̓dool*
V_CC#	/yòʔoksc̓ál̓tkʷ/	[yɔ́ʔɔksʦ̓ʌ́ʔʌlt̓k̓ʷ]	'to wash one's face'	*yo'oksts'al̓tkw*
VC_V	/qal̓ixl̓ítit/	[ɢʌl̓ɪxl̓íd̥it̓]	's/he dropped them'	*gal̓ix̲l̓idit*

2.1.B.3.b. Glides:

The plain glides /y/ and /w/ have glottalized counterparts /y̓/ and /w̓/.

Glottalized /y̓/ and /w̓/ each have two basic allophones;

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

/y̓áns/	[y̓áns]	'leaf, blade of grass'	*y̓ans*
/w̓á/	[w̓á]	'to obtain, find, reach s.'	*w̓a*

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

high voiceless echo vowel with the same place of articulation as the resonant. [I̥] for /y̌/, [U̥] for /w̌/, for instance:

/má·y̌/	[má:ʔɪ̥]	'berries'	*maaẏ*
/tú·w̌/	[dú:ʔʊ̥]	'over there'	*duuẇ*

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

/ʔanqaḳí·y̌ɬ .../ʔA nGA gí:ʔɪ̥ɬ]	'on this side of ...'	*angagiiẏhl...*
/ʔanqatú·w̌ɬ .../ [ʔA nGA dú:ʔʊ̥ɬ]	'on the far side of ...'	*angaduuẇhl...*

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

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

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

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

#_V	/yím/	[yím]	'to sniff or smell s.t.' *yim*

	/ɣ̌im/	[ɣ̌ím]	'porcupine quills'	*ẏim*
V_V	/wʔi· yé·n/	[wʔi: yɛ́·n]	'large cloud'	*ẇii yeen*
	/miɣ̌é·n/	[miɣ̌ɛ́·n]	'smoke'	*miẏeen*

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

/láɣ̌/	[lá^{ʔ}ɬ]	'to be large'	*laẏ*
/láx/	[láç]	'fur, body hair'	*lax*
/limʔó·ɣ̌/	[lɪmʔó·ɣ̌]	'traditional funeral song'	*lim'ooẏ*
/mó·x/	[mɔ́·ç]	'to act like s.o.'	*moox*

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

/ʔasáɣ̌/	[ʔʌ sáʔɬ]	'foot, leg'	*asaẏ*
/sák̓/	[sák̓^{ʏ}]	'to stretch'	*sak'*

and the glottal stop /ʔ/:

/ʔasáɣ̌/	[ʔʌ sáʔɬ]	'foot, leg'	*asaẏ*
/paʔ/	[baʔʌ]	'thigh'	*ba'a*

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

/y/ is a palatal resonant, normally voiced.

#_V	/yípx̣/	[yípx̣]	'slime, gravy'	*yipx*
	/yú·x̣kʷ/	[yʊ́·x̣k̓ʷ]	'to eat'	*yuux̣kw*
	/yáxʷ/	[yáxʷ]	'to hide (s.t.)'	*yaxw*

V_V	/m̓iyáɬ/	[m̓ɪyáɬ]	'blueberry sp.'	*míyahl*
	/piyó·skʷ/	[bɪyɔ́·sk̟ʷ]	'mosquito, black fly'	*biyooskw*
	/ʔantú·yin/	[ʔᴀ ndÚ·yɪn]	'garden'	*anduuyin*

V_* /y/ does not occur word-finally except after unstressed vowel. in the suffix **{-ʔx}** which occurs as /(C)ʔay/ after uvulars (7.2.C.2.b.1.c.1.):

	/maχmáq̓ay/	[mᴀ χmáq̓ᴀ y]	'rainbow'	*maxmak'ay*
V_C(C)*	/ɬáyχ/	[ɬáyχ]	'sour berries preserved in oolichan grease and water'	*hlayx*
	/táyks/	[dáyks]	'"Indian ice-cream" (soapberries whipped with snow)'	*dayks*
	/q̓apq̓úyp/	[q̓ᴀ pq̓ǫ́yp̓]	'bunchberries'	*k'apk'oyp*
	/c̓aʔúyxʷ/	[ʦ̓ᴀ ʔǫ́yxʷ]	'(place) underground'	*ts'a'uyxw*
V_CV	/qúyp̓aχ/	[qǫ́yp̓ᴀ χ]	'light; to be bright'	*goyp'ax*
VR_V	/hinyánc̓iks/	[hɪnyánʦ̓ɪks]	'to tickle s.o.'	*hinyants'iks*
	/qalyín/	[qᴀ lyín]	'to go into a house secretly, usually for nefarious purposes'	*galyin*
S_V	/syáx/	[sɣáç]	'to be scorched'	*syax*
	/hasyáyks/	[hᴀ sɣáyks]	'swallow'	*hasyayks*

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

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

2.1.B.3.b.1.b. /ɣ̓/

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

#_V	/ɣ̓ímq/	[ɣ̓ímq̓]	'whiskers, beard'	*ýimk̓*
	/ɣ̓úxʷ/	[ɣ̓úxʷ]	'to fish with a line'	*ýuxw*
	/ɣ̓áq/	[ɣ̓áq̓]	'to hang (s.t.)'	*ýak̓*
V_V	/miɣ̓é·n/	[mɪɣ̓é·n]	'smoke'	*miýeen*
V_#	/ʔasáɣ̓/	[ʔʌ sáʔɪ̓]	'foot, leg'	*asaý*
	/cí·ɣ̓/	[ʤí·ʔɪ̓]	'partitions in a canoe'	*jiiý*
	/limʔó·ɣ̓/	[lɪmʔɔ́·ʔɪ̓]	'traditional lament'	*lim'ooý*
#S_V	/sɣ̓é·n/	[s.yé·n]	'bottom (of a boat or container)'	*sýeen*
	/ɬɣ̓ó·n/	[ɬ.ɣ̓ɔ́·n]	'tanned elk hide'	*hlýoon*
VR_V	/q̓amɣ̓é·n/	[q̓ʌ m.ɣ̓é·n]	'toilet paper'	*k̓'amýeen*
VC_V	/m̓aχɣ̓imq(t)/	[m̓aχɣ̓imq̓(t)]	'bearded, wearing a moustache'	*m̓axýimk̓(t)*
	/lisɣ̓é·n/	[lɪs.ɣ̓é·n]	'mink'	*lisýeen*
V_C(C)#	/kíɣ̓t/	[gíʔɪt̓]	'here'	*giýt*
	/sáɣ̓s/	[saʔʌ ys]	'pilings'	*saýs*
	/skʷá·ɣ̓tkʷ/	[sgʷáʔʌ ytk̓ʷ]	'to rest'	*sgwaaýtkw*
V_CV	/háɣ̓taχ/	[háʔɪdʌ χ]	'Haida(s)'	*Haýdax*

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

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

#_V	/wá/	[wá]	'name'	*wa*
	/wʔá/	[wʔá]	'to find, reach s.'	*ẇa*
V_V	/siwá/	[sɪwá]	'to name s.'	*siwa*
	/ksiwʔá/	[ksɪwʔá]	'to find out s.t.'	*ksiẇa*
	/tá·wa/	[dá·wʌ]	'Is it ice? Is it frozen?'	*Daawa?*
	/qaná·wʔa/	[ɢʌ ná·wʔʌ]	'Is it a frog?'	*Ǥanaaẇa?*
V_#	/tá·w/	[dá·u̯]	'ice, to be frozen'	*daaw*
	/qaná·wʔ/	[ɢʌ ná·ʔu̯]	'frog, toad'	*ganaaẇ*
	/ké·w/	[gʸɛ́·u̯]	'below the houses, down by the river'	*geew*
	/čé·wʔ/	[tʔɛ́·ʔu̯]	'insides, guts'	*ts'eeẇ*

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

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

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

#_V	/wílp/	[wílp̓]	'house'	*wilp*
	/wóq/	[wɔ́q̓]	'to sleep'	*wok*
	/wilá·x/	[wɪlá·ç]	'to know s.'	*wilaax*
V_V	/huwílp/	[hʊwílp̓]	'houses'	*huwilp*

	/wó·waq/	[wɔ́·wʌq̓]	'to sleep (pl.)'	*woowak*
	/ta·wé/	[dá·wɛ́]	'mountain sheep'	*daawe*
#S_	/swán/	[swán]	'to blow on s.t.'	*swan*
VR_V	/wɪlwálx/	[wɪlwálç]	'to carry s.t. (pl.) on one's back'	*wilwalx*
VC_V	/waχwóq/	[wʌχwɔ́q̓]	'bat'	*woxwok*

Syllable-finally, it has a vocalic realization:

V_#	/ké·w/	[gʸɛ́·ʊ̯]	'below the houses, down by the river'	*geew*
	/tá·w/	[dá·ʊ̯]	'ice; to be frozen'	*daaw*
V_C#	/ʔáws/	[ʔʌ́ʊ̯s]	'sand'	*aws*
V_CV	/qáwsukʷ/	[gʌ́ʊ̯sʊk̓ʷ]	'to be quiet'	*gawsukw*
	/q̓awq̓á·w/	[q̓ʌ ʊ̯q̓á·ʊ̯]	'crow'	*k'awk'aaw*

2.1.B.3.2.b.2. /ẇ/

/ẇ/ is a glottalized labiovelar resonant, voiceless.

#_V	/ẇé·n/	[ẇɛ́·n]	'teeth; fisher'	*ẇeen*
	/ẇá·k/	[ẇá·k̓ʸ]	'young (of a large animal), calf, cub'	*ẇaak*
	/ẇó?/	[ẇɔ́ʔɣ̓]	'to call, invite s.o.'	*ẇo'o*
V_V	/siẇé·ntkʷs/	[sɪẇɛ́·ntkʷs]	'dentures'	*siẇeentkws*
	/miẇácx̣/	[mɪẇátsx̣]	'to be naughty, crazy'	*miẇatsx*

V_#	/xpá·w̓/	[ɕpá·ʔ$^{\text{U}}_{\text{ʕ}}$]	'jaw'	*xbaaẇ*
	/n̓úw̓/	[n̓úʔ$^{\text{U}}_{\text{ʕ}}$]	'to die, be dead'	*ǵuẇ*
	/c̓é·w̓/	[ʦ̓ɛ́·ʔ$^{\text{U}}_{\text{ʕ}}$]	'insides, guts'	*ts'eeẇ*
*CS_V	/x̣sw̓inq/	[x̣s.w̓ín̓q]	'herring eggs'	*x̣sẇin̲k̲*
VC_V	/hisw̓é·skʷ/	[hɪsw̓ɛ́·sk̓ʷ]	'to show off'	*hisẇeeskʷ*
	/w̓itw̓á/	[w̓ɪtw̓á]	'to find, reach s. (pl.)'	*ẇitẇa*
V_CV	/háw̓ʔin/	[háʔ$^{\text{U}}_{\text{ʕ}}$ɪn, háw̓ɪʔɪn]	'to put a stop to s.t.'	*haẇt'in*
V_C#	/tá·w̓ɬ/	[dá·ʔ$^{\text{A U}}_{\text{ʕ}}$ɬ , dá·w̓ɪɬ]	'to leave'	*daaẇihl*
	/táw̓ɬ/	[dáʔ$^{\text{A U}}_{\text{ʕ}}$ɬ , dáw̓ɪɬ]	'early (in the morning)'	*daẇihl*
V_CC#	/c̓áv̓qs/	[ʦ̓áʔ$^{\text{A U}}_{\text{ʕ}}$qs, ʦ̓áw̓$_{\text{A}}$qs]	'shoes'	*ts'aẇa̲k̲s*

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

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

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

The glottals /h/ and /ʔ/ contrast prevocalically:

#_V	/ĥi·.../	[hi·]	'(pref.) going to ... (a place)'	*hii-...*
	/ʔi·.../	[ʔi:]	'and then ...'	*ii...*
	/ĥáp/	[hápˀ]	'to cover, clamp on, jump on s.t.'	*hap*
	/ʔáp/	[ʔápˀ]	'bee, wasp'	*ap*
	/ĥá·t/	[há·t̚]	'guts, intestines'	*haat*
	/ʔá·t/	[ʔá·t̚]	'fishnet; to fish [w. a net]'	*aat*
V_V	/qaĥá·tti·t/	[GA há·tɗi·t̚]	'their guts'	*gahaatdiit*
	/qaʔá·tti·t/	[GA ʔá·tɗi·t̚]	'their nets'	*ga'aatdiit*
	/tiĥú·t/	[dɪhʊ́·t̚]	'to take s.t.(pl.) and run away with them'	*dihuut*
	/siʔú·t/	[sɪʔʊ́·t̚]	'to bake potatoes'	*si'uut*

V_# There is no contrast in final position, where /h/ does not occur, but /ʔ/ contrasts with a plain vocalic ending:

/yáʔ/	[yáʔA]	'spring salmon'	*ya'a*
/... yá/	[yá]	'... said ...' (used in quotes)	*ya*
/ná·ʔ/	[ná·ʔA]	'Mom'	*Naa'a*
/ná·/	[ná·]	'Who?'	*Naa ...*
/sóʔ/	[sóʔˀ]	'(to take) food home from a feast'	*so'o*
/kʷa·só/	[gʷa·só]	'pig'	*gwaaso*

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

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

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

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

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

	/hátiks/	[hádɪks]	'to swim'	*hadiks*
	/ɦé·ɋal/	[hɛ́·ɋʌl]	'to insist, to urge'	*heeɣ'al*
	/hó·n/	[hɔ́·n]	'fish, esp. salmon'	*hoon*
	/hú·xʷ/	[hʊ́·xʷ]	'sawwhet owl'	*huuxw*

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

V_V	/ʔahá·/	[ʔʌ há·]	'what a sight! (interjection used for the beauties of nature)'	*ahaa*
	/sihó·n/	[sɪhɔ́·n]	'to catch and process fish'	*sihoon*

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

/haʔni·ɬá·/	[hʌ ʔni·ɬá·]	'chair'	*haʔiit'aa*
/laχ haʔni·ɬá·/	[lʌ χʌ ʔni·ɬá·]	'on the chair'	*laɣ haʔiit'aa*

/hahé·/ [hʌ hɛ́·] 'to be speaking, making a noise' *hahee*

/Máry+ hahè·t/ [Máry+ʌ hɛ̀·t] "Mary speaking (on the phone)" *Maryhl haheet*

/huwíl/ [hʊwíl] 'to be (somewhere)' *huwil*
/nta wil huwílin/ [ndáwɪlʊwílɪn] 'Where are you?' *Nda wil huwilin?*

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

C_C After a stop, /h/ is fully audible: less so after a fricative:

/hathátiks/ [hathádɪks] 'to swim (pl.)' *hathadiks*
/haphap/ [haphap] 'to cover, clamp on, jump on s.t.(pl.)' *haphap*

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

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

/haxhó·x/	[hʌ ç.ɔ́·ç]	'to wear, use s.t. (pl.)'	*haxhoox*
	(full reduplication on /hó·x/ [hɔ́·ç] 'to use, wear s.t.' *hoox*)		
/qanháč̓aʔ/	[Gʌ n.áʧʌ ʔʌ̥]	'clothespin'	*ganhats'a'a*
	(prefix on /háč̓aʔ/ [háʧʌ ʔʌ̥] 'to bite' *hats'a'a*)		
/q̓anhíx/	[q̓ʌ n.íç]	'edible pine-bark'	*ḵ'anhix*
		(prefix on /híx/ [hɪç] 'fat' *hix*)	

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

/x̣hó·n/	[x̣.ɔ́·n]	'to eat fish'	*x̱hoon*
/x̣háykʷ/	[x̣.áyḱʷ]	'to capsize'	*x̱haykw*

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

	[q̓ʌɬÚmq̓]	'to swallow s.t. at one gulp'	*ḵ'ahlumḵ'* prob. from /q̓aɬhúmq̓/
	[hʌɬÚƛ̓ʌqɬḱʷ]	'to boil'	*hahl(h)utl'aḵhlkw*
		(reduplicated form /haɬ)húƛ̓aqɬkʷ/)	

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

/ʔanúɬ/	[ʔʌ nÚɬ]	'drum'	*anuhl*
		(prob. from /ʔanhúɬ/ cf. C.T. *nahool* [nʌ hɔ́·ɬ])	

/hakʷilúxʷ/	[hʌgʷɪlŰxʷ]	'rope' (C.T. *hagwilhuxw*)	*hagwiluxw*
/qanáta/	[GA nádA]	'Frog-Raven clan' (Boas ‹Ganhada›)	*Ganada*

2.1.B.3.b.3.b. /ʔ/

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

#_V	/ʔá·t/	[ʔá·t̰]	'fishnet; to fish with a net'	*aat*
	/ʔús/	[ʔŰs]	'dog'	*us*
	/ʔí·c/	[ʔí·ʦ]	'to fry, iron s.t.'	*iits*
V_V	/q̰aʔít/	[q̰aʔít̰]	'dog salmon'	*k'a'it*
	/haʔí·c̰aʔ/	[hʌ ʔí·ʦʌ ʔʌ]	'an iron'	*ha'iits'a'a*
	/ʔí·ʔuxʷt/	[ʔí·ʔŰxʷt̰]	'men, boys'	*ii'uxwt*
VR_V	/ʔalʔálkaχ̣/	[ʔʌ lʔálgʸʌ χ̣]	'to speak (pl.)'	*al'algax*
	/ʔanʔánkʷs/	[ʔʌ nʔánkʷs]	'to be cooked, baked, done (pl.)'	*an'ankws*
VC_V	/ʔasʔús/	[ʔʌ sʔŰs]	'dogs'	*as'us*
	/ʔatʔá·c̰iq̣skʷ/	[ʔʌ tʔá·c̰ɪkskʷ]	'to come, arrive (pl.)'	*at-aat'ikskw*
	/laχ̣ʔú/	[lʌ χ̣ʔŰ]	'top surface (of s.t.)'	*lax'u*

#C_V This occurs after consonantal prefixes. The presence of /ʔ/ causes slight lengthening of the preceding Velar fricative:

/x̱ʔaná·x/	[x̱.ʔʌ ná·ç]	'to eat bread'	*x'anaax*
/x̱ʔú·t/	[x̱.ʔú·t̠]	'to eat baked potatoes'	*x'uut*
/x̱sʔiɬé·ʔetkʷs/	[x̱s.ʔɪɬé·ʔɛtkʷs]	'(hair) to be red'	*xs'ihlee'etkws*
/lax̱ xʔá·t/	[lʌ x̱ ç.ʔá·t̠]	'Observatory Inlet'	*Lax x'aat*

V_# A voiceless copy vowel is added after final post-vocalic /ʔ/.

/ʔé·ʔ/	[ʔé·ʔɛ̥]	'yes'	*ee'e*
/ptóʔ/	[pd̥óʔɔ̥]	'door'	*pdo'o*
/t̠áʔ/	[t̠áʔʌ̥]	'to clap; to pat or slap s.t.'	*t'a'a*

and also in preresonantal and preconsonantal position:

V_R	/móʔn/	[móʔɔn]	'salt'	*mo'on*
V_C	/lóʔp/	[lóʔɔp]	'stone, rock'	*lo'op*
	/káʔɬ/	[gʸáʔaɬ]	'Look! (lit. see the ...)'	*Ga'ahl!*
V_CC	/yóʔks/	[yóʔɔks]	'to wash s.t.'	*yo'oks*
	/káʔskʷ/	[gʸáʔaskʷ]	'to look (around)'	*ga'askw*

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

V_CC	/yóʔks/	[yɔ́ʔɔ́ks]	'to wash s.t.'	*yo'oks*
	/káʔskʷ/	[gʸáʔᵃskʷ]	'to look (around)'	*ga'askw*

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

2.2. VOWELS.

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

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

/i /contrasts with /i·/:

/ʔís/	[ʔís]	'soapberries'	*is*
/ʔí·s/	[ʔí·s]	'urine; to' urinate'	*iis*
/č̃ip/	[tš̃íp̊]	'bone'	*ts'ip*
/č̃i·p/	[tš̃i·p̊]	'to close one's eyes; to tie s.t. w. a knot'	*ts'iip*
/pil̃ist/	[bɪl̃ist]	'star'	*bil̓ist*
/pi·l̃ist/	[bi·l̃ist]	'stars'	*biil̓ist*

NISGHA VOWELS

Long:

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

Short:

	Front	Back
High	i	u
Mid	e	o
Low	a	

/u/ contrasts with /u·/:

/ʔúl/	[ʔŰl]	'black bear'	*ul*
/ʔú·l/	[ʔŰ·l]	'baby clam'	*uul*
/lúkʷs .../	[lŰkʷs]	'(X)...'s belongings'	*lukws... (X)*
/lú·kʷs/	[lŰ·kʷs]	'bundle of forty dried fish'	*luukws*
/ḵún/	[gŰn]	'this'	*gun*
/ḵú·n̓/	[gŰ·n̓]	'now, today'	*guun̓*
/ḵ̓utáƛ̓/	[ḵ̓Udáƛ̓]	'coat'	*k'udats'*
/lu·qác/	[lU·gáƛ̓]	'(liquid) to be in s.t.'	*luugats*

/a/ contrasts with /a·/

/páɬ/	[báɬ]	'to be spread flat, smooth (e.g. blanket)'	*bahl*
/pá·ɬ/	[bá·ɬ]	'to cut open s.t. (an animal)'	*baahl*
/ptál/	[pq̓ál]	'(water) to rise; ribs'	*pdal*
/ptá·l/	[pq̓á·l]	'to flood'	*pdaal*
/hátiḵs/	[hádɪks]	'to swim'	*hadiks*
/há·tiḵs/	[há·dɪks]	'raw hemlock cambium'	*haadiks*
/hanáq̓/	[hʌ náq̓]	'woman'	*hanak'*
/ha·náq̓/	[ha·náq̓]	'women'	*haanak'*

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

/ʔéẋ/	[ʦ́ɛẋ]	'mountain juniper'	*ts'eɣ*
/ʔé·q̓/	[ʦ́ɛ·q̓]	'to be deaf; pus from the ears'	*ts'eeɣ'*
/yéʔ/	[yɛ́ʔɣ]	'Grandfather!'	*Ye'e*
/yé·/	[yɛ́·]	'to go, walk'	*yee*

/o/ contrasts with /o·/:

/ʔóq/	[ʔɔ́q̓]	'to claw at s.t.'	*t'oɣ*
/ʔó·q/	[ʔɔ́·q̓]	'to suck at s.t.'	*t'ooɣ*
/yóʔoḳs/	[yɔ́ʔʔks]	'to wash s.t.'	*yo'oks*
/yó·ʔoḳs/	[yɔ́ʔʔks]	'to wash s.t. (pl.)'	*yoo'oks*
/ʔatóʔ/	[ʔᴀ dɔ́ʔɣ]	'Go!'	*Ado'o!*
/ʔantó·ʔ/	[ʔᴀ ndɔ́·ʔɣ]	'next door'	*andoo'o*
/ḳilóʼ/	[gɪlɔ́]	'Don't!'	*Gilo!*
/ló·/	[lɔ́·]	'to be moored, parked (pl.)'	*loo*

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

/i·/ and /e·/

C_	/ḳí·s/	[gí·s]	'to be or do wrong'	*giis*
	/ké·c̓/	[gʸɛ́·ʦ̓]	'(place) downriver, to the South'	*geets'*
	/laxsḳí·k/	[lʌ xsgí·k̓ʸ]	'the Eagle clan'	*Laxsgiik*
	/ʔamké·k/	[ʔʌ mgɛ́·k̓ʸ]	'duck sp.'	*amgeek*
	/k̓ḭ·laʔ/	[k̓ḭ·lʌ ʔʌ̥]	'the palm and wrist'	*k'iila'a*
	/k̓é·laʔ/	[k̓ʸɛ́·lʌ ʔʌ̥]	'blubber'	*k'eela'a*
	/c̓í·kʷ/	[ʦ̓i·k̓ʷ]	'to leak'	*ts'iikw*
	/c̓é·w̓/	[ʦ̓ɛ́·ʔʊ̥]	'insides, guts'	*ts'eew̓*
_C	/cí·xʷ/	[ʥí·xʷ]	'porpoise'	*jiixw*
	/sitxé·xʷ/	[sɪtyɛ́·xʷ]	'to change s.t.'	*sityeexw*
	/lí·l̓ip/	[lí·l̓ɪp̓]	'stone weir'	*liil̓ip*
	/qaté·l̓ip/	[ɢʌ dɛ́·l̓ɪp̓]	'anchor'	*gadeel̓ip*

/e·/ and /a·/ contrast under stress:

C_	/sé·ks/	[sɛ́·ks]	'to splash water on s.'	*seeks-(di)*
	/sá·k/	[sá·k̓ʸ]	'oolichans'	*saak*
	/qé·x̣/	[ɢɛ́·x̣]	'to grind, file s.t.'	*geex̱*
	/qá·q/	[ɢá·q̓]	'raven; to point a finger at s.'	*gaak̲*
	/kʷé·ʔ/	[gʷɛ́·ʔɛ̥]	'to be poor, pitiful'	*gwee'e*
	/kʷá·s/	[gʷá·s]	'to lend s.t. to s.o.'	*gwaas-(di)*
_C	/ʔé·q/	[ʔɛ́·q̓]	'coho'	*eek̲*

/ʔá·q/	[ʔá·q̓]	'mouth, lips'	*aak*
/ké·w/	[gʸɛ́·u̯]	'below the houses, near the water'	*geew*
/dá·w/	[dá·u̯]	'ice; to be frozen'	*daaw*

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

/ỷaqay/ ~ /ỷa·y/ ~ /ỷe·y/ ~ /ỷe·/ 'precisely, exactly, instead' *ỷay*

/a·/ and /o·/:

C_	/qá·q/	[ɢá·q̓]	'raven; to point a finger at s.'	*gaak*
	/qó·q/	[ɢɔ́·q]	'(place) [in] front [of ...], (time) before ...'	*gook*
	/sá·q/	[sá·q̓]	'to stretch s.t. (a pelt)'	*saak-(di)*
	/só·q̓/	[sɔ́·q̓]	'robin'	*sook'*
	/ná·sik̓/	[ná·sɪk̓ʸ]	'raspberries'	*naasik'*
	/nó·sik̓/	[nɔ́·sɪk̓ʸ]	'wolverine'	*noosik'*
_C	/qá·p/	[ɢá·p̓]	'to scratch s.t. (lightly)'	*gaap*
	/qó·p/	[ɢɔ́·p̓]	'wave'	*goop*
	/ʔá·ta· .../	[ʔá·dᴀ]	'[spider] 's web'	*aada...*
	/ʔó·ta·/	[ʔɔ́·dᴀ]	'diapers'	*ooda*

/o·/ and /u·/:

C_	/só·q̓/	[sɔ́·q̓]	'robin'	*sook'*

	/sú·qskʷ/	[sʊ́·qskʷ]	'to dive'	*suuƛskw*
	/ló·ƛs/	[lɔ́·ks]	'to float (pl.)'	*looƛs*
	/lú·kʷs/	[lʊ́·kʷs]	'bundle of forty dried fish'	*luukws*
	/hó·/	[hɔ́·]	'to scream, holler'	*hoo*
	/hú·/	[hʊ́·]	'to make a loud continuous noise (e.g. siren)'	*huu*
_C	/qó·q/	[ɢɔ́·q]	'(place) [in] front [of ...], (time) before ...'	*gooƛ*
	/ʔú·q/	[ʔʊ́·q]	'copper, brass'	*uuƛ*
	/sqó·l̓/	[sɢɔ́·ʔ]	'to be cross-eyed'	*sgool̓*
	/ƛstú·l̓t/	[ksqʊ́·ʔʊɬt]	'tears'	*ƛsduul̓t*
	/ló·laq/	[lɔ́·lᴀ q̓]	'to be rotted (pl.)'	*loolaƛ*
	/lú·laq̓/	[lʊ́·lᴀ q̓]	'corpse, ghost'	*luulaƛ'*

2.2.A. Long vowels

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

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

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

/niti: lu·ɬá·t/ [nɪdi: luɬá:t] 'S/he isn't in' *Nidii luut'aat.*

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

/niti: lu·ɬá·t/ [nɪdi· luɬá:t] 'S/he isn't in' *Nidii luut'aat.*

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

Long vowel shortening:

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

/lu·sa·ná·ɬkʷ/ [lʊ·sa·ná:ɬkʷ] 'to be amazed at s.t.' *luusaaanaahiɬkw*

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

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

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

Boas, very formal:	OFS:	YFS:	
/paqayt/	/pa·yt/ ~ /payt/	[bAyt]	'in the middle' *ba(a)yt*
/ŷaqay/	/ŷa·y/ ~ /ŷay/	[ŷAy]	'precisely, exactly, instead' *ŷa(a)y*

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

2.2.A.1.a. /i·/

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

Under stress:

C_C#	/cí·c/	[ʤí·ʧ]	'Grandmother!'	*Jiits*
	/kʷí·kʷ/	[gʷí·ǩʷ]	'marmot'	*gwiikw*
	/ta·ɬí·sk/	[da·ɬí·sǩʸ]	'socks'	*daahliisk*
C_CV	/mí·lukʷ/	[mí·lUǩʷ]	'to dance'	*miilukw*
	/plí·ɬiksk ʷ/	[pl̥í·ɬɪksǩʷ]	'to be tired (pl.)'	*pliihlikskw*
C_#	/kantəɬí·/	[gʸA ndɪɬí·]	'coyote'	*gandihlii*
	/qatipti·/	[GA dɪpd̥í·]	'the size of (s.t. pl.)'	*gadipdii*

Before stress:

_...V	/ʔi·nú·/	[ʔi·nÚ·]	'turnip'	*iinuu*
	/kʷi·lá/	[gʷi·lá]	'blankets'	*gwiila*
	/si·lín/	[si:lín]	'to chase, pursue, hunt s.'	*siilin*

/mi·q̓ó·qst/	[mi·q̓ɔ́·qst]	'salmonberries'	*miik̲'ook̲st*

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

<u>After stress</u>:

...VC_	/k̓íl̓sti·/	[k̓íʔɪlsd̥i·]	'one fingerwidth'	*k'ilsdii*
	/wiɬ ʔúsi·/	[wɪɬ ʔÚsi·]	'it looks like a dog'	*wihl usii*
	/wiɬ piláqi·/	[wɪɬ bɪláɢẹ·(y)]	'it looks like tree moss'	*wihl bilagii*

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

2.2.A.1.b. <u>/u·/</u>

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

<u>Under stress</u>:

C_C	/tú·s/	[dÚ·s]	'cat'	*duus*
	/ʔú·q/	[ʔÚ·q]	'copper, brass'	*uuk̲*
	/k̓ú·k̓ʷ/	[k̓Ú·k̓ʷ]	'tail (of an animal)'	*k'uukw'*
	/ɬḳú·ɬkʷ/	[ɬg̥Ú·ɬk̓ʷ]	'(one's) child; to have a child'	*hlguuhlkw*
C_#	/kipú·/	[gɪbÚ·]	'wolf'	*gibuu*
	/ʔi·nú·/	[ʔi·nÚ·]	'turnip'	*iinuu*

<u>Before stress</u>:

_...V	/mu·lá·/	[mU·lá·]	'sawmill'	*muulaa*
	/yu·hatá·x/	[yU·hʌ dá,ç]	'to drive'	*yuuhadaax*
	/ĉu·ĉáʷaqs/	[ʦU·ʦáwʔʌ qs]	'pairs of shoes'	*ts'aẃaks*

2.2.A.2. The long low vowel /a·/ :

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

Under stress:

C_C	/ʔá·m/	[ʔá·m]	'to be good'	*aam*
	/má·ẏ/	[má·ʔɨ]	'berries'	*maaẏ*
	/qacá·q/	[GA ʣá·q̓]	'cross'	*gajaak*
C_CV	/tá·la/	[dá·lA]	'money'	*daala*
C_#	/ƛ̓á·/	[ƛ̓á·]	'to sit'	*t'aa*
	/pilá·/	[bɪlá·]	'abalone'	*bilaa*

Before stress:

_...V	/pa·pá/	[ba·bá]	'Daddy'	*Baaba*
	/ƛ̓a·ɬákʷ/	[ƛ̓a·ɬáǩʷ]	'tomorrow'	*t'aahlakw*
	/m̓askʷa·wátax̣/	[m̓ʌ skʲa·wádʌ x̣]	'butterfly'	*m̓ask'aawadax̣*
	/tx̣a·n̓ítkʷs/	[tx̣a·n̓ítkʷs]	'all of... , every...'	*tx̣aan̓itkws*

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

/bá·na, vá·na/	[bá·nA , vá·nA]	'Verna'
/má·t̲a/	[má·t̲A]	'Martha'

while /a/ adapts unstressed ‹er›:

/pí·t̲a/	[pí·t̲ʌ]	'Peter'
/píya/	[bíyʌ]	'beer'

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

2.2.A.3.a. /e·/

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

Under stress:

C_C	/ĉé·ĉiks/	[ʦ̂ɛ́·ʦ̂ɪks]	'dirt, ground'	*ts'eets'iks*
	/sé·qs/	[sɛ́·qs]	'spruce'	*seeḵs*
	/yé·n/	[ɛ́·n]	'fog, cloud'	*yeen*
	/ʔé·q/	[ʔɛ́·q̓]	'coho'	*eeḵ*
C_#	/ka·ta·lé·/	[gʸada·lɛ́:]	'spider'	*gadaalee*
	/yé·/	[yɛ́:]	'to go, walk (sg)'	*yee*

Before stress:

_ ... V	/le·x̣ .../	[lɛ́·x̣]	'(proc.) at both ends, back and forth' (alternates with /la·x̣ .../ *laax̲...*)	*leex̲...*
	/te·xʸúxʷ/	[dɛ·x̣.ʸúxʷ]	'halibut lines'	*deex̲ʸuxw*
	/te·x̣halímx/	[dɛ·x̣.ʌlímç]	'guitar, banjo'	*deex̲halimx*

2.2.A.3.b. /o·/

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

Under stress:

C_C	/kó·c/	[kˀʸɔ́·ʦ]	'yesterday'	*k'yoots*
	/kʷó·m/	[gʷɔ́·m]	'dust, ashes'	*gwoom*
	/qó·l/	[Gɔ́·l]	'loon'	*gool*
	/haʔmó·q/	[hA mˀɔ́·q̓]	'shaman's sucking tube; cow parsnip'	*haʔmook*

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

	/hó·n/	[hɔ̃́·n]	'fish, esp. salmon'	*hoon*
	/qó·ntkʷ/	[Gɔ̃́·ntk̓ʷ]	'to be braided'	*goontkw*
C_#	/qasqó·/	[GA SGɔ́·]	'the size of (s.)'	*gasgoo*
	/kó·/	[gʸɔ́·]	'to be parked, moored'	*gyoo*

Before stress:

_ ... V	/kˀo·lu·/	[kˀʸɔ·lU·]	'alone (unstressed)'	*k'yooluu*
	/lo·ɬikó·tkʷ/	[lɔ·ɬɪgʸɔ́:tk̓ʷ]	'axe'	*loohligyootkw*

2.2.B. Short vowels

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

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

2.2.B.1 Contrasts between short vowels:

The short vowels all contrast under stress:

/tás/	[dás]	'to touch s.t.'	*das*
/tús/	[dʊ́s]	'bone marrow'	*dus*
/ḳíp/	[gíp̚]	'to eat s.t.'	*gip*
/káp/	[gʸáp̚]	'to dip s.t.'	*gap*
/qís/	[gɛ́s]	'hair'	*ges*
/qús/	[gɔ́s]	'to jump'	*gos*
/yáʔ/	[yáʔˀ]	'spring salmon'	*ya'a*
/yéʔ/	[yɛ́ʔˀ]	'Grandfather!'	*Ye'e*
/náχ/	[náχ]	'snowshoes'	*naχ*
/nóχ/	[nɔ́χ]	'mother'	*noχ*

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

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

/qúl/	[gʊ́l]	'to run (pl.)'	*gol*
/qús/	[gʊ́s]	'[illegible] jump'	*gos*
/qóʔ/	[gɔ́ʔˀ]	'to go somewhere, to go get s.'	*go'o*
/ḳún/	[gʊ́n]	'this'	*gun*
/ḳóm̓/	[gɔ́m̓]	'go ahead!'	*Gom̓!*

/tús/	[dʊ́s]	'bone marrow'	*dus*
/tóq/	[dɔ́q̓]	'to take s.t. (pl.)'	*dok*
/tóx̣/	[dɔ́x̣]	'(objects) to lie, be	*dox*
/tó^{ʔ}/	[dɔ́^{ʔ}ɣ]	'cheek'	*do'o*
/tilús/	[dɪlʊ́s]	'gooseberries'	*dilus*
/lúx^{w}/	[lʊ́x^{w}]	'to deny s.t. (a request)'	*luxw*
/lóx̣/	[lɔ́x̣]	'reefs'	*log*
/ló^{ʔ}p/	[lɔ́^{ʔ}ɣp]	'rock(s)'	*lo'op*

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

/simú/	[sɪmʊ́]	'to be true, right'	*simu*
/simútk^{w}s/	[sɪmʊ́tk^{w}s]	'to believe, be a believer, a Christian'	*simutkws*
/qampú/	[ɢʌ mbʊ́]	'shakes, shingles'	*gambu*
/qampútk^{w}t/	[ɢʌ mbʊ́tk^{w}t̓]	'his/her shakes, shingles'	*gambutkwt*
/k^{w}a·só/	[g^{w}a·sɔ́]	'pig' (< Ch.Jargon, < Fr. *cochon*)	*gwaaso*
/k^{w}a·sótk^{w}t/	[g^{w}a·sɔ́tk^{w}t̓]	'his/her pig'	*gwaasotkwt*

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

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

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

/yím/	[yím]	'to smell, sniff s.t.'	*yim*
/yípχ/	[yípχ]	'slime, gravy'	*yipx*
/yé^{ʔ}/	[yé^{ʔ}ʕ]	'Grandfather!'	*Ye'e*
/^{ʔ}čip/	[^{ʔ}číp]	'bone'	*ts'ip*
/^{ʔ}čin/	[^{ʔ}čín]	'to come in'	*ts'in*
/^{ʔ}čéχ/	[^{ʔ}čéχ]	'mountain juniper'	*ts'ex*

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

/skí/	[sgí]	'(object) to lie, to be (s.w.)'	*sgi*
/hí/	[hí]	'to say'	*hi*
/^{ʔ}lé/	[^{ʔ}lɛ́]	'(interjection)' (see also **2**.1.B.3.a.3.b. for initial /^{ʔ}l/)	*le!*
/ta·wé/	[da·wɛ́]	'mountain sheep'	*daawe*
/naqa^{ʔ}é/	[nA GA ^{ʔ}ɛ́]	'fox'	*nagats'e*

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

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

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

2.2.B.1.a. /ɨ/

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

Under stress:

/ɨ/ has two allophones under stress:

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

C_C	/qɨ́n/	[gę́n]	'skunk'	*gen*
	/q̓ɨ́č/	[q̓ę́ʦ]	'chin'	*ǩ'ets'*
	/qɨ́win/	[gę́wɪn]	'seagull'	*gewin*

b. otherwise: [ɪ]

C_C	/nipɨ́p/	[nɪbɪ́p̚]	'maternal uncle'	*nibip*
	/t̓ɨ́ɬt/	[t̓ɪ́ʔɪɬ̚]	'to be early'	*t'iłt*
	/sḳɨnɨ́st/	[sgɪnɪ́st]	'pine tree'	*sginist*
C_*	/ʔasḳɨ́/	[ʔʌsgɪ́]	'to be abnormal, funny, ugly'	*asgi*
	/ʔɨ́/	[ʔɪ́]	(interjection)	*I!*

Before stress:

_...V	/kipáykʷ/	[gɪbáyǩʷ]	'to fly'	*gibaykw*
	/pilá̓q/	[bɪlá̓q̚]	'tree moss'	*bilaǩ*

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

/milít/	[mɪlíɬ , mʌlíɬ]	'steelhead'	*milit*

After stress:

V__	/wílpiy̓/	[wílbɪʔɨ]	'my house'	*wilbiy̓*
	/hó·pix/	[hɔ́·bɪç]	'spoon'	*hoobix*
	/hátiks/	[hádɪks]	'to swim'	*hadiks*

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

/wílpim̓/	[wílbɪm̓ , wílbʌm̓]	'our house'	*wilbim̓*

2.2.B.1.b. /u/

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

Under stress:

/u/ has two major allophones:

a. after a uvular: [o̜] ([u] for some speakers):

/q̓úc/	[q̓o̜ʦ]	'to cut s.t.'	*k'ots*
/tx̣úx/	[tx̣o̜ç]	'halibut'	*txox*

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

/ʔamʔúḳit/	[ʔʌmʔÚgɪt̒ , ʔʌmʔógɪt̒ , ʔʌmʔɔ́gɪt̒]	'clothing'	*am'ugit*
/c̓aʔúyxʷ/	[tʃ̓ʌʔÚyxʷ , tʃ̓ʌʔóyxʷ]	'(place) underground, basement'	*ts'a'uyxw*
/ʔàntimiɬʔú/	[ʔʌndɪmɪɬʔÚ , ʔʌndɪmɪɬʔọ]	'pillow'	*andimihl'u*

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

/lu·ʔúḳs/	[lU·ʔÚks]	'to occur (at a certain time), to be time (for s.t.)'	*luu'uks*

b. otherwise, (ʊ]:

/t ḳún/	[tg̥Ún]	'this'	*tgun*
/ʔúmxḳʷ/	[ʔʊ́mxḱʷ]	'to be unable to stand s.'	*umxkw*

/u/ is frequently found before labiovelars:

/múkʷ/	[mÚḱʷ]	'to be ripe'	*mukw*
/lúxʷ/	[lÚxʷ]	'to deny s.t. (a request)'	*luxw*

C_ /qampú/	[GʌmbÚ]	'shingles, shakes'	*gambu*
/ʔaḳú/	[ʔagÚ]	'what?; (some)thing'	*agu*

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

_Kʷ	/luxʷtákʷ/	[lUxʷdáḱʷ]	'to shoot (pl.)'	*luxwdakw*
	/hí·ɬukʷ/	[hí·ɬUḱʷ]	'morning'	*hiihlukw*
	/qaná·lukʷ/	[Gʌná·lUḱʷ]	'sparks'	*ganaalukw*

/lúkukʷskʷ/	[lÚgUkʷsḱʷ]	'to wake up (pl.)	*lugukwskw*

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

/a/ is a low, slightly fronted vowel.

Under stress:

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

/q̓áp/	[q̓ʌ́p̓]	'piece, end'	*k̲'ap*
/m̓áqs/	[m̓ʌ́qs]	'pants'	*ṁak̲s*

b. otherwise it is slightly fronted:

/pán/	[bán]	'belly'	*ban*
/c̓ák̓/	[tʃ̓ák̓ʸ]	'dish'	*ts'ak'*
/hác̓/	[hátʃ̓]	'to bite s.t.'	*hats'*

C_#	/miɬá/	[mɪɬá]	'bile'	*mihla*
	/wá/	[wá]	'name'	*wa*

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

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

/ʔancám/	[ʔʌndzám]	'cooking pot'	*anjam*
/qanhác̓aʔ/	[ɢʌn.átʃ̓ʌʔʌ̥]	'clothespin'	*ganhats'a'a*

b. otherwise:

/haǩóʔ/	[hA ǩʸóʔˀ]	'[the] back'	*hak'yo'o*
/hanáq̓/	[hA náq̓]	'woman'	*hanaq'*

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

/caqam/	[ʤA GA m , ʤɑGɑm] '(proc.) towards shore'	*jagam*
/wó·waq/	[wɔ́·wA q̓ , wɔ́·wɑq̓] 'to sleep (pl.)'	*woowaq*

After stress:

a. next to uvulars: centralized:

/ʔáɬaq/	[ʔáɬA q̓]	'to show anger, determination, aggressiveness'	*aɬaq*
/ʔá·qaȳ/	[ʔá·GA ʔɪ]	'my mouth'	*aagay*

b. otherwise: slight centralization:

/qó·ta/	[gɔ́·dA]	'to be all gone'	*gooda*
/tá·la/	[dá·lA]	'money'	*daala*

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

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

2.2.B.3.a. /e/

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

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

C_C	/yé$^{?}$/	[yɛ́$^{?}$ɣ]	'Grandfather'	*Ye'e*
	/ʔéχ̣/	[ʦ́ɛχ̣]	'mountain juniper'	*ts'eχ*
	/té$^{?}$entk^{w}/	[dɛ́$^{?}$ɛntk̓^{w}]	'to lead, guide s.o.'	*de'entkw*
	/haqé$^{?}$s/	[hA Gɛ́$^{?}$ɛs]	'sharpening tool'	*hage'es*

but it also occurs in other environments in interjections:

/ʔlé/	[lɛ́]	(interjection)	*Ɬe!*
/tép/	[dép]	(interjection)	*Dep!*

It also occurs in a number of borrowings:

C_*	/ta·wé/	[da·wɛ́]	'mountain sheep, domestic goat'	*daawe*
	/naqaʔé/	[nA GA ʦ́ɛ́]	'fox'	*nagats'e*
C_CV	/swé̱ta/	[swɛ́tA]	'sweater'	*sweta*

2.2.B.3.b. /o/

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

C_C	/ɬóqs/	[ɬɔ́qs]	'sun, moon, month'	*hloɣs*
	/ptóʔ/	[pq̓ɔ́$^{?}$ɣ]	'door'	*pdo'o*
	/nóχ̣/	[nɔχ̣]	'mother'	*noχ*
	/móʔon/	[mɔ́$^{?}$ɔn]	'salt'	*mo'on*
	/hóχ̣q̓at/	[hɔ́χ̣q̓A ɬ]	'to smell good'	*hoχk'at*

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

/kʷa·só/ [gʷa·sɔ́] 'pig' *gwaaso*

and also in the interjective predicate (5.11.)

/ḳilɔ́/ [gɪlɔ́] 'Don't!' *Gilo!*

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

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

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

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

Plain:	'to ...'	Reduplicated: 'to be ...ing'	
/hó·x/	'to use, wear s.t.'	[hʌhɔ́:ç]	*hoox/hahoox*
/hú·t/	'to flee (pl)'	[hʊhʊ́:t̠]	*huut/huhuut*
/hé·/	'to make a noise, to speak'	[hʌ hɛ́:, hɛhɛ́:]	*hee/hahee,hehee*
/ʔá·t/	'to fish with a net'	[hʌʔá:t̠]	*aat/ha'aat*
/ʔí·c/	'to fry or iron s.t.'	[hiʔí:c̠]	*iits/hi'iits*

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

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

[GÚS]	'to jump'	*gos*	[kSA GÚS]	'to jump out'	*ksagos*
[baχ]	'to run'	*baχ*	[kSIbaχ]	'to run out'	*ksibaχ*
[ɬɔ́ʔʕ]	'to walk, to go (pl.)'	*hlo'o*	[kSIɬɔ́ʔʕ]	'to go out (pl.)'	*ksihlo'o*

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

[GAbɔ́:q́]	'cockles'	*gabook*	[SAGAbɔ́:q́]	'to gather cockles'	*sagabook*
[má:ʔɬ]	'berries'	*maaý*	[SImá:ʔɬ]	'to pick berries'	*simaaý*
[lɔ́:ĉ]	'elderberries'	*loots'*	[SIlɔ́:ĉ]	'to pick elderberries'	*siloots*

and the suffix (-n) '2S':

[náq̂]	'dress'	*nak'*	[náq̂An]	'your dress'	*nak'an*
[m̂áqs]	'pants'	*mak's*	[m̂áqsIn]	'your pants'	*maksin*
[qáyɬ]	'hat'	*gayt*	[qáydIn]	'your hat'	*gaydin*

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

[mí:lUkʷ]	'to dance'	*miilukw*
[qáUsUkʷ]	'to be quiet'	*gawsukw*
[ʔí:ʔUxʷt]	'men, boys'	*ii'uxwt*
[hUxʷ]	'again'	*huxw*
[lUxʷtí:tiç]	'to be hungry (pl.)'	*luxwdiidix*

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

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

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

[hɪʔíːc̓]	'to be frying, ironing s.t.'	*hi'iits*

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

[hAʔíːc̓AʔA̰]	'an iron'	*ha'iits'a'a*

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

Other examples with phonologically unpredictable vowels are:

[hAnáq̓]	'woman'	*hanaq'*
[hAbóːl̓]	'to keep, look after s.'	*habool'*
[hAk̓óʔɣ]	'[the] back'	*hak'yo'o*
[hA xʷdák̓ʷ]	'bow (for arrows)'	*haxwdakw*

versus the predictable vowels in:

[hɪɬáq̓]	'to break (e.g.stick, bone)'	*hihlaq*
[hɪnáč̓A x]	'to spank s.o.'	*hinats'ax*
[hUxʷdáːk̓ɪn]	'grandchild'	*huxwdaak'in*

Compare also the reduplicated form

/ʔasʔús/ [ʔʌsʔʊ́s] 'dogs' *as'us*

where the [A] of the reduplicated syllable is predictable from the preceding /ʔ/, with the prefixed form

/ʔisʔús/ [ʔɪsʔʊ́s] 'to smell of dog' *is'us*

2. In another case, [ɪ] / [A] alternation occurs, but distribution is not so clear-cut as that for instance in suffixes. A number of compounds are formed with a linking vowel between the two terms; this vowel is usually [A], but may be [ɪ], depending it seems on more complex factors than the nature of just the immediately adjacent consonants, probably involving clustering, adjacent vowels, etc. (In this case, the underlying vowel is /a:/ and it is often shortened to /a/ and sometimes despecified to /i/). Thus in:

[m̓ʔÀqsAGAbɔ́:q̓] 'corduroy pants' *ṁaḵsagabooḵ*
([m̓ʔÀqs] 'pants', [GAbɔ́:q̓] 'scallop', referring to the ridged appearance of corduroy)

and: [m̓ʔÀqsɪʤáyn] 'blue jeans' *ṁaḵsijayn*
(lit. Chinaman's pants)

the normal rule [A] next to a uvular, [ɪ] otherwise, seems to apply, but in:

[hìldʌ tʂʔʊ́:tʂʔ] 'a multitude of birds' *hilda ts'uuts'*
([hìlt̓] 'to be many', [tʂʔʊ́:tʂʔ] 'bird')

and: [q̓ʌ yùkʷsʌ yáʔʌ̥] 'smoked spring salmon fillets'
ḵ'ayukwsa ya'a
([q̓ʌ yùkʷs] 'smoked salmon fillets', [yáʔʌ̥] 'spring salmon')

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

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

[gɔ́:dA]	'to be all gone'	*gooda*
[ʔɔ́:dA]	'covers, diapers'	*ooda*
[... hĺ:dA]	'(they, we) said ...' (when quoting words)	*...hiida*

including the English borrowings:

[swétA]	'sweater'	*sweta*
[dá:lA]	'money'	*daala*
[bíyA]	'beer'	*biya*

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

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

2.3. Suprasegmentals:

2.3.A. Stress:

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

/ha·náq̓/	'women'	*haanaḵ'*
/ná·naq̓/	'dresses'	*naanaḵ'*
/pi·l̃ist/	'stars'	*biilist*
/ní·niksk^{w}/	'spouses'	*niinikskw*
/lu·láq/	'(fish, etc.) to be in water in s.t.'	*luulaḵ*
/lú·laq̓/	'corpse, ghost'	*luulaḵ'*

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

Stress is not predictable phonologically, e.g. also

/lísḳit/	'to be born (pl.)'	*lisgit*
/ʔalisḳít/	'to be abnormal, ugly, funny, etc. (pl.)'	*alisgit*

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

are cases of stress on the prefix (**10**.3.B.2.a.), or on the reduplicated syllable (**10**.3.B.2.b.). Most vowel-final borrowings are stressed on the final syllable, although English borrowings keep their original stress pattern.

Examples:

Stress on the root:

1. base */ʔkʷóːtʃ/; fully reduplicated form (plural) */ʔkʷitʃʔkʷóːtʃ/

/ʔkʷóːtʃkʷ/	'to be lost, missing'	*kw'ootkw*
/ʔkʷóːʔtin/	'to lose s.t.'	*kw'oot'in*
/ʔkʷóːʔtil/	'to lose track of s.t.'	*kw'oot'il*
/ʔkʷóːʔtilskʷ/	'(person) to be unconscious'	*kw'oot'ilskw*
/ʔkʷóːʔtimɬkʷ/	'to miss menstrual periods because of pregnancy'	*kw'oot'imhlkw*

2. root /ʔtám/: fully reduplicated form (plural) /ʔimʔtám/

/ʔtám/	'to write s.t.'	*t'am*
/ʔtámtkʷ/	'to be written'	*t'imt'am*
/ɲiːʔtámtkʷ/	'to be written down'	*ńiit'amtkw*
/ɲiːʔtámtkʷit/	'Scripture'	*Ńiit'amtgwit*

Stress on the suffix:

1. root /ʔtám/	'to write s.t.'	*t'am*
/ʔimís(t)/	'to write, writing, s.t. written'	*t'imis*
/qanʔimís(t)/	'pencil'	*gant'imis*
/haɲiːʔimís(t)/	'pad, desk, etc. (support for writing)'	*hańiit'imis*

2. root /ʔáł/	'to split s.t. (a tree)'	*t'al*
/ʔiłísk^{w}/	'to make shakes'	*t'iliskw*
/haʔiłísk^{w}/	'froe'	*hat'iliskw*
3. root */káɬ/	'to pierce, stab'	*gahl*
/ḳiɬé·ʔ/	'to embroider'	*gihlee'e*

Stress on the prefix:

1. base /skát/	'to be born'	*sgat*
/lísḳit/	'to be born (pl.)'	*lisgit*
2. stem /kúk^{w}sk^{w}/	'to wake up'	*gyukwskw*
/lúḳuk^{w}sk^{w} /	'to wake up (pl.)'	*lugukwskw*
3. root /yéʔ/	'Grandfather!'	*Ye'e*
/niyéʔ/	'grandfather'	*niye'e*
/nìy̓s.../	'Grandfather of ...' (prefix forming a number of chiefly names)	*Niy̓s...*

Stress on the reduplicating syllable (plural):

root /nóẋ/	'mother'	*noẋ*
/nó·naẋ/	'mothers' (from */nóẋnoẋ/, **10**.3.B.2.b.)	*noonaẋ*

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

/ʔalá/	'smokehole'	*ala*
/k^{w}ilá/	'blanket'	*gwila*
/ḳipá/	'to wait for s.o.'	*giba*

/ta·wé/	'mountain sheep, domestic goat' (< Athapaskan)	*daawe*
/kantiɬí·/	'coyote' (< Athapaskan)	*gandihiii*
/kʷə·só/	'pig' (< Chinook jargon < French *cochon*)	*gwaaso*

but there are a few instances of final unstressed vowels:

/ʔó·ta/	'covers, diapers'	*ooda*
/háta/	'breeze'	*hada*
/na·ɖé·ta/	'muskrat'	*naak'eeda*

including English borrowings:

/tá·la/	'money' (dollar)	*daala*
/swéṭa/	'sweater'	*sweta*
/píya/	'beer'	*biya*

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

/hìtḳumskátkʷ/	'to stand up like a man' (/hítkʷ/ 'to stand' *hitkw*, /kát/'man, person' *gat*)	*hitgumsgatkw*
/yòʔoksnóʔoɬ/	'to wash the dishes' (/yòʔoks 'to wash s.t' *yo'oks*, /nóʔoɬ/ 'dishes' *no'ohl*)	*yo'oksno'ohl*
/m̀àska·wátaχ/	'butterfly' (meaning of constituents unknown)	*maskaawadax*

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

/lu·sa·ná·ɬkʷ/ 'to be amazed at s.' *luusaanaahlkw*
(/lu·.../ (proc.) 'in', *luu* .../sa·.../ (proc.) 'off,'
saa.../ná·ɬ/ cf. /ná·ɬq/ 'breath' *naahlk*)

2.3.B. Intonation (sentence-level):

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

Some examples:

/ɬa·pláksk^{w}iy̓ʔ/ 'I am tired' *Hlaa plaksgwiy̓.*

/pláksk^{w} n̂i·y̓ʔ/ 'I am tired' *Plakskw ńiiy̓.*

/ni·ɬ pláksk^{w}ina/ 'Are you tired?' *Niihl plaksgwina?*

/ʔakùɬ cicápinis/ 'What are you doing?' *Aguhl jijabinis?*

/yuk^{w}ɬ yú·x̣k^{w}iy̓ʔ/ 'I am eating' *Yukwhl yuuxgwiy̓.*

/yuk^{w}ɬ sisweɬatk^{w}iy̓ʔ/ 'I am working on a sweater'
Yukwhl siswetatgwiy̓.

/tim hux^{w} ká?ay̓ n̂i·n/ 'Good bye' (lit. I will see you again).
Dim huxw ga'ay̓ ńiin.

/ci kaxku ni tim hux^{w} ká?an/ 'When will I see you again?'
Ji gaxgu ni dim huxw ga'an?

/ʔa·ɬákʷ ni tim huxʷ káʔan/ 'I will see you tomorrow'
T'aahlakw ni dim huxw ga'an.

/wilá·yinɬ simʔálkaxa/ 'Do you know Nisgha?'
Wilaayinhl sim'algaxa?

/sim wilá·yis Màryɬ simʔálkax/ 'Mary knows Nisgha very well'
Sim wilaayis Maryhl sim'algax.

/sim wilá·yis Màry/ 'Mary knows it very well'
Sim wilaayis Mary.

/sim wilá·yitɬ simʔálkax/ 'She knows Nisgha very well'
Sim wilaayithl sim'algax.

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

Examples:

/txa·taxkátkum simʔó·kit .../ 'All-powerful God ...'
Txaadaxgatgum Sim'oogit ...

/simkikát, sikitimha·náq̓, kupa wílksiɬkʷ/
'Chiefs, chieftainesses, princes and princesses,
Simgigat, sigidimhaanak, k'ubawilksihlkw ...

/lu·ʔá·mɬ qó·tiy̓.../ I am happy ... *luu'aamhl goodiy̓...*

/...wil ti· ʔálkaxaẏ lo·siṁ.../ ...to be speaking to you ...

... *wil dii algaxaẏ loosiṁ* ...

/...ʔaɬ ʔa·ma· sa(h) tḳuna.../ ...on this fine day ... ... *ahl amaa sa tguna* ...

/qapí·ɬ híẏ/ ... That's all I have to say.' ... *Gabiihl hiẏ*.

2.4. The Nisgha practical orthography:

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

2.4.A. Consonants:

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

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

- uvulars are indicated by underlining, thus [q] *ḵ*, [χ̣] *x̱*, [ɢ] *g*;

- digraphs are used for labialized consonants, thus [kʷ] *kw*, [gʷ] *gw*, [xʷ] *xw*, as well as for voiceless affricates: [c] *ts*, [ƛ̓] *tl'*; the voiced dental affricate [dz] is represented by *j*;

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

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

- glottalized stops and affricates are indicated by a following apostrophe, thus for instance [k̓] *k'*, [k̓ʷ] *kw'*, [ƛ̓] *hl'*;

- the glottal stop is not indicated in absolute initial position as it is predictable before a vowel; elsewhere it is indicated by an apostrophe, thus

	/ʔá·t/	[ʔá·t̓]	'fishnet, to fish'	*aat*
but	/qaʔá·tim̓/	[GA ʔá·dɪm̓]	'our nets'	*ga'aadim̓*

except where the apostrophe would be confused with a glottalization sign for the preceding consonant; in this case the apostrophe is replaced by a hyphen to indicate a sequence C + ʔ, as in

/ʔatʔá·t̓iksk^{w}/	[ʔAtʔá·t̓iksk^{w}]	'to arrive (pl.)'	*at-aat'ikskw*

2.4.B. Vowels:

- stress is not indicated;

- length is indicated by doubling, thus /i·/ *ii*, /a·/ *aa*;

- the predictable echo-vowel after the glottal stop is indicated in all cases, thus:

/yéʔ/	[yéʔə]	'Grandfather'	*Ye'e*
/stóʔoks/	[sdɔ́ʔɔks]	'next to ...'	*sdo'oks*

- the distribution of the symbols *i, e, o, u* reflects a slightly different analysis than is used here; it places *e* and *o* after uvulars and finally, *i* and *u* elsewhere, thus

/qís/	[qę́s]	'hair'	*ges*
/qús/	[qǫ́s]	'to jump'	*gos*
/haqé?s/	[hAqɛ́?ɛs]	'sharpening tool'	*hage'es*
/qó?/	[qɔ́?ʔ]	'to go s.w., to go get s.'	*go'o*

This distribution requires a pronunciation rule for *e* and *o* after uvulars: they have a closed sound, unless they are followed by another uvular or by the glottal stop. This rule rarely seems to cause inconvenience, however, in what is otherwise a very practical, easy-to-use orthography.

CHAPTER 3: MORPHOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

The following is a brief overview of Nisgha word-formation, processes and morphological categories. Detailed descriptions are given in Part II.

3.1. THE FORMAL MATERIAL.

3.1.A. FROM THE ROOT UP.

A Nisgha word always consists of a root CV(C), which may be extended into a base by one or more consonantal augments preceding and/or following the root. Almost any non-glottalized consonant may be an augment, including the glottal stop. In the present state of the language augments are not productive and have no recognizable meaning. Only in a few cases do augmented roots have some semantic similarity to unaugmented roots. Some examples are:

root	tó?	'cheek'	*do'o*
+ augment *p* :	p.tó?	'door'	*pdo'o*
+ augment *s* :	s.tó?	'one side, one half of a pair'	*sdo'o*
root	ỷ̌im	'porcupine quills'	*ỷim*
+ augment *q* :	ỷ̌im.q	'whiskers'	*ỷimq*

Although many Nisgha words consist only of a shape CVC which can be taken as a root, it is not often possible to break down larger words as far as this basic root shape CV(C). In particular, a root CVK (K = any Velar) often appears preconsonantally under the shape CV:, but in the absence of alternate forms where the Velar does appear it is not possible to recover the original root, nor is this necessary for a basically synchronic description such as this study. However, it is safer to consider most shapes CV:(C) as representing bases rather

than roots.

Conversely, not all CVC shapes can be considered roots. For instance, in ḳ̓íl̓ 'one' *k'il'* the first consonant /k̓/ is found in a number of other words denoting unicity (7.1.B.2.c.1.) and the last consonant /l̓/ can probably be identified as a form of the Completive suffix (-ʔl) (7.2.C.2.b.1.a.2.). Such observations suggest that roots may be ultimately decomposable into smaller elements. Another suggestive fact is the existence of a number of pairs of roots differing in the length and/or quality of the vowel, and having related meanings, such as:

ptál	'(water) to rise'	*pdal*
ptá·l	'(water) to flood'	*pdaal*
pán	'belly'	*ban*
píntkʷ	'to stick out one's belly'	*bintkw*

These facts however do not play a grammatical role in present-day Nisgha, although they are undoubtedly important for historical and comparative study.

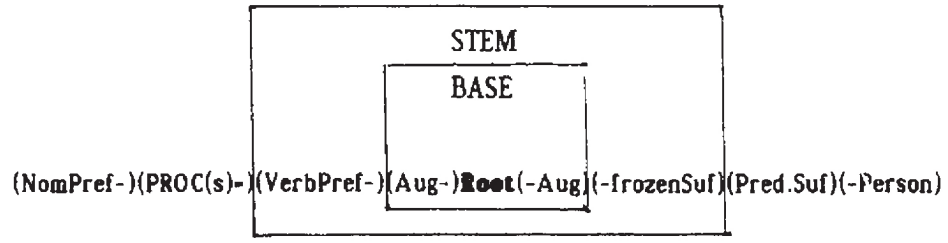
There are also a number of instances of CVCV shapes, e.g. ḳipá 'to wait for s.' *giba*. Sometimes a sequence CVCV can be decomposed into CV- prefix and CV(h) root, but there are also cases which appear to consist of a CVC root with stressed vowel suffix. In general, CVCV shapes are best treated as unanalyzable bases.

Even though the root of a word is not always recoverable, it is usually the part that receives stress. Stressed suffixes are rare, and cases of stress preceding the root occur only in some older, now irregular processes.

To a root or base may be added derivational affixes, especially prefixes, resulting in a stem, to which predicative affixes, mostly suffixes, may be added. The term 'stem' can then refer to different constituents, as a word built by the addition of one affix may become the stem for another word built by the addition of another

affix. There may be words then that consist only of a root, a base or a stem, but most are considerably longer.

The morphemes surrounding the root or base are not just strung together. Nisgha words have an inner constituent structure with a hierarchy of constituents. The general formula for predicatives (words capable of being clause predicates) is:



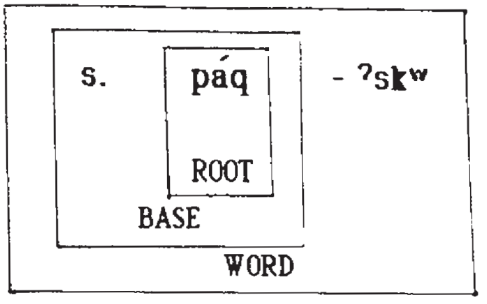
Only the root is indispensable. An augment may occur before the root. Nominal prefixes and the Jussive verbal prefix (kʷin-) *gwin-* (7.1.B.1.a.2.b.) can come before proclitics, which come before the Dominative verbal prefix (tə-) *di-/da-* (7.1.B.1.a.2.a.). It is rare to find more than one prefix, but common for a word to have two or even three proclitics.

After the root, there may be an augment, and the root or the base thus formed may be followed by one or two predicative suffixes. (It is sometimes difficult to tell whether a consonant cluster should be considered as one suffix or more).

Most predicative suffixes are intransitive. Those that are transitive may be followed by a Medial suffix, causing the verb to become Passive. The Indefinite Medial suffix causes Passivization of some transitive stems, and makes some intransitive stems transitive. Some verbs which do not have one of the transitivizing suffixes take the Definite Medial suffix **-T** which is not always felt as part of the quotation form of the word, especially by younger speakers (7.2.C.1.a.). Inflectional suffixes (7.2.A.) are added after the predicative suffixes.

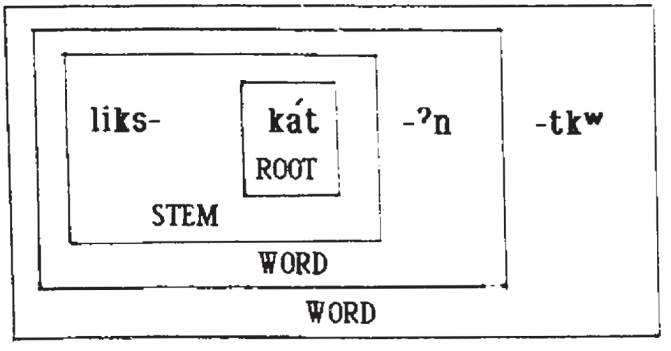
Examples:

1.



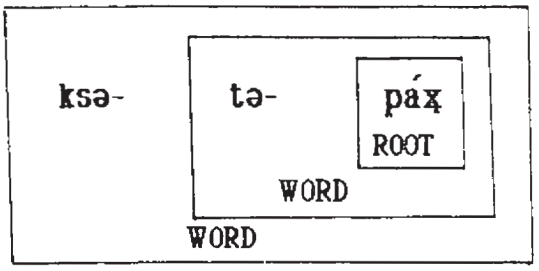
- root = base = stem	páq	'to feel, try s.'	*baḵ*
+ augment *s* : base = stem	s.páq	'to taste [the taste of] s.'	*sbaḵ*
+ AP.I suffix -ʔskʷ :	spáqaskʷ	'to taste things, to have the sense of taste'	*sbaḵ'askw*

2.



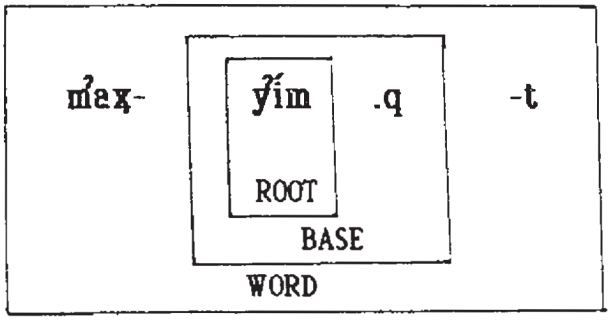
- root	*kat	'person, people, man'	*gat*; (different but vaguer meaning in derivation):
+ prefix liks - 'different':	likskát	'to be different'	*liksgat*
+ CAUS suffix -ʔn :	likskáʔin	'to find s. different'	*liksgat'in*
+ MED suffix -tkʷ:	likskáʔintkʷ	'to have been found different'	*liksgat'intkw*

3. A word may also include one or more circumstantial proclitics :



- root = base = stem	páx̣	'to run'	*bax̲*
+ DOMIN prefix tə- :	tipáx̣	'to run, taking s.'	*dibax̲*
+ proclitic ksə- 'out'	ksitipáx̣	'to run out, taking s.'	*ksidibax̲*

4. Some prefixes and proclitics are bound with specific suffixes and enclose a word in an affixal frame with a particular meaning:



- root = base = stem	y̓ím	'porcupine quills'	*y̓im*
+ augment *q* = base = stem	y̓ím.q	'whiskers'	*y̓imk̲*
+ frame m̓ax̣.....T	'to be/have ... to an extraordinary degree'		
	m̓ax̣-y̓imq-(t)	'to be bearded'	*m̓ax̲y̓imk̲(t)*

Surrounding the word, ergative clitic pronouns, other clitic particles, subordinators, evidential postclitics and syntactic connectives may be bound to it phonologically, but not morphologically.

The morpheme order for the predicate phrase is (the connectives link the predicate phrase to the following word under certain conditions):

CLITICS (variable order)	WORD	POSTCLITIC	(CONNECTIVE)
(E-clitic) (Modal particles) (Subordinator) (Restrictive particle)	**Predicate** (-Person)	(==Evidential)	(=S, =ɬ)

as in

nta==yima?	mə tim wil ho:x-T-[t]	= ɬ ʔansú:x^{W} t ḳun==sa
which.way==DUB	2E FUT SUB use.s.-DEF-{3}	=NC yarn DM this==PROX
...==EVID	E.PRON PTC SUB ...	...=CON ... ...==EVID

I wonder how you are going to use this wool here.
Ndayima'a mi dim wil hooyihl ansuuxw tgun-sa?

(a polite way to ask: What are you going to do with ...?)

3.1.B. MORPHOLOGICAL PROCESSES.

Roots, bases and stems are subject to the morphological processes of affixation and reduplication.

For the purpose of contemporary description, most Nisgha morphological

processes can be described as applying either to the word, the stem or base. In only a few instances is it necessary or useful to refer to the root, with processes which appear to represent an older layer of development.

3.1.B.1. Affixation: Both inflection and derivation make use of affixes, singly or in combination. Most prefixes, including the circumstantial 'proclitics', have lexical meaning and do not affect the base phonologically. They can have various shapes, from a single consonant or an open syllable with unspecified vowel, to a more complex syllable phonologically almost indistinguishable from a separate word, for instance:

x̣-má·y̓	'to eat berries'
eat-berries	*x̣maay̓*
ha-k̓ó?	'back [of a person]'
having-backbone	*hak'yo'o*
tə-páx̣	'to run away with s.'
DOMIN-run	*dibax̣*
k̓it-lax̣-t̓á:miks	'People of the ponds'
people-on-pond	*Gitlax̣t'aamiks*
si:p-ʔasáy̓	'to have sore feet or legs'
hurt-foot/leg	*siip-asay̓*

Practically all suffixes have grammatical meaning; most of them consist of one or more consonants, and their addition usually causes some alteration in the shape of the base, especially glottalization or fricativization, for instance:

yú:q-ʔn > yú:q̓an	'to feed s.o.'
oolichan string-CAUS	*yuuk̓'an*

yú:**q**-[t]k^{w} > yú:**χ**k^{w}	'to eat'	
...-MED		*yuuχkw*

Affixation also includes framing by a definable, meaningful combination of a prefix or proclitic with a suffix, as in

ksə-ỹimq-[t]**k^{w}**	'to shave'	
remove-whiskers-MED		*ksiỹimqkw*
ʔa:**ma**:-cáp-T	'to fix s.t.'	
well-make.s.-DEF		*amaajap-di*

With both prefixes and suffixes, vowel-insertion rules break up unacceptable clusters, and vowel-specification rules adapt affix vowels to their consonantal surroundings.

3.1.B.2. Reduplication: Full and partial reduplication both prefix a portion of the root, base or stem to itself. In most cases, full reduplication (Cvc-) is used to build plural forms, partial reduplication (C-) for aspectual forms. Full reduplication occurs under three major sub-categories which can be shown to correspond to three historical stages, the oldest one evidencing many irregularities which point to a very long history for the process. Each stage shows an extension of the reduplicative formula, starting with the root in the oldest stage, progressing to the base and the stem in the middle stage, then involving the whole word in the currently productive stage (3.2.B.).

Only the oldest form of full (Cvc-) reduplication, now occurring only with some CVK roots (RED_1), can come between a root and a preceding augment. Regular full reduplication (RED_2) occurs before the root or base. Cix- reduplication (RED_3), the modern, productive form of the fully reduplicative process, occurs mostly word-initially. RED_2 sometimes occurs on forms which already have RED_1, and RED_3 sometimes occurs on forms which already have RED_1 or RED_2:

(RED$_3$)(PROC(s)=)(VerbPref-)**(RED$_2$)**(Aug-)**(RED$_1$)-Root**(-Aug)(Suffixes)

Partial reduplication usually occurs word-initially but sometimes occurs between a proclitic and the following stem, depending on the particular verb and the exact meaning intended (see Proclitics, 7.1.A.).

(R)(PROC(s)=)**(R)**(VerbPref-)**(R)**(Aug-)-**Root**(-Aug)(Suffixes)

Earliest period: (type 1, 'archaic'): reduplication affects the root only:

root	sáq̓	'to crack'	sáq̓)saq̓ >> sá·saq̓	'(pl.) to crack'
		sak'		*saasak'*
root	*póq			
base	χ̣.póq	'crease, pleat'	χ̣.póq)poq >> χ̣.pó·paχ̣	'creases, pleats'
				χboobaχ

Middle period: (type 2, 'regular') reduplication affects the root, base or stem:

root	cáp	'to make s.t.'	cip)cáp	'to make s.t.(pl.)'
		jap		*jipjap*
base	có·q	'to be ashamed, embarrassed'	caχ̣)có·q	'(pl.) to be ashamed, embarrassed'
		jook		*jaχjook*
stem	*sqíks			
	sqíksk^w	'to be injured'	saχ̣)sqíksk^w	'(pl.) to be injured'
		sgekskw		*sasgekskw*

stem	**n**á·ɬ**q**	'breath; to fast' *naahlk̲*	**na**x̣)**n**á·ɬ**q**	'(pl.) to fast' *nax̲naahlk̲*
	ksə--**n**á·ɬ**x̣**kʷ	'to breathe out' *ksinaahlx̲kw*	ksə--**na**x̣)**n**á·ɬ**x̣**kʷ	'(pl.) to breathe out' *ksinax̲naahlx̲kw*
stem	**w**ilá·x	'to know s.' *wilaax*	**w**il)**w**ilá·x	'to know s.(pl.)' *wilwilaax*

Modern period: (type 3, 'modern') reduplication affects the entire word:

word	**y**ú·ɬimq	'to advise, admonish, lecture s.o.' *yuuhlimk̲*	**hix**)**y**ú·ɬimq	'to advise, admonish, lecture s.o.(pl.)' *hixyuuhlimk̲*
word	k)ḳíl̂ > **ḳ**iḳíl̂	'to look for s.' *gigil̂*	**ḳix**)**ḳ**iḳíl̂	'to look for s.(pl.)' *gixgigil̂*
word	sqa= piɬé·ʔ	'curtain' *sgabihlee'e*	**six**)sqa= piɬé·ʔ	'curtains' *sixsgabihlee'e*
word	ʔam-qó·-ḳit	'to be pretty, beautiful'? *amgoogit*	**hix**)ʔam-qó·-ḳit ʔ**ax**)ʔam-qó·-ḳit	'(pl.) to be pretty, beautiful' *hix'amgoogit*

3.1.C. MORPHOPHONEMIC RULES.

Affixes and reduplicated segments are bound to the stem by morphophonemic rules which may also affect the stem itself.

3.1.C.1. In morphemes preceding the stem, whether prefixes or reduplicated segments, a consonant that comes in contact with the word is subject to weakening or simplification: affricates lose their stop onset, glottalized consonants lose their glottalization, and Velar stops are fricativized, Velar fricatives sometimes vocalized. However, the stem itself is unaffected.

hac)háĉ > hashháĉ	'to bite s.'	
PL)bite.s.		*hashhats'*
ƛ̓iɬ-q̓á:x > ƛ̓ilq̓á:x	'one fathom'	
one-fathom		*k'ilƛ'aax*
coq)cóq >> caχcóq	'to live, camp, stay s.w.'	
PL)stay, camp, live		*jaχjoƛ*
staχ= yúkʷ > sta:yúkʷ	'to hold s.t. in one hand, under one arm'	
on.one.side-hold.s.		*sdaχyukw/sdaayukw*

3.1.C.2. With morphemes following the stem, there is much closer phonological integration of the suffix with the stem. For instance, many predicative suffixes begin with a glottal stop, which causes glottalization of the stem-final consonant, as in

*líp-ʔsT > líp̓is(t)	'to sew'	
sew.s.-AP.D		*lip'is(t)*

Other consonantal suffixes often cause fricativization of a stem-final Velar, as in

ksə-ná:ɬq-tkʷ > ksiná:ɬχkʷ 'to breathe out'
remove-breath-MED *ksinaahlɣkw*

Suffixes beginning with vowels, whether inherent or inserted by rule, can also cause alterations in some stem-final consonants, as in

ʔan-[hó:x-aʔ] > ʔanhó:ya? 'tool, implement, vehicle, object'
CAUSE-[use.s.-DETR] *anhooya'a*

3.1.C.3. At the frontier between morphology and syntax, some of the same rules serve to bind the word to ergative clitic pronouns and evidential postclitics. The presence of these morphemes however does not affect the word grammatically or lexically.

3.2. MORPHOSYNTACTIC CATEGORIES.

3.2.A. CATEGORIES OF NOMINALS.

The nominal classes include all nouns and most non-suffixed pronouns: demonstratives, indefinites (which can be used interrogatively) and independent personal pronouns (ɲ̓i-pronouns, 5.8.). DETERMINACY is a gender-like category separating nominals into two classes; POSSESSION affects nouns which are put into a relation with other nouns.

3.2.A.1. DETERMINACY. Nominals may be determinate or indeterminate. These gender-like categories cut across the nominal classes.

Determinates include:

- given names of individual persons or animals (not names of mountains, lakes, groups of people, etc.);
- the indefinite/interrogative pronoun (5.6.) ɲ̓á: 'someone, who' *naa* and its derivative, the name ɲ̓iná: 'So-and-So' *K'inaa*;

- the demonstrative pronouns ḳún(i) 'this' *gun(i)* and ḳúst(i) 'that' *gus(di)* (5.7.).

In general, determinate words are preceded by a Determinate Marker (DM)(sg. t *t* pl. tip *dip*, (6.2.A.) unless linked to the preceding word by the connective (6.2.B.) =S, in which case the DM's do not occur overtly because of a phonological consonant-deletion rule (10.2.A.2.b.1.c.). Non-determinates are linked to the preceding word (where appropriate) by the connective -ɬ ...*hl*.

Determinates can occur in apposition to and co-referring with a noun, as in

sá t ḳùn	'this day'
day DM this	*sa tgun*
ɬḳú:ɬkʷ-ỷ t sqaẇó	'my daughter Sgaẇo' (B. 202)
child-1S DM S.	*hlguuhlgwiý t Sgaẇo*

A few other nouns (kinship terms starting with the frozen prefix (nə-), (7.1.B.1.b.1.b.2.) and the independent personal pronouns seem to be 'courtesy determinates': they are usually preceded by the determinate rather than the non-determinate connective, but they do not share all the properties of true determinates. In particular, they do not occur in apposition to a noun.

3.2.A.2. POSSESSION. Non-determinate nouns can be 'possessed', i.e. placed into a relation with another, dominant or controlling noun. This head noun is the 'possessor', although ownership is only one of the semantic relationships subsumed under the term 'possession'.

3.2.A.2.a. <u>The possessor</u>: The possessed noun takes a personal suffix identifying its possessor; if this suffix is the 3 suffix -t, its reference can be made explicit by a noun Adjunct after the appropriate connective, as in:

wílp-**ẏ̓**	'my house'
house-1S	*wilbiẏ̓*
wílp-**ti:t**	'their house'
house-3P	*wilpdiit*
wílp-**t**	'his/her house'
house-3	*wilpt*
wìlp-**[t]**= s**[t] Peter**	'Peter's house'
house-[3]=DC[DM]P.	*wilps Peter*

If there are several possessors, the Distributive prefix **qa**- *ga*- is used before the noun. The plural noun stem is used if it is separate from the singular:

qa-huwílp-ti:t	'their houses'
DISTR-PL)house-3P	*gahuwilpdiit*

but there are cases where either the singular or the plural noun stem can be used, with a difference in meaning:

- simsa:= ʔáɬ-T-[t]= ɬ**qa**-ʔáẃaqs-(ə)simʔ — [All of you] take off your shoes! [each has one pair]
  2P.E off=put.s.PL-DEF-[3]=NC DISTR-shoes-2P

sim ʔáɬ-T-[t]= ɬ **qa**-ʔu:)ʔáẃaqs-(ə)simʔ — [All of you] put away all your shoes! [each has more than one pair]
2P.E put.s.PL-DEF-[3]=NC DISTR-PL)shoes-2P

3.2.A.2.b. Definite and indefinite possession:

Two categories of 'possession' can be distinguished: definite and indefinite. Definite possession is that of body parts, personal belongings such as clothes and household utensils, canoes, houses, relatives, and other items which form

part of the normal environment of the daily life of a person. Usually these items have an emotional value for their possessor. Indefinite possession, marked by the Indefinite Medial suffix -tkʷ/-s (7.2.C.1.b.) is that of items considered collectively, and/or to which there is no emotional attachment.

3.2.A.2.b.1. Definite possession:

A definite possession can be considered either as belonging to its possessor, or analytically, as an isolated or alienated part or feature, for instance when describing parts of an animal killed for meat. The latter type is indicated by using the restrictive particle ɬə *hli/hla* (6.1.B.2.) before the noun. Compare:

- non-alienated possession:

- sí:pkʷ= ɬ t̓imqìs-y̓ **My head** hurts.
  hurt=NC head-1S *Siipkwhl t'imgesiy̓.*

- sim ʔanó:q-ə-[t]= ɬ tù:s-y̓ ta: ɬa: nə qap)qá:p-[t]= ɬ t̓imqís-t
  really like.s.-CTL-[3]=NC cat when now 1S.E PL)scratch.s.-[3]=NC head-3
  My cat likes it when I scratch **its/his/her head**.
  Sim anoogahl duusiy̓ daa hlaa na gapgaaphl t'imgest.

- alienated possession:

- ḳùw̓s-m+mú:s= ɬ wàk-y̓ ʔi:-t ḳín-m̓ ʔa= ɬ ɬə t̓imqís-t
  kill-ATT+moose=NC M's.brother and-3E give.food.to.-1P PREP=NC ... head
  My brother killed a moose and gave us **the head**.
  Guw̓sim-muushl wagiy̓ iit ginim̓ ahl hli t'imgest.

The particle is used before parts of animals or objects, and items normally associated with them, when considered analytically, in themselves:

ɬə ỹim-[t]= ɬ ʔáxʷt / ɬə ỹim-t 'the quills of a porcupine/the quills'
... quills-[3]=NC porcupine/ ... ...-3 *ɬli ỹimɬ axwt / ɬli ỹimt*

ɬə màːs-[t] = ɬ sḳuːsíːt / ɬə màːs-t 'the peel of a potato/the peel'
... bark-[3]=NC potato/ ... ...-3 *ɬli maaɬ sguusiit / ɬli maast*

ɬə ḳìp-[t]= ɬ ʔús / ɬə ḳíp-t 'dog food (the food of a/the dog)/
... eat.s.-[3]=NC dog/... ...-3 the food [of the dog]'
ɬli giphɬ us / ɬli gipt

ɬə ʔóːta-[t] = ɬ m̓áːl / ɬə ʔóːta-t 'canoe covers (the covers of a/the
... covers-[3]=NC canoe/... ...-3 canoe)/the covers'
ɬli oodaɬ m̓aal / ɬli oodat

• kʷálkʷ-[T]-tiːt = ɬ ɬə ʔannáːs-t
n̓i-[t]= ɬ ḳ̓iː-t ksə-ɬáɬ-[T]-tiːt = ɬ ɬə qa-smáx-t
dry.s.-[DEF]-3P=NC ... skin.PL-3
that's-[3]=NC and-3E out-put.s.PL-[DEF]-3P=NC ... DISTR-body-3
They dried the skins [of the squirrels they killed] and threw away the bodies.
(211.2-3)
Gwalkwdiiɬh ɬli annaast, n̓iɬ k'iit ksit'aɬdiiɬh ɬla gasmart.

Terms of kinship applied to animals also take the particle:

ɬə ɬḳì-[t]= ɬ smáx/ ɬə ɬḳí-t 'bear cubs (the children of a/the bear)
... children-[3]=NC bear / ... ...-3 /the cubs'
ɬli ɬlgiɬ smax / ɬli ɬlgit

The 'possessions' of a human being, such as relations, clothing, houses, etc., never take the particle:

ɬḳì-[t]=ɬ hanáq̓/ ɬḳí-t 'the woman's children/her children'
children-[3]=NC woman/...-3 *ɬlgiɬ hanaq̓' / ɬlgit*

- tq̓al=kó:-[t]=ɬ m̓à:l-ỷ tú:w̓ I have a canoe over there. (106.2)
  against=moored-[3]=NC canoe-1S there *Tḵ'algyoohl m̓aaliỷ duuw̓.*

Parts of the human body do not generally take it, unless the human possessor is already dead:

- n̓úw̓=ɬ kàt==k̓i: ... n̓i-[t]=ɬ k̓i: hiɬá:ɬaq-T-[t]=ɬ
  tx̣a:n̓ìtkʷs-[t]=ɬ ɬə ci)c̓íp-t
  dead=ND man==DISTAL ... that's-[3]=NC and break.PL-DEF-[3]=NC
  all-[3]=NC ... PL)bone-3
  The man was dead ... and all **the** bones were broken. (209.12-13)
  *N̓uw̓hl gat-gi ... n̓ihl k'ii hihlaahlagahl tx̣aan̓itkwshl **hli** jits'ipt.*

But the analytical attitude indicated by the particle ɬə *hli/hla* does apply to what can perhaps be called 'emanations' rather than parts of the human body or personality:

- substances excreted by the body:

- kímk-[t]=ɬɬə núc̓-n Wipe your nose!
  wipe.s.-[3]=NC ... snot-2S *Gimkhl **hli** nuts'in!*

- púxʷ=ɬ ɬə ɬk̓ìlkʷ-ỷ I am sweating.
  blow.around=NC ... sweat-1S *Buxwhl **hli** hlgilgwiỷ.*

- other 'undesirables' associated with the body:

- qúl=ɬ ɬə c̓ìskʷ-t S/he has lice.
  run.PL=NC ... louse-3 *Golhl **hli** ts'iskwt.*

- abstract or intangible possessions:

ɬə ʔóːc̓in-ɣ̓ 'my soul'
... soul-1S *hli oots'iniɣ̓*

ɬə haɬ̓áxkᵂ-ɣ̓ 'my sin'
... sin-1S *hli hat'axgwiɣ̓*

ɬə qantaxkàt-[t]=ɬqa-niyéʔ-tkᵂ-ṁ 'the traditions of our ancestors'
... strength-[3]=NC DISTR-grandfather-INDEF-1P *hla gandaxgathl ganiye'etgum̓*

- ʔamqóːt-ə-t=ɬ ɬə c̓áp-t — She remembered her tribe/people. (209.13-14) *Amgoodithl hli ts'apt.*
  remember.s.-CTL-3=NC ... tribe-3

- ʔakú=ɬ ɬə ʔanhèː-[t]=ɬ qalc̓áp — What are they talking about in the village? (138.15-139.1)
  what?=NC ... meaning-[3]=NC village *Aguhl hla anheehl galts'ap?*

3.2.A.2.b.2. Indefinite possession: Indefinite possession is indicated by the Indefinite Medial suffix (-tkᵂ/-s) (7.2.C.1.b.) It seems that the meaning 'indefinite' in the case of possessed nouns is interpretable as 'collective', hence:

- groups of relatives:

qa-niyéʔ-tkᵂ-ṁ 'our ancestors'
DISTR-grandfather-...-1P *ganiye'etgum̓*

kix)kimxtí-tkᵂ-ɣ̓ '[all] my brothers and sisters'
PL)opp.sex.sib.-...-1S *gixgimxditgwiɣ̓*

nóːnax-[t]kᵂ-ɣ̓ '[all] my "mothers"' (= my mother and all her sisters) *noonaxgwiɣ̓*
mother.PL-...-1S

- masses, especially of stored items:

hó:n-**tk**^{W}-ẏ 'my fish [caught, processed and stored]'
fish-...-1S *hoontgwiẏ*

ʔantiksihó:n-**tk**^{W}-ẏ 'my jars of fish'
jar.of.fish-...-1S *andiksihoontgwiẏ*

winé:x-**s**-m̓ 'our food'
food-...-1P *wineeksim̓*

- ɬa:húkax̣-[t]=ɬqapì:-[t]=l hó:n-**tk**^{W}-m̓ We have enough fish now.
by.now right-[3]=NC amount-[3]=NC fish-...-1P *Hlaa hugax̱hl gabiihl hoontgum̓.*

- ʔàq=ɬ má:ẏ-**tk**^{W}-ẏ I don't have any berries.
non-existent=NC berries-...-1S *Ak̲hl maaẏtgwiẏ.*

- animals considered collectively, not as separate individuals:

- hux^{W} ɬḳí=ɬ w̓i: tù:s-m̓ ʔi: qal hílt-[t]=ɬ tù:s-**[t]k**^{W}-m̓
again have.young=NC big cat-1P and too many-[3]=NC cat-...-1P
Our cat had kittens again, and we have too many cats.
Huxw hlgihl w̓ii duusim̓, ii gal hilthl duusgum̓.

In what appear to be more recent formations, the suffix is applied to single items: it seems that the indefinite collective meaning has led to the meaning 'non-intimate possession' since the semantic range of the words in question covers more remote relationships without emotional involvement:

simʔò:ḳit-**tk**^{W}-[t]=ɬsimḳikát 'King of Kings' (< Bible)
chief-...-[3]=NC chief.PL *Sim'oogitkwhl Simgigat*

ɬə sà-**tk**^{W}-[t]=ɬnó:nax̣-[t]k^{W}-m̓ 'Mothers' Day'
the day-...-[3]=NC mothers-...-1P (the day of our mothers)
hli satkwhl noonax̱gum̓

lip bíshop-[t]k^{w}-ṁ	'our own Bishop'
self bishop-...-1P	*lip Bishopgum̓*
ḱá:-tk^{w}-ẏ̓	'my car' (OFS; YFS: ḱá:-ẏ̓)
car-...-1S	*kaaigwiẏ̓ (/kaaẏ̓)*

3.2.B. VERBAL CATEGORIES: Most of the verbal categories summarized below are indicated by affixes; the meaning of these affixes is discussed together with their form, in Chapter 7.

3.2.B.1. VALENCE. Roots and bases do not seem to have inherent valence. The Medial suffixes (7.2.C.1.) (Definite -T , Indefinite -tk^{w}/-S) may transform a P_A stem into a P_{EA}, any stem into a P_A. Transitive affixes include two prefixes (7.1.B.1.a.2.), Dominative tə- and Jussive k^{w}in- , and among the suffixes, Causative -ʔn, Completive -ʔl, and other miscellaneous predicative suffixes which are no longer productive (7.2.C.2.b.1.a.). Chief among intransitive suffixes which transform P_{EA} stems into P_A's are the Antipassive (7.2.C.2.b.1.b.) and Detransitive (7.2.C.2.a.) suffixes.

3.2.B.2. VOICE. There is no marker for the Active voice, although the Definite Medial suffix -T may play this role; suffixes mark Passive (originally Indefinite Medial -tk^{w} / -S) and Antipassive (-ʔS). Both can be definite or indefinite (marked by the Indefinite Medial suffix added to the Passive or Antipassive suffix). The Antipassive label may not be entirely accurate since the Definite Antipassive suffix can also be used to form nouns from other nouns. Frames ending in one of the Medial suffixes indicate Reflexive (7.3.a.1.a.2.a.1.) and Reciprocal (7.3.A.1.a.1.b.).

3.2.B.3. MODALITY. There are suffixes for Causation and Completion, as well as other less definable suffixes (probably Temporary, Recurrent, etc.)(7.2.C.)

3.2.B.4. CONTROL. Grammatical control is expressed by the suffix -ə- for predicate-focused transitives (7.2.A.3.); there are also two prefixes expressing dominance: Dominative tə- (physical control, 7.1.B.1.a.2.a.) and Jussive k^{w}in- (mental control, authority, 7.1.B.1.a.2.b.).

3.2.B.5. ASPECT. P_As (excepting most nouns) can be inflected for Progressive Aspect, through partial reduplication (of the preceding auxiliary yuk^{w} if not of the predicate itself). (See Reduplication, chapter 8).

3.2.B.6. TENSE and MOOD are expressed syntactically by combinations of semi-free morphemes (modal particles, auxiliaries and subordinators), not morphologically.

3.2.C. CATEGORIES COMMON TO NOUN AND VERB.

3.2.C.1. DEFINITENESS. In the verb, there are Definite and Indefinite Medial suffixes (7.2.C.1.). Nouns can be marked for Definite or Indefinite possession (3.2.A.2.b.). For both noun and verb, Indefiniteness is marked by the suffix -tk^{w}/-s (7.2.C.1.b.).

Among compounds, Object-incorporating verbs can occur unmediated (without a suffix, corresponding to a definite meaning, or mediated (with the Attributive suffix -m), corresponding to an indefinite meaning. The use of a transitive verb + noun construction instead of an Object-incorporating verb marks the noun as definite (9.).

3.2.C.2. NUMBER. Most verbs and adjectives and some nouns have separate singular and plural forms (Tarpent 1983b), which show great surface diversity. However, this diversity can be greatly reduced by a more thorough analysis.

3.2.C.2. a. According to purely superficial criteria it is possible to recognize the following classes:

3.2.C.2.a.1. Pure types:

3.2.C.2.a.1.a. Class I: full reduplication (statistically the most important):

1. root ending in Velar: the formula is

CVK --> CvX)CVK

Examples:	Singular	Plural	
	cóq	caẋ)cóq	'to stay, camp,
	jok	*jaxjok*	live (s.w.)'
	ʔák	ʔix)ʔák	'to forget s.t.'
	ʔak	*ʔixʔak*	

2. root ending in other consonant:

CVC --> Cvc)CVC

Examples:	ʔám	ʔim)ʔám	'to write sthg'
	ʔam	*imʔam*	
	ʔá·ʔiḳskʷ	ʔat)ʔá·ʔiḳskʷ	'to come, arrive'
	aaʔiḳskw	*at-aaʔiḳskw*	

3.2.C.2.a.1.b. class II: partial reduplication:

CVC --> C(v))CVC

Examples:	páʔ	pi)páʔ	'thigh'
	baʔa	*bibaʔa*	

m̓á·l	m)m̓á·l	'canoe'
m̓aal	*mm̓aal*	

3.2.C.2.a.1.c. class III: prefixation:

1. with lə- *li/la/lu*: (a small, closed class):

Examples:	ʔáḵs	lə-ʔáḵs	'to drink'
	aḵs	*li'aḵs*	
	tə-mó·tkʷ	tə-lə-mó·tkʷ	'to cure, save s.o.'
	dimootkw	*dilimootkw*	

2. with **qa-** *ga-*: (a productive class)

Examples:	wóx̣	qa-wóx̣	'to bark'
	wox	*gawox*	
	ʔá·t	qaʔá·t	'to fish (w. net)'
	aat	*ga'aat*	

3.2.C.2.a.1.d. class IV: unstressed vowel-lengthening (a very small class):

CVCV... --> CV:CV...

Examples:	hanáq̓	ha:náq̓	'woman'
	hanaḵ'	*haanaḵ'*	
	pi'ist	pi·'ist	'star'
	bi'ist	*bii'ist*	

3.2.C.2.a.2. Apparently mixed types:

3.2.C.2.a.2.a. class V: partial reduplication with velar infix (a productive class):

	CV... -->	Cix)CV...	
examples:	ḳ́itaẋ ***gidax***	ḳix)ḳ́itaẋ ***gixgidax***	'to ask s.o. s.t.'
	ʔamqó·ḳit ***amgoogit***	hix)ʔamqó·ḳit ***hix'amgoogit***	'to be pretty (us. other than persons)'

3.2.C.2.a.2.b. class VI: partial reduplication with vowel lengthening and stress-shift; roots ending in Velars only (a non-productive class which includes many irregularities):

	CVK -->	ĆV:)CvK	
examples:	wóq ***wok***	wó·waq ***woowak***	'to sleep'
	náḳs ***naks***	ní·niḳskʷ ***niiniikskw***	'spouse'

3.2.C.2.a.3. To these classes should also be added yet another, that including the suppletive stems, as in:

ƛ̓á· ***t'aa***	wán ***wan***	'to sit'
máq ***mak***	ƛ̓á4 ***t'ahl***	'to put s.t. (away)'

3.2.C.2.b. However, apart from the suppletive stems the apparently diverse methods used to form the plural can be reduced to two, prefixation and reduplication.

The many irregularities (including pleonastic or doubly-marked formations) are explainable in terms of three stages of historical evolution (see also Chapter 8). At each stage, prefixed forms seem to be mostly distributive in meaning, reduplicative forms mostly repetitive: the plural meaning of reduplication then seems to derive from an aspectual meaning. That Aspect is also indicated through a form of reduplication confirms this.

3.2.C.2.b.1. Stage 1 (Archaic): stress occurs on the prefixed syllable: (**10**.3.B.2.a.):

3.2.C.2.b.1.a. Prefixation with lə- :

skát	lísḳit	'to be born'
sgat	*lisgit*	

Most plural stems formed with this prefix begin with a Velar, which is deleted intervocalically, hence forms like

qínx̣	línx̣	'(tree) to fall'
genɣ	*linɣ*	

Some plural stems of this shape no longer occur by themselves, but have been used as the base for full reduplication in Stage 2. Vocalic alternations such as in

ké:ɬ	lá:ɬ	'to lie (down),
geehl	*laahl*	to go to bed'

confirm that this is an archaic type (see T 1983b).

3.2.C.2.b.1.b. Full reduplication (RED_1): in the present state of the language this type is evidenced through the class of plurals of the shape CV́:CvK, formed on roots of the shape CVK (class VI above), where the Velar in pre-consonantal position has become vocalized (10.1.B.1.b.3.b.2.(b)), for instance:

nóx̱	*nóx̱)nox̱ > nó:nax̱	'mothers'
nox̱	*noonax̱*	
kw.s.táq.s	kw.s.*táq)taq.s > kwstá:taqs	
kwsdax̱s	*kwsdaadax̱s*	'to leave s.'

These forms were not affected by the stress-shift which, in the next stage, must have affected plurals formed on roots ending in other consonants.

Vowel-alternations such as in

náks	'spouse, married'	ní:niks-[t]k^w	'spouses'
naks		spouse.PL.-INDEF	*niinikskw*

confirm that this is an archaic type.

3.2.C.2.b.2. Stage 2: (Classical): stress is on the root/base/stem, not on the prefixed syllable:

3.2.C.2.b.2.a. Prefixation: prefixation with lə- occurs within a frame lə -T (7.3.A.1.a.1.a.) as in

t̓é:q	lə-t̓é:q-T	'to eat too much
t'eex̱	*lit'eex̱(t)*	too fast'

3.2.C.2.b.2.b. Full reduplication (Red 2) (class I above) affects C_1VC_2 bases and stems, with a widening of the definition of C_1 and C_2 so that larger and larger stems are affected, e.g.

cám	**cim)cám**	'to boil, cook s.t.'
jam	*jimjam*	
ʔá:m	ʔam)ʔá:m	'to be good'
aam	*am'aam*	
sqíksk^{W}	**sax)sqíksk^{W}**	'to be injured'
sgekskw	*saxsgekskw*	
wilá:x	**wil)wilá:x**	'to know s.'
wilaax	*wilwilaax*	
qó:ʔosT	**qas)qó:ʔosT**	'to be/have
goo'os(t)	*gasgoo'os(t)*	cooled'

including stems pluralized with **lə-** (in Stage 1) and now monosyllabic, as in

kámk	***lámk > lim)lámk**	'warm, hot'
gamk	*limlamk*	

3.2.C.2.b.2.c. Partial reduplication is used for the plural of terms designating groups or sets, e.g.

c̓áḵ	ci)c̓áḵ	'dish'
ts'ak'	*jits'ak'*	
ɬínkit	ɬi)ɬínkit	'(sg.) Tlingit;
hlingit	*hlihlingit*	(pl.) slaves'

mostly nouns, but also a few adjectives and verbs, including one irregular CV:CvK formation (Stage 1):

*ńi:ɬuk^{W}	n)ńi:ɬuk^{W}	'long (pl.)'
long.PL	*nɑ́iiɬukw*	

Partial reduplication on a stem of the shape KVCV results in an intervocalic K which is deleted, causing a long vowel: K)KVCV > KvKVCV > KV:CV, for instance

kiǹám	*ki)kiǹám > ki:ǹám	'to give s.'
giǹam	*giiǹam*	
hanáq̓	*ha)hanáq̓ > ha:náq̓	'woman'
hanaḵ'	*haanaḵ'*	

This formula is reinterpreted as CVCV > CV:CV, a formula which is used with stems other than those with initial Velar, hence the Class IV plurals, e.g.

piɬíst	pi:ɬíst	'star'
biɬist	*biiɬist*	

(Remark: this word, the only one in this class which does not begin with a Velar, also has a fully and classically reduplicated plural pil)piɬ̃ist *bilbiɬist*, showing alternate tries at pluralizing a word which does not quite fit canonical forms. That is is originally bimorphemic is shown by its Gitksan counterpart *bil'ust*).

This class includes some prefixed formsuch as:

x̱s-*k^{W}iné:q-s	lə-x̱s-*k^{W}i:né:q-s	'to feel cold'
x̱sgwineeḵ̱s	*laɣsgwiineeḵs*	

3.2.C.2.b.3. Stage 3 (Modern): prefixation and reduplication are productive under new forms.

3.2.C.2.b.3. a. Prefixation uses the Distributive prefix qa- (7.1.B.1.a.1.b.), especially with intransitive verbs and adjectives:

wóx̣	qa-wóx̣	'to bark'
wox̱	*gawox̱*	
x̣ĉáẏ	qa-x̣ĉáẏ	'to be thick'
x̱ts'aẏ	*gax̱ts'aẏ*	

but also with some nouns which do not have a plural:

liplé:t	qa-liplé:t	'priest'
lipleet	*galipleet*	(<Ch.J. <Fr.)

3.2.C.2.b.3.b. Full reduplication (Red 3)(class V) occurs under the shape Cix- which is one of the reduplicative allomorphs of the Stage 2 pattern; this shape can be prefixed to any type of word, including those beginning with proclitics:

sqa=piɬé:ʔ	six)sqa=piɬé:ʔ	'curtain'
across=spreading	PL)...	
sgabihlee'e	*sixsgabihlee'e*	

and borrowings such as

púc	pix)púc	'(pair of) boots'
buts	*bixbuts*	

and plurals formed by other methods, especially those forms which are no longer recognizable as reduplicated, as in

lu:=yóʔoks	lu:=hix)yó:ʔoks	'to wash s.t. out'
in=wash.s.	in=PL)wash.s.PL	
luuyo'oks	*luuhixyoo'oks*	

The addition of the Cix- syllable on an already plural form emphasizes the meaning of separateness , as in

pi·ɬist	'stars'	pix)pi·ɬist	'each and every
biilist		*bixbiilist*	star'

Partial reduplication is not a method of plural-formation at this stage.

CHAPTER 4: SYNTAX OF THE CLAUSE

4.1. INTRODUCTION.

4.1.A. The predicate phrase.

A Nisgha sentence may consist of one or more clauses, each of which includes a predicate phrase. The predicate phrase consists obligatorily of a predicate, ambient, nominal or verbal, which may be accompanied by one or two pronominal arguments. The predicate phrase carries a great deal of information, both within the predicate and in the more or less tightly bound morphemes that surround it, encapsulating or anticipating in a general way the relations between all the semantic elements of the clause (4.2.).

In its morphosyntactic structure, the predicate phrase provides a general, abstract schema or structural description of the relations among the predicate and the non-predicative constituents, which may then be amplified and fleshed out by independent elements carrying lexical content, such as nouns and adverbs, which indicate the precise semantic referents of the more abstract morphemes attached to the predicate. Since the predicate phrase is normally the first major constituent of a clause (although usually preceded by minor constituents), it can be said to provide a 'table of contents' for the clause. Under suitable circumstances, when the semantic referents are already known (as in answering yes to a question), this capsule description of the syntactic structure of the clause can do duty for the entire clause.

The predicate stem is usually accompanied by one or two bound pronouns indicating the presence and syntactic nature of the arguments; nominals with semantic content indicating the precise reference of these pronouns may also occur elsewhere in the clause, but are adjuncts to the pronouns rather than arguments themselves. Sorting out which nominal adjuncts correspond to which pronominal arguments is accomplished by strict word order and in one

case by differential stress. There is also one case (in the Predicate-focused clause, 4.4.) where some bound pronouns cannot appear, but a suffix added to the predicate stem ensures that syntactic relations are kept in order. However, the predicate- pronominal structure is not always transparent, because a phonological rule of consonant-deletion (10.2.A.2.b.1.) can, under certain conditions, obliterate some surface representations of pronominal morphemes.

In addition to the pronominal arguments, circumstantial proclitics (7.1.A.) which can be prefixed to the predicate give considerable detail as to the location, direction, manner, etc. of the action described by the predicate; the individual circumstances to which these proclitics apply can be made explicit by nominal or adverbial complements. Combinations of these proclitics with some verbal suffixes (Frames, 7.3.) indicate yet other syntactic relationships between arguments and complements.

Not all nominal elements in a clause corefer with the pronominal arguments. In a number of cases the clause includes an obligatory nominal with specific semantic properties, here referred to as the Specified Complement, placed before the predicate, in addition to the pronominal arguments (4.7.B.). It is not clear what the status of this constituent should be, whether argument or complement, but it is similar to the Second Object found with some English verbs.

The predicate stem itself often carries a great deal of information. Modifications of the predicate stem mark aspect and number. Many predicate stems carry one or more affixes indicating such verbal categories as Causative, Jussive, Medial, Detransitive, and others, which indicate the precise relation of the arguments to the action or state indicated by the predicate, as well as to each other (7.2.C.). Compounding provides a way of integrating a meaning-carrying adjunct within the predicate itself, as when a specific noun is incorporated into the predicate (9.2.A.).

Optional elements such as Future and Irrealis particles (6.1.B.1.), modal and

discourse modifiers (5.15.), and evidential postclitics (6.3.), also occur within the domain of the predicate phrase. Subordinators (5.16) can also be bound phonologically to the predicate phrase although they are not part of it syntactically.

With so much information concentrated in the predicate phrase, there seems to be little role left for the non-predicative elements, beyond providing semantic referents for parts of the predicate phrase. However, any non-predicative adjunct, whether nominal or adverbial, can receive special emphasis through the process of Focusing (4.7.A.), characterized primarily by position in front of the predicate. Focusing of non-predicative meaning-carrying adjuncts is the major counterweight to the rigid structure of the predicate phrase and to the heavy load of information it carries.

But the predicate itself can be given focus by placing it into first position: this entails some morphological adjustments which lighten the predicate structure by omitting one of the pronominal arguments. Predicate-focused clauses (4.4.) are rare in narrative style, since they are used to give factual precisions and explanations, not to move the narrative forward. They are much more frequent in conversational style.

Under certain conditions a predicate phrase can also function as adjunct. Downshifting (4.5.) occurs when a predicate and its argument, for instance a nominalized transitive verb and its Object, are used in a non-predicative function within the clause. Conversely, a possessed noun, the result of downshifting, can itself be raised to the role of clause predicate (4.6.).

The result of all this is an extremely flexible syntax with an incredible variety of surface clause types.

4.1.B. Ergative and Absolutive:

The arguments can have the functions of Subject,[1] Agent[1] and Direct Object. Their treatment defines the character of Nisgha morphology and syntax.

It is now well-documented that languages differ according to how they treat these three functions (e.g. Dixon 1979). Since the intransitive Subject function is in complementary distribution with those of Agent and Direct Object, it is rarely kept totally distinct from them, whether morphologically, syntactically, or both. Instead, it is usually considered to be equivalent to one of these functions. In most European languages, for instance, Agent and Subject functions are marked in the same way, both syntactically and morphologically, and the Object is marked differently:

Eng	***He helped***	***He helped Fred***
	Subj(NOM)	Agt(NOM) Obj(ACC)
	He helped him	***Fred helped him***
	Agt(NOM) Obj(ACC)	Agt(NOM) Obj(ACC)
Fr	***Il a aidé***	***Il a aidé Fred***
	he has helped	he has helped F.
	Subj(NOM)	Agt(NOM) Obj(ACC)
	Il l'a aidé	***Fred l'a aidé***
	he him has helped	F. him has helped
	Agt(NOM) Obj(ACC)	Agt(NOM) Obj(ACC)

In Nisgha, as in a variety of other languages widely scattered around the world (Basque, Caucasian languages, Australian languages, some North American and Polynesian languages, etc.), the Subject function is marked like the Direct Object function, and a special form or other distinctive treatment marks the Agent function:

...wil ɬimó:m̓isk^{w}-y̓	... as I helped out (with traditional
SUB help.out-1S	services).
Subj(ABS)	... *wil ɬlimoom̓isgwiy̓*.
...nə wil ɬimó:m-n	... as/when I helped you.
1E SUB ...-2S	... *ni wil ɬlimoomin*.
Agt(ERG) Obj(ABS)	
...mə wil ɬimó:m-y̓	... as/when you helped me.
2E SUB ...-1S	... *mi wil ɬlimoomiy̓*.
Agt(ERG) Obj(ABS)	

It is traditional to refer to systems of the Agent = Subject ≠ Object type, like English or French, as Nominative/Accusative systems, and to systems of the Agent ≠ Subject = Object type as Ergative/Absolutive systems. (Ergative refers to the Agent forms; Absolutive to the Subject = Object forms). These terms are used for convenience, whether the language has a full-fledged case system marking all arguments, as in Latin or Russian, or whether morphological case marking is restricted to a subsystem such as the personal pronouns of English or Nisgha, where the differentiation of arguments (or their coreferent adjuncts) is achieved mostly by word order. In these two languages, morphological case marking is marginal, but numerous other features of morphology and especially syntax converge to give to Nisgha a distinctly Ergative[2] character, to English a distinctly Accusative character.

While an adequate description of Nisgha requires reference to the syntactic functions of the various arguments, there are many cases where greater simplicity can be achieved and the nature of the system made clearer by referring to the Ergative/Absolutive argument dichotomy rather than to the three distinct functions of Subject, Agent and Direct Object. In describing the structure of the Nisgha clause, then, the predicate phrase can be represented using the general formula

P((E)A)

where P is the predicate, E the Ergative argument(Agent function), A the Absolutive argument (Subject or Object function):

P	
...wil má:tim	... as/when it snows/it's winter.
SUB snowing/winter	... *wil maadim*.
P A	
...wil ɬimó:m̓isk^{w}-ɣ̓	... as/when I helped out (with traditional services).
SUB help.out-1S	... *wil ɬlimoom̓isgwiɣ̓*.
E P A	
...mə wil ɬimó:m-ɣ̓	... as/when you helped me.
2E SUB ...-1S	... *mi wil ɬlimoomiɣ̓*.

The Attribute of a nominal predicate can also be identified as Absolutive on morphological and syntactic grounds, since it behaves like the Subject of an Intransitive verb, as in (regular clause):

P A	
...wilhanáq̓-ɣ̓	.... as I am a woman.
SUB woman-1S	.... *wil hanaƛ'aɣ̓*.

Predicates will be referred to according to the number and kind of arguments they take: thus a P_A takes only an Absolutive argument while a P_{EA} takes both an Ergative and an Absolutive argument.

4.1.C. Order of morphemes:

In a normal (not predicate-focused) transitive clause, the Ergative argument pronoun, a clitic, is placed before the predicate (before or after a subordinator

and/or particles if present), its Absolutive counterpart, a suffix, after the predicate. If the nouns that these pronouns refer to are mentioned in the same clause, they are placed after the predicate, in the same order:

$$\ldots E \ldots P\text{-}A\ (E_{Adt})\ (A_{Adt})$$

E	P	A	
...wil-t	ɬimó:m	-t	... as/when s/he helped him/her.
COMP-3E	help.s.	-3	...*wilt hlimoomt*.

E	P	A	E-Adt	A-Adt	
...wil-t	ɬimó:m	-[t]=s	[t] Màry	t Lúcy	... as/when Mary helped Lucy.
COMP-3E	help.s.	-[3]=DC	[DM] M.	DM L.	...*wilt hlimooms **Mary t Lucy***

The Specified Complement (Sc) is placed before the E pronoun:

Sc	E	P	A	
Péter	t	siwátT	-t	S/he named him Peter.
P.	3E	name.s.	-3	***Peter t** siwadit*.

Sc	E	P	A	E-Adt	A-Adt	
Péter	t	siwátT	-[t]=s	[t] Màry=ɬ	ɬkú:ɬk^{W}	-t
P.	3E	name.s.	-[3]=DC	[DM] M=NC	child	-3

Mary named her child Peter.
***Peter t** siwadis **Maryhl** hlguuhlkwt*.

In an intransitive clause, which does not have an Ergative argument, the order of morphemes is otherwise the same:

P	A	
...wil ɬimó:ḿisk^{W}	-t	... as/when s/he helped out (with traditional services).
SUB help.out	-3	...*wil hlimoomiskwt*.

P A A-Adt
...wil ɬimó:m̓isk^{W}-[t]=s [t] Màry ... as/when Mary helped out.
SUB help.out-{3}=DC {DM} M. ... *wil hlimoom̓iskws* ***Mary***.

In a predicate-focused clause, the predicate occurs in first position, and it does not carry an Absolutive pronoun. The Ergative argument is indicated by a suffix pronoun after a Control suffix (the suffix pronoun does not always occur on the surface, because of the consonant-deletion rule,). Other nominals[3], if present, are in the same E-A order as in a regular clause:

P E
ɬimó:m-ə-t S/he helped him/her.
help.s.-CTL-3 *Hlimoomit.*

P E E-Adt A-Nom
ɬimó:m-ə-[t]=s [t] Màry t Lúcy Mary helped Lucy.
help.s.-CTL-{3}=DC {DM} M. DM L. *Hlimoomis* ***Mary*** *t Lucy.*

P
ɬimó:m̓isk^{W} S/he helped out
help.out (with traditional services).
Hlimoom̓iskw.

P A-Nom
ɬimó:m̓isk^{W} t Màry Mary helped out
help.out DM M. (with traditional services).
Hlimoom̓iskw ***t Mary***.

4.1.D. Predicate downshifting:

All predicates that can take an Absolutive argument can be accompanied by this argument (and its nominal Adjunct) while performing non-predicative functions in a main clause. Since such a predicate phrase is now only one of

the main constituents of a clause, rather than a clause in its own right, we can say that both predicate and argument have been *downshifted*. Predicate and argument are still linked, but in a different way. Downshifting (4.5.) may occur through:

- possession of a noun: the possessor is downshifted:

ʔà:t-[t]=s [t] Péter	Peter's net
net-[3]=DC [DM] P.	***aats Peter***
ṁùkʷ-[t]=s [t] Péter	Peter's catch (of fish)
catch[3]=DC [DM] P.	***ṁukws Peter***

- attribution :

si: **ṁùkʷ**s-m hó:n	fresh-caught fish
new caught-ATT fish	*sii **ṁukʷ**sim hoon*

- relativization of an intransitive verb (= Focusing of its Subject):

(t) Péter=ɬ ʔà:t-(ə)t	Peter fished (with a net)
(DM) P.=NC fish.w.net-REL	*(T) Peterhl **aadit**.*
ksaχ t Péter=ɬ **ṁùkʷ**-(ə)t	Only Peter caught [something]
only DM P.=NC catch-REL	*Ksaχ t Peterhl **ṁugwit**.*

- nominalization of a transitive verb:

ɬə **càp**-T-[t]=ɬ ʔá:t	....(the) making (of) a net
the make.s.-DEF-[3]=NC net	*...hli **jabihl** aat*
ɬə **ṁùkʷ**-T-[t]=ɬ hó:n	...(the) catching (of) fish
... catch.s.-DEF-[3]=NC fish	*...hli **ṁugwihl** hoon*

(Remark: the key words in these examples have multiple class membership; most words would only fit into some of these patterns).

- nominalization of an adjective:

w̓i:-[qa-n̓àkʷ-ə]-[t]=ɬ ʔá:t ... the length of the net/how long the net is
big-[...-long-...]-[3]=NC net ... *w̓ii gan̓agwihl aat*

4.2. MAJOR CLAUSE CONSTITUENTS.

4.2.A. THE PREDICATE.

Most predicative words can also take the argument roles, and words capable of being arguments can also be predicates, so it makes sense to classify these words on the basis of their capabilities as predicates, i.e. according to the number and kind of arguments and complements they take. As in English, many words have multiple class membership.

4.2.A.1. Predicates occurring singly: (P_0):

These are mostly words referring to natural phenomena such as

haywís	(to) rain	*haywis*
má:tim	(to) snow, winter	*maadim*

4.2.A.2. Predicates with arguments (A and E) only:

4.2.A.2.a. Predicate with Absolutive argument only:(P_A):

This category comprises a number of classes:

1. intransitive verbs (5.2):

- non-stative:

yú:χk^{w}	'to eat'	*yuuχkw*
c̓ín	'to come/go in'	*ts'in*

- stative:

t̓á:	'to sit/exist'	*t'aa*

2. adjectives (5.3):

n̓ák^{w}	'to be long, far'	*naakw*

3. numerals (5.4):

k̓ó:l	'one (person)'	*k'yool*

4. nouns (5.5):

wílp	house	*wilp*
nóχ	mother	*noχ*

4.2.A.2.b. Predicates with one Ergative and one Absolutive argument (P_{EA}):

These comprise the majority of the transitive verbs (5.1.). Some must take the Definite Medial suffix (DEF) **(-T)** (7.2.C.1.a.). In predicate-focused clauses, all transitive verbs are followed by the Control (CTL) infix -ə-. (7.2.A.3.).

ká?	'to see s. (A)'	*ga'a*
q̓úc	'to cut s.t. (A)'	*q'ots*
tálq	'to talk to s.o. (A)'	*dalk*
kipá	'to wait for s.o. (A) (that's coming)'	*giba*

q̓áq-T	'to open s.t. (A)'	*k'ak-di*
open-DEF		

Transitive verbs including Jussive verbs formed by prefixing (k^{W}in-) 'Jussive' *gwin-* (7.1.B.1.a.2.b.) to another verb:

k^{W}in-č̓ín	'to have s.o. (A) come in'	JUSS-enter
	(Fr. faire entrer qqn)	*gwin-ts'in*
k^{W}in-cáp	'to have s.o. make s.t. (A),	
JUSS-make.s.	to have s.t. (A) made'	*gwin-jap*
	(Fr. faire faire qqch)	

4.2.A.3. Predicates with Specified Complement (Sc):

Semantically, the Specified Complement adds precision to a predicate which already has a very restricted semantic domain, whether or not this predicate also takes a Direct Object: most of the cases are verbs of saying, but there are also others. The Specified Complement is normally anteposed to the predicate, but a number of details differentiate it from a Focused constituent (4.7.B.).

4.2.A.3.a. Predicates with Absolutive argument and Specified Complement: (P_{ASc})

wá	'name of "Sc"'	
name		*wa*
siwá-tk^{W}	'(place, etc.) to be named "Sc"'	
name.s.-PASS		*siwatkw*
siwá-tk^{W}s	'(object, plant, animal, etc.) to be	
name.s.-PASS.INDEF	called [by the common name] "Sc"'	
		siwatkws

4.2.A.3.b. Predicate with Ergative and Absolutive arguments and Specified Complement: (P_{EASc})

híks	'to say "Sc" to s.o. (A)'	*hiks*
kín	'to give s.o. (A) a food (Sc)'	*gin*
wás-T	'to price s.t. (A) at "Sc"; to charge or quote the price "Sc" for s.t. (A)'	*was-di*

4.2.A.3.c. Predicate with Ergative argument and Specified Complement: (P_{ESc})

Only one predicate fits this description:

yá/hí:ta	' (sg/pl) to say "Sc"'	*...ya/...hiida*

This predicate is unusual in many respects, including the fact that it has an E argument but no A argument (see also 7.2.A.1.c.).

4.2.A.4. Predicates with Indirect Object: Even though the Indirect Object (IO) is not part of the arguments, it is mentioned here because of it often corresponds to an underlying argument (for instance, the Absolutive argument of a transitive verb can also occur as the IO of an Antipassive verb, cf. Tarpent 1982). The Indirect Object is indicated by a prepositional phrase or an Indirect pronoun (5.9.).

4.2.A.4.a. Predicates with Absolutive argument and Indirect Object: (P_{AI}): Only a few of these actually require an Indirect Object:

ʔkʷóːtisT	'to miss (=not see/meet) s.o. (I)'	*kw'oot'is(t)*
ʔwaːkátkʷ	'to miss (=feel the absence of) s.o. (I)'	*'waagatkw*

In many cases the Indirect Object is optional:

mítk^{W}	'to be full (of s.t.) (I)'	*mitkw*

In particular, Antipassive verbs (derived from transitive verbs, 7.2.C.2.b.1.b.) can take an optional Indirect Object (which is equivalent fo the DO of the corresponding transitive verb):

káʔask^{W}	'to look around (at s.)(I)'	*ga'askw*
	(cf. káʔ 'to see.s.' *ga'a*)	
kipéʔesk^{W}	'to wait around (for s.)(I)'	*gibe'eskw*
	(cf. *kipá* 'to wait for s.' *giba*)	

4.2.A.4.b. Predicates with Ergative and Absolutive arguments and with Indirect Object (P_{EAI}):

These are a few transitive verbs which take an Indirect Object in addition to a Direct Object (this use is rare in Boas 1902 but normal nowadays):

- human I:

kiṅám	'to give s.t. (A) to s.o.(I)'	*giṅam*
máɬ-T	'to tell s.o. (I) s.t. (A)'	*mahl(di)*
...-DEF		

- non-human I:

kítaẋ	'to ask s.o. (A) s.t. (I)'	*gidaẋ*
hó:x-T	'to use s.t. (A) for s.t. (I)'	*hoox(di)*

These include Jussive verbs, formed by framing a transitive verb with the Jussive frame [k^{W}in-...-T-] *gwin-...-di*, (7.3.A.2.a.1.) which take an Indirect

Object:

kʷín-cáp-T	'to have s.t. (A) made by s.o. (I),
[...-make.s.-...]$_{JUSS}$	to have s.o. (I) make s.t. (A)' *gwin-jap-di*

4.2.B. ADJUNCTS AND COMPLEMENTS.

Adjuncts co-refer with the pronominal arguments which are part of the Predicate phrase. The first adjunct noun after the predicate is connected to it by a Connective clitic (6.2.B.). Adjuncts can still accompany the predicate when the latter is downshifted (4.6.). Absolutive Adjuncts (i.e. adjuncts to the Absolutive pronominal argument) can be incorporated into the predicate itself through compounding (9.2.A.)

Complements occur in addition to the predicate phrase and are never a part of it; they are not connected to the predicate or to an Adjunct; they are never incorporated into the predicate phrase.

Both Adjuncts and Complements can be focused (4.7.A.). Both can be simple or complex. Complex adjuncts and complements may be noun-phrases (possessive or attributive), numeral phrases, or conjoined nominals (5.17.). Entire clauses can also function as Adjuncts with certain verbs, and as circumstantial Complements.

4.2.B.1. Adjuncts: Adjuncts are usually nouns (or noun-phrases) or pronouns (except Indirect pronouns). They can be determinate or non-determinate (3.2.C.1.). Some transitive verbs can take a clausal Adjunct, as in

intr.:	tə-ʔtá:-(y)ə-t=ɬ sita:ɬí:sk-t	She sat knitting.
	DOMIN-sit-CTL-3=NC knit-3	*Dit'aayithl sidaahliiskt.*

tr.: tə-ʔáqɬkʷ-ə-t=ɬ tim-t ɬísaʔan-t S/he was able to finish it.
DOMIN-able-CTL-3=NC FUT-3E finish.s.-3 *Di'aghlgwithl dimt hlisa'ant.*

4.2.B.2. Complements: There are three kinds of complements: Specified Complements, circumstantial complements and Indirect Objects.

4.2.B.2.a. Specified complement: The Specified complement of a P_{ASc} predicate does not corefer with anything in the predicate phrase and cannot be omitted. It is always quoted in full in the clause; it has a very restricted semantic range (e.g. name, place, instrument), whereas the Adjuncts are usually defined in more general terms (e.g. s.t., s.o.).; for instance

ʔakú məsiwá-tT-[t]=s[t]kùn==i What [name] do you call this?
what 2E name.s.-DEF-[3]=DC [DM] this==Q ***Agu** mi sivadis guni?*

In regular clauses it occurs in first place before predicate, unless another constituent is focused, in which case is appears after the Adjuncts, preceded by the preposition ʔa *a* (5.18).[4]

4.2.B.2.b. Circumstantial Complement: A circumstantial complement can indicate place or time.[5]

There may be more than one such complement in the clause. A complement indicating place often refers to a Proclitic (7.1.) in the predicate: the proclitic indicates the type of location or motion described by the predicate, while the complement indicates the exact site of the action.

Circumstantial complements can be nouns (and noun-phrases), adverbs (5.14), or clauses. Those various elements can often be preceded by the preposition ʔa *a* which is sometimes used as a subordinator (5.18).

A circumstantial complement usually occurs after the argumental Adjuncts, except if it is focused, for instance:

Pred.-foc.: timmí:luk^{W}-ti: **wilpqalčáp ƛa:ɬák^{W}**
FUT dance-IMPERS community.hall tomorrow
Tomorrow there is a <u>dance</u> at the hall.
Dim miilukwdii ***wilpqalts'ap t'aahlakw.***

Foc.Loc.: **wilpqalčáp** tim wil mí:luk^{W}-ti: (ƛa:ɬák^{W})
com.hall FUT SUB dance-IMPERS (tomorrow)
The dance (tomorrow) is <u>at the hall</u>.
Wilpqalts'ap *dim wil miilukwdii (t'aahlakw).*

Foc.Time: **ƛa:ɬák^{W}** tim wil mí:luk^{W}-ti: The dance is <u>tomorrow</u>.
tomorrow FUT SUB dance-IMPERS ***T'aahlakw*** *dim wil miilukwdii.*

4.2.B.2.c. <u>Indirect Object</u>: The Indirect Object expresses semantic categories such as Goal, Beneficiary, Instrument, etc., for instance

timkiƛám-ə-ỷ ʔa=s [t] <u>Máry</u>	I'll <u>give</u> it to <u>Mary</u>.
FUT give.s.-CTL-1S PREP=DC [DM] M.	*Dim giƛamíỷ* ***as Mary.***
timkiƛám-ə-ỷ **lò:-n**	I'll <u>give</u> it to you.
FUT give.s.-CTL-1S IND-2S	*Dim giƛamíỷ* ***loon.***

Like the circumstantial complements, the Indirect Object, if present, is placed after the Adjuncts unless focused. It can be represented by a prepositional phrase **ʔa** + nominal, or by the Indirect **lo:**–pronoun *(loo...)*(5.9). Like other constituents, the Indirect Object can be focused (4.7.A.3.a.); however, the **lo:**–pronoun cannot occur in focused position (it is replaced by an independent **ƛi**–pronoun, 5.8).

4.3. THE REGULAR CLAUSE: THE PREDICATE PHRASE AND ITS ADJUNCTS.

4.3.A. The basic predicate phrase:

The syntactic unit consisting of the predicate and its pronominal argument(s) is normally not uttered alone (see 4.3.C. below for exceptions). It is usually introduced by other constituents: by a Subordinator (5.16), a Specified Complement (4.7.B.), a Relative-Ergative clitic (6.1.A.2.), or by an Auxiliary (5.12) or Negative (5.13) verb, or by another predicate, verbal or nominal.

These structures where the predicate is preceded by various elements contrast with the predicate-focused clause (4.4.) where those elements cannot appear and the predicate is the first constituent of a main clause.

In both types of structure, the predicate phrase can include a modal particle (6.1.B.) and/or one or more modifiers (5.15), as well as an evidential postclitic (6.3.).

The imperative clause (4.3.D.) can be described as a truncated predicate phrase.

4.3.A. Introductory elements:

4.3.A.1. Non-verbal elements:

4.3.A.1. a. Subordinator: (5.16)

- P_0:	ɬa: má:tim	It's winter now.
	by.now snowfall	***Hlaa maadim.***
- P_A:	ɬa: náks-t	S/he is married now.
	by.now married-3	***Hlaa nakst.***

... **wil** haɬáɬsT-t	... as/where/when s/he worked/works.
as,... work-3	... ***wil hahlaɬs(i)t.***
... **wiɬa**: hó:ks-t	... how it's used.
how used-3	... ***wiɬa hookst.***

- P_{EA}: (In a P_{EA} clause, the subordinator occurs after the 1S.E or 2E clitic pronoun, but before other pronouns).

... **ɬa**:-tnáksk^{W}-t	... when s/he married him/her.
by.now-3E marry.s.-3	... ***ɬaat nakskwt.***
... nə **wil** ƛipá-n	... as/when/where I wait(ed) for you.
1S.E as,... wait.for.s.-2S	... ***ni wil ƛiban.***
... mə **wiɬa**: hó:x-T-t	... how you use(d) it.
2E how use.s.-DEF-3	... ***mi wiɬa hooyit.***

4.3.A.1.b. Specified Complement (Sc):

P_{ASc}: the connective =**ɬ** is used between the Sc and the predicate:

Máry=ɬ wà-ɣ̓	My name is Mary.
M.=NC name-1S	***Maryɬ waɣ̓.***
ʔaɣ̓áns=ɬ siwàtk^{W}-t	It is called Aiyansh.
A.=NC named-3	***Aɣ̓anshɬ siwatkwt.***
P_{EASc}: **Láura** tip siwà-(t)T-t	We named her Laura.
L. 1P.E name.s.-DEF-3	***Laura dip siwadit.***
aƛú məƛín-t	What [food] did you give h.?
what 2E give.food.to.s.-3	***Aƛu mi ƛint?***

P_{ESc}:	**ní**: nəyá	I said "No."
	no 1S.E say	*" **Nii,** " ni ya.*
	ní: t-yá	S/he said "No."
	no 3E-say	*" **Nii,** " diya.*
	ʔé:ʔ məsim hí:ta	[All of you] Say "Yes."
	yes 2E 2P.E say.PL	*"**Ee'e,** " mi sim hiida.*

4.3.A.1. c. Relative-Ergative pronoun: (in PEA clauses only):

... t **an** kipá-n	... [the one] who is/was waiting for you.
3E REL.E wait.for.s.-2S	... ***t an** giban.*

4.3.A.2. Verbal elements: Both Auxiliary and Negative verbs can introduce the predicate phrase. The connective =ɬ (6.2.B.) is placed between this verb and the predicate if no other morpheme occurs between them.

4.3.A.2.a. Auxiliary verbs: (5.12)

P_0:	**yùk**^{W}=ɬ má:tim	It's snowing.
	PROG=NC snowfall	***Yukwhl** maadim.*
P_A:	**yùk**^{W}=ɬ haɬáĺsT-t	S/he is working.
	PROG=NC work-3	***Yukwhl** hahlaĺs(i)t.*
	ɬìsk^{W}=ɬ haɬáĺsT-ỷ ʔi:...	After I finish(ed) working, ...
	PERF=NC work-1S and.then	***Hliskwhl** hahlaĺsiỷ ii ...*
P_{EA}:	**yùk**^{W} nə hó:x-t	I am using it.
	PROG 1S.E use.s.-3	***Yukw** ni hooxt.*

... **ɬìsk**^{W} məhó:x-t	... after you've finished with it...
PERF 2E use.s.-3	(after you've finished using it)
	... ***hliskw*** *mi hooxt* ...
yùk^{W} tipkipá-n	We are waiting for you.
PERF 1P.E wait.for.s.-2S	***Yukw*** *dip giban.*

4.3.A.2. b. Negative verbs: (5.13)

P_0:	**nì**:-ti:má:tim	It did not snow/it is not snowing.
	not-INTS snowfall	***Nidii*** *maadim.*
P_A:	**nì**:-ti:haɬal̓sT-ẏ	I don't/didn't work.
	not-INTS work-1S	***Nidii*** *hahlal̓siẏ.*
	haẇìn=ɬyòʔoksẇé:ntk^{W}-n==a	Have you brushed your teeth yet?
	not.yet=NC brush.o's.teeth-2S==Q	***Haẇinhl*** *yo'oksẇeentgwina?*
	kilò=ɬ tál-sim̓	Stop fighting!
	don't=NC fight-2S	***Gilohl*** *dalsim̓!*
P_{EA}:	**nì**:-nə-ti:kipá-t	I didn't wait for h.
	not-1S.E-INTS wait.for.s.-3	***Nindii*** *gibat.*
	haẇìn məkáʔ-t==a	Have you seen it/h. yet?
	not.yet 2S.E see.s.-3==Q	***Haẇin*** *mi ga'ada?*

4.3.A.3. <u>Optional elements within the predicate phrase</u>:

4.3.A.3.a. Modal particles (6.1.B.) and/or Modifiers (5.15.) can occur together with any of the above elements:

P_0: ɬa: **tim** má:tim — It's going to snow now (soon).
by.now FUT snowfall — *Hlaa **dim** maadim.*
PTCL

ʔám **cə ʔax** má:tim — Hope it doesn't snow!
good IRR not snowfall — *Aam **ji ax** maadim!*
PTCL MOD

P_A: yùk^W=ɬ **tim** yòʔoksẇé:ntɬ^W-ỷ — I am about to brush my teeth.
PROG=NC FUT brush.o's.teeth — *Yukwhl **dim** yo'oksẇeentgwiỷ.*
PTCL

kilò **cə** tál-siḿ — Don't fight! (Don't start)
don't IRR fight-2P — *Gilo **ji** dalsiḿ!*
PTCL

nì:-ti: **q̓ap**nik^{W}ó:t-t lò:-t — He is not h. real father.
not-INTS really father-3 IND-3 — *Nidii **k'ap** nigwoott loot.*
MOD

ɬa: **qaks**náks-t — S/he finally got married.
by.now finally married-3 — *Hlaa **gaks** nakst.*
MOD

P_{EA}: nì: mə **tim** ti:kipá-t==a: — Won't you wait for h.?
not 2E FUT INTS wait.for.s.-3=Q — *Nii mi **dim** dii gibada?*
PTCL MOD

ná:-t ʔan **ʔax** wilá:x-n — Who doesn't know you? (38.7.)
who-3E REL.E not know.s.-2S — *Naat an **ax** wilaayin?*
MOD

P_{EASc}: Láura **tim** tip siwá-(t)T-t — We'll name her Laura.
L.FUT 1P.E name.s.-DEF-3 — *Laura **dim** dip siwadit*
PTCL

ntá mə **tim** wilá:k^{W}-T-t — What are you going to do with it/h.?
which.way 2E FUT treat.s.-DEF-3 — *Nda **mi dim** wilaagwit?*
PTCL

ʔakú nə **tim** ki)kín-ti:t — What [food] shall I give them?
what 1S.E FUT PL)give.food.to.s.-3P — What shall I feed them?
Sc PTCL — *Agu **ni dim** gigindiit?*

4.3.A.3.b. Evidential postclitics: **(6.3.)** Most of the postclitics can occur in the regular type of clause as part of the predicate phrase (some only occur with a predicate-focused clause, **4.4.**).

P_{0}: yùk^{W}=ɬ má:tim==**a**: — Is it snowing?
PROG=NC snowfall==Q — *Yukwhl maadim**a**?*

P_{A}: ɬa: ɲák^{W}-[t]=ɬ ta: ɲúẇ-t==(ə)**ma**ʔ
by.now long-[3]=NC when dead-3==DUB
He must be long since dead (182.8)
*Hlaa ɲakwhl daa ɲuẇdim**a**'a.*

ɬa náks-t==**a**ʔ — S/he got married! (believe it or not)
by.now married-3==Q — *Hlaa naksda'**a**!*

P_{EA}: nì:-ti:-t wilá:x-t==**qat** — I hear s/he doesn't/didn't know.
not-INTS-3E know.s.-3==REP — *Nidiit wilaax**t-qat**.*

4.3.B. The expanded predicate phrase (including nominal adjuncts):

The semantic referent of a 3rd person pronoun (E or A) may be made explicit by

a nominal adjunct in the clause. The nominal adjuncts are placed after the predicate, in the same order E-A as the pronouns.

Whatever its function (E- or A-adjunct), the nominal following the predicate is connected to it by the connectives (6.2.B.) =S if determinate, =ɬ *-ɬ* if non-determinate (unless the modal particle cə IRR *ji/ja* intervenes). The sequence is:

... (t) Pred-t =S/=ɬ (Nominal) Nominal
(E) A =CON (E-Adt) A-Adt

but the contact of the suffix pronoun (-t) with a connective, which consists of a non-Velar fricative, produces a cluster which is subject to the phonological rule of consonant-deletion, and the sequence /t/ + fricative is reduced to the fricative alone. On the surface, then, the Adjunct usually appears to be connected directly to the predicate, and to be in complementary distribution with the A suffix pronoun which occurs overtly when no nominal is present.

However, the 3rd person suffix pronoun (-t) does appear when a postclitic (6.3) intervening between the pronoun and the connective prevents contact between the two phonological elements. As well, in Boas 1902 , a collection of tales, there are some cases where (-t) is indeed present on the surface, before connective =S, or with omission of the non-determinate connective =ɬ *-ɬ* (persons repeating or dictating a sentence word by word, very slowly, often omit that connective). The overt presence of the suffix pronoun in a sentence which also includes a coreferent noun or nouns shows that the suffix is present in the mind of the speaker.

Another phonological rule further obscures the structures preceding determinate nominals: a regular cluster-simplification rule deletes the singular Determinate marker t (6.2.A.) after the connective =S; the plural DM tip *dip* is not subject to this rule and is never deleted. (Where the connective does not occur, as after the particle cə IRR *ji/ja*, the DM does occur on the surface).

In addition, the degemination rule merges a connective with a preceding /s/ or /ɬ/.

4.3.B.1. Nominal adjunct to the A argument (A-adjunct):

It should be noted that the stress on the nominal Adjunct to the A argument is different for P_A and P_{EA} clauses: the A-adjunct of a P_A receives secondary stress, the A-adjunct of a P_{EA} receives primary stress (compare with the stress on the E-adjunct, below 4.3.B.2.).

Examples with non-determinate nominal:

P_A:

- ɬa:náks-[t]=ɬ **ɬkù:ɬk^{w}-m kàt-ɣ̀** My son is married now.

by.now married-[3]=NC child-ATT man-1S *Hlaa nakshl hlguuhlgum gadiɣ̀.*

ɬa:náks-t==a?=ɬ **ɬkù:ɬk^{w}-m kàt-ɣ̀**

by.now married-3==ASST=NC child-ATT man-1S

Yes, my son is actually married now!

Hlaa naksda'ahl hlguuhlgum gadiɣ̀!

ɬa:náks-t==qa[t]=ɬ **ɬkù:ɬk^{w}-m kàt-ti:t**

by.now married-3==REP=NC child-ATT man-3P

I hear their son is married now.

Hlaa nakst-ga(t)hl hlguuhlgum gatdiit.

ɬa:náks-t==(ə)ma?=ɬ **ɬkù:ɬk^{w}-m kàt-ti:t**

by.now married-3==DUB=NC child-ATT man-3P

Their son is probably married now.

Hlaa naksdima'ahl hlguuhlgum gatdiit.

P_{EA}:

- nì:-nə-ti:wilá:x-[t]=ɬ **náks-t** I don't know his wife/her husband.

not-1S.E-INTS know.s.-[3]=NC spouse-3 *Nindii wilaaxhl nakst.*

nì:-ti:-t wilá:x-t==qa[t]=ɬ **náks-t**
not-INTS-3E know.s.-3==REP=NC spouse-3
I hear s/he$_a$ doesn't know his$_b$ wife/her$_b$ husband.
*Nidiit wilaaxt-ga(t)hl **nakst.***

- yùk^W-tkipá-[t]=ɬ **ɬkí:k^W-t** She is waiting for her sister.
PROG-3E wait.for.s.-[3]=NC W's.sister *Yukwt gibahl **hlgiikwt**.*

- n̓i[t]=ɬ k̓i:-t laẋ)lá:q̓al-t==ki:=ɬ **k^{W}ilq̓a: n̓íti:t==ki:**
that's...=NC and-3E PL)examine.s.-3==DIST=NC all them==DIST
Then he examined them all (144.13).
*N̓ihl k'iit laẋlaaḵ'alt-gihl **gwilḵ'a n̓idiit-gi**.*

Examples with determinates:

P_A:

- ɬa: náks-[t]=[s][t] Pèter Peter is married now.
by.now married-[3]=DC [DM] F. *Hlaa naks **Peter**.*

ɬa: náks-t==qa[t]=s[t] Pèter I hear Peter is married now.
by.now married-3==REP=DC [DM] F. *Hlaa nakst-gas **Peter**.*

ɬa: náks-[t]=[s] tip Pèter qan=s [t] Wèndy
by.now married-[3]=DC DM.PL P. and=DC [DM] W.
Peter and Wendy are married now.
*Hlaa naks **dip Peter gans Wendy**.*

ɬa: náks-t==aʔ=s tip Pèter qan=s [t] Wèndy
by.now married-[3]=DC DM.PL P. and=DC [DM] W..
Peter and Wendy are actually married now!
*Hlaa naksda'as **dip Peter gans Wendy**!*

P_{EA}:

- nì:-nə-ti:wilá:x-[t]=[s][t] **Wéndy** I don't/didn't know Wendy.
  not-1S.E-INTS know.s.-[3]=DC [DM] W. *Nindii wilaxs **Wendy**.*

  nì:-ti:-t wilá:x-t==qa[t]=s[t] **Wéndy**
  not-INTS-3E know.s.-3==REP=DC [DM] W.
  I hear s/he doesn't know Wendy.
  *Nidiit wilaaxt-gas **Wendy**.*

- yùk^{W}-tɬipá-[t]=s [t] **Lúcy** She is waiting for Lucy.
  PROG-3E wait.for.s.-[3]=DC [DM] L. *Yukwt gibas **Lucy**.*

  yùk^{W}-tɬipá-[t]=s **tip Lúcy** She is waiting for Lucy 'and them'.
  PROG-3E wait.for.s.-[3]=DC DM.PL L. *Yukwt gibas **dip Lucy**.*

Examples from Boas 1902 show overt presence of the 3rd person suffix pronoun as well as the noun which is the A-adjunct:

- with omission of the non-determinate connective =ɬ *-hl*:

P_{A}:

- ɂni[t]=ɬ ɬ̓i: hux^{W} mítk^{W}-t hux^{W} ɬ̓ìl̓-[t]=ɬ wìlp
  that's...=NC and again full-3 again one-[t]=NC house
  Then one more house was full. (158.6)
  Ɂihl k'ii huxw mitkwt huxw k'ilhl wilp.

P_{EA}:

- yùk^{W} nə cák^{W}-t ẇi:liḱíńsk^{W} I just killed the big grizzly (119.5).
  PROG 1S.E kill.s.-3 big grizzly *Yukw ni jakwt ẇii ḱik'íńskw.*

- ʔáːm=ɬ tim ʔítkʷs-t tim wà-t He should receive his name (165.1).
  good=NC FUT pronounced-3 FUT name-3 *Aamhl dim itkwst dim wat*

- ʔakúməqancáɬ-t hóːnɬəcáp-ə-ɣ̓
  what 2E therefore eat.up.s.-3 fish the make.s.-CTL-1S
  Why did you eat all my fish? (118.3)
  Agu ma gan jahlt hoon hli jabiɣ̓?

- with determinate connective =S:

P_A:

- ɲ̓i[t]=lχ̓iːluːyáltkʷ-t=s[t]c̓àk Then Ts'ak went back ... (121.1).
  that's...=NC and turn.back-3=DC [DM] Ts'ak *Ńihl k'ii luuyaltkwts Ts'ak* ...

- ɬaː ɬéːχ̓kʷ-[t]=s[t]c̓àk - sim c̓éːx-t=s[t]c̓àk
  by.now finished.eating-[3]=DC [DM] Ts'ak - really satiated-3=DC [DM] Ts'ak
  When Ts'ak had finished eating, when he was really full ... (128.6-7).
  Hlaa hleeχ̓kws Ts'ak, sim ts'eexts Ts'ak ...

P_{EA}:

- ...ʔálkaχ̓-[t]=ɬ χ̓òːl-[t]=ɬ kàt ʔa=s[t]c̓ák - t ʔítkʷ-t=s[t]c̓ák
  speak-[3]=NC one-[3]=NC man PREP=DC [DM] Ts'ak - 3E pronounce-3=DC [DM] Ts'ak
  ... one man spoke to Ts'ak, he spoke Ts'ak's name (120.5-6)
  ... *algaχ̓hl k'yoolhl gat as Ts'ak, t itkwts Ts'ak* ...

4.3.B.2. <u>Nominal adjuncts to both E and A arguments</u>:

The nominals are in the order E-A, like the pronouns. The E-adjunct, which is the one connected to the predicate, bears secondary stress, the A-adjunct primary stress. (In the following examples, the E pronoun and its Adjunct are the ones highlighted).

Examples with determinate nominals:

- yùkʷ-tkipá-[t]=s [t] Màry t Lúcy — Mary is waiting for Lucy.
  PROG-3E wait.for.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M. DM L. — *Yukwt gibas **Mary** t Lucy.*

  yùkʷ-tkipá-[t]=s [t] Màry tip Lúcy
  PROG-3E wait.for.s.-[3]=DC DM.PL M. DM L.
  Mary is waiting for Lucy 'and them'.
  *Yukwt gibas **Mary** dip Lucy.*

  yùkʷ-tkipá-[t]=s tip Màry t Lúcy
  PROG-3E wait.for.s.-[3]=DC DM.PL M. DM L.
  Mary 'and them' are waiting for Lucy.
  *Yukwt gibas **dip Mary** t Lucy.*

Examples with determinate E and non-determinate A:

- yùkʷ-tkipá-[t]=s [t] Màry=ɬ ɬkí:kʷ-t
  PROG-3E wait.for.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M.=NC W's.sister-3
  Mary is waiting for her sister.
  *Yukwt gibas **Maryh**l hlgiikwt.*

  yùkʷ-tkipá-[t]=s tip Màry=ɬ ɬkí:kʷ-ti:t
  PROG-3E wait.for.s.-[3]=DC DM.PL M.=NC W's.sister-3
  Mary 'and them' are waiting for their sister.
  *Yukwt gibas **dip Maryh**l hlgiikwdiit.*

As the connective =ɬ cumulates the functions of connective and non-determinate marker (6.2.B.), it is used both before the non-determinate E-adjunct (where it is functions as a connective) and the non-determinate A-adjunct (where it functions as a non-determinate marker):

Examples with non-determinate E and determinate A:

- yùkʷ-tɬipá-[t]=ɬ **hanàq̓** t Lúcy The woman is waiting for Lucy.
  PROG-3E wait.for.s.-[3]=NC woman DM L. *Yukwt gibahl **hanaƛ'** t Lucy.*

  yùkʷ-tɬipá-[t]=ɬ **hanàq̓** tip Lúcy
  PROG-3E wait.for.s.-[3]=NC woman DM.PL L.
  The woman is waiting for Lucy 'and them'.
  *Yukwt gibahl **hanaƛ'** dip Lucy.*

Examples with non-determinate E and A:

- yùkʷ-tɬipá-[t]=ɬ **hanàq̓**=ɬ ɬkí:kʷ-t
  PROG-3E wait.for.s.-[3]=NC woman DM L.
  The woman is waiting for her sister.
  *Yukwt gibahl **hanaƛ'** hl hlgiikwt.*

  yùkʷ-tɬipá-[t]=ɬ **ha:nàq**=ɬ ɬɬí:kʷ-ti:t
  PROG-3E wait.for.s.-[3]=NC woman.PL DM L.
  The women are waiting for their sister.
  *Yukwt gibahl **haanaƛ'** hl hlgiikwdiit.*

4.3.B.3. Adjunct to the E argument only:

The semantic referent of the E argument can be made explicit either by the 3P pronoun (-ti:t) or by a noun connected to the predicate. Although the 3P suffix cannot be called a 'nominal', it is an Adjunct, in complementary distribution with a noun.

4.3.B.3.a. 3P pronominal Adjunct:

- nì:-ti:-t wilá:x-ti:t They didn't know (it/h.).
  not-INTS-3E know.s.-3P *Nidiit **wilaaxdiit.***

- yùk^{W}-tkipá-ti:t — They are waiting for it/h.
  PROG-3E wait.for.s.-3P — *Yukwt gibadiit.*

4.3.B.3.b. Noun Adjunct:

4.3.B.3.b.1. When the A argument is a 3rd person pronoun:

In terms of morpheme representation, the surface structure of the P_{EA} clause with a noun E-adjunct is exactly the same as that with A-adjunct only (see above 4.3.B.1.), as the same phonological rules apply to obscure the presence of some morphemes. However, the nominal E-adjunct receives secondary stress, just as it does when an A-adjunct is also present.

Examples with non-determinate E: the connective =ɬ connects the E-adjunct to the verb:

- nì:-ti:-t wilá:x-[t]=ɬ nàks-ẏ̀
  not-INTS-3E know.s.-[3]=NC spouse-1
  My wife/husband doesn't know it/him/her.
  Nidiit wilaaxhl naksiẏ̀.

  nì:-ti:-twilá:x-t==qa[t]=ɬ nàks-ẏ̀
  not-INTS-3E know.s.-3==REP=NC spouse-1
  Apparently my wife/husband doesn't know it/him/her.
  Nidiit wilaaxt-ga(t)hl naksiẏ̀.

- yùk^{W}-t kipá-[t]=ɬ ɬkì:k^{W}-t — Her sister is waiting for her.
  PROG-3E wait.for.s.-[3]=NC W's.sister — *Yukwt gibahl hlgiikwt.*

Examples with determinate E: the determinate connective =S connects the E-Adjunct to the verb:

- nì:-ti:-t wilá:x-[t]=s [t] Wèndy — Wendy doesn't/didn't know it/h.
  not-INTS-3E know.s.-[3]=DC [DM] W. — *Nidiit wilaaxs Wendy.*

  nì:-ti:-t wilá:x-t==qa[t]=s [t] Wèndy — I hear Wendy doesn't know it/h.
  not-INTS-3E know.s.-3==REP=DC [DM] W. — *Nidiit wilaaxt-gas Wendy.*

- yùk^{W}-t kipá-[t]=s [t] Màry — Mary is waiting for her.
  PROG-3E wait.for.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M. — *Yukwt gibas Mary.*

  yùk^{W}-t kipá-[t]=s tip Màry — Mary 'and them' are waiting for her.
  PROG-3E wait.for.s.-[3]=DC DM.PL M. — *Yukwt gibas dip Mary.*

4.3.B.3.b.2. When the A argument is a 1st or 2nd person pronoun:

Unlike the 3rd person suffix pronoun, a 1st or 2nd person suffix pronoun A remains present on the surface as there are no phonological rules capable of deleting it. The nominal E-adjunct occurs after this pronoun and is not linked to it, as shown by the absence of the connective =S (and consequent overt appearance of the DM t) before a determinate:

- nì:-ti:-t wilá:x-ý̓ t Wèndy — Wendy doesn't know me.
  not-INTS-3 know.s.-1S DM W. — *Nidiit wilaayiý̓ t Wendy.*

- yùk^{W}-t kipá-n t Màry — Mary is waiting for you.
  PROG-3E wait.for.s.-2S DM M. — *Yukwt giban t Mary.*

As the connective =t cumulates the functions of connective and non-determinate marker (6.2.B.), it is used before the non-determinate E-adjunct as a non-determinate marker:

- nì:-ti:-t wilá:x-ý̓=t nàks-t — His wife/her husband doesn't know me.
  not-INTS-3 know.s.-1S=NC spouse-3 — *Nidiit wilaayiý̓ht nakst.*

- yùkʷ-tkipá-n=ɬ ɬkì:kʷ-n — Your sister is waiting for you.
  PROG-3E wait.for.s.-2S=NC W's.sister-2S. *Yukwt gibanhl hlgiigwin.*

4.3.B.4. Remarks: Potential ambiguity with only one nominal adjunct:

When only one of the two arguments of a P_{EA} has a nominal adjunct, only stress differentiates the E-adjunct (with secondary stress) from the A-adjunct (with primary stress), thus for instance

- yùkʷ-t kipá-[t]=s [t] **Màry** — Mary is waiting for h.
  PROG-3E wait.for.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M. *Yukwt gibas **Mary**.*

- yùkʷ-tkipá-[t]=s [t] **Máry** — S/he is waiting for Mary.
  PROG-3E wait.for.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M. *Yukwt gibas **Mary**.*

There may then be ambiguity in writing, where stress is not indicated, or under artificial conditions of speech. In practice, however, there is little potential for ambiguity, even in reading, first because these sentences occur in context, second because when the two arguments refer to humans it is usually the E argument that is made explicit by the presence of an adjunct, not the A argument; both have adjuncts when there is a possibility of misunderstanding.[6]

4.3.C. The free-standing predicate phrase:

In some circumstances the predicate phrase is not preceded by any of the introductory morphemes described above (4.3.A.1).

A predicate accompanied by its pronominal arguments but which is not preceded by a clause, auxiliary, subordinator or specified complement may also occur before other discourse. This occurs in situations, mostly informal, where the conceptual background is already known to the audience. Such clauses do not present totally new information, but are rather a means of interacting with one's audience by referring to something that is already at least vaguely

known. This seems especially common with P_A's, but also occurs with P_{EA}'s.

4.3.C.1. Free-standing P_A:

4.3.C.1.a. Alone, a free-standing P_A with its argument can initiate discourse:

- ɬísk^{w}-m̓
  finished-1P
  Finished! ([Now that] we've finished... [what next?]) *Hlisgum̓!*

- n̓í-t
  that's-3
  So.. [what's new?] (informal greeting between people of same age and status) *N̓it!*

or provide a comment:

- pí:k̓^{w}-n
  lie-2S
  Liar! (You're lying) *Biik̓w'in!*

- n̓í-t==a:
  that's-3 ==Q
  Is that so! *N̓ida!*

  n̓í-t==(ə)ma?
  that's-3==DUB
  Probably! That must be it! *N̓idima'a!*

  n̓í-t==a?
  that's-3==ASST
  That's exactly it! *N̓ida'a!*

- wíl-t==(ə)ma?
  act-3==DUB
  That may well be! *Wildima'a!*

- qaksmúx^{w}-ẏ̓
  at.last hear.news-1S
  At last I hear about it! *Gaks muwiẏ̓!*

Such incomplete sentences are used in informal situations where the participants feel comfortable with each other.

4.3.C.1.b. Preceding another clause: an incomplete clause can be used to present background material which is already known or incidental to the main point:

- **ẇítk^{w}-ẏ** qaltimwó:ṫ tim ʔi:sə-ḵé:ks-ẏ
  come.from-1S store FUT and make-cake-1S
  Once I come back from the store I'll bake a cake.
  (Fr. *Une fois revenu(e)* du magasin, je vais faire un gâteau).
  Ẇitgwiẏ galdimwoot' dim ii sikeeksiẏ.

The free-standing predicate phrase is often aspectually reduplicated:

- ḵi:páx̱-[t]=s[t]txè:msim - **p)páx̱-t** ḵi:sq̇é:xk^{w}
  and run-[3]=DC [DM] T. - ASP)run-3 and dark
  And Tx̱eemsim ran. As he was running, it got dark (27.5).
  K'ii bax̱s Tx̱eemsim. Bibax̱t, k'ii sḵ'eex̱kw.

- **p)páx̱-t** ḵi:-tká?-[t]=ɬsmáx
  ASP)run-3 and-3E see.s.-[3]=NC bear
  ***While [s/he was] running,* s/he saw a bear.**
  (Fr. *En courant,* il/elle a vu un ours)
  Bibax̱t, k'iit ga'ah/ smax.

This construction contrasts with a predicate-focused clause (4.4.) which presents new information:

p)páx̱ ḵi: ...	***S/he was running,* and ...**
ASP)run and	***Bibax̱, k'ii ...***

4.3.C.2. Free-standing P_{EA}:

This type also occurs in informal conversation:

- nəqaykská?-t — Finally got to see it/him/her!
  1S.E at.last see.s.-3 — *Na gayks ga'at!*

4.3.D. The incomplete predicate phrase: the imperative:

An imperative structure has the form of an incomplete predicate phrase. It can be described as the truncated form of a type of sentence which actually occurs with imperative force, and which includes a modal particle, tim FUT *dìm* or cə IRR *jì/jə* (6.1.B.1.). The imperative clause can be described as a truncated predicate phrase normally including a modal particle, from which all the morphemes preceding the predicate have been omitted, up to and including the modal particle. The omitted morphemes include the first and second person singular E clitic pronouns, which precede these particles, but not their plural counterparts, which follow them.

This rough description will cover most cases of imperative structures. However, if two P_{EA} imperative clauses are conjoined, the second is a full predicate phrase including the clitic pronoun but not a modal particle.

Consider the following sentences, which have imperative force:

P_A:

- ?à:m=ɬ tim ɬá:-n — You better sit down.
  good=NC FUT-2 — (lit. it is good that you will sit down)
  Aamhl dìm t'aan.

  kìlò cə **wán-siṁ** — Don't (pl.) sit down!
  don't IRR sit-2P — *Gilo ji **waasiṁ**!*

P_{EA}:

- ʔáːm mə tim **stíl-ɣ̓** — You better come with me.
  good 2E FUT accompany.s.-1S — *Aam mi dim **sdiliɣ̓**.*

- ʔáːm mə tim **sqa=t̓ák^{w}-[t]=ɬ ptóʔ** — You better lock the door.
  good 2E FUT barring=twist.s.-[3]=NC door — *Aam mi dim **sgat'akwhl pdo'o**.*

  kilò mə cə simsqa=t̓ák^{w}-[t]=ɬ ptóʔ — Don't (pl.) lock the door!
  don't 2E IRR 2E.P barring=twist.s.-[3]=NC door
  *Gilo mi ji **sim sgat'akwhl pdo'o**!*

- **kilò mə cə kúk^{w}sa?an-[t]=s[t]pé:pi:** — Don't wake up Baby!
  don't 2E IRR wake.up.s.-[3]=DC [DM] B. — *Gilo mi ji **gyukwsa'ans Beebii**.*

The verbs **ʔáːm** 'good' ***aam*** and **kilò** 'don't!' ***gilo!*** are higher predicates, the Modal particles **tim** FUT *dim* and **cə** IRR *ji/ja* belong to the predicate phrase under consideration.

The imperative clauses corresponding to sentences such as the above are identical to the portions of those sentences which follow a Modal particle.

4.3.D.1. <u>For a PA clause</u>, the one argument, a suffix, is unaffected and remains on the predicate:

t̓áː-n — Sit down! — ***T'aan!***
sit-2S

wán-sim̓ — Sit down! — ***Wansim̓!***
sit.PL-2P

4.3.D.2. <u>For a PEA clause</u>:

4.3.D.2.a. Complete imperative clause: the A argument, a suffix, also remains on the predicate (followed by a nominal adjunct if appropriate). The E argument, a clitic, is deleted if it precedes the modal particle:

- ʔá:m **mə tim** stíl-ɣ̓ — You better come with me.
  good 2E FUT accompany.s.-1S — *Aam mi dim sdiliɣ̓.*

  stíl-ɣ̓ — Come with me!
  accompany.s.-1S — *Sdiliɣ̓!*

- ʔá:m **mə tim** sqa=t̓ák^{W}-[t]=ɬ ptóʔ — You better lock the door.
  good 2E FUT barring=twist.s.-[3]=NC door — *Aam mi dim sgat'akwhl pdo'o.*

  kilò **mə cə** sqa=t̓ák^{W}-[t]=ɬ ptóʔ — Don't lock the door!
  don't 2E IRR barring=twist.s.-[3]=NC door — *Gilo mi ji sgat'akwhl pdo'o!*

  sqa=t̓ák^{W}-[t]=ɬ ptóʔ — Lock the door!
  barring=twist.s.-[3]=NC door — *Sgat'akwhl pdo'o!*

- kilò **mə cə** kúk^{W}saʔan-[t]=ɬ[t] pé:pi: — Don't wake up Baby!
  don't 2E IRR wake.up.s.-[3]=DC [DM] B. — *Gilo mi ji gyukwsa'ans Beebii!*

  kúk^{W}saʔan-[t]=ɬ[t] pé:pi: — Wake up Baby!
  wake.up.s.-[3]=DC [DM] B. — *Gyukwsa'ans Beebii!*

but it remains if it follows the modal particle:[7]

- ʔá:m **tim tip** stíl-[t]=s[t]Péter — We better go with Peter.
  good FUT 1P.E accompany.s.-[3]=DC [DM] P. — *Aam dim dip sdils Peter.*

  tip stíl-[t]=s[t]Péter — Let's go with Peter!
  1P.E accompany.s.-[3]=DC [DM] P. — *Dip sdils Peter!*

- ʔá:m **tim tip** sqa=ʔtákʷ-[t]=ɬ ptóʔ — We better lock the door.
  good 2E FUT barring=twist.s.-[3]=NC door — *Aam **dim dip** sgat'akwhl pdo'o.*

  tip sqa=ʔtákʷ-[t]=ɬ ptóʔ — Let's lock the door!
  barring=twist.s.-[3]=NC door — ***Dip** sgat'akwhl pdo'o!*

For the second person plural, the 2E plural morpheme **sim** *sim*, occurring after the modal particle, reinforces the 2E clitic **mə** *mi/ma* which occurs before the particle: in the imperative, only **sim** *sim* occurs, thus differentiating the plural from the singular:

- ʔá:m **mə tim sim** sqa=ʔtákʷ-[t]=ɬ ptóʔ — You (pl.) better lock the door.
  good 2E FUT 2E.P barring=twist.s.-[3]=NC door
  *Aam **mi dim sim** sgat'akwhl pdo'o.*

  kilò **mə cə sim** sqa=ʔtákʷ-[t]=ɬ ptóʔ — Don't (pl.)lock the door!
  don't 2E IRR 2E.P barring=twist.s.-[3]=NC door
  *Gilo **mi ji sim** sgat'akwhl pdo'o!*

  sim sqa=ʔtákʷ-[t]=ɬ ptóʔ — [You (pl.)] Lock the door!
  2E.P barring=twist.s.-[3]=NC door — ***Sim** sgat'akwhl pdo'o!*

If two imperative clauses are conjoined, E clitic pronouns are obligatorily present in the second clause, but **tim** FUT *dim* is not:

- sqa=ʔtís-[t]=ɬ ptóʔ ʔi: **mə** sqa=ʔtákʷ-t — Close the door and lock it.
  barring=push.s.-[3]=NC door and 2E barring=twist.s.-3
  *Sgat'ishl pdo'o ii **mi** sgat'akwt.*

The modal particles cannot occur in an imperative clause, but some modifiers can, as in:

- k̓aχ t̓á:-n — Sit down for a while!
  just.once sit-2S — ***K'aχ t'aan!***

- k̓aχ ɬimó:m-ỷ — Help me a minute!
  just.once help.s.-1S — ***K'aχ hlimoomiỷ!***

4.3.D.2.b. The incomplete P_{EA} imperative: the A-adjunct can be deleted if its referent is present in the context of situation, and if this referent is non-determinate. That the connective =ɬ *-hl* is present even without a following noun shows that this is an incomplete clause:[8]

Compare:

(sim)káʔ-t — Look at it/him/her!
(2E.PL) see-3 — *(Sim) ga'at!*

(sim)káʔ-[t]=ɬ w̓i: ʔús — Look at the big dog!
... see-[3]=NC big dog — ***(Sim) ga'ahl w̓ii us!***

(sim)káʔ-[t]=ɬ — Look! (lit. see...!)
... see-[3]=NC — ***(Sim) ga'ahl!***

If the A-adjunct is determinate, it cannot be deleted: the sentence

(sim)káʔ-[t]=s [t] Máry — Look at Mary!
... see-[3]=DC [DM] M. — ***(Sim) ga'as Mary!***

cannot be reduced to *(sim)káʔ-[t]=s — ***(Sim) ga'as*** [wrong].

4.4. THE PREDICATE-FOCUSED CLAUSE.[9]

In a predicate-focused clause, the predicate is never preceded by other predicates (including AUX and NEG), by a subordinator or a specified complement. It can however be preceded by modal particles and/or modifiers, and followed by an evidential postclitic, like a predicate in a regular clause.

The meaning emphasis in predicate-focused clauses is on the action or state described by the predicate, rather than on the participant(s). The corresponding English translations bear extra stress on the verb.

Of the two possible arguments E and A, only E becomes part of the predicate, as a pronoun suffix after the Control suffix (-ə-) (7.2.A.3.); a P_A does not take a suffixed argument. The following schema shows the difference between regular and predicate-focused structures:

Regular:	(E) Pred-A (E-Adt) (A-Adt)
P-Foc:	Pred (-ə- E) (A-nominal)

Predicate-focused clauses are used most often in conversation, especially in questions and answers. In narrative, they are only used to introduce precisions, not to move the narrative forward.

4.4.A. The basic predicate-focused clause:

Questions and answers with this type of clause can involve the predicate alone if other circumstances are known from the linguistic or situational context (the English equivalents require a Subject or Object pronoun, but no pronoun is necessary in Nisgha). When a question is asked in this form, the answer usually has the same predicate-focused structure (see below 4.7.A. for other types of questions), using the same or contrasting lexical elements, as in:

P_A:

- **x̱ɬíl̓** ==a: -- **x̱ɬíl̓** ==əst — [Does it] taste good? - Sure does!
  sweet==Q -- sweet==AFF — ***Xlil̓a?*** - ***Xlil̓is!***

P_{EA}:

- **ʔanó:q-ə-n**==a: - **ʔanó:q-ə-ẏ̓** — You like it? - I do!
  like.s.-CTL-2S==Q - like.s.-CTL-1S — ***Anoogana?*** - ***Anoogaẏ̓***.

- **ká?-ə-n**==a: - **ká?-ə-ẏ̓** — You saw that? - Yes! [I saw it]
  see.s.-CTL-2S==Q - see.s.-CTL-1 — ***Ga'ana?*** - ***Ga'aẏ̓***.

- tim **kipá-(y)ə-n**==a: — Will you wait for h.?
  FUT wait.for.s.-CTL-2S==Q — *Dim **gibayina**?*

  - tim **kipá-(y)ə-ẏ̓** — - I will [wait for h.].
  FUT wait.for.s.-CTL-1S — - *Dim **gibayiẏ̓***.

- lip **cáp-ə-n**==a: — - Did you make it yourself?
  self make.s.-CTL-2S==Q — - *Lip **jabina**?*

  ní: - **kí:k^w-ə-ẏ̓** — - No, I bought it.
  no - buy.s.-CTL-1S — - *Nii, **giigwiẏ̓***.

- ntá==(y)əma?mə tim wilá:k^w-T-[t]=ɬ hó:n-tk^w-n[10]
  which.way==DUB 2E FUT treat.s.-DEF-[3]=NC fish-MED-2S
  What are you going to do with your fish, I wonder?
  Ndayima'a mi dim wilaagwihl hoontgwin?

  tim **simiẏ̓é:n-ə-n**==a — [Are you going to] smoke them?
  FUTsmoke.s.-CTL-2S==Q — *Dim **simiẏ̓eenina**?*

ní: - tim **sitá:w-ə-ỷ**	- No, [I am going to] freeze them.
no - FUT freeze.s.-CTL-1S	- *Dim **sidaawiỷ**.*

A reply of this type, question or answer, can also be given to another type of question or comment, or to a situational context:

P_A:

- **tá:w̓iɬ** — S/he's gone.
  leave — ***Daaw̓ihl.***

- n̓a:m **wóq** — S/he wants to sleep.
  wanting sleep — *N̓aam-**wok̲**.*

- sim qal **mímst** — You are/s/he is crazy!
  really too crazy — *Sim gal **mimst**!*

- sim k̓a: **w̓i:t̓aẋkát**lò:-n — S/he is much older than you.
  really most old IND-2S — *Sim k'aa **w̓iit'aẋgat** loon.*

P_{EA}:

- ʔakù==(y)əmaʔqanq̓áq-[t]=ɬqanlu:qùyp̓aẋ
  what CAUSE open-[3]=NC window
  Why is the window open [I wonder]?
  Aguyima'a gan k'ak̲hl ganluugoyp'aẋ?

  - **q̓áq-T-ə-ỷ**==əst — - I opened it! [of course!]
  open-DEF-CTL-1S==AFF — - ***K̲'ak̲diỷ**is!*

- si: swét̲a t kùn==i — Is this a new sweater?
  new sweater DM this==Q — *Sii sweta tguni?*

- ʔé:ʔ - ʔanó:q-ə-n=a - Yes, you like it?
yes - like.s.-CTL-2S==Q - *Ee'e, **anoogana**?*

- ʔé:ʔ - lip cáp-ə-ỷ - Yes, I made it myself.
yes - self make.s.-CTL-1S - *Ee'e, lip **jabiỷ**.*

4.4.B. The expanded predicate-focused clause: with Nominals:

Since only the E argument is attached to the predicate, the term 'adjunct' can only be properly used of a nominal E-adjunct. However, other nominals can appear in the clause.

4.4.B.1. The E-adjunct:

If the E argument of a P_{EA} is the 3rd person suffix pronoun (-t), there can be a nominal adjunct following it, linked with the predicate by a connective. As with the regular clause (4.3.), the resulting phonological combination /t/ + non-Velar fricative is subject to the consonant-deletion rule, and only the connective appears on the surface, unless another morpheme such as a postclitic intervenes (see above p. 207 ff. Instances where the suffix appears on the surface also occur in Boas 1902, cf. above p. 210-211). With a determinate nominal, the singular Determinate marker t also disappears from the surface because of a cluster- simplification rule.

The stress pattern is also the same as in a regular clause, with the E-adjunct bearing secondary stress.

- simʔanó:q-ə-[t]=s [t] nòx̣-ỷ My mother really likes/liked it.
really like.s.-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] mother-1S *Sim anoogas **nooỷ**.*

timʔanó:q-ə-t==əmaʔ=s [t] nòx̣-ỷ I wonder if my mother will like it.
FUTlike.s.-CTL-[3]==DUB=DC [DM] mother-1S *Dim anoogadima'as **nooỷ**.*

- ɬə tim ɬimó:m-ə-[t]=s[t]nipìp-t His uncle was going to help him.
  REST FUT help.s.-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] uncle-3 *Hli dim hlimoomis nibipt.*

  ɬə tim ɬimó:m-ə-t==qa[t]=s[t]nipìp-t
  REST FUT help.s.-CTL-3==REP=DC [DM] uncle-3
  They say his uncle was going to help him.
  Hli dim hlimoomit-gas nibipt.

- ɬi tim ɬimó:m-ə-[t]=ɬ wàk-t His brother was going to help him.
  REST FUT help.s.-CTL-[3]=NC M's.brother-3 *Hli dim hlimoomihl wakt.*

  ɬi tim ɬimó:m-ə-t==qa[t]=ɬ wàk-t
  REST FUT help.s.-CTL-3==REP=NC M's.brother-3
  They say his brother was going to help him.
  Hli dim hlimoomit-ga(t)hl wakt.

The following example from Boas 1902 shows the preservation of the 3rd person pronoun suffix (-t):

- ƙ^{W}iɬ yúk^{W}-T-ə-t=s [t]čàk=ɬ ɬku qàmt-m ló?op
  about hold-DEF-CTL-3=DC [DM] Ts'ak=NC little firestarter-ATTR rock
  Ts'ak carried a strike-a-light on him. (Boas)
  Kw'ihl yukwdits Ts'akhl hlgu gamdim lo'op.

4.4.B.2. A-Nominals:

Unlike the non-focused predicate, the focused predicate does not carry a pronominal affix indicating its A argument. Nevertheless, a nominal corresponding semantically to the A argument can appear in the predicate-focused clause: since it does not have a pronominal argument to refer to, this nominal cannot be called an 'adjunct', and indeed a number of details differentiate it from a true adjunct such as the E-adjunct discussed above (4.4.B.1.), or the E- and A-adjuncts of the regular clause (4.3.B.). This nominal is

reminiscent of the postposed noun or demonstrative pronoun present in colloquial French sentences such as

Il mange, cet enfant!	That child sure eats!
he eats that child	
Il mange, celui-là!	That one sure eats!
he eats this-there	
Il m'a mordu, le chien!	The dog bit me!
he me has bitten the dog	

In order to avoid the term 'adjunct' here, the nominals will be referred to as 'A-nominals', meaning nominals with the function of A in the clause but not coreferent with any other morpheme.

4.4.B.2.a. A-pronoun: If the A-nominal is a pronoun (except a 3rd person singular pronoun, which is not usually expressed overtly),[11] it cannot be attached to the predicate, whether P_A or P_{EA}; instead, it is attached to the base ṅi- 'that's ...' *ṅi* ; the resulting forms are labeled here 'independent pronouns' (5.8.). These pronouns are highly marked forms, otherwise used mostly for focusing (4.7.A.). In these clauses, they bear secondary stress (as do A-nouns, below 4.4.B.2.b.).

P_A:

• ṅa:m wóq ṅì:ỷ	I want to sleep.
wanting sleep me	*Ṅaam-wok ṅiiý.*
• cə k̓aẋ t̓á: ṅì:n	Sit down [if you like]! You can sit down!
IRR just.once sit you	*Ji k'ax t'aa ṅiin!*

- **sáksk^{W}** ɲìtiːt[12]
  leave.PL them
  They went away/they're gone.
  Saksk^{W} *ɲidiit.*

P_{EA}:

- tim **kítax̣**-ə-**ỷ**ɲìːn
  IRR ask.s.o.s.t.-CTL-1S you
  I want to ask you a question.
  Dim ***gidax̣ỷ*** *ɲiin.*

- timhux^{W} **ká?**-ə-**ỷ** ɲìːn
  FUT again see.s.-CTL-1S
  Good-bye! (I'll see you again).
  Dim huxw ***gá'ỷ*** *ɲiin.*

- ɬə tim **ɬimóːm**-ə-**t**ɲùːm̓
  REST FUT help.s.-CTL-3 us
  S/he was going to help us.
  Hli dim ***ɬlimoomit*** *ɲuum̓.*

- **ɬimóːm**-**tiːt**ɲùːm̓
  help.s.-3P us
  They helped us.
  Ɬlimoomdiit *ɲuum̓.*

- **cák^{W}**-T-ə-**ỷ**==kiỷ ɲìːn
  kill.s.-DEF-CTL==MIN you
  I could kill you! [if you are not careful, if you don't stay out of the way] (Boas)
  Jakwdiỷ*-giỷ ɲiin!*

4.4.B.2.b. A-noun:

The A-noun is never connected to a focused predicate. The determinate connective **=s** is never used for this purpose, so that both singular and plural determinate markers occur on the surface. For non-determinates, however, the non-determinate connective **=ɬ** does occur between a predicate and an A argument, in its role as a non-determinate marker (see 6.2.B.2.a.): there is a phonological connection, but not a syntactic connection. As with a regular clause, the A noun bears secondary stress with a P_A, primary stress with a P_{EA}.

Examples with determinate A:

P_A:

- ṅa:m wóq t pè:pi: — Baby wants to sleep.
  wanting-sleep DM Baby — *Ṅaam-woḵ t Beebii.*

- kúkʷskʷ==kiẏ t pè:pi: — Baby is going to wake up! [if we are not careful to prevent it]
  wake.up==MIN DM Baby — *Gyukwskw-giẏ t Beebii!*

- sákskʷ tip Geòrge — George 'and them' are gone/went away.
  leave.PL DM.PL G. — *Sakskw dip George .*

- simk̓a:ẇi:t̓aẋkát t Pèter lò:-n — Peter is much older than you.
  really most old DM P. IND-2S — *Sim k'aa ẇiit'aẋgat t Peter loon.*

P_{EA}:

- cəkítaẋ-ə-n t Máry==(y)əs[t] — [You could] ask Mary [of course]!
  IRR ask.s.o.-CTL-2S DM M.==AFF — (Fr. Demande donc à Marie!)
  Ji gidaẋan t Maryis!

- timq̓ali:=sínt̓in-[ə]-m̓tip Geórge
  FUT upriver=give.ride.to.s.-CTL-1P DM.PL G.
  We are giving George 'and them' a ride up[river].
  Dim ḵ'aliisint'inim̓ dip George.

- ɬə tim ɬimó:m-ə-t t Péter — He was going to help Peter.
  REST FUT help.s.-CTL-3 DM P. — *Hli dim hlimoomit t Peter.*

Examples with non-determinate A: (as the connective in this case only has a noun-marking role, it is written separately from the predicate in the morpheme-by-morpheme transcription, like the DM):

P_A:

- n̓a:m-wóqɬ ɬḳu-tḳ̓ìɬkʷ The baby wants to sleep.
  wanting-sleep NC little-child *N̓aam-wo<u>k</u>hl hlgutk'ihlkw.*

- sákskʷ ɬ ḳ̓upa:-tḳ̓ìɬkʷ The children are gone/went away.
  leave.PL NC little.PL-child *Sakskwhl k'ubatk'ihlkw.*

- sim k̓a:w̓i:t̓aẋkátɬ nàks-t lo:-t Her husband is much older
  really most old NC spouse-1S IND-1S than her./His wife ... than him.
  Sim k'aa w̓iit'a<u>x</u>gathl nakst loot.

P_{EA}:

- cəḳitaẋ-ə-nɬ ɬḳí:kʷ-ỷ==əst [You could] ask my sister [of course]!
  IRR ask.s.o.-CTL-2S NC W's.sister-1S==AFF (Fr. Demande donc à ma sœur!)
  Ji gida<u>x</u>anhl hlgiigwiỷis!

- timq̓ali:=sínt̓in-[ə]-m̓ɬ ḳ̓upa:-tḳ̓íɬkʷ
  FUT upriver=give.ride.to.s.-CTL-1P NC little.PL-child
  We are going to take the children up[river].
  Dim <u>k</u>'aliisint'inim̓hl k'ubatk'ihlkw.

With a 3rd person pronoun E, the suffix -t comes in contact with the non-determinate connective =ɬ in its role as a non-determinate marker. Here, contrary to what happens when the nominal is an E-adjunct (4.4.B.1., p. 227) (and with E- and A-adjuncts in the regular clause, 4.4.3.B., p. 206 ff.), there is no /t/ -deletion, and /t/ and /ɬ/ remain separate:

- ɬə tim ɬimó:m-ə-t ɬ wák-t He was going to help his brother.
  REST FUT help.s.-CTL-3 NC M's.brother-3 *Hli dim hlimoomithl wakt.*

(Compare with deletion with E-adjunct, where the connective truly connects the

noun to the predicate:

- ɬə tim ɬimó:m-ə-[t]=ɬ **wàk-t** His brother was going to help him.
  REST FUT help.s.-CTL-3=NC M's.brother-3 *Hli dim hlimoomihl **wakt**.)*

The lack of deletion in the first case shows that the noun A is felt to be separate from the predicate, unlike the noun E. This agrees with the behavior of determinate A-nouns, which are not connected to the predicate by the **-s** connective (4.4.B.2.b.):

- ɬə tim ɬimó:m-ə-t t Péter He was going to help Peter.
  REST FUT help.s.-CTL-3 DM P. *Hli dim hlimoomit **t Peter**.*

4.4.B.3. E-adjunct and A-nominal:

4.4.B.3.1. A-pronoun:

4.4.B.3.a.1. A is a 1st or 2nd person ɬ̓ì-pronoun: the E-adjunct, bearing secondary stress, is not connected to the predicate, but is placed after the pronoun, preceded by the appropriate marker (DM or NC)(cf. in regular clause, 4.3.B.3.b..2.):

- ɬimó:m-ə-t ɬ̓ì:ɣ̓ t Màry Mary helped me.
  help.s.-CTL-3 me DM M. *Hlimoomit ɬ̓iiɣ̓ **t Mary**.*

  ɬimó:m-ə-t ɬ̓ù:m̓ t Màry Mary helped us.
  help.s.-CTL-3 us DM M. *Hlimoomit ɬ̓uum̓ **t Mary**.*

- ɬimó:m-ə-t ɬ̓ì:ɣ̓ ɬ **ɬkì:k^{W}-ɣ̓** My sister helped me.
  help.s.-CTL-3 me NC W's.sister-1S *Hlimoomit ɬ̓iiɣ̓**hl hlgiigwiɣ̓**.*

  tim ɬimó:m-ə-t ɬ̓ì:n ɬ **ɬkì:k^{W}-ɣ̓** My sister will help you.
  FUT help.s.-CTL-3 you NC W's.sister-1S *Dim hlimoomit ɬ̓iin**hl hlgiigwiɣ̓**.*

If the noun Agent is in the plural, the suffix pronoun on the predicate is still the suffix **-t** which is unspecified for number (7.2.A.1.a.2.a.), never the plural suffix **-ti:t** (7.2.A.1.a.2.b.) which is only used in the absence of an E-nominal:

- ɬimó:m-ə-t ɲì:ỷ tip Màry — Mary 'and them' helped me.
  help.s.-CTL-3 me DM M. — *Hlimoomit ɲiiỷ dip Mary*.

- ɬimó:m-ə-t ɲì:ỷ ɬ ɬixɬkì:kʷs-ỷ — My sisters helped me.
  help.s.-CTL-3 me NC W's.sisters-1S — *Hlimoomit ɲiiỷhl hlixhlgiikwsiỷ*.

(Compare with plural suffix:

- ɬimó:m-ti:t ɲì:ỷ — They helped me.
  help.s.-3P me — *Hlimoomdiit ɲiiỷ*.

but never

- *ɬimó:m-ti:t ɲì:ỷ tip Màry — Mary 'and them' helped me.
  help.s.-3P me DM M. — *Hlimoomdiit ɲiiỷ dip Mary* [wrong].)

4.4.B.3.a.2. A is a 3rd person pronoun:

The use of the 3rd person plural pronoun **ɲíti:t** *ɲidiit* (5.8.A.) seems to be fairly recent, in this position as in others (see note 12). It follows noun usage (see below 4.4.B.3.b.) rather than the usage of 1st and 2nd person pronouns (above 4.4.B.3.a.1.):

- ɬimó:m-ə-[t]=s[t]Màry ɲíti:t — Mary helped them.
  help.s.-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] M. them — *Hlimoomis Mary ɲidiit*.

Use of the 3rd person singular pronoun **ɲít** *ɲit* in the same type of structure is only mentioned here because it can occur especially in translations of English sentences, but it is not typical or idiomatic (see note 11).

4.4.B.3.b. A-noun:

The A-noun in a predicate-focused clause which also has an E-adjunct occurs after that noun, preceded by the appropriate marker (DM or NC).

- ɬimó:m-ə-[t]=s[t]Màry t Péter — Mary helped Peter.
  help-CTL-[3]=DC[DM] M. DM P. — *Hlimoomis Mary t Peter.*

- ɬimó:m-ə-[t]=s[t]Màry tip Péter — Mary helped Peter 'and them'.
  help-CTL-[3]=DC[DM] M. DM.PL P. — *Hlimoomis Mary dip Peter.*

- ɬimó:m-ə-[t]=s[t]Màry ɬ kimxtí-t — Mary helped her brother.
  help-CTL-[3]=DC[DM] M. NC opp.sex.sib.-3 — *Hlimoomis Maryhl gimxdit.*

4.5. PREDICATE DOWNSHIFTING: NON-PREDICATIVE FUNCTION OF A PREDICATE.

A predicate may have non-predicative functions in the sentence and retain a relation to its A, which is suffixed to it and the referent of which can be made explicit by an Adjunct. A downshifted predicate bears secondary stress, while the A adjunct bears primary stress.

4.5.A. Nominal functions of the downshifted predicate:

4.5.A.1. Possessive noun-phrase: (see 3.2.A.2. for the varieties of possession).

4.5.A.1.a. P_A (noun) = possessed, A (suffix pronoun) = possessor.

wìlp-ỷ — 'my house'
house-1S — *wilbiỷ*

wìlp-ti:t — 'their house'
house-3P — *wilpdiit*

ʔawáʔ-m̓	'at our place (Fr. chez nous)'
proximity-1P	*awa'am̓*
náks-t	'his wife/her husband'
spouse-3	*nakst*
hó·n-tk^{W}-n	'your fish [that you have]'
fish-MED-2S	*hoontgwin*
ɬə ʔó·c̓in-ỷ	'my soul'
REST soul-1S	*ɬi oots'iniỷ*

The Adjunct noun to a 3 pronoun is linked to the downshifted P_A by a connective which causes the immediately preceding 3 suffix **-t** (and the singular DM **t** if required) to be deleted (unless a postclitic intervenes), exactly as in a regular PA clause (see p. 206 ff.):

wílp-t	'his/her house'
house-3.	*wilpt*
wìlp-[t]=s[t]Sám	'Sam's house'
house-[3]=DC[DM]S.	*wilps Sam*
wìlp-[t]=s tip Sám	'Sam "and them"'s house'
house-[3]=DC DM.P S.	*wilps dip Sam*
wìlp-t==a?=s[t]Sám	'Sam's house, yes!'
house-3==ASST=DC[DM]S.	*wilpda'as Sam*
wílp-t==a?	'his house, yes!'
house-3==ASST	*wilpda'a*

wìlp-t==ki:sim?ó:kit tkùst 'the house of that chief' (25.2.)
house-3==DIST chief DM that (Fr. 'sa maison, à ce chef')
wilpt-gi sim'oogit tgus

hò:n-tk^{W}-[t]=s[t]Sám 'Sam's fish [that he has]'
fish-MED-[3]=DC[DM]S. *hoontkws Sam*

4.5.A.1.b. For those predicates which can have both nominal and verbal meaning, ambiguity with indeterminate adjuncts is prevented by the stress pattern:

... (wil) ɬkú:ɬk^{W}-[t]=ɬ hanàq̓ ... (as) the woman had a child.
... (SUB) have.child-[3]=NC woman ... *(wil) hlguuhlkwhl hanaḵ'*

ɬkù:ɬk^{W}-[t]=ɬhanáq̓ 'the woman's child'
child-[3]=NC woman *hlguuhlkwhl hanaḵ'*

Usually, of course, the noun-phrase will most often occur in different contexts from the predicate-adjunct sequence, but there are cases where the written form could be ambiguous:

(wil) hlguuhlkwhl hanaḵ' ant japt (1) (as/when) the woman who made it had a child
hlguuhlkwhl hanaḵ' ant japt (2) the child of the woman who made it

4.5.A.1.c. A noun-phrase can be embedded in another, for instance:

qasqò:-[t]=ɬ[wìlp-[t]=s[t]Sám] 'the size of Sam's house' or:
size-[3]=NC[house-[3]=DC[DM]S.] Sam's house is so big!
gasgoohl wilps Sam

stò?oks-[t]=ɬ[wìlp-[t]=s[t]Sám] 'next to Sam's house'
[at] side-[3]=NC[house-[3]=DC[DM]S.] *sdo'okshl wilps Sam*

4.5.A.1.d. Modal particles tim FUT *dim* and cə IRR *ji/ja* with possessed predicates:

The modal particles **tim** FUT *dim* and **cə** IRR *ji/ja* which can occur in front of any sentence predicate can also occur in front of a downshifted predicate:

tim náks-ɣ̓
FUT spouse-1S

'my future wife/husband'
dim naksiɣ̓

- tim kí:k^{W}-ə-ɣ̓=ɬ tim ƛ̓utáč̓-ɣ̓
  FUT buy.s.-CTL-1S=NC FUT coat-1S

  I am going to buy myself a coat.
  (lit. .. to buy my future coat)
  Dim giigwiɣ̓hl dim k'udats'iɣ̓.

tim kí:k^{W}-ə-ɣ̓=ɬ tim ƛ̓utàč̓-[t]=[s][t]Láura
FUT buy.s.-CTL-1S=NC FUT coat-[3]=[DC] [DM] L.

I am going to buy Laura a coat.
Dim giigwiɣ̓hl dim k'udats' Laura.

tim kí:k^{W}-ə-t=ɬ tim ƛ̓utáč̓-t
... buy.s.-CTL-3S ... coat-3

S/he is going to buy h.self a coat.[13]
Dim giigwithl dim k'udats't.

- cə kí:k^{W}-ə-n cə ƛ̓utàč̓-[t]=[s][t]Láura
  IRR buy.s.-CTL-2S IRR coat-[3]=[DC] [DM] L.

  [You could/should] buy Laura a coat!
  Ji giigwin ji k'udats' Laura!

Note that **tim** *dim* can only be used in this way with a downshifted predicate, one that has an argument; if the word functions simply as an argument, **tim** *dim* cannot be used:

*timkí:k^{W}-ə-ɣ̓=ɬ tim ƛ̓utáč̓
FUT buy.s.-CTL-1S=NC FUT coat

* *Dim giigwiɣ̓hl dim k'udats'* [wrong]

is ungrammatical, while

timkí:kʷ-ə-ỷ=ɬ k̓utác̓-ỷ	I am going to buy my coat.
FUT buy.s.-CTL-1S=NC coat-1S	*Dim giigwiỷhl k'udats'iỷ.*

is semantically incongruous, as in English.

4.5.A.2. Numeral phrase:

Numerals have both noun-like and adjective-like properties (5.4). A numeral phrase is similar in form to a possessive noun-phrase. The nominal Adjunct to the suffix pronoun can be a noun or a relativized predicate used nominally. Often a numeral meaning 'one' is used to introduce new information, and has the meaning of an indefinite article; this is especially common in narrative, when a new, unnamed character is introduced or mentioned.

4.5.A.2.a. Without noun adjunct:

• cə kú:t-ə-n=ɬ k̓íl̓-t	Take one!
IRR take.s.-CTL-2S=NC one[OBJ]-3	*Ji guudinhl k'il̓t!*

Like a possessive noun-phrase, a numeral phrase (without a noun adjunct) can be preceded by the Restrictive particle ɬə *hli/hla* (6.1.B.): the meaning is usually contrastive:

k̓ʷiɬ t̓á:=ɬ k̓ò:l-t	One of them sat around,
around sit=NC one (pson)-3	*K'w'ihl t'aahl k'yoolt,*

ʔi: q̓am k̓ʷiɬ hítkʷ-[t]=ɬ ɬə k̓ò:l-t ...and the other one just stood there.
and just around stand-[3]=NC the one (pson)-3

...ii k̓'am kw'ihl hitkwhl hli k'yoolt.

4.5.A.2.b. With noun Adjunct: A numeral meaning 'one' is often used with the

semantic value of a kind of article.

k̓ò:l-[t]=ɬhanáq̓	'one/a/the woman'
one (pson)-[3]=NC woman	*k'yoolhl hanaq'*
k̓íl̓-[t]=ɬ sà	'one day'
one (obj)-[3]=NC day	*k'ilhl sa*
t̓ipχà:t-[t]=ɬ?as)?ús	'two dogs'
two(animals)-[3=NC PL)dog	*t'ipχaathl as'us*

Remark: Because a numeral phrase is a downshifted predicate phrase, consisting of a downshifted predicate and its argument, it does not admit of other downshifted predicates, such as descriptive attributives (see below 4.5.B.). Phrases of the common English type

two nice, large, white, etc. houses

where a number of adjectives can occur between the numeral and the noun, are foreign to Nisgha. Such phrases may sometimes be found in texts such as translations of religious works, but they do not occur in the spontaneous speech of competent speakers. Attributive predicates occur after numerals only if they are part of a compound (9.1.B.2.), as in

k̓ìl̓-[t]=ɬ[hò:pix-m+qán]	'one wooden spoon'
one (obj)-[3]=NC spoon-ATTR+wood	*k'ilhl hoobixim gan*

4.5.A.2.c. With relativized P_A used nominally:

k̓ò:l-[t]=ɬẁi:t̓ís-(ə)t	'an old person' (lit. 'one who is old')
one (pson)-[3]=NC old-REL	*k'yoolhl ẁiit'isit*

k̓ò:l-[t]=ɬsi:líńsk^{w}-(ə)t	'a hunter' ('one who hunts')
one (pson)-[3]=NC hunt-REL	*k'yoolhl siiliṅsgwit*
paqatìl-[t]=ɬqa-ʔá:t-(ə)t	'two fishermen'
two(psons)=NC DISTR-fish.w.net-REL	*bagadilhl ga'aadit*

4.5.A.3. Specification:

The predicate refers to a type uniquely specified by its argument. The predicate, preceded by the Restrictive particle ɬə *hli/hla* (6.1.B.) is followed by the Definite Medial suffix -T, before the A argument, which can be followed by a noun Adjunct (see 7.2.C.1.a. for the different shapes of the suffix -T and 7.2.C.1.a.1.c. for more examples of these constructions).

Both P_A (nouns only) and P_{EA} predicates can participate in this structure.

4.5.A.3.a. With nominal predicate: generic specification:

4.5.A.3.a.1. In general:

- stem ending in C: {-T-} = /i/

ɬə kàt-T-[t]=ɬ lax̣-há	'the angels' (lit. the people of the sky)
the people-[3]=NC on-air	*hli gadihl lax̱ha*
ɬə y̓àns-T-[t] =ɬ q̓ó:qs(t)	'the maple leaf'
... leaf-... maple	*hli y̓ansihl ḵ'ooḵst*
ɬə c̓è:w̓-T-[t] =ɬ wílp	'the inside of the house'
... interior-... house	*hli ts'eew̓ihl wilp*

- stem ending in V or R: {-T-} adds epenthetic /t/, hence /ti/ *-di-*:

ɬə sà-**tT**-[t]=ɬqanú:tk^{W} 'the days of the week'
DEF day-... =NC week *hli sadihl ganuutkw*

ɬə wà-**tT**-[t]=s[t]ʔan-m̓ò:q-m+há:t 'the name of Gutsucker'
... name-... =DC [DM] CAUS-suck-ATTR+guts *hli wadis Anmoogam-Haat*

ɬə skàn-**tT**-[t]=ɬ sé:qs 'spruce gum'
gum-... =NC spruce *hli sgandihl seeks*

4.5.A.3.a.2. The downshifted nominal predicate can take the Distributive prefix **qa-** *ga-* (7.1.B.1.a.1.b.); the resulting frame **[qa-_-T]** indicates a totality:

ɬə [**qa**-ỷàns-T]-[t]=ɬ q̓ó:qs(t) 'the foliage of the maple'
the [DISTR-leaf-DEF]-[3]=NC maple *hla gaỷansihl g'ookst*

ɬə [**qa**-hu)wà-**tT**]-[t]=ɬ ɬipɬán 'the names of [the parts of] the body'
the [DISTR-PL)name-DEF]-[3]=NC body *hla gahuwadihl hliphlan*

4.5.A.3.b. <u>With transitive predicate: nominalization</u>:

-stem ending in C:

ɬə lìcx̣-T-[t]=ɬsim-ʔálkax̣ (the) reading (of) Nisgha
the read.s.-DEF-[3]=NC real-talk *hli litsgahl sim'algag*

ɬə ʔùx-T-[t]=ɬ ɬíl̓ (the) throwing (of) a ball
the throw.s.-DEF-[3]=N ball *hli uyihl hlil'*

ɬə ńi:t̓à:tk^{W}-T-[t]=ɬkiwatán '(the) riding (of) a horse' (see remark)
the sit.on.s.-DEF-[3]=NC horse *hli ńiit'aatgwihl gyuwadan*

- stem ending in V or R:

ɬə ɬàm-tT-[t]=ɬsim-ʔálkax	'(the) writing (of) Nisgha'
write.s.-...-CTL=NC real-speak	*hli t'amdihl sim'algax*
ɬə yè:-tT-[t]=ɬ límx	'(the) singing (of) a song'
the sing.s.-DEF-[3]=NC song	*hli yeedihl limx*

Remark: With stems ending in consonants, there can be a possibility of ambiguity between a nominalization, where the transitive predicate takes the suffix -T-, and a headless 0-relative clause (4.7.A.2.a.1., 6.1.B.2.b.1.), where it takes the CTL suffix -ə- (7.2.A.3.); the overt shape of -T- in this environment is identical to that of -ə- ; however there is no ambiguity in speaking when the nominal is mentioned, as the stress pattern is opposite: compare:

- nominalization:

ɬə ɲi:ɬà:tkʷ-T-[t]=ɬkiwatán	'(the) riding (of) a horse'[14]
the sit.on.s.-DEF-[3]=NC horse	*hli ɲiit'aatgwihl gyuwadan*
ɬə ɲi:ɬà:tkʷ-T-t	'(the) riding (of) it'
the sit.on.s.-DEF-3	*hli ɲiit'aatgwit*

- headless 0-rel.:

ɬə ɲi:ɬà:tkʷ-ə-[t]=ɬ kiwatàn	'what the horse sat on'
the sit.on.s -CTL-[3]=NC horse	*hli ɲiit'aatgwihl gyuwadan*
ɬə ɲi:ɬà:tkʷ-ə-t	'what it sat on'
the sit.on.s -CTL-3	*hli ɲiit'aatgwit*

In most cases however, there is no ambiguity as the suffix sequence and its realization are different for the two constructions:

ɬə ẇà-tT-[t]=ɬ ʔáxʷt '(the) finding (of) a porcupine'
the find.s.-DEF-[3]=NC porcupine *hli ẇadihl axwt*

ɬə ẇá-**(y)ə**-[t]=ɬ ʔàxʷt 'what the porcupine found'
the find.s.-CTL-[3]=NC porcupine *hli ẇayihl axwt*

- ni: mə wilá:x-[t]=ɬ ɬə t̓ám-tT-t==a Do you know how to write it?
not 2E know.s.-[3]=NC the write.s.-DEF-3==Q (lit. ... the writing of it)
Nii mi wilaaxhl hli t'amdida?

ni: mə wilá:x-[t]=ɬ ɬə t̓ám-tT-ə-t==a Do you know what s/he wrote?
not 2E know.s.-[3]=NC the write.s.-DEF-CTL-3 *Nii mi wilaaxhl hli t'amtdida?*

- ʔá:m=ɬ ɬə naxn̓á-tT-t It sounds/sounded nice (lit. the hearing of
good=NC the hear.s.-DEF-3 it is/was nice). *Aamhl hli naxn̓adit.*

ʔá:m=ɬ ɬə naxn̓á-**(y)ə**-t The one s/he heard was nice/good.
good-NC the hear.s.-CTL-3 *Aamhl hli naxn̓ayit.*

4.5.A.3.c. <u>With Adjective: nominalization: abstract quality</u>:

A prefix **qa-** *ga-*, identical in shape to the Distributive prefix (7.1.B.1.a.1.b.) and a locational prefix (7.1.B.1b.1.b.3.) can also be prefixed to an Adjectival P_A predicate, this time paired with a suffix **-ə-** identical in shape with the Control suffix (7.2.A.3.), resulting in a frame (7.3.B.1.a.). The new word is an abstract noun, which can be used as predicate or argument.

[qa-n̓àkʷ-ə]-[t]=ɬ sá 'the length of the day, how long
[DISTR-long-CTL]$_{ABST}$-[3]=NC day the day is' *gan̓agwihl sa*

[qa-x̌c̓àẏ̓-(ə)]-[t]=ɬ tá:w 'the thickness of the ice, how thick
[...-thick-...]$_{...}$-[3]=NC ice the ice is' *gaxts'aẏ̓(i)hl daaw*

The plural of the adjective is used if the following noun is plural, just as in a regular clause:

[qa-nn̓ì:l̓uk^{W}-ə]-[t]=ɬqan)qán 'the length of the logs,
[...-long.PL-...]$_{...-[3]}$=NC PL)tree the height of the trees
gann̓iil̓ugwihl gangan

A few such nouns occur only in this framed form, for instance:

[qa-*sqò:-[əI]-[t]=ɬ qán 'the size of the tree'
...-[3]=NC tree *gasgoohl gan*

the plural of which is a suppletive form:

[qa-*tiptí:-[əI]-[t]=ɬ qan)qán 'the size of the trees'
...-[3]=NC tree.PL *gadipdiihl gangan*

(Note that the lack of epenthetic /t/ after vowel-final stem rules out identifying the suffix with the vocalic realization of the -T- suffix used with nouns, see above 4.5.A.3.a.2.).

These abstract nouns built on adjectives can be used as clause predicates (see below 4.6.C.3.a.), but are most often used with an evaluative adjective or verb, as in:

- ɬa.húkax̣-[t]=ɬ[qa-kàmk-ə]-t It's hot enough now.
  now right-[t]=NC [...-hot-...]$_{ABST}$-3 (lit. now its heat is right)
  Hlaa hugaxhl gagamgit.

- ʔalí:sk^{W}=ɬ [qa-nn̓ì:l̓uk^{W}-ə]-t They are not quite long enough.
  lacking=NC [...-long.PL-...]$_{...}$ (lit. their length is not quite right)
  Aliiskwhl gann̓iil̓ugwit.

- si)sa:=yé:=ɬ [qa-n̓àkʷ-ə]=ɬ sà The days are getting shorter.
  ASP)off=go=NC[...-long-...]... (lit. the length of the day is decreasing)
  Sisaayeehl gan̓agwihl sa.

Like other predicates, the downshifted adjective may be preceded by modifiers:

- ntá=ɬ **ɬa**: [qa-m̓àlkaqsk̓ʷ-ə]-[t]=s[t] pè:pi
  which.way now [...-heavy-...]-[3]=DC [DM] B.
  How much does Baby weigh now?
  *Ndahl **hlaa** gam̓algak̲sgwis Beebii?*

4.5.A.2. Attributive function of downshifted P_A:

In this function, the downshifted predicate becomes a mere adjunct and qualifier of a noun ("a Noun that is Pred"), which can be predicate or adjunct in a clause. The predicate with this function takes the attributive suffix **-m** *-im/-am/-um*.

Nominal Pred **-m** N: (compare with a compound noun, 9.1.B.2.)

ɬkù:ɬkʷ-m hanáq̓	'daughter'	
child-ATTR woman		*hlguuhlgum hanak̲'*
nàks-m kát	'married man'	
spouse-... man		*naksim gat*
ɬàms-m kát	'father-in-law, son-in-law'	
in-law-... man		*hlamsim gat*
hanàq̓-m smáx	'female bear'	
woman-... bear		*hanak̲'am smax*

Adjectival Pred -m N

w̓i:-n̓àkʷ-mqán	'tall tree, long log/stick'	
big-long-ATTR tree/stick		*w̓iin̓agum gan*
xɬìl̓-m má:y̓	'sweet/delicious berries'	
sweet-... berries		*x̱lil̓im maay̓*

Stative intransitive Pred -m N

tq̓al=t̓à:-méngine	'outboard motor'	
against-sit-ATTR engine		*tk̲'alt'aam injin*
ʔukʷs=c̓àq̓as-mqáyt	'baseball cap'	
outward-protrude-... hat		*ukwsts'ak̲'asim gayt*
t̓àk̓il-tkʷ-mhan̓i:t̓á:	'folding chair'	
fold.s.-PASS-... chair		*t'ak'iltgum han̓iit'aa*

Note that only one such attributive predicate is used with a noun, just as there can only be one main predicate in a clause. The piling up of adjectives characteristic of English (more than other European languages) is foreign to Nisgha (cf. remark about Numerals above p. 240).

However, an attributive predicate may be preceded by one or more modifiers (5.15), e.g.

ɬku kʷè:ʔ-m ɬku-tk̓íɬkʷ	'a/the poor child'	
little poor-ATTR little-child		*hlgu gwee'em hlgutk'ihlkw*
ya:y tcàmtkʷ-m winé:x	'cooked food'	
already cooked-ATTR food		*yayt jamtgum wineex*

Such phrases with downshifted predicates can be used whenever single nouns can occur.

4.6. PREDICATIVE FUNCTION OF A DOWNSHIFTED NOMINAL PREDICATE (POSSESSED NOMINAL PREDICATE):

A nominal predicate phrase with noun or pronoun argument, which is downshifted into a possessive noun-phrase, can itself be used as a predicate, in a predicate-focused or regular clause. It can also be used as a higher predicate introducing a clause.

4.6.A. In predicate-focused clause:

The structure of a predicate-focused clause with a possessed nominal clause predicate is very similar to that of a predicate-focused P_{EA} clause, except that possessed nouns do not take the CTL suffix. The possessor behaves like the E of a P_{EA} clause, and the nominal attribute of the clause predicate behaves like the A-nominal in the predicate-focused clause. This partly explains the modern tendency to treat some deverbative nouns as verbs.

In the examples below, the possessor suffix (and its nominal adjunct if present) are highlighted in the same way as the E-argument and its adjunct in the section on predicate-focused P_{EA} clauses.

4.6.A.1. The pronominal suffix argument of the nominal predicate does not have a nominal adjunct; the A-nominal in the clause is a noun or independent pronoun: (cf. predicate-focused P_{EA} clause, 4.4.B.2.)

4.6.A.1.a. Non-deverbative nouns: (i.e. not abstract nouns derived from adjectives or verbs):

- nóx-ÿ t Màry
  mother-1S DM M.
  Mary is my mother.
  Nooÿ t Mary.

- nóx̣-t t Màry — Mary is his/her mother.
  mother-3 DM M. — *Nox̱t t Mary.*

- ɬkù:ɬk^{W}-mhanàq̓-ỷ t Làura — Laura is my daughter.
  child-ATTR woman-1S DM L. — *Hlguuhlgum hanak̲'aỷ t Laura.*

- k^{W}islís-m̓ ɬ ɬku kàt t kun — This little boy is our nephew.
  nephew/niece-1P=NC little man DM-this — *Gwislisim̓hl hlgu gat tgun.*

- ɬə kú-ỷ n̓ì:n==a — Are you related to me?
  the something-1S you.S==Q — *Hliguỷ n̓iina?*

- wóʔotk^{W}-ti:t n̓ù:m̓ — We were their guests.
  guest-3P us — *Wo'otkwdiit n̓uum̓.*

4.6.A.1.b. Deverbative nouns:

Deverbative nouns formed by prefixation with ʔan- *an-* (7.1.B.1.b.1.a.1.) and sometimes with ha- *ha-* (7.1.B.1.b.1.a.2.) are used as possessed predicates under most circumstances. They are frequently used to refer to general or habitual propensities or states of mind, in contrast with verbs or adjectives which have more punctual meaning. The English translation usually has a verb.

- ʔan-x̣pic̓áx^{W}-ỷ ɬ ʔas)ʔùs — I am afraid of dogs.
  CAUS-afraid-1S NC PL)dog — (lit. dogs are my cause of fear)
  Anx̱bits'awiỷhl as'us.

(compare with the corresponding adjective or intransitive verb as predicate:

x̣pic̓áx^{W} n̓ì:ỷ ʔa=ɬ ʔas)ʔús — I am/was afraid of the dogs.
afraid me PREP-NC ... — *X̱bits'axw n̓iiỷ ahl as'us.*)

- hasáq-ɣ̓=ɬ pò:t
  desire-1S=NC boat
  I want a boat (lit. a boat is my desire)
  Hasagaɣ̓ɬ boot.

  hasáq-t=ɬ pò:t
  desire-3 =NC boat
  He wants a boat.
  Hasaqtɬ boot.

- ʔan-sí:p̓insk^{w}-ɣ̓ t Màry
  CAUS-love-1S DM M.
  Mary is my friend (lit. M. is my cause of loving)
  Ansiip'insgwiɣ̓ t Mary.

  hux^{w}-ti-ʔan-sí:p̓insk^{w}-n t Màry==a
  again-INTS CAUS-love-2S DM M.==Q
  Is Mary your friend too?
  Huxwdii ansiip'insgwin t Marya?

- ʔan-halá:kaχ-t ɬ̓:ɣ̓
  CAUS-laugh.at.s.-3S me
  S/he makes fun of me
  (lit. I am h. cause of laughing at)
  Anhalaagaxt ɬiiɣ̓.

  ʔan-ẇéʔesk^{w}-ti:t ɬ̓ù:m̓
  CAUS-get.things-3P us
  They always want something from us, they come to us for everything, they are dependent on us (lit. we are their cause of getting)
  Anẇe'eskwdiit ɬuum̓.

4.6.A.2. The pronominal suffix argument of the nominal predicate has a nominal adjunct; the A-nominal in the clause is a 1st or 2nd person pronoun:

The possessed noun used as regular predicate ends in the 3rd person suffix **-t** (never the plural suffix **-ti:t** *-diit*, even if the possessor is plural); the noun adjunct to the possessor suffix is extraposed to the right of the pronoun, after a determinate marker or the connective **=ɬ** *-ɬ* in its role as non-determinate marker: this structure parallels exactly that of transitive verbs in similar conditions (cf. the behavior of the E-adjunct after first or second pronoun A, 4.4.B.3.a.1.).

4.6.A.2. Non-deverbative nouns:

- ɬkù ɬk^{W}-t ṅì ỷ t Màry — I am Mary's daughter/son.
  child-[3]=DC me DM M. — *Hlguuhlkwt ṅiiỷ t **Mary**.*
  (cf. Fr. Je suis sa fille/son fils, à Marie)

- siɬḳù ɬk^{W}s-t ṅù ṁ tip Màry — Mary "and them" adopted us.
  adopted.child-[3]=DC us DM.P M. — (lit. we are Mary...'s adopted children)
  *Sihlguuhlkwst ṅuuṁ **dip Mary**.*

- siɬḳù ɬk^{W}s-t ṅù ṁ ɬ?anḳikàtk^{W}-t
  adopted.child-[3]=DC us NC parents-3
  His/her parents adopted us. (lit. we are h. parents' adopted children)
  *Sihlguuhlkwst ṅuuṁhl **angigatkwt**.*

4.6.A.2.b. Deverbative nouns:

- ?an-xpiċáx^{W}-t ṅi ỷ ɬ ɬḳu pè:pi: — The baby is afraid of me.
  CAUS-afraid-3 me NC little baby — *Anxbits'axwt ṅiiỷhl hlgu beebii.*

  ?an-xpiċáx^{W}-t ṅi ỷ t Jòhnny — Johnny is afraid of me.
  CAUS-afraid-3 me DM J. — *Anxbits'axwt ṅiiỷ t **Johnny**.*

- ?an-halá kax-t ṅì ỷ t Màry — Mary makes fun of me.
  CAUS-laugh.at.s.-3 me DM ..M. — *Anhalaagaxt ṅiiỷ t **Mary**.*

  timsa:?an-halá kax-t ṅì n ɬ kàt — People might make fun of you.
  FUT CAUS-laugh.at.s.-3 you NC people — *Dim saa anhalaagaxt ṅiinhl **gat**.*

(compare with the transitive construction which is definite:

halá:kax-ət ɲì:ỷ **ɬ kàt**
laugh.at.s.-CTL-3 me NC ...

People made fun of me.
*Halaagagat ɲiiỷ**ɬ gat**.)*

- ha-có:q-**t** ɲì:ỷ **tnipìp-ỷ**
CAUS-ashamed-3 DM uncle-1S

My uncle is ashamed of me.
*Hajoogt ɲiiỷ **t nibibiỷ**.*

timha-có:q-**t** ɲi:n **ɬʔankikátk^{W}-n**
FUT CAUS-ashamed-3 you NC parent.PL.INDEF-2S

Your parents will be ashamed of you,
you will bring shame on your parents.
(cf. Fr. Tu seras la honte de tes parents)
*Dim hajoogt ɲiinɬ **angigatgwin**.*

4.6.A.3. The possessor suffix has a noun adjunct: the A-nominal in the clause is a noun or third person plural pronoun: the noun adjunct is connected to the pronoun through a connective (cf. predicate-focused P_{EA} clauses, 4.4.B.3.b.):

In these constructions, the main stress, and the semantic emphasis, is on the possessor.

4.6.A.3.a. Non-deverbative nouns:

- nàks-**[t]**-[s]**[t] Máry** t Pèter
spouse-[3]=[DC] [DM] M. DM P.

Peter is Mary's husband.
*Naks **Mary** t Peter.*

- hux^{W}tà:ỷintk^{W}-**[t]**-s **[t] Máry** ɲìti:t
grandchildren-[3]=DC [DM] M. them

They are Mary's grandchildren.
*Huxwdaak'intkws **Mary** ɲidiit.*

4.6.A.3.b. Deverbative nouns: with deverbative nouns this construction seems to be used most often when the A-noun is human or at least animate.

- ha-cò:q-[t]=s [t] nixtá:-t t Màry — Mary's aunt is ashamed of her.
  CAUS-ashamed-[3] [DM] aunt-3 DM M. — (lit. Mary is her aunt's cause of shame).
  Hajooks nixdaat t Mary.

- ʔan-xpičàxʷ-[t]=s [t] Jóhnny t Rèbel — Johnny is afraid of Rebel.
  CAUS-afraid-[3]=DC [DM] J. DM M. — (lit. Rebel is Johnny's cause of fear).
  Anxbits'axws Johnny t Rebel.

- ʔan-xpičàxʷ-[t]=s [t] Jóhnny ɬ ẃi: ʔùs t kùs[t]
  CAUS-afraid-[3]=DC [DM] J. NC big dog DM that.
  Johnny is afraid of that big dog.
  (lit. that big dog is J.'s cause of fear).
  Anxbits'axws Johnnyhl ẃii us tgus.

Where the A-nominal is not animate, and the emphasis is less on the identity of the possesor, other constructions tend to be used, for instance a Focused construction (see 4.7.A.2.b.2.):

- pó:t=ɬ ti: hasàq-[t]=s [t] Pèter — Peter wants a boat.
  boat=NC INTS desire-[3] DC [DM] P. — *Boothl dii hasaks Peter.*

(compare with:

hasàq-[t]=s[t]Péter ɬ pò:t — Peter wants the boat.
boat=NC desire-[3]=DC [DM] P. — *Hasaks Peterhl boot.*)

Deverbative nouns are sometimes treated as intransitive verbs with the appropriate marker or connective, and the clausal argument is preceded by the preposition ʔa *a* plus appropriate connective: in effect, the deverbative is treated as a P_{AI}:

•ʔan-xpiċáx^{w} t Jòhnny ʔa=ɬ liɬi:ʔaɬú
CAUS-afraid-[3]=DC [DM] J. PREP=NC something
Johnny is afraid of something.
Anɣbits'axw t Johnny ahl ligii'agu.

This seems to be a back-formation from the similarily of the regular clause constructions, especially negative ones (see below 4.6.B.2.).

4.6.A.4. Tendency towards using deverbative nominal predicates as verbs:

Because of the surface resemblance of the deverbative construction with 3 on 1/2 with the corresponding transitive construction, there are cases where deverbative nouns are treated as transitive verbs, especially by YFS who confuse the two. Examples of confusion are

- tim ʔan-halá:kaχ-ə-t ɲì:n ɬ kàt — People will make fun of you.
  FUT CAUS-laugh.at.s.-CTL-3 you NC people — *Dim anhalaagaxat ɲiihl gat.*

indicating confusion of the nominal predicate construction (no CTL suffix):

tim ʔan-halá:kaχ-t ɲì:ỷ ɬ kàt — People will make fun of you (in general).
laugh.at.s.-CTL-3 me NC ...
Dim anhalaagaxt ɲiihl gat.

with the transitive construction (including CTL suffix):

timhalá:kaχ-ə-t ɲì:n ɬ kàt — People will make fun of you (now)
FUT laugh.at.s.-CTL-3 you NC people *Dim halaagaxat ɲiihí gat.*

The verbal nature of English constructions of equivalent meaning has probably influenced the transitive use of such words, but it is likely that this process is not entirely due to foreign interference. For instance, the transitive verb halá:kaχ *halaagaχ* 'to laugh at sbdy', which begins with the prefix ha- *ha-*,

may have been originally a deverbative noun, and the present deverbative ʔan-halá:kax *anhalasgag* may well be a secondary formation. Similarly the two deverbatives ha-có:q *hajook* and ʔan-ha-có:q *anhajook* , both meaning '[sthg that causes] shame', coexist at present, but the more complex form is probably a more recent formation.

4.6.B. Regular clause: after subordinator or negative verb.

4.6.B.1. Non-downshifted predicate:

In a regular clause with a non-downshifted predicate, the argument is a suffix on the predicate, to which a nominal adjunct may be linked through a connective (4.3.B.):

- ni:-ti:wiyítk^{w}-[t]=s [t] Màry — Mary didn't cry.
  not-INTS cry-[3]=DC [DM] M. — *Nidii wiyitkws Mary*.

  ni:-ti:wiyítk^{w}-t — She didn't cry.
  not-INTS cry-3 — *Nidii wiyitkwt.*

  ... wil wiyítk^{w}-t — ... as/when she cried
  as/when cry-3 — ... *wil wiyitkwt.*

4.6.B.2. downshifted nominal predicate:

When the clause predicate is a downshifted nominal predicate, which already has a suffix, there cannot be another suffix, or a connected nominal; instead, the nominal appears after the preposition ʔa *a* (5.18); the sequence ʔa + Noun can be replaced by an indirect pronoun (base lo:- *loo-*, 5.9). Compare:

- k̓utáć-ẏ̓t-kùn — This is my coat.
  coat-1S DM-this — *K'udats'ẏ̓ tgun*.

ni:-ti: k̓utáč-ỷʔa=s[t]kùn — This is not my coat.
not-INTS coat-1S PREP=DC [DM] this — ***Nidii k'udats'iý as gun.***

ni:-ti: k̓utáč-ỷlo:-t — It is not my coat.
not-INTS coat-1S IND-3 — ***Nidii k'udats'iý loot.***

... wil k̓utáč-ỷlo:-t — ... as it is my coat.
as coat-1S IND-3 — ... ***wil k'udats'iý loot.***

- hasáq-ỷɬ pò:t — I want a boat.
desire-1S=NC boat — ***Hasagaýhl boot.***

ni:-ti: hasáq-ỷʔa=ɬ pó:t — I don't want a boat.
not-INTS desire-1S PREP=NC boat — ***Nidii hasagaý ahl boot***

ni:-ti: hasáq-ỷlò:-t — I don't want it.
not-INTS desire-1S IND-3 — ***Nidii hasagaý loot***

- hasàq-[t]=s[t]Péter ɬ pó:t — Peter wants the boat.
desire-[3]=DC [DM] P. NC boat — ***Hasaks Peterhl boot.***

ni:-ti: hasáq-[t]=s[t]Pèter ʔa=ɬ pó:t — Peter doesn't want a/the boat.
not-INTS desire-[3]=DC [DM] P. PREP=NC boat — ***Nidii hasaks Peter ahl boot.***

ni:-ti: hasáq-tlò:-t — He doesn't want it.
not-INTS desire-3 IND-3 — ***Nidii hasakt loot.***

- ʔan-sí:p̓insk^{w}-ỷ t Màry — Mary is my friend.
CAUS- loving-1S DM M. — ***Ansiip'insgwiý t Mary.***

... wil ʔan-sí:p̓insk^{w}-ỷ lò:-t — ... as she is my friend.
as CAUS- loving-1 IND-3 — ... ***wil ansiip'insgwiý loot.***

ni:-ti: ʔan-sí:p̓insk^{W}-ý̓ ʔa=s [t] Máry
not-INTS CAUS- loving-1S PREP=DC [DM] M.
Mary is not my friend.
Nidii ansiip'insgwiý as Mary.

ni:-ti: ʔan-sí:p̓insk^{W}-ý̓ lò:-t
not-INTS CAUS- loving-1 IND-3
She is not my friend.
Nidii ansiip'insgwiý loot.

In this respect the surface form of the possessed nominal predicate in a regular clause is identical to that of a P_{AI} in a regular clause, as in

- ni:-ti: ẁa:kátk^{W}-ý̓ ʔas [t] Máry
not-INTS feel.lonesome-1S PREP=DC [DM] M.
I don't/didn't miss Mary.
Nidii ẁaagatgwiý as Mary.

... wil ẁa:kátk^{W}-ý̓ ʔa=s [t] Máry
as feel.lonesome-1S PREP=DC [DM] M.
... as I miss(ed) Mary.
... ***wil ẁaagatgwiý as Mary.***

Note also the parallelism between this structure and that of the interrogative clause with relativized possessed predicate (4.7.A.2.b.2.), as in:

- nà:=ɬ ḵutáć-(ə)t ʔa=s [t] kùni
who=NC coat-REL PREP=NC [DM] this=Q
Whose coat is this?
Naahl k'udats'it as guni?

nà:=ɬ ḵutáć-(ə)t lò:-t
who=NC coat-REL IND-3
Whose coat is it?
Naahl k'udats'it loot?

Here also, the REL suffix on the downshifted predicate noun prevents the addition of another suffix, and an Indirect Object is used instead.

4.6.C.2. Possessed nominal predicates used as higher predicates:

Abstract nouns can be used as higher predicates. This occurs with some deverbatives, but mostly with evaluatives (the latter built on adjectival stems,

see 7.3.B.1.a.1.).

4.6.C.2. Use of deverbatives: the use of some deverbatives as higher predicates may be influenced by English, as in:

- hasáq-ỷ mə tim fó:n-tT-ỷ
  desire-1S 2E FUT phone.s.-DEF-1S
  I want you to phone me.
  Hasagaý *mí dim foontdiý.*

4.6.C.3. Evaluative nouns: These abstract nouns, built on adjectival stems (some no longer used) can be used as nominal predicates, but are very often used as higher predicates in association with another clause (for their use as arguments of evaluative verbs or adjectives, see 4.5.A.3.c. above)

4.6.C.3.a. Used as clausal predicate: evaluative nouns behave like any other nominal predicates:

- [qa-kámk-ə]-[t]-ɬaχhà==sa
  [...-long-...]$_{ABST}$-{3}=NC weather==PROX
  It is so hot!!
  (lit. the heat of the weather!)
  (Fr. La chaleur qu'il fait!)
  Gagamgihl laχha-sa!

- qasqó:-[t]-ɬ kstù:ɬT-ỷ
  size-{3}=NC tear-1S
  My tears were so big!
  (= I cried so much!)
  (lit. the size of my tears!)
  Gasgoohl ksduuɬiý!

4.6.C.3.b. Used as higher predicates: they are followed by a regular clause.

- with P_A:

  qaṅák^{W}ə-[t]-ɬkipéʔesk^{W}-ṁ
  length-{3}=NC wait-1P
  We waited so long!
  (lit. the length of our waiting!)
  Gaṅagwihl gibe'esgum̀!

- with P_{EA}:

- qaṅákʷə-[t] tipkipá-siṁ — We waited so long for you!
  length-[3] 1P.E wait.for.s.-2P — ***Gaṅagwi** dip gibasiṁ!*

- qasqó:-[t]t sí:ṗin-n — S/he loves you so much!
  size 3E love.s.-2S — ***Gasgoo** t siip'inin!*

4.7. ANTEPOSED CONSTITUENTS: FOCUSED CONSTITUENTS VS. SPECIFIED COMPLEMENT.

Both Specified Complements and Focused constituents occur before the predicate. It is important to distinguish the two. The Specified Complement (where present with appropriate verbs) is normally the first constituent in a regular clause. Any other major constituent of a clause, outside of the predicate phrase, can be focused, in which case the Specified Complement moves to the end ot the clause.

4.7.A. FOCUSING.

Nisgha uses focusing in many cases where a language like English would use contrastive stress to emphasize a particular lexical element in the clause. Focusing is characterized by anteposition of the focused element. Other details may vary according to the type of element that is focused. Many focused clauses are answers to questions which themselves have the form of a focused clause, with the interrogative element in the focused position. Question and answer then have the same structure.

Focusing of non-predicative elements in a clause is important not only because it provides a way of putting extra emphasis on a clause constituent, but because that constituent can be the pivot between two clauses, the second of which then is a relative clause: Nisgha relative clauses are focused clauses where the

focused element is also a constituent of a previous clause. That constituent can also be left out, and the result is a headless relative clause.

In the description of most Nisgha syntactic processes, the major distinction is that between the roles of E and A. This is still true in Focusing, but in addition the various functions covered by A are focused by different processes.

4.7.A.1. Focus on E (E-relative clauses):

The focused E-Adjunct is placed in front of the P_{EA} predicate phrase (which includes the 3E pronoun **t**). The Ergative Relative pronoun ʔan *an* occurs either before or after the 3E pronoun **t** [15] (if next to the predicate, the 3E pronoun **t** is often merged phonetically with the next consonant). The other constituents are unchanged.

Compare the unfocused clause:

- ...(wil) t kipá-[t]=s[t] Máry — ... (as) s/he waited for Mary.
  (SUB) 3E wait.for.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M. — ... *(wil)t gibas Mary.*

with the E-focused clauses:

- **ná**: t ʔan kipá-[t]=s[t] Máry — Who [was it who] waited for Mary?
  who 3E REL.E wait.for.s.-[t]=DC [DM] M. — *Naa t an gibas Mary?*

  ná: ʔan t kipá-t — Who [was it who] waited for her?
  who REL.E-3E wait.for.s.-3 — *Naa ant gibat?*

  ná: ʔan t kipá-n — Who [was it who] for you?
  who REL.E-3E wait.for.s.-2S — *Naa ant giban?*

  ńí:ẏ t ʔan kipá-t — I [am the one who] waited for her.
  me 3E REL.E wait.for.s.-3 — *Ńiiẏ t an gibat*

ńí:ẏ t?ankipá-ti:t
me 3E REL.E wait.for.s -3P

I [am the one who] waited for them.
Ńiiẏ t an gibadiit.

Péter t?ankipá-[t]=s[t]Máry
P. 3E REL.E wait.for.s =DC [DM] M.

Peter [is the one who] waited for Mary. *Peter t an gibas Mary.*

use as headless E-relative clause:

- ɬa: tá:ẇiɬ-[t] t ?an kipá-[t]=s [t] Máry

by.now leave-[3] 3E REL wait.for.s =DC [DM] M.

The one who waited for Mary has left.
Hlaa daaẇihl t an gibas Mary.

The Progressive Auxiliary **yuk^{w}** *yukw* can be placed before the E pronouns: the connective =**ɬ** *-hl* occurs between the E noun and the auxiliary:

unfocused clause:

- yuk^{w}-t líɬk-[t]=s [t] Báby
  AUX-3E REL.E watch.s.-[3]=DC [DM] B.

S/he is watching Baby.
Yukwt lihlks Beebii.

Focused E:

ná:=ɬ **yuk^{w}-t ?an líɬk-t**
who=NC AUX-3E REL.E watch.s.-3

Who is watching h. now?
Naahl yukwt an lihlkt?

4.7.A.2. Focus on A: Each of the various functions covered by A (Subject, Object, Attribute, Possessor) is affected in its own way by Focusing.

4.7.A.2.a. Cases based on the Predicate-focused clause: Other constituents can be placed ahead of the focused predicate.

4.7.A.2.a.1. Focus on A (Object) in a P_{EA} clause (0-relative clause):

The A Adjunct (Direct Oject) is anteposed and linked to the predicate by the connective =ɬ -*hl*. (Compare with predicate-focused clauses, 4.4.B.2.b.).

- ʔakú=ɬ ki)kíp-ə-n (==əst) [16] (Hey,) what are you eating?
  what=NC ASP)eat.s.-CTL-2S=AFF *Aguhl gigibin(is)?*

  q̓almó:s=ɬ ki)kíp-ə-y̓ (==əst) -I am eating crab(of course!)
  crab=NC ASP)eat.s.-CTL-1S==AFF - *K'almooshl gigibiy̓(is)*

- ʔakú=ɬ k̓a: x̌ɬíl̓tin-ə-n What is your favourite food?
  what=NC most like.food-CTL-2S (lit. What [food] do you like most?)
  Aguhl k'aa xlil̓t'inin?

  tíkit=ɬ k̓a: x̌ɬíl̓tin-ə-y̓ - Smoked oolichans.
  smoked oolichans=NC like.food-CTL-1S (lit. I like smoked oolichans most.) -
  Digithl k'aa xlil̓t'iniy̓.

- ná:=ɬ kipá-(y)ə-[t]=s[t] Màry Who did Mary wait for?
  who=NC wait.for.-CTL-[3]=DC[DM]M Who was Mary waiting for?
  Naahl gibayis Mary?

  Lúcy=ɬ kipá-(y)ə-t - She was waiting for Lucy.
  L.=NC wait.for.-CTL-3 - *Lucyh! gibayit.*

  ni:y̓=ɬ kipá-(y)ə-t - She was waiting for me.
  me=NC wait.for.-CTL-3 - *Niiy̓hl gibayit.*

- ná:=ɬn̓a:m-náksk^{w}-ə-[t]=s[t]Pèter Who does Peter want to marry?
  who=NC want.to-marry.s.-CTL-[3]=DC[DM]P. *Naahl n̓aam-naksgwis Peter?*

Cíndy=ɬn̓a:m-nák:k^{W}-ə-t - He wants to marry Cindy
C=NC want.to-marry.s.-CTL-3 - *Cindyhl ńaam-naksgwit*

- **ntá**=ɬ qó?-ə-[t]=s[t] Pèter Where did Peter go?
which.way=NC go.to-CTL-[3]=DC[DM]=DC P. *Ndahl go'os Peter?*

ɬkinqúlx=ɬ qó?-ə-t - He went to Kincolith
Kincolith=NC.....-3 - *Gingolxńl go'ot.*

use as 0-relative clause:

- ntá==(y)əma?wilm̓úk^{W}s-[t]=ɬ **q̓almó**:s=ɬ ki)kíp-ə-ỷ
which.way==DUB where caught-[3]=NC crab=NC ASP)eat.s.-CTL-1S==AFF
- I wonder where the crab I am eating was caught.
- *Ndayima'a wil ńukwshl k'almooshl gigibiỷ.*

- ni:-nə-ti:wilá:x-[t]=ɬ?**akú**=ɬ wà-[t]=ɬ k̓a:x̌ɬíl̓tin-[ə]-t [16]
not-1S.E-INTS know.s.-[3]=NC what=NC name-[3]=NC most like.food-[CTL]-3
I don't know what food s/he likes best.
Nindii wilaaxhl aguhl wahl k'aa x̌lil̓t'int.

- ni:-nə-ti:wilá:x-[t]=ɬ **ntá**=ɬ qó?-ə-[t]=s[t] Pèter
not-1S.E-INTS know.s.-[3]=NC which.way=NC go.to-CTL-[3]=DC[DM]=DC P.
I don't know where Peter went.
Nindii wilaaxhl ndahl go'os Peter.

When the head of an 0- relative clause is omitted, it is often replaced by the Restrictive particle **ɬə** *hli/hla* (see examples in 6.1.B.2.).

- lu:=yóx̌k^{W}-ə-t=ɬ **ɬə** yóx̌k^{W}-ə-[t]=ɬhuwákk^{W}-t
in=follow.s.-CTL-3=NC the follow.s.-CTL-[3]=NC M's.brothers-3
He followed the route his brothers had followed (202.15)
Luuyox̌gwithl hli yox̌gwihl huwakkwt.

4.7.A.2.a.2. A-Adjunct in P_A clause: With Nominal predicate in Equivalence statement (Attribute-relative clause):

Whether the nominal predicate is regular or downshifted, the focused constituent is anteposed and linked to the nominal predicate by the connective =ɬ *-hl*. There is no other change.

Regular nominal predicate:

- lip ńí:ẏ=ɬ qìnx̣
  self me=NC trail

  I myself am the trail [said the supernatural woman] (128.8-9)
  Lip ńiiẏhl genx̱.

(the unfocused equivalent would be:

qìnx̣ ńí:ẏ
trail me

I am a trail.
Genx̱ ńiiẏ.)

Downshifted nominal predicate:

- t ḳún=ɬ hańi qò:t-ẏ
  DM this=NC thought-1S

  This is what I think
  (lit. my thought is this).
  Tgunhl hańiigoodiẏ.

- ʔas)ʔús=ɬʔan-x̣pic̓àx^{w}-ẏ
  PL)dog=NC CAUS-afraid-1S

  I am afraid of dogs.
  As'ushl anx̱bits'awiẏ.

- ksax̣ ńí:n=ɬʔan-ʔàlq̓al-t
  only you=NC CAUS-watch-3

  S/he only looked at you.
  Ksax̱ ńiinhl an'alḳ'alt.

With a nominal predicate, an interrogative pronoun in focused position is usually followed by the noun **wá** 'name' *wa* (see note 16):

- **ná**:=ɬ wà-n==əs[t] — [Hey,] what's your name?
  who=NC name-2S==AFF — *Naahl wanis?*

- **ná**:=ɬ wà-[t]=ɬ kimxtí-n — What's your brother/sister's name?
  who=NC name-[3]=NC opp.sex.sib-2S — *Naahl wahl gimxdin?*

- **ʔakú**=ɬ wà-[t]=ɬ ʔan-xpicáx^{w}-ti. — What is there to be afraid of?
  what=NC name-[3] =NC CAUS-afraid-IMPERS — (lit. what is the name of anyone's fear?)
  Aguhl wahl anxbits'axwdii?

4.7.A.2.b. Cases based on the regular clause: Focusing of Subject or Possessor:

This section applies to intransitive or adjectival clause predicates and to nominal predicates in statements of possession. The A adjunct is placed in front of the predicate, which takes the REL suffix **-(ə)t** *-it/at/t* (7.2.A.2.).

4.7.A.2.b.1. Focusing of A of verbal P_A (Subject): Relativization of intransitive verb:

The Adjunct is anteposed and linked to the predicate with the connective **=ɬ** *-hl*. (sometimes the connective is missing, especially in Boas 1902). In addition, the predicate gets the REL suffix **-(ə)t** *-it/at/t* (7.2.A.2.) instead of the 3 suffix **-t**.

4.7.A.2.b.1.a. Intransitive predicate without auxiliary:

unfocused clause:

- ... (wil) xstà:-**[t]**=s [t] Peter — ... (as/when) Peter won.
  (SUB) win-[3]=DC [DM] P. — *... (wil) xsdaas Peter.*

  ... (wil) xstà:-**t** — ... (as/when) he won.
  (SUB) win-3 — *... (wil) xsdaat.*

focus on Subject:

- **ná**:=ɬ xstà-**(ə)t**
  who=NC win-REL
  Who won?
  Naahl ɣsdaat?

  Péter=ɬ xstà:-**(ə)t**
  P.=NC win-REL
  Peter won.
  Peterhl ɣsdaat.

- **(tip) ná**:=ɬ tim nàks-**(ə)t**
  (DM.PL) who=NC FUT married-REL
  Who is getting married?
  (Dip) naahl dim naksit?

  tip Péter qan=s [t] **Wéndy**=ɬ tim nàks-**(ə)t**
  DM.PL P. and=DC [DM] W.=NC FUT married-REL
  Peter and Wendy are getting married.
  Dip Peter gans Wendyhl dim naksit.

- **ɬkí:k^{w}-ẘ** ʔa=ɬʔantóʔ ẘi halàyt-**(ə)t** [17]
  W's sister-1S PREP=NC next.door great shaman-REL
  My sister [who lives] on the other side [of the mountain]
  is the great shamaness [not me]. (128 10-11)
  Hlgiigwiẘ ahl andoo'o ẘii halaydit.

Use as relative clause:

- ntá==qat wil ẘítk^{w}-[t]=ɬ **hanàq̓**=ɬ tim nàks-**(ə)t**

which.way==REP where come.from-[t]=NC woman=NC FUT married-REL
Where did they say the bride comes from?
(lit. ... the girl who's getting married ...)
Nda-gat wil ẘitkwhl hanaq̓'hl dim naksit?

A headless A- relativized predicate (and its attendant particles and modifiers) can be used instead of a noun as Adjunct in a clause:

- ntá=ɬ tim wil cóq-[t]=ɬ **tim si: nàks-(ə)t**

where=NC FUT SUB stay-[3]=NC FUT newly married-REL

Where are the newlyweds going to live?

Ndahl dim wil jokhl dim sii naksit?

4.7.A.2.b.1.b. Main verb after auxiliary:

The Progressive auxiliary **yuk^{W}** *yuk^{W}* (5.12.) may be used with the relativized predicate, under the aspectually reduplicated form **hi)yuk^{W}** *hiyuk^{W}* (5.12.a.2.c.); it is not clear why both the auxiliary and the main predicate take the REL suffix, since auxiliaries do not take personal suffixes:

unfocused clause:

- yuk^{W}=ɬ yu:hatá x-t — S/he is driving/steering.

  AUX=NC drive-3 — *Yukwhl yuuhadaaxt.*

Focused Subject:

- ná:=ɬ hi)yuk^{W}-(ə)t=ɬ yu:hatá:x-(ə)t — Who is driving?/...steering?

  who=NC ASP)AUX-REL=NC drive-REL — *Naahl hiyugwithl yuuhadaayit?*

4.7.A.2.b.2. Focus on possessor in possessive noun-phrase:

The possessor is the nominal adjunct to the suffixed argument of the possessed predicate, which is downshifted (4.6.A.). As in an intransitive clause with focused A-nominal, the predicate ends in the REL suffix **-(ə)t** *-it/-at-t.*

Regular clause:

... (wil) ?à:t-**[t]**=s [t] Péter ?a=s [t] kùn — ...(as) this is Peter's net.

(SUB) net-[3]=DC [DM] P. PREP=DC [DM] this — *... (wil) aats Peter as gun.*

... (wil) ʔáːt-ɣ̓ ʔa=s[t]kún
(SUB) net-1S PREP=DC [DM] this

...(as) this is my net.
... *(wil) aadiɣ̓ as gun.*

... (wil) ʔáːt-ɣ̓ loː-t
... net-1S IND-3

...(as) it is my net.
... *(wil) aadiɣ̓ loot.*

Focus on possessor:

náː=ɬ ʔàːt-**(ə)t** ʔa=s[t]kùn==i
who?=NC net-REL PREP=DC [DM] this==Q

Whose net is this?
Naahl aadit as guni?

náː=ɬ ʔàːt-**(ə)t** loː-t
who?=NC net-REL IND-3

Whose net is it?
Naahl aadit loot?

náː==(y)əmaʔ=ɬ ʔàːt-**(ə)t** loː-t
who==DUB=NC net-REL IND-3

I wonder whose net it is.
Whose net is it, I wonder?
Whose net can it be?
Naayima'ahl aadit loot?

ɲ̓íːn=ɬ ʔàːt-**(ə)t** loːt==a
you=NC net-REL IND-3==Q

Is it <u>your</u> net? (lit. Are you the one whose net it is?)
Ɲ̓iinhl aadit looda?

niː-kiː **t náː** cəʔàːt-**(ə)t** ʔa=s[t]kùn==i
not-INTS DM who IRR net-REL PREP=DC [DM] this==Q

Is this anybody's net?
Nigitnaa ji aadit as guni?

The possessed noun cannot be omitted from the clause (as it can be in English), otherwise there would be nothing to attach the REL suffix to. If the specific noun is to be left unmentioned, the general word **kán** *k'an* meaning (as a noun) something like '(s.o.'s)thing, property' must be used. Locally it is translated by the word 'own', used as a noun.

ná:=ɬ **ɬ́án-(ə)t** lo:-t	Whose is it?
who=NC (s.o.'s) thing-REL IND-3	(local: Whose own is it?)
	Naahl k'anit loot?
ɬ́án-ɣ̌==əs[t]	It's mine! [you should know that]
(s.o.'s) thing-1S==AFF	(local: (It's) my own!)
	-K'aniɣ̌is!

The relativized nominal predicate can itself be the focused A of a relativized intransitive predicate (it acts as a pivot between the two clauses to which it belongs):

- ɬ́í:n=ɬ **pùkʷ-(ə)t**=ɬ ɬ́i:=tóx̱-(ə)t lax̱-haɬ́i:ɬ́imísT-ɣ̌
  you=NC book-REL=NC on=[object]lie, be.PL-REL on-desk-1S
  Are those your books on my desk?
  (lit. are you the one whose books are on my desk?)
  Ɬ́iinh/ bugwith/ ɬ́iidox̱at/ɬ́iidoot lax̱ haɬ́iit'imisiɣ̌a?

This sort of construction does not seem to be possible with non-interrogative clauses. In other words, it is not used in equivalents to, for instance, "I know the person whose books are on the table."

4.7.A.2.b.3. Focus on possessor with **wíl** 'be/do' *wil* as a quasi-auxiliary:

Here the emphasis is on the relation between possessor and possessed object: this construction is actually an instance of focus on the A of an intransitive P_A (4.7.A.2.b.1), which explains the much wider range of elements which can occupy the focused position, as well as the greater semantic range of relations between predicate and focused Adjunct. The possessor can be an interrogative or indefinite pronoun, or a noun; the predicative[18] **wíl** *wil* (which has a very general meaning, here indicated by 'do') takes the REL suffix; the possessed noun appears as Indirect Object after the preposition:

- ná:=ɬ **wíl-(ə)t** ʔa=ɬ ʔá:t t kùn==i
  who=NC do-REL PREP=NC net DM-this-Q
  Who owns this net? Who does this net belong to? Who had this net made? (etc.)
  Naahl wilit ahl aat tguni?

  ni-ki: t ná: cə **wíl-(ə)t** ʔa=ɬ ʔá:t t kùn==i
  not-INTS DM who IRR net-REL PREP=DC DM this==Q
  Does anyone own this net?
  Does this net belong to anyone?
  Nigitnaa ji wilit ahl aat tguni?

- ɲí:n=ɬ **wìl-(ə)t** lo:t==a
  me=NC do-REL IND-3==Q
  Does it belong to <u>you</u>?
  Ńiinhl wilit looda?

The possessor can be the pivot between a main and a relative clause, as in:

- ni:-ti: **ɲí:ỷ** cə wìl-(ə)t lo:-t
  not-INTS IRR me IRR do-REL IND-3
  It does not belong to <u>me</u>.
  Nidii ńiiỷ ji wilit loot.

  haɲi:qó:t-**ỷt** **<u>Sám</u>**=ɬ wìl-(ə)t lo:t
  thought-1S DM S.=NC do-REL IND-3
  I thought it belonged to <u>Sam</u>.
  Haɲiigoodiỷ t Samhl wilit loot.

4.7.A.2.c. <u>Non-predicative function of relativized P_A</u>:

4.7.A.2.c.a. <u>Used as nominal</u>:

A headless relativized nonstative P_A (with REL suffix) can be used as a nominal argument in a clause, or as head of a noun-phrase, with the meaning, 'one who is .... ing', 'a ....er'. The habitual meaning can be reinforced by the prefix **kʷi:x-** *gwiix-*(7.1.B.1.b.3.b.):

ʔá:t-**(ə)t**
fish.with.net-REL
'a/the fisherman' [while fishing]
aadit

siwilá:y̓insk^{W}-(ə)t	a/the teacher [at work]
teach-REL	*siwilaay̓insgwit*
k^{W}i:x-ɬíl̓-(ə)t	a/the ballplayer [habitually]
habitually-(play).ball-REL	*gwiix-hlit'it*
lìɬks-m+haʔni:txó:xk^{W}-(ə)t	a/the waiter/waitress [at work]
watch,guard-ATTR+table-REL	*lihlksim-haʔniitxoogwit*

Sentence examples:

- ʔakú t(ə)-yá ɬ **lìɬks-m+haʔni:txò:xk^{W}-(ə)t**
  what 3E-say=NC watch,guard-ATTR+table-REL
  What did the waitress say?
  Agu diyahl lihlksim-haʔniitxoogwit?

- ɬa: tim ʔuk^{W}s=hamáqsk^{W}-[t]=ɬ **timqa-ʔà:t-(ə)t**
  by.now FUT outward-head.s.w.PL-[3]=NC FUT PL-fishnet-REL
  The [seasonal] fishermen are going to head to sea [it is the fishing season].
  Hlaa dim ukwshamaqskwhl dim ga'aadit.

The REL suffix is used on some locational nouns as well, to form words with this function:

t̓imlá:n-(ə)t	'skipper'
stern (of a boat)-REL	*t'imlaanit*
t̓imć́é:q-(ə)t	'bowman'
bow (of a boat)-REL	*t'imts'eegat*

A relativized predicate may be accompanied by a circumstantial element:

lu:=wíl-**(ə)t** čim pó:t	'the occupants of the boat'
in=be-REL in boat	(the ones that are in the boat)
	luuwilit ts'im boot
lu:=hítk^{W}-**(ə)t** qaltimwó:t̓	'a/the storekeeper, store employee'
in=stand-REL store	(one who is standing in the store)
	luuhitgwit galdimwoot'

4.7.A.2.c.2. Attributive function of relativized P_A:

In this type of construction, the downshifted predicate takes the REL suffix, but there is no preposing of the nominal. The connective =ɬ *-hl* is used between predicate and nominal. Only non-determinate nominals can enter in this construction.

The downshifted relativized predicate gives Definite meaning to the nominal, as opposed to the Attributive suffix which indicates Indefinite meaning.

4.7.A.2.c.2.a. With numeral:

A numeral can be included as part of a noun-phrase. Compare the following sentences:

- predicate-focused clause with numeral in A noun-phrase:

- ʔal)ʔálkax̣=ɬ paqatìl-[t]=ɬ ha:náq̓ Two women talked.
  talk.PL-[3]=NC two(psons)=NC woman.PL *Al'algaxhl bagadilhl haanak̓'*

- Focus on entire noun-phrase: relativized main predicate:

paqatìl-[t]=ɬha:náq̓=ɬʔalʔálkax̣-**(ə)t** There were two women talking.
two (psons) -[3]=NC woman.PL=NC talk.PL-REL *Bagadilhl haanak̓'hl al'algaxat.*

- Predicate-focused clause, relativized downshifted predicate (numeral) in noun-phrase:

ʔalʔálkaẋ=ɬpaqatìl-(ə)t=ɬ ha:náq̓ — The two women talked.
talk.PL=NC two...-REL=NC woman.PL — *Al'algaẋhl bagadilithl haanaḵ'.*

- Focus on noun-phrase incorporating relativized downshifted predicate; main predicate also relativized:

paqatìl-(ə)t=ɬ ha:náq̓=ɬ ʔalʔálkaẋ-(ə)t
two...-REL=NC woman.PL talk.PL-REL

It was the two women who talked.
Bagadilithl haanaḵ'hl al'algaẋat.

4.7.A.2.c.2.b. With adjective or intransitive:

- Predicate-focused clause: adjective as part of a noun-phrase:

- ʔálkaẋ=ɬʔàl̓aq-m hanáq̓ — A brave/angry woman spoke.
  talk=NC determined-ATTR woman — *Algaẋhl al̓agam hanaḵ'.*

- Relativized downshifted predicate (adjective):

ʔálkaẋ=ɬ k̓a:ʔàl̓aq-(ə)t=ɬ hanáq̓ — The very brave/bravest woman spoke.
talk=NC determined-REL=NC woman — *Algaẋhl k'aa al̓agathl hanaḵ'.*

- Focus on noun-phrase incorporating relativized downshifted predicate; main predicate also relativized:

k̓a:ʔàl̓aq-(ə)t=ɬ hanáq̓=ɬ ʔálkaẋ=(ə)t
talk=NC determined-REL=NC woman

It was a very brave/ the bravest woman who spoke.
K'aa al̓agathl hanaḵ'hl algaẋat.

Relativized downshifted adjectival predicates are very common in noun-phrases, as in

ǩa:ʔàːm-(ə)t=ɬ háyk^{w}	'the Holy Spirit'
most good-REL=NC spirit	*K'aa Aamith/ Haykw*
qalksilàk-(ə)t=ɬ nisqáʔ	'the Nisgha graduates'
get.through.PL-REL=NC Nisgha	(the Nisghas who graduated)
	galksilagith/ Nisga'a
àːm-(ə)t=ɬ qapìː-[t]=ɬ winéːx	'the right amount of food' (lit. the
good-REL=NC amount-[3]=NC food	amount of food that's good)
	aamith/ gabiih/ wineex

4.7.A.3. Focus on Complements: (Indirect Objects and Circumstantial COmplements, not Specified Complements): a subordinator must be used between the anteposed focused element and the rest of the clause.

4.7.A.3.a. Focus on the Indirect Object:

An Indirect Object noun introduced by the preposition ʔa *a* (5.18) when unfocused, by the subordinator **wil** *wil* (5.16.B.7.) when focused. An Indirect Object pronoun is an Indirect lo:- pronoun (5.9.) when unfocused, an independent ǹi-pronoun (5.8) when focused.

4.7.A.3.a.1. P_{AI}: intransitive verb with an Indirect Object:

Unfocused clause:

- ...(wil)ksaxǩiǹámaʔ-[t]=s[t]Pèter a=s [t] Máry
  (SUB) give.gift-[3]=DC [DM] P. PREP=DC [DM] M.
  ... (as/when) Peter gave a gift to Mary.
  ... *(wil) ksaxgiǹama'as Peter as Mary.*

...(wil)ksaxkiɬáma?-[t]=s[t]Pèter lo:-t
(SUB) give.gift-{3}=DC [DM] P. IND-3
... (as/when) Peter gave a gift to her.
... *(wil) ksaxgiɬama'as Peter* ***loot.***

- ...(wil)kipé?esk^{w}?-[t]=s[t]Pèter a=s [t] Máry
(SUB) wait {3}=DC [DM] P. PREP=DC [DM] M.
... (as/when) Peter waited for Mary (indefinitely).
... *(wil) gibe'eskws Peter* ***as Mary.***

...(wil)kipé?esk^{w}?-[t]=s[t]Pèter lo:-ɬ̓
(SUB) wait {3}=DC [DM] P. IND-1P
... (as/when) Peter waited for us (indefinitely).
... *(wil) gibe'eskws Peter* ***loo****ɬ̓*.

Focus on I:

- ná: wil ksaxkiɬáma?-[t]=s[t]Pèter Who did Peter give a gift to?
who SUB give.gift-{3}=DC [DM] P. ***Naa wil ksaxgiɬama'as Peter?***

[t] Máry wilksaxkiɬáma?-[t]=s[t]Pèter Peter gave a gift to Mary.
[DM] M. SUB give.gift-{3}=DC [DM] P. ***Mary wil ksaxgiɬama'as Peter.***

ɬí:y̓ wilksaxkiɬáma?-[t]=s[t]Pèter Peter gave a gift to me.
me SUB give.gift-{3}=DC [DM] P. ***Ɬiiy̓ wil ksaxgiɬama'as Peter.***

- ná: wil kipé?esk^{w}?-[t]=s[t]Pèter Who did Peter wait for?
who SUB wait-DC P. ***Naa wil gibe'eskws Peter?***

[t] Máry wilkipé?esk^{w}?-[t]=s[t]Pèter Peter waited for Mary.
[DM] M. SUB wait {3}=DC [DM] P. ***Mary wil gibe'eskws Peter.***

ńít wil kipé?esk^{w}?-[t]=s[t]Pèter — Peter waited for her.
h. SUB wait[3]=DC[DM] P. — ***Ńit wil gibe'eskws Peter.***

4.7.A.3.a.2. P_{EAI}: transitive verb with an Indirect Object: (examples of both predicate-focused and regular clauses):

- kiǹám-ə-[t]=s[t]Pèter=ɬ čiksná?aqs **?a=s [t] Máry**
  give.s.-CTL-[3]=DC[DM] P.=NC bracelet PREP=DC[DM] M.
  Peter gave Mary a/the bracelet.
  Giǹamis Peterhl ts'iksna'aqs as Mary.

  kiǹám-ə-[t]=s[t]Pèter=ɬ čiksná?aqs **lo:-ẏ**
  give.s.-CTL-[3]=DC[DM] P.=NC bracelet IND-1S.
  Peter gave me a/the bracelet.
  Giǹamis Peterhl ts'iksna'aqs looẏ.

  ... (wil)-t kiǹám-[t]=s[t]Pèter=ɬ čiksná?aqs **?a=s [t] Máry**
  (SUB)-3E give.s.-[3]=DC[DM] P.=NC bracelet PREP=DC[DM] M.
  ... (as/when) Peter gave Mary a/the bracelet.
  ... (wil)t giǹams Peterhl ts'iksna'aqs as Mary.

- **ɬálp-ə-t=ɬ** q̓altú:x **?a=ɬ haq̓úɬ-t**
  whittle.s.-CTL-3=NC horn.spoon PREP=NC knife-3
  She whittled the horn spoon,with her knife (8.9)
  Hlalbithl k'alduu[illegible] hak'ohls.

  ... (wil)-t **ɬálp-[t]=ɬ** q̓altú:x **?a=ɬ haq̓úɬ-t**
  (SUB)-3E whittle.s.-[3]=NC horn.spoon PREP=NC knife-3
  ... (as/when) she whittled the horn spoon, with her knife.
  ...(wil)t hlalphl k'alduux ahl hak'ohlt.

  ... (wil)-t **ɬálp-[t]=ɬ** q̓altú:x **lo:-t**
  (SUB)-3E whittle.s.-[3]=NC horn.spoon INDe-3

... (as/when) she whittled the horn spoon, with it.
...(wil)t hlalphl ǩ'alduux loot.

Focus on I:

- **ná: wil**-tkiɲám-[t]=s[t]Pèter=ɬčiksná?aqs
  who SUB-3E give.s.-[3]=DC [DM] P.=NC bracelet
  Who did Peter give a/the bracelet to?
  Naa wilt giɲams Peterhl ts'iksna'aks?

  [t] Máry wil-tkiɲám-[t]=s[t]Pèter=ɬčiksná?aqs
  [DM] M. SUB-3E give.s.-[3]=DC [DM] P.=NC bracelet
  Mary wilt giɲams Peterhl ts'iksna'aks.
  Peter gave a/the bracelet to Mary.

  ɲít wil-tkiɲám-[t]=s[t]Pèter=ɬčiksná?aqs
  h. SUB-3E give.s.-[3]=DC [DM] P.=NC bracelet
  Ɲit wilt giɲams Peterhl ts'iksna'aks.
  That's who Peter gave a/the bracelet to.

- **?aǩú wil**-t ɬálp-[t]=ɬ hanàq̓=ɬ q̓altú:x
  what SUB-3E whittle.s.-[3]=NC woman=NC horn.spoon
  What did the woman whittle the horn spoon with?
  Agu wilt hlalphl hanaǩ'hl ǩ'alduux?

  haq̓úɬ-t wil-t ɬálp-[t]=ɬ hanàq̓=ɬ q̓altú:x
  knife-3 SUB-3E whittle.s.-[3]=NC woman=NC horn.spoon
  The woman whittled the horn spoon with her knife.
  Haǩ'oɬt wilt hlalphl hanaǩ'hl ǩ'alduux.

  ɲí-[t]=ɬ wil-t ɬálp-[t]=ɬ hanàq̓=ɬ q̓altú:x [19]
  that's-[3]=NC SUB-3E whittle.s.-[3]=NC woman=NC horn.spoon

That's what the woman whittled the horn spoon with.
Ǩihl wilt hlalphl hanaǩ'hl ǩ'alduux.

The same construction applies to the Indirect Object of a Jussive verb (framed with **kʷin-...T** *gwin...-di*, 7.3.A.2.a.1.), which is the semantic agent:

- **ná**: mə tim **wil** kʷin-q̓úc-T-[t]=ɬqís-n
  who 2E FUT SUB JUSS-cut.s.-DEF-[3]=NC hair-2S
  Who are you getting to cut your hair?
  (lit. by whom are you getting your hair cut)
  (Fr. Par/chez qui vas-tu te faire couper les cheveux?)
  Naa mi dim wil gwin-ǩ'ojihl gesiɛ?

(?)Édith nə tim **wil** kʷin-q̓úc-T-[t] — I am having Edith cut it.
E. 1S.E FUT SUB JUSS-cut.s.-DEF-[3] — I am having it cut by Edith.
(Fr. Je vais les faire couper par/chez Edith.)
Edith ni dim wil gwin-ǩ'ojit.

Compare with -the predicate-focused construction:

tim kʷin-q̓úc-T-ə-ỷ?a=s [t] **(?)Édith** — I'll have Edith cut it.
FUT JUSS-cut.s.-DEF-CTL-1S PREP=DC [DM] E. — (Fr. Je vais les faire couper, par/chez Edith.)
Dim gwin-ǩ'otsdiỷ as Edith.

4.7.A.3.b. Focus on a circumstantial complement:

A circumstantial complement that is anteposed through focusing requires a subordinator between it and the rest of the clause. Which subordinator is used depends on the semantic content of the complement (see INDEFINITE PRONOUNS, 5.6. and SUBORDINATORS, 5.16., for more examples).

4.7.A.3.b.1. A complement referring to Cause requires the subordinator **qan** 'cause, reason why, therefore' ***gan*** (5.16.B.1.), which introduces a consequence:

- **ʔakù qan** ɬíntx-[t]=s[t]Pèter Why is/was Peter mad?
  what reason mad-[3]=DC[DM]P. ***Agu gan hlintxs Peter?***

In the answer, the focused constituent giving the reason is often a clause rather than a nominal. In the following example, the focused nominal before **qan** ***gan*** is the focused causal complement of the second clause, which is the Object of the preceding predicate:

- ǩi:-tq̓amqaytwiláax-[t]=s[t]txé:msim
  and-3E as.it.is know.s.-[3]=DC[DM]T.

  t loqapu:lá: qan ǩ^{W}ó:tk^{W}-[t]=ɬ ʔàks==ǩi:
  DM L. therefore lost-[3]=NC water==DISTAL

  Actually, Txeemsim knew that
it was because of Logabuulaa that the water had disappeared. (18.4-7)
  *K'iit ƛ'amgayt wilaaxs Txeemsim t Logabuulaa **gan** kw'ootkwhl aks-gi.*

4.7.A.3.b.2. A complement referring to place requires the subordinator **wil** ***wil*** which can be translated here as 'where' (5.16.B.7.)

- **ntá wil** cóq-n Where do you live?
  which.way SUB stay-2S ***Nda wil jogan?***

- ɬa: hux^{W} **ǩíl-[t]=ɬ wilp wil** mítk^{W}-[t]=ɬ k^{W}àlk^{W}-a:txùx
  now again one-[3]=NC house SUB plentiful-[3]=NC dry-LINK halibut
  The dried halibut now filled yet another house.(176.1-2)
  (lit. there was now one more house where dried halibut was plentiful)
  Hlaa huxw k'ilhl wilp wil mitkwhl gwalgwa txox.

4.7.A.3.b.3. A complement referring to time also requires the subordinator **wil** *wil* :

- **kaxḳú wil** lu:yáltk^{W}-n — When did you come back?
  when? SUB come.back-2S — ***Gaxgu wil*** *luuyaltgwin?*

  cə **kaxḳú**tim **wil** lu:yáltk^{W}-n — When are you coming back?
  IRR when? FUT SUB come.back-2S — *(Ji)* ***gaxgu*** *dim* ***wil*** *luuyaltgwin?*

- (cə) **kaxḳú**mə tim **wil** k^{W}in-q̓úc-[t]=ɬqís-n
  (IRR) when? 2E FUT SUB JUSS-cut.s.-[3]=NC hair-2S
  When are you going to have your hair cut?
  (Ji) ***gaxgu*** *mi dim* ***wil*** *gwin-ḵ'otshl gesin?*

  haṅi:yé:qnə tim **wil** k^{W}in-q̓úc-t
  Saturday 1S.E FUT SUB JUSS-cut.s.-3
  I am having it cut on Saturday.
  Haṅiiyeeḵ *ni dim* ***wil*** *gwin-ḵ'otst.*

Unlike **wil**, the subordinator **ʔi**: *ii* (5.16.B.5.) links a clause with temporal meaning with another clause, but it does not follow a time complement.

4.7.A.3.b.4. The expression of manner requires the subordinator **wila**: 'how' *wilaa* (5.16.B.8.) However, manner is expressed not by a complement but by a higher predicate, occurring before the subordinator, as in:

- ʔá:m **wila**: wíl-n==a — How are you? (lit. are you well?)
  good how be,do-2S==Q — *Aam* ***wilaa*** *wilina?*

(For more examples see 5.16.B.8.).

4.7.B. SPECIFIED COMPLEMENT.

Specified Complements occur with a small number of predicates (P(E)(A)Sc), most of which are verbs of saying. The Specified Complement is normally in first position. The other elements of the sentence are placed in the normal order for their clause type. When these other elements are focused, the Specified Complement is displaced from its initial position and usually appears after the preposition ʔa *a*, leading to confusion between this Complement and an Indirect Object in some cases.

4.7.B.1. The Specified Complement is normally anteposed:

4.7.B.1.a. P_{ASc}:

4.7.B.1.a.1. Noun: **wá** *wa* 'name':[17] Note that for the question asking the name of a person (or pet animal), the interrogative pronoun is **ná**: 'who?' *Naa*, corresponding to the actual name used in the answer.

- [t] **ná**:=ɬ wá-n (==əst)
  [DM] who=NC name-2S-(AFF)
  (Hey) what's your name?
  ***Naahl** wan(is)?*

  [t] **ná**:=ɬ wà-[t]=s [t] nó:n
  [DM] who =NC name-[3]=DC [DM] mother.2S
  What's your mother's name?
  ***Naahl** was noon?*

  [t] **ná**:=ɬ hu)wà-[t]=ɬ ʔankikátkʷ-n
  [DM] who=NC PL)name-[3]=NC parents-2S
  What are your parents' names?
  ***Naahl** huwahl angigatgwin?*

- [t] **Máry**=ɬ wà-ỷ
  [DM] M. =NC name-1S
  (My name is) Mary.
  ***Maryhl** way.*

  [t] **Lúcy**=ɬ wà-t
  [DM] L.=NC nam-3
  (Her name is) Lucy
  ***Lucyhl** wat.*

When asking about a person's name, it is not correct to answer with the name alone. But when asking about an object, only the question includes the word **wá** 'name' *wa*. The answer is the name of the object.

- ʔakú=ɬ wà-[t]=s[t]kùni — What is this? (lit. what is the name of this?)
  what=NC name-[3]=DC[DM] this.Q
  Aguhl was guni?

  ɬáku:χkʷ — - [It's] a spoon-carving tool.
  spoon-carving tool — - *Hlagyuuxkw.*

4.7.B.1.a.2. Intransitive: This category of predicates consists of the passives of the transitive verb **siwá-tT** 'to name s.' *siwa-(t)di*. The answer has the same structure as the question, i.e. it includes the verb.

4.7.B.1.a.2.a. **siwátkʷ** 'to be called/named (by a specific name)' (e.g. individual rivers, mountains, villages, nations, etc., which have received individual names) *siwatkw*:

- ʔakú=ɬ siwátkʷ-[t]=ɬ q̓ali:ʔàks t kùst==i
  what=NC named-[3]=NC river DM that==Q
  What is that river called?
  Aguhl siwatkwhl k'alii'aks tgusdi?

  lísims=ɬ siwàtkʷ-t — - (It's called) the Nass River.
  Nass=NC named-3 — - ***Lisimshl siwatkwt.***

4.7.B.1.a.2.b. **siwátkʷs** 'to be called (by a common word)' (e.g. animals, plants, natural features, etc. which only have generic names) *siwatkws*:

- ʔakú=ɬ siwátkʷs-[t]=ɬ càk̓ʷisk̓ʷ t kùst==i
  what=NC called-[3]=NC animal DM that==Q

What is that animal called?
Aguhl siwatkwshl jakw'iskw tgusdi?

ʔáx^{W}t=ɬ siwàtk^{W}s-t
porcupine=NC called-3

- (It is called) a porcupine
- ***Axwthl siwatkwst.***

4.7.B.1.b. PEASc: Only **siwá-tT** 'to name s.' *siwa -(t)di* occurs in the full range of PEASc constructions. A few other verbs use this construction for the most common questions they occur in, but a PEAI structure for most answers.

4.7.B.1.b.1. **siwá-tT** 'to name s.' *siwa -(t)di*:

- [t] **ná**: mə siwà-tT-[t]=ɬ ɬkú:ɬk^{W}-n
  [DM] who 2E name.s.-DEF-[3]=NC child-2S

  What [name] did you name your child?
  Naa mi siwadihl hlguuhlgwin?

  Láura nəsiwà-tT-t
  L. 1S.E name.s.-DEF-3

  (I named her) Laura.
  Laura ni siwadit.

  Péter tip siwà-tT-t
  P. 1P.E name.s.-DEF-3

  We named him Peter.
  Peter dip siwadit.

- Pétert siwà-tT-[t]=s[t]Màry=ɬ ɬkú:ɬk^{W}-t
  P. 3E name.s.-DEF-[3]=DC [DM] M.=NC child-3

  Mary named her child Peter.
  Pətər t siwadis Maryhl hlguuhlkwt.

- ʔakù məsiwá-tT-[t]=s[t]kùn ʔa=ɬ sim?álkax
  what 2E name.s.-DEF-[3]=DC [DM] this PREP=NC N.lang.

  What do you call this in Nisgha?
  Agu mi siwadis gun ahl sim'algax?

4.7.B.1.b.2. Other verbs:

4.7.B.1.b.2.a. **hík̲s** : 'to say "..." to s.' (person A); to call s. a "..."

- ʔakú mə hìks-[t]=ɬ ɬkú:ɬkʷ-n — What did you say to your child?
  what 2E say.s.to.s.-[3]=NC child-2S — ***Agu mi hikshl hlguuhlgwin?***

  ʔakú mə hìks-[t]=ɬ ɬkí-n — What did you say to your children?
  what 2E say.s.to.s.-[3]=NC children-2S — ***Agu mi hikshl hlgin?***

- kiló - nə híks-t — I said to him/her: "Don't!"
  Don't! - 1S.E say.s.to.s -3 — ***"Gilo!" ni hikst.***

  kóm̓-sim̓ - nə híks-ti:t — I said to them: "Go ahead!"
  Go.ahead!-2P - 1S.E say.s.to.s -3P — ***"Gom̓sim̓!" ni hiksdiit.***

- ʔakú t híks-n t nò:n — What did your mother say to you?
  what 3E ....-2S DM mother.2S — ***Agu t hiksin t noon?***

4.7.B.1.b.2.b. **kín** 'to give s.o. a food (to eat then, or later)' *gin*:

- ʔakúmə kìn-[t]=ɬ ʔús-n — What [food] do/did you give your dog?
  what 2E feed.s.to.s.-[3]=NC dog-2S — ***Agu mi ginhl usin?***

- ʔakú tim-t kín-n t nò:n — What [food] will your mother give you?
  what FUT-3E feed.s.to.s.-2S DM mother.2S — ***Agu dimt ginin t noon?***

4.7.B.1.c. P_{ESc}: **...yá/...hí:-ta** 'to say "..."' (sg/pl) (used to report actual words) *...ya/... hiida*:

This one verb is a morphological and syntactic oddity. It has a Specified Complement, not in addition to other elements of the sentence, but, it seems, instead of an A. Some syntactic peculiarities can be explained as attempts to

parallel a structure containing an A.

The Specified Complement is the only Object of this verb. It is always anteposed. The Ergative argument is the E clitic pronoun.

4.7.B.1.c.1. Morphology:

	Singular		Plural	
1	... nəyá	... *niya*	_ tip hi:-ta	... *dip hiida*
2	... məyá?an	... *miya'an*	... mə sim hí:-ta	... *mi sim hiida*
3	... t(ə)-yá	... *diya*	_ t(ə)-hí:-ta	... *dihiida*

Note the morphological oddities:

- what appears to be the Causative suffix -?n *-'an* (7.2.C.2.b.1.a.1.) on the 2S form only; this is probably related to the imperative meaning (4.7.B.1.c.2.b.);
- 3E clitic prefixed to the verb, with intervening vowel (unique case);
- irregular plural[21] with -ta *-da* plural ending (7.2.A.1.c.).

4.7.B.1.c.2. Syntax:

4.7.B.1.c.2.a. General use:

- ?akúnəyá — What did I say?
  what 1S.E say — *Agu ni ya?*

  ?akú tim tip hí:-ta — What shall we say?
  what FUT 1PL.E say.PL-PL — *Agu dim dip hiida?*

ʔakúməsim hí:-ta — What did you (pl.) say?
... 2E 2E.PL say.PL-PL — *Agu mi sim hiida?*

- way ʔám - nəyá — I said: "Very well! All right!"
well... good - 1S.E say — *"Way aam", ni ya.*

ní - t-(ə)-hí:-ta — They said: "No!"
no 3E-(EP)-say-PL — *"Nii", dihiida.*

4.7.B.1.c.2.b. The second person:

- ʔakúməyá-ʔn — What did you say?
what 2E say-CAUS(?) — *Agu mi ya'an?*

- "... "məyá-ʔn — Say: "....."
... 2E say-CAUS(?) — "....", *mi ya'an.*

In the second person singular, the meaning is imperative (probably because of the causative suffix), except after an interrogative pronoun. It is likely that the use of this suffix has been extended to the interrogative construction.

4.7.B.1.c.2.c. The third person: In the third person, an adjunct nominal co-referring with the E pronoun may or may not be present in the clause (note that this noun has secondary stress, as do E-adjuncts generally):

- ʔakùt-(ə)-yá — What did she say?
what 3E-(EP)-say — *Agu diya?*

- ʔakùt-(ə)-yá t nò:n — What did your mother say?
what 3E-(EP)-say DM mother.2S — *Agu diya t noon?*

ʔakù t-(ə)-yá ɨ kàt — What did the man say?
what 3E-(EP)-say NC man — *Agu diyahl gat?*

- ʔakùt-(ə)-hí:-ta tipkùst==i — What did those people say?
  what 3E-say-PL DM.PL that==Q — *Agu dihiida dip gusdi?*

In all other cases of determinates co-referring with E pronouns, the determinate connective (DC) =S *-s* (6.2.B.) is used between the verb and the determinate noun, as in:

- yukʷ-tkipá-[t]=s [t]Pèter t Máry — Peter is waiting for Mary.
  PROG-3E wait.for.s.-[3]=DC P. DM M. — *Yukwt gibas Peter t Mary.*

Here there is no connective, and the singular or plural determinate marker is used alone. It would be ungrammatical[22] to say

*ʔakút-(ə)-yà=s [t]nón — What did your mother say?
...=DC [DM] mother.2S — * *Agu diyas noon?* [wrong]

But note that the connective is used only after verbal forms which include the 3 suffix pronoun **-t** (even if it usually deleted before the connective, see discussion in 4.3.B.). As _yá/_hí:ta *...ya/...hiida* never takes this suffix, it does not take the connective either.

(For non-determinate nouns, the difference between the two constructions is not apparent, since the non-determinate connective =**t** *-hl* fulfills the functions of both connective (6.2.B.1.) and determinate marker (6.2.B.2.a.)).

4.7.B.1.c.2.d. The first person: in both singular and plural, most older speakers add an independent pronoun co-referent with the E pronoun (as also in Boas):

- ʔakúnə yá ṅì:ẏ — What did I say?
  what 1S.E say me — *Agu ni ya ṅiiẏ?*

- ʔakú tim tip hí:-ta ṅù:ṁ — What shall we say?
  what FUT 1P.E-say-PL us — *Agu dim dip hiida ṅuuṁ?*

- ʔakú==(y)əmaʔnə tim yá ɬì:ɣ́ I wonder what I am going to say.
  what==DUB 1S.E FUT say me What ever shall I say?
  Aguyima'a ni dim ya ɬiiɣ́?

This use is probably related to the 3rd person use described above in c. In both cases, the noun or pronoun co-referring with the E pronoun is left unconnected to the verb, a unique case with transitive verbs in regular clauses (for normal transitive constructions see 4.3.B.3.). However, this lack of suffixation to the verb is characteristic of the Absolutive argument in predicate-focused clauses (4.4.B.2.). It seems that speakers feel that a sentence ending in a transitive verb alone is not complete, and they complete the sentence with a word that is grammatically independent although semantically co-referent with the E pronoun.

4.7.B.2. Behavior of the Specified Complement when other constituents are focused.

4.7.B.2.a. Focusing of A in clauses containing a Specified Complement: the Sc is normally anteposed; if another element of the clause is focused, it moves into initial position, taking the place of the Sc; the latter then moves to final position, after the preposition ʔa *a* . Other details of the clause remain as usual.

4.7.B.2.a.1. P_{ASc}:

4.7.B.2.a.1.a. Noun: **wá** 'name' *wa*

Unfocused clause:

- [t] Máry=ɬ wà-[t]=s[t] nóːɣ́ My mother's name is Mary.
  [DM] M.=NC name-{3}=DC [DM] mother.1S ***Maryɬ was nooɣ́.***

Focused A:

(initially)

- [t] nó:ỷ=ɬ wà-(ə)t ʔa=s [t] Màry — Mary is my mother's name.
  [DM] mother.1S=NC name-REL PREP=DC [DM] M. — *Nooỷhl wat as Mary.*

(in relative clause)

tq̓alẇá-tT-ə-m̓=ɬhanáq̓ — We met a woman...
meet.s.-DEF-CTL-1P=NC woman — *Tk̲'alẇatdim̓hl hanak̲',*

wà-(ə)t ʔa=s Máry — ...named/by the name of Mary.
name-REL PREP=DC M. — *... wat as Mary.*

4.7.B.2.a.1.b. Intransitives (Passives of **siwá-tT** *siwa-t)di*)

Unfocused clause:

- lísims=ɬ siwàtkʷ-[t]=ɬq̓ali:ʔàks-mnisqáʔ
  Nass.River=NC named-[3]=NC river-ATTR Nisghas
  The Nisghas' river is called the Nass.
  ***Lisimshl** siwatkwhl k̲'alii'aksim Nisga'a..*

- ʔáxʷt=ɬ siwàtkʷs-[t]=ɬ cák̓ʷiskʷ t ḳùn
  porcupine=NC named-[3]=NC animal DM-this
  This animal is called a porcupine.
  ***Axwthl** siwatkwshl jakw'iskw tgun .*

Focused A:

(initially)

- ʔaḳú=ɬsiwàtkʷ-(ə)t ʔa=ɬ lísims — What is (called) the Nass?
  what=NC named-REL PREP=NC Nass — *Aguhl siwatgwit **ahl** "Lisims"?*

- ʔaḳú=ɬsiwàtkʷs-(ə)t ʔa=ɬ ʔáxʷt [20] What's a 'porcupine'?
  what=NC named-REL PREP=NC porcupine What's meant by 'a porcupine'?
  *Aguhl siwatkwsit **ahl** "**axwt**"?*

(in relative clause)

- w̓á-ti:t=ɬ q̓ali:ʔáks(=ɬ) They reached a/the river ...
  reach.s.-3P=NC river-(NC) *W̓adiithl **k̲'alii'aks**(hl)...*

  siwátkʷ-(ə)t ʔa=ɬ lísims ...called the Nass.
  named-REL ..... *...siwatgwit **ahl Lisims**.*

- n̓i:=w̓á-ti:t=ɬ cák̓ʷiskʷ(=ɬ) They came across the/an animal...
  on-reach.s.-3P=NC animal-(NC) *N̓iiw̓adiithl **jakw'iskw**(hl)...*

  siwátkʷs-(ə)t ʔa=ɬ ʔáxʷt ...called a "porcupine".
  called-REL .... porcupine *...siwatkwsit **ahl axwt**.*

4.7.B.2.a.2. P_{EASc}:

4.7.B.2.a.2.a. siwá-tT 'to name s.' (see above for details) *siwa-(t)di*

Unfocused clause:

- ʔaḳú tip siwá-tT-[t]=ɬcák̓ʷiskʷ t kùn==i [23]
  what 1P.E name.s.-DEF-[3]=NC animal DM this==Q
  What [name] do we call this animal?
  ***Agu** dip siwadihl jakw'iskw tguni?*

  ʔáxʷt tip siwá-tT-[t] - We call it a porcupine.
  porcupine 1P.E name.s.-DEF -3 - *"**Axwt**" dip siwadit.*

Focused A (Object): in relative clause:

kíl̓-[t] wil yé:-[t]=ɬ **cák̓ʷiskʷ** A kind of animal,...
one-[3] SUB go-[3]=NC animal *K'il̓ wil yeehl **jakʷ'iskʷ**,*

siwá-tT-ə-m̓ ʔa=ɬ **ʔáxʷt** ...what we call a 'porcupine.'
name.s.-DEF-CTL-1P PREP=NC porcupine ... *siwatdim̓ **ahl "sxwt."***

4.7.B.2.a.2.b. **híks** 'to say s.t. to s.o.' *hiks* and **kín** 'to give s.o. a food' *gin* (cf. 4.7.B.1.b.2.) behave like PEAI's, not PEASc's when focusing their A's; the Specified Complement appears after the preposition, like an Indirect Object, and the rest of clause is an ordinary transitive clause with focused A (4.7.A.2.a.1.):

- [t] ná:=ɬ kìn-ə-n ʔa=ɬ **hó:n** Who did you give fish to?
  [DM] who=NC give.s.food-CTL-2S PREP=NC fish *Naahl ginin **ahl hoon**?*

- [t] ná:=ɬ hìks-ə-n ʔa=ɬ **kʷi:x-pí:k̓ʷ** Who did you call a liar?
  [DM] who=NC say.s.to.s.-CTL-2S PREP=NC habitual-lie
  *Naahl hiksin ahl **gwiix-biikʷ**'?*

4.7.B.2.b. Focusing of E in clauses containing a Specified Complement:

The Specified Complement appears after the preposition, like an Indirect Object, and the rest of clause is an ordinary transitive clause with focused E (4.7.A.1.):

- [t] ná:t ʔan siwà-tT-[t]=ɬ ɬku kát t kùs(t) ʔa=s [t] **Cúthbert**
  [DM] who 3E REL.E name.s.-DEF-[3]=NC little man DM that PREP=DC [DM] C.
  Who named that little boy Cuthbert?
  *Naat an siwadihl hlgu gat tgus **as Cuthbert**?*

- [t] ná:-t ʔan híks-n ʔa=ɬ **kʷi:x-pí:k̓ʷ** Who called you a liar?
  [DM] who-3E REL.E say.s.to.s.-2S PREP=NC habitual-lie
  *Naat an hiksin **ahl gwiix-biikʷ**'?*

- [t]Péter-t ʔan kìn-[t]=s[t]nó:ỷ **ʔa=ɬ hó:n**
  [DM] P.-3E REL.E give.s.food-[3]=DC [DM] mother.1S PREP=NC fish
  [It was] Peter [who] gave my mother fish.
  Peter t an gins nooỷ ***ahl hoon***.

- [t]Péter-t ʔan híks-ỷ **ʔa=ɬ k^{w}i:x-pí:k̓^{w}**
  [DM] P-T-3E REL.E say.s.to.s.-1S PREP=NC habitual-lie
  [It was] Peter [who] called me a liar.
  Peter t an hiksiỷ ***ahl gwiix-biikw'***.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

[1] In the literature on ergativity (e.g., Dixon 1979), the trichotomy Subject/Agent/Object replaces the dichotomies Subject/Object and Agent/Patient. The term Agent is used in a grammatical sense, not a thematic one, and refers to what would ordinarily be called the subject of a transitive verb, the term Subject being reserved for the subject of an intransitive verb.

[2] In this study the definition of ergativity is the traditional one found in Kurylowicz, Comrie, Dixon, and many other serious students of Ergative-type languages, not the highly divergent definition more recently put forward by Marantz (1981) and Levin(1983), which seems to be based more on theoretical considerations than on in-depth familiarity with languages of the Ergative type.

[3] As there is no pronominal A argument in this type of clause, a nominal with the A role cannot strictly speaking be called an 'adjunct', so it is referred to simply as an A-nominal for lack of a better term.

[4] Because of this alternation with an **ʔa** - prepositional phrase, which corresponds to English structure, there is a modern tendency to shift to this use of the Sc except with a few verbs or even a few uses of these verbs.

[5] What in English would be expressed by Manner adverbials is indicated in Nisgha either by modifiers or proclitics as part of the predicate phrase, or by a higher predicate followed by the subordinator **wila**: 'how' *wilaa* (5.16.B.8.).

[6] For a fuller discussion see Tarpent 1987.

[7] That the deleted pronominal clitics are the ones occurring before, not after, the modal particles suggests that more is involved in the order of these elements than just their phonological shape (6.1.a.1.c.).

[8] Similarly in French, an Object pronoun referring to an inanimate object can be omitted from a transitive imperative if the referent is in the context of situation, as in

Prenez!	Take it! Take some!
take.IMP.2PL	

which can only be said when actually handing a person something, as opposed to:

Prenez-le! ...-OBJ.MASC	Take it!
Prenez-en! ...-OBJ.PART	Take some!

which refer to an object that has been already mentioned in the linguistic context.

9 called 'independent order clause' in previous work by Rigsby, Tarpent and others.

10 As **hó:n-tkʷ** 'one's fish' *hoontkw* is a mass noun here, the verb stem is not plural.

11 A third person singular form **ṅit** exists, but is rarely used in normal speech except for focusing; it can however occur especially in translations of English sentences which have an obligatory pronoun; see Tarpent 87.

12 The obligatory use of the 3P pronoun, as in this example, seems relatively recent. In the Boas tales the plural stem of the verb is usually sufficient to indicate the number of the Subject, as in

lu:=yil)yáltkʷ	They went back (206.11)
in=PL)turned	*Luuyilyaltkw* (now *Luuhilyaltkw*).

However, since not all verbs have separate plural stems, the plural pronoun is sometimes necessary to prevent ambiguity.

13 A downshifted verbal P_A has the same structure:

- **tim** k̓aẋ qóʔ-ə-y̓=ɬ **tim** xk̲ó:f̲i:-y̓ I'll just get myself some coffee.
  FUT just.now go.get.s.-CTL-1S=NC FUT drink.coffee-1S
  ***Dim** k'aẋ go'oy̓hl **dim** ẋkoofiiy̓.*

14 I am grateful to Mrs. Shirley Adams of Aiyansh for first bringing the ambiguity of this phrase to my attention.

15 Among YFS the order **ʔan t** *an t* is more common than **t ʔan** *t an*, except after interrogative pronoun. As the 3E pronoun **t** tends to merge

phonologically with a following dental stop or affricate, many YFS use only **ʔan** *an*, which is sufficient to indicate the ergative status of the focused element.

[16] Some people use **wá** 'name' *wa* after the interrogative **ʔakú** 'what' *agu* in this type of clause; this seems to be especially common in Greenville. The answer does not include **wá** 'name' *wa* . Example:

ʔakú=ɬ **wà**=ɬkl)kíp-ə-n==əst	What are you eating?
what=NC name=NC ASP)eat.s.-CTL-2S==AFF	What is it you are eating?
	Aguhl wahl gigibinis?

[17] in this example the predicate is the word **halâyt** 'shaman' *halayt* which is usually a noun; here it is used as an intransitive verb.

[18] The predicative **wil** *wil*, which can be used as a noun or verb, should not be confused with the Subordinator **wil** *wil* (5.16.B.7.) which is always unstressed and never takes a suffix.

[19] Note the difference between the **ni**-pronouns for humans and inanimates; for humans, the 3 suffix **-t** is considered an integral part of the pronoun and is retained even before the connective **=ɬ** ; for inanimates, it is not, and appears on the surface only before postclitics, as in

ńit==aʔ=ɬ qan wìl-t	<u>That's</u> why [it happened]!
that's....3==ASST=NC therefore be,do-3	*Ńida'ahl gan wilt!*

[20] With only these examples of the use of **wá** 'name' *wa* it would be difficult to say with certainty which is the clause predicate: whether it is the noun **wá** *wa*, with focused Specified Complement, or the name or interrogative pronoun in normal predicative position. That **wá** *wa* is indeed the clause predicate is suggested by analogy with the other constructions with Specified Complements described in the following sections, and by its behavior when the A noun in the clause is focused, see below 4.7.B.2.

[21] For the derivation of the singular and plural stems from a single historical form, by regular rules, see Tarpent 1983b.

[22] But **=s** -s is occasionally used with this construction in Boas 1902, showing confusion with regular transitive verbs.

[23] As with other cases of similar constructions, some YFS confuse and amalgamate features of questions about naming, producing such sentences as

* **ʔakú** tip siwá-tT-[t]=ɬ ʔa=ɬ ʔáx^{W}t What do we call *axwt*?
what 1P.E name.s.-DEF-[3]=NC PREP=NC porcupine
* *Agu dip siwadihl ahl 'axwt'?* [wrong]

PART II

CHAPTER 5: WORD-CLASSES

Nisgha words can be classified into predicatives (which can take the predicate role in a clause) and non-predicatives. In the following list, predicatives are listed first, starting with P_{EA}'s (transitive verbs), followed by P_A's: intransitive verbs, adjectives, numerals, nouns, and pronouns, the latter comprising indefinite, demonstrative and independent pronouns. Indirect pronouns are included with the other pronouns although they cannot be clause predicates. Next come the minor predicates: ambients and interjectives, followed by the auxiliary and negative verbs. Among the non-predicatives are listed adverbs, modifiers, subordinators, conjunctions and the preposition ʔa *a*.

5.1. TRANSITIVE VERBS (P_{EA}'s).

Transitive verbs take one Ergative and one Absolutive argument; some also take a Specified Complement. They are normally used as clause predicates, but can also be nominalized by downshifting together with their Absolutive argument.

5.1.A. Use as clause predicate:

5.1.A.1. In regular clause:

5.1.A.1.a. The verb is preceded by an E clitic pronoun (and the Relative Ergative pronoun in a relative clause) and followed by an A suffix pronoun; if the latter is the 3 suffix **-t**, it is obscured by the consonant-deletion rule (10.2.A.2.b.1.(c)) if it is directly followed by a connective (6.2.B.); it occurs on the surface if a postclitic (6.3.) intervenes:

- wil-**t** náksk^{W}-[**t**]-s [t] Pèter t Máry ... as/when Peter married Mary.
  SUB marry.s.-[3]=DC [DM] P. DM M. ... *wilt nakskws Peter t Mary.*

ná:ʔan-**t** nákskʷ-**[t]**=s[t]Máry	Who married Mary?
who REL.E-3E marry.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M.	***Naa ant nakskws Mary?***
• wil-**t** cáp-**[t]**=s[t]Pèter=ɬ ḿá:l	... as/when Peter built the canoe.
SUB-3E make.s.-[3]=DC [DM] P.=NC canoe	... ***wilt japs Peterɬ ḿaal.***
wil-**t** cáp-**t**==qa[t]=s[t]Pèter=ɬ ḿá:l	... as/when (they say) Peter built the canoe.
SUB-3E make.s.-3==REP=DC [DM] P.=NC canoe	... ***wilt japt-gas Peterɬ ḿaal.***
nə wil cáp-**[t]**=ɬ ḿá:l	... as/when I built the canoe.
1S.E SUB make.s.-[3]=DC canoe	... ***ni wil japɬ ḿaal.***
ná:ʔan-**t** cáp-**[t]**=ɬ ḿá:l	Who built the canoe?
who REL.E-3E make.s.-[3]=NC canoe	***Naa ant japɬ ḿaal?***
• wil-**t** ɬimó:m-**ỷ**	... as/when she helped me.
SUB-3E help.s.-1S	... ***wilt ɬimoomiỷ.***
ná:ʔan-**t** ɬimó:m-**n**	Who helped you?
who REL.E-3E help.s.-2S	***Naa ant ɬimoomin?***

5.1.A.1.b. The Definite Medial (DEF) suffix (-T) is used with some transitive verbs (7.2.C.1.a.);

- it appears under the phonological shape /ə/ *i/a* between consonants:

• wil-**t**cákʷ-**T**-[t]=s[t]c̓àk=ɬ ẇi:lik̓íńskʷ	
SUB-3E kill.s.-DEF-[3]=DC [DM] Ts.=NC big grizzly	
	... as Ts'ak killed[1] the big grizzly.
	... ***wilt jagwis Ts'akɬ ẇii lik'íńskw.***

ná:ʔan-tcákʷ-T-[t]=ɬ ẇi:liḱíńskʷ — Who killed the big grizzly?
SUB-3E kill.s.DEF-[3]=NC big grizzly — *Naa ant jagwihl ẇii lik'íńskw?*

- wil-tq̓áq-T-[t]=s[t]Pèter=ɬ ptóʔ — ... as/when Peter opened the door.
SUB-3E open-DEF-[3]=DC[DM]=NC door — ... *wilt k'agas Peterhl pdo'o.*

ná:ʔan-tq̓áq-T-[t]=ɬ ptóʔ — Who opened the door?
who REL.E-3E open-DEF-[3]=NC door — *Naa ant k'agahl pdo'o?*

- it appears as /tə/ *-di* between a vowel or resonant and a consonant:

- wil-t yé:-**tT**-[t]=s Pèter=ɬ limʔó:ẏ
sing.s.-DEF-[3]=DC P.=NC funer.song — ...as/when Peter sang a funeral song.
... *wilt yeedis Peterhl lim'ooẏ.*

wil tip yé:-tT-[t]=ɬ limʔó:ẏ — ... as/when we sang a funeral song.
SUB 1P.E sing.s.-DEF-[3]=DC P.=NC funer.song — ... *wil dip yeedihl lim'ooẏ.*

ná:ʔan-t yé:-**tT**-[t]=ɬ limʔó:ẏ — Who sang the funeral song?
who REL.E-2E sing.s.-DEF-[3]=DC P.=NC funer.song — *Naa ant yeedihl lim'ooẏ?*

5.1.A.1.c. Transitive verbs can be preceded by auxiliary or negative verbs:

- **yukʷ**-tcáp-[t]=s[t]Pèter=ɬ ḿá:l — Peter is building a/the canoe.
PROG-3E make.s.-[3]=DC[DM] P.=NC canoe — ***Yukwt** japs Peterhl ḿaal.*

- **ni:-ti:**-tl̓a:m-náksk^{W}-[t]=s[t]Màry t Péter
not-INTS-3E wanting-marry.s.-[3]=DC[DM] M. DM P.
Mary does/did not want to marry Peter.
***Nidiit** ḿaam-nakskws Mary t Peter.*

5.1.A.2. In predicate-focused clause:

5.1.A.2.a. All transitive verbs take the Control (CTL) suffix **-ə-** *i/a* (**7.2.A.3.**) before a personal suffix indicating the E argument (the 3 suffix **-t** is lost before a connective, through the consonant-deletion rule, **10.2.A.2.b.1.(c)**):

- cáp-ə-[t]=s[t]Pèter=ɬ m̓á:l
  make.s.-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] P.=NC canoe
  Peter built a/the canoe.
  Jabis Peterhl m̓aal.

  cáp-ə-t==qa[t]=s[t]Pèter=ɬ m̓á:l
  make.s.-CTL-3==REP=DC [DM] P.=NC canoe
  I hear Peter built a/the canoe.
  Jabit-gas Peterhl m̓aal.

  cáp-ə-ɣ̓=ɬ m̓á:l
  make.s.-CTL-1S=NC canoe
  I built a/the canoe.
  Jabiɣ̓hl m̓aal.

- náksk^{W}-ə-[t]=s[t]Pèter t Máry
  marry.s.-CTL-[3]= DC [DM] P. DM M.
  Peter married Mary.
  Naksgwis Peter t Mary.

  timnáksk^{W}-ə-n t Máry
  FUT marry.s.-CTL-2S DM M.
  You are going to marry Mary.
  Dim naksgwin t Mary.

5.1.A.2.b. The Control suffix is added after the Definite Medial (DEF) suffix **(-T)** (hence *-tə -di*) when that suffix is used:

- cák^{W}-T-ə-[t]=s[t]c̓àk=ɬ ẇi:lik̓íńsk^{W}
  kill.s.-DEF-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] Ts.=NC big grizzly
  Ts'ak killed the big grizzly.
  Jakwdis Ts'akhl ẇii lik'iiskw.

- q̓áq-T-ə-[t]=s[t]Pèter=ɬ ptó?
  open-DEF-CTL-[3]=DC [DM]=NC door
  Peter opened the door.
  K'ak̓dis Peterhl pdo'o.

- yé:-tT-ə-[t]=s Pèter=ɬ lim?ó:ɣ̓
  sing.s.-DEF-CTL-[3]=DC P.=NC funer.song
  Peter sang a funeral song.
  Yeetdis Peterhl lim'ooɣ̓.

(see **7.2.C.1.b.** for more details of the surface realization and use of the suffix **(-T)**).

5.1.b. Downshifting: nominalization:

Transitive verbs can be nominalized in the frame (7.3.B.1.b.):

ɬə [[P_{EA}]-T]-[t]=... Noun

where the transitive verb is preceded by the Restrictive particle ɬə *hli/hł* (6.1.B.2.) and followed by the Medial suffix -T- before the 3rd person suffix and the connective that links it to its A nominal.

- ɬə lìcx̱-T-[t]=ɬsim-ʔálkax̱
  the read.s.-DEF-[3]=NC real-talk
  '(the) reading (of) Nisgha'
  hli litsxrahl sim'algax̱

- ɬə ʔàm-tT-[t]=ɬsim-ʔálkax̱
  the write.s.-DEF-[3]=NC real-talk
  '(the) writing (of) Nisgha'
  hli t'amdihl sim'algax̱

- ɬə yè:-tT-[t]=ɬlímx
  the sing.s.-DEF-[3]=NC song
  '(the) singing (of) a song'
  hli yeedihl limx

Remark: See the Remark to 4.5.A.3.b. for the potential ambiguity of some of these constructions.

5.2. INTRANSITIVE VERBS.

5.2.A. Non-statives: (includes Antipassives)

5.2.A.1. Normal role as clause predicate:

5.2.A.1.a. In regular clause: intransitives take a personal suffix as argument:

5.2.A.1.a.1. Following a subordinator:

- wil ʔá:t-t
  SUB fish.w.net-3
  ...as/where/when he fished.
  ... *wil* ***aatt***.

  wil ʔá:t-[t]=s [t] Pèter
  SUB ...-[3]=DC [DM] P.
  ...as/where/when Peter fished.
  ... *wil* ***aats*** *Peter*.

  wil ʔá:t-n
  SUB ...-2S
  ...as/where/when you fished.
  ... *wil* ***aadin***.

5.2.A.1.a.2. Following an auxiliary or negative verb, or sometimes an evaluative verb or a verb of going:

AUX: yukʷ=ɬ **haɬáɬs[T]-t**
PROG=NC work-3
S/he is working.
Yukwhl ***hahlaɬsit***.

NEG: ni:-ti: **haɬáɬs[T]-t**
not-INTS ...
S/he did not work/is not working.
Nidii ***hahlaɬsit***.

- ni:-ti: k̓ʷiɬ ʔá:t-[t]=s Pèter
  not-INTS around see.s.-AP.I-[3]=DC [DM] P.
  Peter did/does not fish.
  Nidii kw'ihl ***aats*** *Peter*.

EVAL: čáxʷ=ɬ **haɬáɬs[T]-t**
considerable=NC ...
S/he works/worked/is working hard.
Ts'axwhl ***hahlaɬsit***.

Verb of going:

tá:ẇiɬ=[ɬ] ʔá:t-t
leave=NC fish.w.net-3
He's away fishing.
Daẇihl ***aatt***.

5.2.A.1.a.3. In the morphosyntactic frame **(wit...(liki:) ... [...]-i:)** 'looking like...' *wit... (ligii)[...]-ii* (7.3.B.2.b.):

- wi[t]=ɬ liki: ǩ^{W}iɬ ʔá:t-t-i:
  ...=NC about around fish.w.net-3-SUFF
  It looked like he was fishing.
  Wihl ligii kw'ihl aatdii.

5.2.A.1.b. In predicate-focused clause:

- ʔá:t t Pèter
  fish.w.net DM P.
  Peter fished.
  ***Aat** t Peter.*

- ʔá:t ǹì:ỳ
  fish.w.net me
  I fished.
  ***Aat** ńiiỳ.*

5.2.A.2. Non-predicative role:

5.2.A.2.a. Can be A in clause:

5.2.A.2.a.1. With P_A as predicate:

- haǩáx̱k^{W}=ɬ **lìlk^{W}s**
  bad=NC to.steal
  Stealing is a sin.
  Hat'ax̱kwhl lilkws.

5.2.A.2.a.2. With P_{EA} as predicate:

- wilá:x-ə-n=ɬ **hátiks**==a
  know-CTL-2S=NC swim==Q
  Do you know how to swim?
  Wilaayinhl hadiksa?

- tə-lím[x]-ə-t=ɬ**ʔá:t**-t
  DOM-sing-CTL-3=NCto.fish-3
  He sang while fishing.
  Dilimithl aatt.

5.2.A.2.b. Downshifted: can take the Attributive suffix (-m) in a compound (9.2.A.2.c.):

tx̱ò:x̱k^{W}-m hí:ɬuk^{W}
eat.PL-ATT morning
'breakfast'
tx̱oox̱gum-hiihlukw

5.2.B. Statives: (including Passives): Statives have a slightly more restricted distribution than non-statives (cf. Nouns, 5.5.C.): .

5.2.B.1. Normally clause predicate:

5.2.B.1.a. In regular clause: follows a subordinator or negative verb. rarely an auxiliary or evaluative verb.

- wil ɬá:-t
  SUB sit-3
  ... as/where/when s/he sat.
  ... *wil t'aat.*

  wil ɬá:-[t]=s[t]Pèter
  SUB sit-[3]=DC [DM] P.
  ... as/where/when Peter sat.
  ... *wil t'aas Peter.*

- ni:-ti: ɬá:-[t]=s[t]Màry
  not-INT sit-[3]=DC [DM] M.
  Mary didn't sit.
  Nidii t'aas Mary.

- ni:-ti: ḵʷiɬ ɬá:-[t]cə t Màry
  not-INT around sit-[3] IRR DM M.
  Mary isn't/wasn't sitting!
  Nidii kw'ihl t'aa ji t Mary!

- ni:-huxʷ-ti: **ká?-tkʷ**-[t]=s Pèter
  not-again-INTS see.s.-PAS-[3]=DC [DM] P.
  Peter was not seen again.
  *Nihuxwdii **ga'atkw**s Peter.*

5.2.B.1.b. In predicate-focused clause:

- ɬá: ńl:ẏ
  sit me
  I sat/was sitting.
  T'aa ńiiẏ.

  ɬá: t Màry
  ... DM ...
  Mary sat/was sitting.
  T'aa t Mary.

  ɬá:=ɬ hanáq̓
  ...=NC woman
  The woman sat/was sitting.
  T'aahl hanaq̓'.

5.2.B.2. In non-predicative role: an intransitive verb is not used as the argument of a main predicate: it often has an attributive role to a noun or other downshifted (p. 255 ff.) predicate, with ATTR suffix -**m**:

tq̓al=**t̓à**:-m éngine	'outboard motor'
against=sit-ATTR ...	*tk̲'alt'aam injin*
k̓ʷàciksk̓ʷ-mha-n̓i:=t̓á:	'rocking chair'
rock-ATTR INST-on=sit	***kw'ajiksgum** hań̓iit'aa*

5.3. ADJECTIVES.

Adjectives share some of their properties with statives and others with numerals.

5.3.A. Can be clause predicate:

5.3.A.1. In regular clause: Like stative intransitives, adjectives do not normally follow auxiliary verbs; they follow subordinators or negative verbs:

- wil ẇi:-**n̓ák̓ʷ**-t ...as s/he is tall.
  SUB big-long-3 ... *wil ẇiin̓akwt.*

  wil ẇi:-**n̓ák̓ʷ**-[t]=s[t]Màry ...as Mary is tall.
  SUB big-long-3=DC [DM] M. ... *wil ẇiin̓akws Mary.*

  wil ẇii:-**n̓ák̓ʷ**-ẏ̓ ... as I am tall.
  SUB big-long-1S ... *wil ẇiin̓agwiẏ.*

- **ni**:-**ti**: ẇi:-**n̓ák̓ʷ**-[t]=s[t]Màry Mary is not tall.
  not-INT big-long-[3]=DC [DM] M. ***Nidii** ẇiin̓akws Mary.*

5.3.A.2. In predicate-focused clause:

- ẇi:-**ṅákw** ṅì:ẏ
  big-long me
  I am tall.
  Ẅiiṅakw ṅiiẏ.

  ẇi:-**ṅák^{W}** t Màry
  big-long DM M.
  Mary is tall.
  Ẅiiṅakw t Mary.

  ẇi:-**ṅák^{W}**=**ɬ** hanáq̓
  big-long =NC woman
  The woman is tall
  Ẅiiṅakwɬ hanaq̓.

5.3.A.3. Adjectives can occur in comparative structures with modifier **k̓a:** 'most' *K'aa* and preposition **ʔa** *as*:

- **k̓a:** ẇi:-ṅák^{W} t Màry **ʔa**=s[t] Lúcy
  most big-long DM M. PREP=DC [DM] L.
  Mary is tall**er than** Lucy.
  K'aa ẅiiṅakw t Mary as Lucy.

5.3.B. In non-predicative function:

5.3.B.1. As Adjuncts: Adjectives are not normally adjuncts, but some can function like abstract nouns as adjuncts to the arguments of evaluative verbs:

- tə)-[**tq̓al=yé**]=**ɬ** **q̓ayṁàs**-[t]=[s][t]Máry
  ASP)increase=NC young-[3]=DC [DM] M.
  Mary is [looking] younger and younger.
  (lit. Mary's youth is increasing)
  Ditk'alyeehl k'ayṁas Mary.

5.3.B.2. In downshifted position:

5.3.B.2.a. In downshifted relativized position: (see 4.7.A.2.c.2.)

- k̓a:ẇi:-**n̓ák^{w}**-(ə)t=ɬ ʔít̓isk^{w}-ɬ kí:k^{w}-ə-t
  most big-long-REL=NC necklace=NC buy.s.-CTL-3
  S/he bought the longest/a very long necklace.
  K'aa ẇiin̓agwithl it'iskwhl giigwit.

- kin̓ám-[t]=ɬ lo:-m̓ **ʔá:m**-(ə)t=ɬ qapì:-[t]=ɬ winé:x
  give.s.-[3]=NC IND-1P good-REL=NC amount-[3]=NC food
  Give us ... our daily bread [2]
  (lit. ... the right amount of food)
  *Gin̓amhl loom̓ ... **aam**ithl gabiihl wineex.*

5.3.B.2.b. Downshifted as attributive to a noun(-phrase):

ẇi:-**n̓àk^{w}**-m hanáq̓	'a tall woman'
big-long-ATTR woman	*ẇiin̓agum hanak̲'*

5.4. NUMERALS.

There are four categories of numerals: humans, animals, canoes/boats, etc., other objects (see chart p. 308).[3]

Higher numbers are formed by adding **tə** *di/da* for units and **wil** for tens, thus for instance:

xpíl̓-**tə**-kílp̓il	'twelve'
ten-...-two	*xbil̓-**di**-gilp'il*
k^{w}ilál̓-**wil**-k̓áp	'thirty'
three-...-ten	*gwilal̓-**wil**-k'ap*
tx̣álpx̣-**wil**-káp-**tə**-qantó:l̓t	'forty-eight'
four-...-ten-...-eight	*tx̲alpx̲-**wil**-k'ap-**da**-gandool̓t*

	ABSTRACT COUNTING, OBJECTS	ANIMALS, SKINS, GARMENTS	PERSONS	CANOES, BOATS, VEHICLES
1	ƛ̓íɬ *k'il'*	ƛ̓é:kʷ *k'eekw*	ƛ̓ó:l *k'yool*	q̓amé?et *k'ame'et*
2	ƛ̓ílp̓il *gilp'il*	t̓ipχá:t *t'ipχaat*	paqatíl *bagadil*	qalpé?eltɬkʷs *galbe'eltɬkw*
3	kʷiláɬ̓ *gwilal'*	kʷilán *gwilan*	kʷiló:n *gwiloon*	kʷiláɬ̓tɬkʷs *gwilal'tɬkws*
4	txᵡálpχ *txalpχ*	txᵡálpχ	txᵡalpχtó:l *txalpχdool*	txᵡálpχkʷs *txalpχkws*
5	kʷstíns *kwsdins*	kʷstíns	kʷstinsó:l *kwsdinsool*	kʷstínskʷs *kwsdinskws*
6	q̓ó:ɬ̓t *k'oɬ'*	q̓ó:ɬ̓t	q̓o:ɬ̓tó:l *k'oɬ'dool*	q̓ó:ɬ̓tɬkʷs *k'oɬ'tɬkws*
7	t̓ipχó:ɬ̓t *t'ipχoɬ'*	t̓ipχó:ɬ̓t	t̓ipχo:ɬ̓tó:l *t'ipχoɬ'dool*	t̓ipχó:ɬ̓tɬkʷs *t'ipχoɬ'tɬkws*
8	qantó:ɬ̓t *gandoɬ'*	ẏuxʷtá:ɬ̓t *ẏuxwdaaɬ'*	ẏuxʷta:ɬ̓tó:l *ẏuxwdaaɬ'dool*	qantó:ɬ̓tɬkʷs *gandoɬ'tɬkws*
9	kʷstimó:s *kwsdimoos*	kʷstimó:s	kʷstimo:só:l *kwsdimoosool*	kʷstimó:skʷs *kwsdimooskws*
10	xpíɬ̓ *xbiɬ'*	ƛ̓áp *k'ap*	xpó:l *xbool*	ƛ̓ápkʷs *k'ap*

Numerals share some of their syntactic properties with nouns and others with adjectives, as well as having some of their own.

5.4.A. Adjective-like properties:

5.4.A.1. Can be clause predicate:

5.4.A.1.a. In regular clause: after subordinator or negative verb:

- wil q̓am **k̓ó**:l-ỷ — ... as I am alone (lit. ...I am only one).
  SUB just one.pson-1S — ... *wil k̲'am **k'yool**iẏ.*

- wil **paqatíl**-[t]=ɬ ɬkì-[t]=s [t] Máry — ... as Mary has two children.
  two[persons]-[3]=NC child.PL=DC [DM] M. — (lit. ...Mary's children are two)
  ... *wil **bagadil**hl hlgis Mary.*

  ...wil **paqatíl**-ti:t — ... as she has/they are two.
  SUB two[persons]-3P — ... *wil **bagadil**diit.*

- ni:-ti: lu:=**paqatíl**-ti:t — They weren't two [in the car/boat/etc].
  not-INTS in=two[persons]-3P — *Nidii luu**bagadil**diit.*

5.4.A.1.b. In predicate-focused clause:

- q̓am **k̓ó**:l t Màry — Mary is/was alone.
  just one[person] DM M. — *K̲'am **k'yool** t Mary.*

  q̓am **k̓ó**:l=ɬ ɬkù:ɬk^{W}-ỷ — I only have one child.
  just one[person] =NC child-1S — (lit. my child is just one)
  *K̲'am **k'yool**hl hlguuhlgwiẏ.*

5.4.A.2. In non-predicative role:

Numerals cannot be Adjuncts, but they can be in downshifted position.

5.4.A.2.a. In downshifted relativized position:

- paqatìl-(ə)t=ɬ ha:náq̓ — 'the two women'
  two[persons]-REL=NC woman.PL — *bagadilithl haanak̲'*

- t̓ipx̣à:t-(ə)t=ɬ ʔas)ʔús — 'the two dogs'
  two[animals]-REL=NC PL)dog — *t'ipx̲aadithl as'us.*

5.4.A.2.b. With the Attributive suffix -m when followed by a head noun:

- q̓am k̓ìl̓-m ʔasáy̓ — Only-One-Leg (a character in a story)
  only one[object]-ATT leg,foot — *K̲'am-k'il̓im-Asay̓*

5.4.B. Noun-like properties:

5.4.B.1. A numeral can be downshifted to head of noun-phrase:

- paqatìl-[t]=ɬ ɬkí-y̓ — 'my two children'
  two[persons]=NC child.PL-1S — ***bagadilhl hlgiy̓***

(compare with a clause with the numeral as predicate: note the different stress pattern:

wil paqatíl-[t]=ɬ ɬkì-y̓ — ...as I have two children.
two[persons]-[3]=NC child.PL-1S — ... *wil **bagadilhl** hlgiy̓.*)

- k̓ó:l-t — 'one [of them]'
  one(person)-3S — ***k'yoolt***

- kú:[t]-[t]=ɬ k̲íl̓-t — Take one.
  take.s.-[3]=NC one[thing]-3S — *Guuhl **k'il̓t**.*

With a numeral meaning 'one', such a phrase is often used with a more indefinite meaning, corresponding to an English article (definite or indefinite according to the context):

k̓ò:l-[t]=ɬhanáq̓	'one woman, a/the woman'
one(person)-[3]=NC woman	***k'yoolhl hanaq'***

5.4.B.2. A numeral with a personal suffix but without a following noun can be preceded by the Restrictive particle ɬə *hli/hla* (6.1.B.2.):

- ʔá:m==əmaʔ nə tim kíp-[t]=ɬ ɬə k̓íl̓-t
  good-PROB 1E FUT eat.s.-[3]=NC the one[thing]-3S
  It's probably all right for me to eat one.
  Maybe I can eat one.
  Aamima'a ni dim giphl hli k'il̓t.

With humans, the particle seems to be used mostly for contrast:

- k̓ʷiɬ hátiks=ɬ k̓ò:l-t
  about swim=NC one[person]-3
  One of them swam,
  Kw'ihl hadikshl k'yoolt,

  ʔi: ksax̌ laqam=t̓á:-[t]=ɬ ɬə k̓ò:l-t
  and only into.water=sit-[3]=NC the one[person]-3
  ... and the other one just sat in the water.
  ... ***ii ksax̌ lagamt'aahl hli k'yoolt.***

5.4.C. Formation of ordinal numbers: all numerals except 'one' can be prefixed with čʊ:- 'the ....eth' *ts'uu-* (7.2.B.1.b.2.b.). The resulting word function as an adjective:

čʊ:-paqatíl-(ə)t	'the second one'
other-two[person]-REL	***ts'uubagadil(i)t***

- ɬa: n̓ì-[t]=ɬ wil c̓u:-kʷilál̓-[t]=ɬ x̱-k̲è:ks-n
  now that's-[3]=NC SUB other-three-[3]=NC eat-cake-2S
  That's your third piece of cake!
  (you are eating cake for the third time)
  Hlaa n̓ihl wil ***ts'uug****wilal̓hl x̱keeksin.*

For 'first', Boas 1895 gives c̓u:-k̓íl̓ *ts'uuk'il̓* in the category 'Objects' and k̓sqó:q *ksgook̲* in the category 'Persons'. Nowadays the latter seems to be used exclusively, for all categories.

k̓sqò:q-msá-(tT-[t]=ɬqanú:tkʷ)	'Monday' (lit. first day--of the week)
first-ATTR day-(DEF-[3]=NC week)	***ksgoog****am sa(dihl ganuutkw)*

5.5. NOUNS.

Nouns can be determinate or non-determinate (3.2.A.1.). Determinate nouns include personal names, which have very restricted syntactic properties, as in most languages. The following does not apply to personal names except as indicated.

A special case is that of the six kinship terms referring to an ascendant generation, most of which have the frozen prefix nə- *ni-* (7.1.B.1.b.1.b.2.)).

nóx̱	'mother'	*nox̱*	*nikʷó:t*	'father'	*nigwoot*
nic̓í:c̓	'grandmother'	*nits'iits'*	*niyéʔ*	'grandfather'	*niye'e*
nixtá:	'aunt'	*nixdaa*	*nipíp*	'(maternal) uncle	*nibip*

These are almost exclusively found in a possessive context. They sometimes function as determinates and sometimes not . As determinates, they are treated like personal names.

5.5.A. All nouns can be clause predicates: however, they are most commonly used as arguments.

5.5.A.1. Equivalence statements: practically all nouns, including personal names, can be predicates in such statements:

- (t) **Máry** tkùn
  (DM) M. DM-this
  This is Mary.
  ***(T) Mary** tgun.*

- ʔá:t tkùn
  net DM this
  This is a net.
  ***Aat** tgun.*

- **hanáq̓=ɬ** ɬk̓ù:ɬk^{W}-y̓
  woman-NC child-1S
  I have a daughter.
  (lit. my child is a female)
  ***Hanak'**'hl hlguuhlgwiy̓.*

- **kát=ɬ** m̓à:l==ki:
  person=NC canoe==DIST
  The canoe was a person [a monster].
  ***Gathl** m̓aal-gi.* (106.13)

5.5.A.2. Possessive statements: These do not apply to personal names. The nominal predicate is the possessed noun, the noun or pronoun is the possessor: only semantically suitable nouns enter in such statements:

- **tá:la** n̓ì:n==a
  money you==Q
  You got some money?
  ***Daala** n̓iina?*

  ni:=ɬ **tá:la**-n==a
  NEG=NC money-2S==Q
  Do you have any money?
  *Niihl **daalana**?*

- lip **wílp** n̓ìti:t
  self house they
  They have their own house.
  *Lip **wilp** n̓idiit.*

wil lip **wílp**-ti:t	... as they have their own house.
SUB self house-3P	... *wil lip* ***wilp****diit.*

5.5.B. A noun can be head of a possessive NP:

ʔà:t-[t]=s [t] Péter	'Peter's net'
net-{3}=DC [DM] ...	***aats*** *Peter*
ʔà:t-[t]=ɬ kát	'the man's net'
net-{3} =NC man	***aath*** *l gat*
ʔá:t-ỷ	'my net'
...-1S	***aadiỷ***

5.5.C. A possessed noun can itself be the predicate: in an Equivalence clause:

• ʔá:t-ỷ t ɬkùn	This is my net.
net-1S DM this	***Aadiỷ*** *tgun.*
• haɁi:skát-ỷ=ɬ sà t ɬkun	Today is my birthday.
birthday-1S=NC day DM this	***HaɁiisgadiỷ*** *hl sa tgun.*
• ɬɬkú:ɬk^{w}-ỷ t Làura	Laura is my child.
child-1S DM L.	***Hlgaahlgwiỷ*** *t Laura.*
• ɬɬkú:ɬk^{w}-t Ɂìːỷ t Ròse	I am Rose's child. (cf. 5.8.C.2.b.)
child-3 me DM R.	(lit. Rose, I am her child; cf. Fr. Je suis son fils/sa fille, à Rose)
	Hlgaahlkwt *Ɂiiỷ t Rose.*
• ɬỷkù:ɬk^{w}-[t]=s [t] Gáry t Tràcy	Tracy is Gary's son.
child-{3}=DC [DM] G. DM T.	***Hlgaahlkws*** *Gary t Tracy.*

5.5.D. A predicate noun can be preceded by a Negative verb (not an Auxiliary or evaluative verb):

5.5.D.1. Most nouns (except personal names:)

5.5.D.1.a. Non-possessed noun: negation is like that of other P_A's (5.2., 5.3., 5.4.); the modifier k̓ʷiɬ 'around, about' *kw'ihl* is often used to emphasize negation (cf. statives, 5.2.B.):

- ni:-ti: k̓ʷiɬ hanáq̓-[t]=s [t] Tràcy — Tracy is not a girl!
  not-INTS about woman-[3]=DC [DM] T. — ***Nidii kw'ihl hanak̓'s Tracy!***

- kát t Tràcy - ni:-ti: k̓ʷiɬ hanáq̓-t — Tracy is a boy, not a girl!
  man DM T. - not-INTS about woman -3S — (lit. ...he is not a girl)
  Gat t Tracy, ***nidii kw'ihl hanak̓'t.***

- ḿá:l t kus - ni:-ti: k̓ʷiɬ pó:t-t — That is a canoe, not a boat.
  canoe DM that ... ... boat-3S — (lit. ...it is not a boat)
  Ḿaal tgus, ***nidii kw'ihl boolt.***

5.5.D.1.b. Possessed noun:

5.5.D.1.b.1. If there is no A-nominal: negation is the same as for a non-possessed noun (5.5.D.1.a.); the possessor is suffixed to the noun:

- ni:-ti: k̓ʷiɬ ʔankú-n=əst — It's none of your business!
  not-INTS ... o's.business-2S==AFF — *Nidii kw'ihl* ***angunis!***

5.5.D.1.b.2. With A-nominal: since the possessed nominal predicate already has its argument suffixed to it, the A-nominal appears as an Indirect Object (prepositional phrase or indirect pronoun); the modifier k̓ʷiɬ *kw'ihl* is not normally used: compare the following examples: (A-nominal highlighted):

5.5.D.1.b.2.a. non-negative:

- hasáq-t=ɬ si: k̓utáč̓ — S/he wants/needs a new coat.
  want-3=NC new coat — (lit. a new coat is h. want)
  Hasak̲thl sii k'udats.'

- ʔansí p̓insk^{W}-ỷ t Màry — Mary is my friend.
  friend-1S DM M. — *Ansiip'insgwiý t Mary.*

5.5.D.1.b.2.b. negative:

- ni:-ti: hasáq-tʔa=ɬ si: k̓utáč̓ — S/he doesn't want/need a new coat.
  not-INTS want-3 PREP=NC new coat — ***Nidii** hasak̲t **ahl sii k'udats'**.*

  ni:-ti: hasáq-tlo:-t — S/he doesn't want/need it/one.
  not-INTS want-3 IND-3 — ***Nidii** hasak̲t **loot**.*

- ni:-ti: ʔansí:p̓insk^{W}-ỷ ʔa=s [t] Màry — Mary is not my friend.
  not-INTS friend-1S PREP-DC [DM] M. — ***Nidii** ansiip'insgwiý **as Mary**.*

  ni:-ti: ʔansí:p̓insk^{W}-ỷ lo:-t — She is not my friend.
  not-INTS friend-1S IND-3 — ***Nidii** ansiip'insgwiý **loot**.*

5.5.D.2. Personal names:

Personal names cannot take a personal suffix. Therefore, the A-nominal with such a predicate appears as an Indirect Object in a negative context, just like that of a possessed noun (5.5.B.1.b.2.b.): compare:

5.5.D.2.a. non-negative:

(t) Máry t k̓ùst==i — Is that Mary (over there)?
(DM) ... DM-that==Q — *(T) Mary **tgusdi**?*

5.5.D.2.b. negative:

ni:-ti: t Máry ʔa=s[t]ɬùs[t]	That isn't Mary.
not-INTS DM M. PREP=DC [DM] that	***Nidii t Mary as gus.***
ni:-ti: t Máry lo:-t	It isn't Mary.
not-INTS DM M. IND-3	***Nidii t Mary loot.***

5.5.E. A noun can take the Attributive suffix **-m** when followed by another noun (the suffixed noun is the head of the group):

hanàq̓-m ʔúl	'a female bear'
woman-ATT bear	***hanaḵ'am ul***
hò:pix-m qán	'a wooden spoon'
spoon-ATT wood	***hoobixim gan***

5.5.F. A noun can tak the REL suffix **-(ə)t** *it/at/t*:

5.5.F.1. After Focused possessor: (*284*)

• nà:=ɬ ʔá:t-ət lo:-t	Whose net is it?
who-NC net-REL IND-3	*Naahl **aadit** loot?*
• n̓í:n=ɬ ʔá:t-ət lo:-t==a:	Is it your net?
you-NC net-REL IND-3==Q	*N̓iinhl **aadit** looda?*

5.5.F.2. In two morphosyntactic frames (7.3.B.2.a.) with indefinite meaning:

5.5.F.2.a. **ʔakù=ɬ wila:s [...]-(ə)t**	'what kind of ...'
	Aguhl wilas.....-it/at/t?

- ʔakù=ɬ wilas **ʔá:t**-(ə)t lo:-t
  [... net ...] IND-3
  What kind of net is it?
  *Aguhl wilas **aadit** loot?*

- ʔakù=ɬ wilas ʔá:t-(ə)t=ɬ ti: hó:x-ə-t
  [... net ...] =NC INTS use.s.-CTL-3
  What kind of net does he use?
  (= what kind of fish is he after?)
  *Aguhl wilas **aadithl** dii hooyit?*

5.5.F.2.b. **liki:-lip-wila:s[...]-(ə)t**
'any/whatever kind of ...'
ligii-lip-wilas .....-it/at/t

liki:-lip-wilas ʔá:t-(ə)t
[... net...]
Any kind of net, whatever kind of net *ligii-lip-wilas **aadit***

5.5.G. A noun can enter into the morphosyntactic frame **wit** ...-**i**: 'looking like...' *wit...-ii* (7.3.B.2.b.):

5.5.G.1. Where this expression is the predicate:

- wi[t]=ɬ **kʷiskʷó:s**-i:
  [...=NC bluejay ...]
  It was blue. (lit. ... like a bluejay)
  *Wihl **gwisgwoosii**.* (139.10)

- wi[t]=ɬ **ʔiɬé:ʔ**-i:=ɬ ʔìs
  [...=NC blood ...]=NC soapberries
  The soapberries look just like blood (there are so many, so ripe).
  *Wihl **ihlee**'iihl is.*

5.5.G.2. Where this expression is an Adjunct: (here anteposed by Object Focusing, 4.7.A.2.a.)

- wi[t]=ɬ **smáx**-i:=ɬ kàʔ-ə-ý
  [...=NC bear...]=NC see.s.-CTL-1S
  I saw what looked like a bear.
  (lit. what I saw looked like a bear)
  *Wihl **smaxiihl** ga'aý.*

5.6. INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

The three Nisgha 'indefinite pronouns' are really nouns with indefinite meaning and specialized properties. They are used with interrogative as well as declarative meaning. If the latter, their indefinite meaning is usually reinforced by the modifier **likɨ**: 'about, any' *ligii* (5.15.B.42.) used as a prefix.

5.6.A. Unprefixed:

5.6.A.1. Form and meaning:

determinate:	**ná**:	Someone/Who?	*naa*
non-determinates:	**ʔakú**	Something/What?	*agu*
	ntá	Somewhere/Somehow/Which way?	*nda*

5.6.A.1.a. Determinate **ná**: *Naa* :

5.6.A.1.a.1. **ná**: 'who?' *Naa* recurs in the noun **k̓iná**: 'So-and-So' *K'inaa*, which is determinate and in the modifier **lip-ʔa-ná**: 'as the only one...' (5.15.B.3.f.) *lip-anaa* . As with determinate nouns, only very old speakers use the singular Determinate marker **t** before **ná**: *naa* in absolute initial position, but the plural Determinate marker **tip** *dip* is used in the plural, as in:

- **tip ná**:=ɬ tim náks-(ə)t — Who [what couple] is getting married?
  DM.PL ...=NC FUT married-REL — ***Dip naah*** *dim naksit?*

5.6.A.1.a.2. **ná**: *naa* can be used as a determinate noun to refer to an unidentified person, somewhat like English 'X...', in giving an example:

- kiñám-ə-ỷ ʔa=s[t]**ná**: — I gave it to X...
  give.s.-CTL-1S PREP=DC [DM] ... — *Giñamiỷ as* ***Naa***.

However, it is most often used as an interrogative or indefinite pronoun. As an indefinite pronoun, it occurs most often preceded by the modifier **likɨ**: *ligi*

(5.15.B.42.), with the long vowel shortened, thus the combination **likɬitná:** 'someone, anyone' *ligitnaa* (5.6.B.2.), where the medial **t** is the singular Determinate marker.

5.6.A.1.b. Non-determinates: **ʔakɬú** *agu* and **ntá** *nda* :

5.6.A.1.b.1. **ʔakɬú** 'something, what?' *agu* consists of the prefix **ʔa-** *a-* (7.1.B.1.b.5.a.) and the stem **kɬú** 'something' *gu* . The latter is used as an abbreviation of **ʔakɬú** *agu* in its interrogative meaning, but it also occurs as the nominal element in a number of derivatives such as **ʔan-kɬú** '[one's] concern' *'agu* , **ʔan-sə-kɬú** 'something one doesn't pay attention to' *ansigu*, **ʔis-kɬú** 'to smell of something' *isgu* , and the interrogative adverb **k̓aχkɬú** 'when?' *gaxgu* (5.14.).

Preceded by the definite/restrictive particle **ɬə** *hli/hla* (6.1.B.2.), it means 'one's intimate possession (part of one's body, related person)', as in:

- **ɬə kɬú-n=ɬ** sqíksk^{W}-(ə)t — Are you hurt somewhere?
  DEF ...-2S=NC injured-REL — (lit. your what is injured?)
  Hli gunhl sgeksgwit?

5.6.A.1.b.2. **ntá** 'which way?' *nda* is phonologically unusual in that it has the initial sequence /nt/ which otherwise occurs only in the word **ntéʔ** 'hand me the ...' *ndee'e* which is probably related to it. In combination with the P_A **wíl** 'be/act' *wil*) it means 'to happen to ..., to be the matter with [sthg or sbdy]', as in:

- **ntá=ɬ wìl-**[t]=s[t]Péter — What happened to Peter?
  which.way-[3]=NC act=DC [DM] P. — ***Ndahl wils Peter?***

- ni:-ti: **ntá-**[t]cətim **wìl-**ət lò:-t — Nothing is going to happen to him.
  not-INTS- which.way-[3] IRR FUT C act-REL IND-3 ***Nidii nda ji dim wilit loot.***

5.6.A.1.b.3. ʔakú 'what?' *agu* and ntá 'which way?' *nda* are also used as ordinary nouns, as shown by their occurrence with numerals:

k̓ìl̓-[t]=ɬ ʔakú	'a thing, something'
one [thing]-[3]=NC ...	*k'il̓hl agu*
k̓ìl̓-[t]=ɬ ntá	'a place, someplace'
one [thing]-[3]=N ...	*k'il̓hl nda*

and with adjectives:

ẇi:qam-wìl-mʔakú	'an old worn-out thing'
big refuse-be-ATTR ...	*ẇii gamwilim agu*

5.6.A.1.b.4. Both ʔakú 'what?' *agu* and ntá 'which way?' *nda* can be coupled with subordinators to express precise circumstantial meanings in questions:

- ʔakú 'what?' *agu* when followed by the subordinator qan *gan* (5.16.B.1.) has the meaning 'why?' (CAUSE) and when followed by the subordinator wila: *wilaa* (5.16.B.8.) it has the meaning 'what ...for?' (GOAL). When followed by the subordinator wil *wil* (5.16.B.7.) it may have different meanings, depending on the semantics of the verb; these meanings include 'when? at what time?' (TIME) and 'what for' (GOAL).

- ntá 'which way?' *nda* as a pronoun is ambiguous as to manner or location. In particular, when followed by wil *wil* it has the meaning 'where?' (LOCATION), and when followed by wila: *wilaa* it has the meaning 'how?' (MANNER). It is occasionally followed by qan *gan*, with the meaning 'why...?' (CAUSE). There does not seem to be a difference between ntá qan *nda gan* and ʔakúqan *agu gan*, except that the latter seems more general among YFS.

- Although ná: 'who?' *naa* can also be followed by the subordinators qan *gan* and wil *wil* the circumstantial meaning is more variable and depends on the

verb used.

5.6.A.2. Syntactic use:

An interrogative pronoun is obligatorily the first major constituent in the clause (and usually in the sentence), which means that it is either the clause predicate, the Specified Complement, or a focused constituent. It may only be preceded by a form of the negative verb **ní**: 'not to be' *ni(i)* (5.13.A.), in which case it is the argument of this verb. However, even in this situation it is usually in a pivotal position as a focused constituent for a following clause.

5.6.A.2.a. Non-negative use:

5.6.A.2.a.1. As P_A of predicate-focused clause: with pronoun or noun as A-nominal (which may also be left unmentioned):

- **ʔakú tkùni**
  what? DM this.Q
  What is this?
  Agu tguni?

- **kú**
  what?
  What? (e.g. I did not hear you right).
  Gu?

- **ná: ɲìːn==əst**
  who? you==AFF
  Who are you?
  Naa ɲiinis?

- **ntá t Màry**
  which.way? DM M.
  Where is Mary? What is Mary up to?
  Nda t Mary?

5.6.A.2.a.2. As Specified Complement (4.7.B.):

5.6.A.2.a.2.a. as Sc of PASc:

- ʔakù=ɬ sə-wá-tkʷs-[t]=[s][t]kùni — What is this called?
  what?=NC make-name-PAS.I.-[3]=[DC] [DM] this.Q — ***Aguhl siwatkws guni?***

- nà:=ɬwá-n==əst — What's your name?
  who?=NC name-2S==AFF — ***Nahl wanis?***

- akù==(y)əmaʔ=ɬwá-t — I wonder what it is./What could it be?
  what?==DUB=NC name-2S==AFF — ***Aguyima'ahl wat?***

5.6.A.2.a.2.b. <u>as Sc of PEASc</u>:

- akù məsə-wá-tT-t — What do you call it/him/her?
  what? 2E make-name-DEF-3 — ***Agu mi siwadit?***

- ʔakù nə tim kín-t — What [food] shall I give h.?
  what? 1S.E FUT give.food.to.s.-3 — ***Agu ni dim gint?***

- ntà mə tim wilá:kʷ-T-t — What will you do with it/h.?
  which.way? 2E FUT treat.s.-DEF-3 — ***Nda mi dim wilaagwit?***

5.6.A.2.a.3. <u>As focused constituent</u>:

5.6.A.2.a.3.a. <u>Focused A</u>:

- of a P_A:

- ná:=ɬ nàks-ət — Who got married?
  who=NC married-REL — ***Nahl naksit?***

- ʔakú=ɬ hò:x-s-ət lo:-t — What is/was used for it? (e.g. to make it)
  what=NC use.s.-PAS-REL IND-3 — ***Aguhl hooksit loot?***

- of a PASc:

- ʔakú=ɬ siwà-tkʷs-ət ʔa=ɬ "..." What's a "..."?/ What is called "..."?
  what=NC name.s.-PAS.I-REL PREP ... ***Aguhl siwatkwsit ahl*** *"..."?*

  - of a P_{EA}:

- ntà=ɬ qóʔ-ə-n Where did you go?
  which.way?=NC go.to.s.-CTL-2S ***Ndahl go'on?***

- ʔakù=ɬ qóʔ-ə-n What did you go get?
  what?= NC go.to.s.-CTL-2S ***Aguhl go'on?***

5.6.A.2.a.3.b. Focused circumstantial complement: in combination with a subordinator:

5.6.A.2.a.3.b.1. with subordinator **wil** *wil*:

5.6.A.2.a.3.b.1.a. ná: 'who?' *naa* is Focused Indirect Object:

- of P_A: usually Beneficiary: 'to whom?'

- ná: wiksax-kiǹám-aʔ-n Who did you give presents to?
  ... ... only-give.s.-DETR-2S ***Naa wil ksaggiǹama'an?***

- of P_{EA}: usually Beneficiary: 'to whom?'

- ná: məwilkiǹám-t Who did you give it to?
  ... 2E ... give.s.-3 ***Naa mi wil giǹamt?***
  (Fr. A qui l'avez-vous donné?)

or Intermediary: 'by whom?' with a Jussive verb (see end of 4.7.A.3.a.2.)

- **ná**: mə wil [k^{W}in-cáp-T]-t
  ... ... [...-make.s.-...]$_{JUSS}$-3
  Who did you get to make it?
  By whom did you have it done?
  ***Naa** mi wil gwin-jabit?*
  (Fr. A/Par qui l'avez-vous fait faire?)

5.6.A.2.a.3.b.1.b. **ʔakú** 'what?' *agu*:

Focused Time Complement: 'When? on what occasion?' (often abbreviated to **kú** *gu* in this context)

P_A: **[ʔa]kú wil** wíl-t
... ... be-3
What time did it happen?
When was it?
***(A)gu wil** wilt?*

or Focused Goal: 'What for?'

P_A: **ʔakú wil** hó:x-s-t
... ... use.s.-PASS-3
What is it used for?
***Agu wil** hookst?*

5.6.A.2.a.3.b.1.c. **ntá** 'which way?' *nda* : is Focused Location Complement: 'where?'

P_A: **ntá wil** ẇítk^{W}-t
... ... come.from-3
Where does s/he/it come from?
***Nda wil** ẇitkwt?*

P_{EA}: **ntá** mə **wil** tə-ẇítk^{W}-t
... 2E DOMIN-come.from-3
Where did you get it from?
***Nda mi wil** diẇitkwt?*

5.6.A.2.a.3.b.2. With subordinator **qan** *gaq* : all pronouns are Focused Causal Complement:

5.6.A.2.a.3.b.2.a. **ná**: 'who?' *naa* : 'because of whom?'

P_A: **ná: qan** ɬíntx-n — Who are you mad at?
... ... angry-2S — ***Naa gan hlintxin?***

5.6.A.2.a.3.b.2.b. **ʔakú** 'what?' *agu*: 'why?' (precise cause)

P_A: **ʔakú qan** ɬíntx-n — Why are you mad?
... ... angry-2S — ***Agu gan hlintxin?***

P_{EA}: **ʔakú** mə **qan** hó:x-t — Why did you use it?
... 2E ... use.s.-3 — ***Agu ma gan hoox?***

5.6.A.2.a.3.b.2.c. **ntá** 'which way?' *nda*: 'why? for whatever reason?': using **ntá** *nda* in this context seems to imply a vaguer cause than using **ʔakú** *agu*.

P_A: **ntá: qan** ɬíntx-n — Why are you mad?
... ... angry-2S — ***Nda gan hlintxin?***

P_{EA}: **ntá** mə **qan** hó:x-t — Why did you use it?
... 2E ... use.s.-3 — ***Nda ma gan hoox?***

5.6.A.2.a.3.b.3. With subordinator **wila**: *wilaa*: Note that a transitive verb after this subordinator usually takes the Definite Medial suffix (-T), even though it does not usually take it otherwise.

5.6.A.2.a.3.b.3.a. **ʔakú** *agu* is Focused Goal Complement: 'what for?'

P_A: **ʔakú wila:** hó:x-s-t — What is it used for?
... ... use.s.-PASS-3 — ***Agu wilaa hookst?***

P_{EA}: **ʔakú** mə **wila:** hó:x-T-t — What do/did you use it for?
... 2E ... use.s.-DEF-3 — ***Agu mi wilaa hooyit?***

5.6.A.2.a.3.b.3.b. **ntá** *nda* is Focused Manner Complement: 'how?'

P_A:	ntá wila: hó:x-s-t	How is it used?
	... ... use.s.-PASS-3	***Nda wilaa hookst?***
P_{EA}:	ntá mə wila: hó:x-T-t	How do/did you use it?
	... 2E ... use.s.-DEF-3	***Nda mi wilaa hooyit?***

5.6.A.2.b. Negative use:

The three interrogative pronouns can occur after some forms of the negative verb nǐ: 'not to be' *ni(i)* (5.13.A.). With the form nì:-ƙì: *nigii* especially, it sometimes seems that the combination results in a negative indefinite pronoun series, the negative counterpart of the indefinite series formed with lìƙì: *ligii* (5.6.B.1.), but differences in use show that verb and indefinite pronoun remain syntactically independent even when phonologically combined (as in nì:-ƙì: t ná: 'nobody' *nigitnaa*). In particular, the combination cannot be used in other than initial position.

5.6.A.2.b.1. As argument of the negative verb nǐ: *ni(i)*: (said in response to a question):

Being non-determinate, ʔaƙú 'what' *agu* and ntá 'which way' *nda* when used as arguments take a personal suffix after the negative verb; being determinate, ná: 'who' *naa* does not.

- nì:-tì:ʔakú-t / nì:-ƙì:ʔakú-t — Nothing.
  not-INTS what?-3 / not-INTS... — *Nidii agut/Nigii agut.*

- nì:-tì: t ná:/ nì:-ƙì: t ná: — Nobody.
  not-INTS DM who? / not-INTS... — *Nidii t naa/Nigitnaa.*

5.6.A.2.b.2. As pivotal focused constituent of a following clause: Usually the IRR particle cə *ji/ja* (6.1.B.1.b.1.) is used after the pronoun, instead of a connective, indicating the meaning 'not ... any ...'.

- **ni:-ti:** ʔakú-[t]cə má:n-(ə)t — There isn't anything left.
  not-INTS what-[3] IRR left-REL — ***Nidii agu ji maanit.***

- **ni:-ti:** ʔakú-[t]cə naxn̓á-(y)ə-ỷ — I didn't hear anything.
  not-INTS what-[3] IRR hear.s.-CTL-1S — *Nidii agu ji naxn̓ayiỷ.*

- **ni:-ki:** t ná:cə ká?-ə-ỷ — I didn't see anybody.
  not-INTS DM who? IRR see.s.-CTL-1S — *Nigitnaa ji ga'aỷ.*

- **ni:-ki:** t ná:cə t?antitálq-ỷ — There wasn't anybody to talk to me.
  not-INTS DM who? IRR 3E REL.E talk.to.s.-1S — *Nigitnaa jit an didalgaỷ.*

- **ni:-ti:** ntá-[t]cə wíl-ti:t — Nothing happened to them, they didn't have anything (e.g. in an accident)
  not-INTS which.way-[3] IRR be-3P — ***Nidii nda ji wildiit.***

- **ni:-ki:** ntá-[t]cə timqó?-ə-t — S/he didn't have anywhere to go.
  not-INTS which.way-[3] IRR FUT go.to.s.-CTL-3 — ***Nigii nda ji dim go'ot.***

- **ni:-ti:** ʔakú-[t]cə qan wíl-t — There wasn't any reason for it.
  not-INTS what-[3] what IRR reason be-3 — (it was a meaningless act)
  Nidii agu ja gan wilt.

Without the IRR particle, the negative meaning is stronger:

- ni:-ki:t ná:ʔan-t ʔas)ʔí:c-Ɬ-[t]=ɬ m̓àqsa:cáy n==əst
  ... DM who-3E PL)iron.s.-DEF-[3]=NC bluejeans==AFF
  [Come on,] nobody irons bluejeans!
  Nigitnaa ant as'iijih! maksijaynis!

5.6.B. Prefixed:

5.6.B.1. Three more properly indefinite pronouns result from the prefixation of

the modifier **liɬi:** 'for instance, about, somewhat' *ligii* (5.15.B.42.) to the interrogative pronouns (5.6.A.) **ʔakú** 'what' *agu*, **ntá** 'which way' *nda* and **ná:** 'who' *naa*. As the latter is determinate, the determinate marker **t** occurs between the two morphemes:

liɬi:-ʔakú	something, anything	*ligii'agu*
liɬi:-ntá	somewhere, anywhere	*ligiinda*
liɬi:-t-ná:	someone, anyone	*ligitnaa*

- ká?-ə-ỷ=ɬ **liɬi:-ʔakú**
  see.s.-CTL-1S=NC ...
  I see/saw something.
  *Ga'aỷhl **ligii'agu**.*

- qús-ə-ỷ nə tim ká?-[t]=ɬ **liɬi:-ʔakú**
  can't-CTL-1S 1S.E FUT see.s.-[3]=NC ...
  I can't/couldn't see anything.
  *Gosiỷ ni dim ga'ahl **ligii'agu**.*

  qús-ə-ỷ nə tim ká?-[t]=ɬ **liɬi:-t-ná:**
  can't-CTL-1S 1S.E FUT see.s.-[3]=NC ...
  I can't/couldn't see anybody.
  *Gosiỷ ni dim ga'ahl **ligitnaa**.*

- tim ẃá-(y)ə-m̓=ɬ **liɬi:-ntá**
  FUT find.s.-CTL-1P=NC ...
  We'll find some place.
  *Dim ẃayimhl **ligiinda**.*

5.6.B.2. The indefinite meaning of these pronouns can be emphasized by the modifier **lip**, normally meaning 'self' (5.15.B.3.), which here adds the meaning 'just about ..., any ... whatever'; hence:

liɬi:-lip-ʔakú	'just about anything'	*ligii-lip-agu*
liɬi:-lip-ntá	'just about anywhere'	*ligii-lip-nda*
liɬi:-lip-[t]-ná:	'just about anyone'	*ligii-lip-naa*

The unstressed sequence /liɬi:/ may be contracted to /li:/ in this environment (Velar loss, 10.2.A.2.b.2.a.).

- **liɬi:-lip-ʔakú=ɬ** ti: kíp-ə-[t]=ɬ smàx
  ...=NC INTS eat.s.-CTL-[3]=NC bear
  Bears eat just about anything.
  ***Ligii-lip-aguhl** dii gibihl smax.*

- liɬi:-lip-ntá wil cóq-ti.t
  ... SUB camp-3P
  They camped just about anywhere.
  Ligii-lip-nda *wil jogdiit.*

- liɬi:-lip-[t]-ná=ɬ silqawíl-ə-t
  ...=NC associate.with.s.-CTL-3
  S/he associates with just anybody. (derogatory sense)
  Ligii-lip-naahl *silgawilit.*

5.7. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

5.7.A. Form and meaning:

The demonstrative pronouns are determinates and are always preceded by a determinate marker, except where the phonological rule of consonant-deletion (10.2.A.2.b.1.c.) deletes the singular DM t after /s/. The basic forms are:

ɬún	'this'	*gun*
ɬús[t]	'that'	*gus*

There are also what appear to be more formal or perhaps just older alternates with suffix -a, used only in apposition to a noun:

ɬúna	'this ...'	*guna*
ɬústa	'that ...'	*gusda*

Forms that are used in questions have the suffix -i instead of the usual Interrogative postclitic ==a (6.3.A.1.a.):

ɬún==i	'this ... ?'	*guni*
ɬúst==i	'that ... ?'	*gusdi*

Although the singular DM t does not usually occur in absolute initial position in YFS speech, it always occurs before the demonstratives. For this reason some speakers feel that is is a part of the word itself, and use it even with the plural DM, thus **tiptɬún** 'these' *dip tgun*, instead of **tipɬún** *dip gun*. This is a case of hypercorrection.

5.7.B. Syntactic use:

5.7.B.1. The demonstrative pronouns may occur by themselves as A-nominals:

- [t]ná:**tɬúst**==i
  [DM] who DM that==Q
  Who's that?
  Naa tgusdi?

- ʔakú=ɬ wà-[t]=s[t]**ɬùn**==i
  what=NC name-[3]=DC[DM]this==Q
  What is this [called]?
  Aguhl was gunɨ?

- ... t(ə)-hí:-ta **tipɬùs[t]**
  3E-say"..."-PL DM.PL that
  "..." they said (lit. said those).
  "... "***dihiida dip gus***.

5.7.B.2. They often occur in apposition to a noun:

- nté:ʔ=ɬ ʒáǩ **tɬùs[t]**
  hand.me=NC plate DM that
  Hand me that plate.
  Ndee'ehl ts'ak' tgus.

  nté:ʔ=ɬ ci)ʒáǩ **tipɬùs[t]**
  hand.me=NC PL)plate DM.PL that
  Hand me those plates.
  Ndee'ehl jits'ak' dip gus.

- wilá:x-ə-n=ɬ hanáʔ **tɬùst**==i
  know.s.-CTL-2S=NC woman DM that==Q
  Do you know that woman/girl?
  Wilaayinhl hanaɬ' tgusdi?

- ... ʔa=ɬ ʔa:ma: sá **tɬùna**
  PREP=NC well day DM this
  ... on this fine day ... [stereotyped formula] ... ***ahl amaa sa tguna*** ...

5.7.B.3. Demonstratives are often in focused position: (4.7.A.)

- t ɬ́ún=ɬ hì-t
  DM this=NC saying-3
  S/he said [this]: "..."
  Tgunhl hit: "..."

- tip ɬ́ús[t] ʔan t ɬimóːm-ɣ̓
  DM.PL that REL.E 3E help.s.-1S
  Those are the people who helped me.
  Dip gus ant hlimoomiɣ̓.

5.7.B.4. Like nouns, the demonstratives can be preceded by modifiers:

- ʔanóːq-ə-ɣ̓ɬ́ku tɬ́ún
  like.s.-CTL-1S little DM this
  I like this little one.
  Anoogaɣ̓ hlgu tgun.

5.7.B.5. The demonstrative pronouns can be understood in a locative sense if occurring with a verb of appropriate meaning:

- cəsɬ́í-(y)ə-n ʔa=s[t]ɬ́ùs[t]
  IRR put.s.-CTL-2S PREP=DC DM this
  [You can] put it over there.
  Ji sgiyin as gus.

- t ɬ́ún tim wil t̓áː-n
  DM this FUT where sit-2S
  [You will] sit right here.
  Tgun dim wil t'aan.

5.7.C. <u>Remark</u>: Note the potential ambiguity of a sequence such as

ʔáːt tipɬ́ùn
net/fish.w.net DM.PL this
These are fishnets/these fishnets/ these people fish(ed) with nets.
aat dip gun

This ambiguity is resolved by the context. In addition, the interpretation of ʔáːt *aat* as a verb, and of tipɬ́ús[t] *dip gus* as referring to persons, would probably be indicated by the use of the modifier k̓ʷɬ́ 'around, about' *kw'ihl* (5.15.B.44.), which in a non-negative clause is only used before verbs. There is no ambiguity in:

- k̓ʷiɬ ʔá:t tip kùn — These people fish/are/were fishing.
  about fish.w.net DM.PL this — *Kw'ihl aat dip gun.*

5.8. INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUNS (n̓í-pronouns).

The independent personal pronouns are used in certain syntactic contexts to refer to persons (or animals or objects considered as persons, as in some stories), never to inanimates.

5.8.A. Form and meaning: Morphologically speaking, the independent personal pronouns are built by suffixation of the personal pronominal endings (except the indefinite -ti: *-dii*, 7.2.A.1.b.) to a base which can be identified with the topicalizer n̓í 'that's...' *ṅi* . Morphophonemic irregularities in the vowels show that the differentiation of these pronouns must have a long history. The present vocalism cannot be accounted for by synchronic morphophonemic rules.

	SG	PL
1	n̓í:y̓ *ṅiiy̓*	n̓ú:m̓ *ṅuum̓*
2	n̓í:n *ṅiin*	n̓ísim̓ *ṅisim̓*
3	n̓it *ṅit*	n̓íti:t *ṅidiit*

The plural pronouns n̓ísim̓ 'you.PL' *ṅisim̓* and n̓íti:t 'them' *ṅidiit* may be preceded by the plural determinate marker tip *dip*, when occurring initially

or after a preposition:

- ʔa:ma: q̓ó:m̓aq̓ask^{W} n̓ì:ỷ ʔa=s **tip n̓ísim̓** Best wishes to all of you.
  well wish me PREP=DC DM.PL you.PL *Amaa k̲'oom̓ak̲askw n̓iiỷ as* ***dip n̓isim̓***.

5.8.B. Syntactic use: In general, the syntactic properties of independent personal pronouns are similar to those of determinate nouns and other determinate pronouns. An independent personal pronoun can occur as clause predicate or as adjunct, focused or not.

5.8.B.1. As clause predicate:

- **n̓í:n**==a [t] Màry — Is that you, Mary?
  you==Q [DM] M. — ***N̓iina, Mary?***

- **n̓ít**==a — Is that so?/Isn't it?
  it==Q — ***N̓ida?***

- **n̓í:ỷ** tkùn — This is me (e.g., in a picture).
  me DM this — ***N̓iiỷ tgun.***

5.8.B.2. As Adjunct: as A of P_A or P_{EA} in predicate-focused clause: (the 3rd sg. pronoun **n̓ít** is rarely used in this context, see below 5.8.C.1.)

- ná: **n̓ì:n**==əst — [And/so] who are you?
  who you==AFF — *Naa* ***n̓iin*** *is?*

- kipéʔesk^{W} **n̓ì:ỷ** — I waited.
  wait.AP me — *Gibe'eskw* ***n̓iiỷ.***

- kipá-(y)ə-t**n̓ìti:t** — S/he waited for them.
  wait.for.s.-CTL-3 them — *Gibayit* ***n̓idiit.***

5.8.B.3. As Focused constituent:

5.8.B.3.a. As Focused A of P_A or P_{EA} in relative clause:

- **n̓í:ỷ**=ɬ ḳipéʔesk^{W}-(ə)t — I [was the one who] waited.
  me=NC wait.AP-REL — ***N̓iiỷhl gibe'esgwit.***

- **n̓ít**=ɬ ḳipá-(y)ə-[t]=s[t]Màry — Mary waited for him/her.
  him/her=NC wait.for.s.-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] M. — S/he is the one Mary waited for.
  N̓ithl gibayis Mary.

5.8.B.3.b. As Focused E of relative P_{EA} clause:

- **n̓í:ỷ** ʔan-tḳipá-[t]=s[t]Máry — I [was the one who] waited for Mary.
  me REL.E-3E wait.for.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M. — ***N̓iiỷ ant gibas Mary.***

5.8.B.3.c. As Focused IO:

- **n̓í:ỷ** wilksaxḳin̓ámaʔ-[t]=s[t]Màry
  me SUB give.presents-[3]=DC [DM] M.
  Mary gave me a present/...gave a present to me.
  N̓iiỷ wil ksaxgin̓ama'as Mary.

- **n̓í:ỷ** wil-tḳin̓ám-[t]=s[t]Màry=ɬ náq̓
  me SUB-3E give.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M.=NC dress
  Mary gave me a/the dress/...gave a/the dress to me.
  N̓iiỷ wilt gin̓ams Maryhl naḵ'.

5.8.B.3.d. As Focused Possessor:

- **n̓í:n**=ɬ pùk^{W}-(ə)t ʔa=s[t]ḳùni — Is this your book?
  you=NC book-REL PREP=DC [DM] this.Q — ***N̓iinhl bugwit as guni?***

5.8.B.4. <u>After conjunctions and prepositions</u>: the independent personal pronouns can occur suffixed to the conjunction qan 'and' *gan* (5.16.B.1.) and the preposition ʔa 'to/for/etc.' *a* (5.18.) with the determinate connective =s ...*s*.

- ksaẋ ṅí:ỷ qan=s ṅí:n 'only you and I'
  only me and=DC you *ksaẋ ṅiiỷ* ***gans ṅiin***

- ṅi-[t]=ɬ ṅí[t]=ɬ ɬipɬán-ỷ=ɬ kiṅám-tkʷ-(ə)t ʔa=sṅísiṁ
  that's-[3]=NC that's-[3]=NC body-1S=NC give.s.-PAS-REL PREP=NC you.PL
  This is my body [that was] given for you.[4]
  Ṅihl ṅihl hliphlaniýhl giṅamtgwit ***as ṅisiṁ***.

5.8.C. <u>Differences in use between 1/2 and 3 pronouns</u>:

Although all independent personal pronouns can theoretically be used in clauses, a distinction must be made between the use of first and second person pronouns on the one hand, and that of third person pronouns.

5.8.C.1. <u>Third person pronouns:</u>

Neither of the 3rd person independent pronouns is used with inanimates, and the 3S pronoun ṅít *ṅit* has even more restricted distribution than its plural counterpart. The obligatory use of ṅíti:t *ṅidiit* with persons seems to be a recent development. In Boas, this pronoun is not normally used in a declarative clause, even for humans, as in:

- hil)yáltkʷ ʔa=ɬlipqalčipčáp-ti:t==ki:
  PL)return PREP=NC village.PL-3P==DIST
  They went back to their own villages (194.3-4).
  Hilyaltkw *ahl lip galts'ipts'apdiit.*

Although a Nisgha speaker, when asked to translate an English sentence, will often use ṅít as the equivalent of an English 3S pronoun (Subject or Object),

ńít is rarely used in spontaneous speech except as predicate or in focused position (above 5.8.B.1, 5.8.B.2.).

Compare the following predicate-focused clauses:

- qal ṁálkaqsk^{W} **ńì:n**
  too heavy you
  You are too heavy.
  *Gal ṁalgaḵskw **ńiin**.*

  qal ṁálkaqsk^{W}
  too heavy
  S/he/it is too heavy.
  Gal ṁalgaḵskw.

  qal ṁil)ṁálkaqsk^{W}**ńìsiṁ**
  too PL)heavy you.PL
  You [people] are too heavy.
  *Gal ṁilṁalgaḵskw **ńisiṁ**.*

  qal ṁil)ṁálkaqsk^{W} **ńìti:t**
  too PL)heavy they
  They [people] are too heavy.
  *Gal ṁilṁalgaḵskw **ńidiit**.*

  qal ṁil)ṁálkaqsk^{W}
  too PL)heavy
  They [objects] are too heavy.
  Gal ṁilṁalgaḵskw.

- ntá mə tim wilá:k^{W}-ə-t
  which.way 2E FUT handle.s.-CTL-3
  What are you going to do with **it/him/her**?
  Nda mi dim wilaagwit?

  timcám-ə-ẏ̓
  FUT boil.s.-CTL-1S
  - I am going to boil **it**.
  - *Dim jamiẏ̓.*

  timhináċax̣-ə-ẏ̓
  FUT spank.s.-CTL-1S
  - I am going to spank **him/her**.
  - *Dim hiɬaats'a̱xa̱ẏ̓.*

- timhax)hó:x-ə-n=ɬpúc-n==a:
  FUT PL)wear.s.-CTL-2S=NC boots-2S==Q
  Are you going to wear your boots?
  Dim haxhooyinhl bujina?

ní: - qal lim)lámk
no - too PL)warm.PL

- No, **they** are too warm.
- *Nii, gal limlamk.*

ní: - tim ẖát-T-ə-ẏ
no - FUT put.away.s.PL-DEF-CTL-1S

- No, I'll put **them** away.
- *Nii, dim t'ahldiẏ.*

- tim ká?-ə-n tip Máry==a:
FUT see.s.-CTL-2S DM.P M.==Q

Are you going to see Mary 'and them'?
Dim ga'an dip Marya?

ní: - sáksk^{W} ṅìti:t PrinceRúpert
no - leave.PL ... P.R.

- No, **they**'ve gone to Prince Rupert.
- *Nii, sakskw **ṅidiit** Prince Rupert.*

ʔeːʔ - tim čiláyx^{W}-ə-ẏ ṅìti:t ẖa:yúẇin
yes - FUT visit.s.-CTL-1S them tonight

- Yes, I am going to visit **them** tonight.
- *Ee'e, dim ts'ilaywiẏ **ṅidiit** t'aayuẇin.*

5.8.C.2. First and second person pronouns:

In a predicate-focused P_A or P_{EA} clause, a first or second person A is obligatorily represented by an independent personal pronoun which immediately follows the verb. If the verb is transitive (P_{EA}), and ends in a 3 suffix pronoun indicating the E argument, there may be a coreferring Adjunct noun, placed after the independent pronoun.[5]

The same structure occurs with possessed nominal predicates where a 3 suffix indicating the possessor can have an Adjunct placed after the independent pronoun.

5.8.C.2.a. With predicate-focused transitive verbs:

5.8.C.2.a.1. Examples without Adjunct noun: the independent pronoun follows the suffixed verb.

- timc̓iláyx^{W}-ə-y̓ n̓í:n — I am going to come and visit you.
  FUT visit.s.-CTL-1S you — *Dim ts'ilaywiy̓ n̓iin.*

  cəc̓iláyx^{W}-ə-n n̓í:y̓ — [You could/should] come and visit me!
  IRR visit.s.-CTL-2S me — *Ji ts'ilaywin n̓iiy̓!*

  cəc̓iláyx^{W}-ə-n n̓ú:m̓ — [You could/should] come and visit us!
  IRR visit.s.-CTL-2S us — *Ji ts'ilaywin n̓uum̓!*

  c̓iláyx^{W}-ə-t n̓ú:m̓ — S/he came to visit us.
  visit.s.-CTL-3 us — *Ts'ilaywit n̓uum̓.*

  c̓iláyx^{W}-ti:t n̓íti:t — They visited them.
  visit.s.-3P them — *Ts'ilayxwdiit n̓idiit.*

5.8.C.2.a.2. Examples with Adjunct nouns: Even if the Adjunct noun or noun-phrase refers to a plurality, the 3 suffix on the verb is -t , which is unmarked for number, never the 3P suffix -ti:t ...*diit*.

- c̓iláyx^{W}-ə-t n̓ú:m̓ t Màry — Mary came to visit us.
  visit.s.-CTL-3 us DM M. — *Ts'ilaywit n̓uum̓ t Mary.*

  timc̓iláyx^{W}-ə-t n̓í:n t Pèter — Peter is going to come and visit you.
  FUT visit.s.-CTL-1S you DM P. — *Dim ts'ilaywit n̓iin t Peter.*

  timc̓iláyx^{W}-ə-t n̓ú:m̓ tip Pèterqan=s [t] Màry
  FUT visit.s.-CTL-3 us DM.PL P. and=DC [DM] M.
  Peter and Mary are coming to visit us.
  Dim ts'ilaywit n̓uum̓ dip Peter gans Mary.

5.8.C.2.b. With possessed nominal predicate:

5.8.C.2.b.1. Example without Adjunct noun:

- kimxtí-tn̓ì:y̓ — I am his sister/her brother.
  opp.sex.sibling-3 me — (Fr. Je suis sa sœur/son frère).
  Gimxdit n̓iiy̓ .

- kimxtítk^{w}-y̓ n̓ìsim̓ — Beloved brethren ... (lit. you are my
  brothers.and.sisters-1S you.PL — brothers and sisters)
  Gimxditgwiy̓ n̓isim̓.

5.8.C.2.b.1. Examples with Adjunct noun:

- kimxtí-tn̓ì:y̓ t Pèter — I am Peter's sister.
  opp.sex.sibling-3 me DM P. — (Fr. Je suis sa sœur, à Pierre)
  Gimxdit n̓iiy̓ t Peter.

- sił̓kú.ł̓k^{w}s-t n̓í:y̓ t Ròse — Rose adopted me.
  adopted.child-3 me DM R. — (lit. I am Rose's adopted child)
  Sihlguuhlkwst n̓iiy̓ t Rose

5.9. INDIRECT PRONOUNS (lo:- pronouns).

The indirect pronouns are listed here even though they, unlike the other non-suffix pronouns, cannot be clause predicates.

5.9.A. Form and meaning:

The Indirect pronouns are all built by adding the definite personal suffix pronouns (7.2.A.1.a.) to the base lo:- *loo...* which has no other use or meaning[6]. There are no morphophonemic alternations. These pronouns do not normally bear stress.

	SG	PL
1	lo:-ẏ *looẏ*	lo:-ṁ *looṁ*
2	lo:-n *loon*	lo:-siṁ *loosiṁ*
3	lo:-t *loot*	lo:-ti:t *loodiit*

5.9.B. Syntactic use: The Indirect pronouns have two major roles: within a clause, they can replace a sequence of the preposition ʔa *a...* (5.18.) + nominal in all circumstances. In discourse containing at least two clauses, they can also occur in addition to, and co-referring with, a nominal in the second clause, reinforcing a contrast with one in the first clause.

5.9.B.1. Indirect role within the clause:
The Indirect pronouns have the same distribution as a sequence of the preposition ʔa *a...* followed by a nominal, but they do not bear stress. Nor can they indicate focus on an Indirect Object.

5.9.B.1.a. Basic role: in clause with Indirect Object:

5.9.B.1.a.1. In PEAI clause:

- timḳiṅám-ə-ẏ=ɬliḳi:-ʔaḳúʔa=s [t] Máry
  FUT give.s.-CTL-1S=NC something PREP=DC [DM] M.
  I am going to give something to Mary.
  Dim giṅamiẏhl ligii'agu ***as Mary***.

  timḳiṅám-ə-ẏ=ɬliḳi:-ʔaḳúlo:-t I am going to give something to her.
  FUT give.s.-CTL-1S=NC something ...-3 *Dim giṅamiẏhl ligii'agu* ***loot***.

- kín-ỷ ʔa=ɬ ʔaná:x — Give me some bread.
  give.food.to-1S PREP=NC bread — *Giniỷ **ahl anaax**.*

  kín-ỷ lo:-t — Give me some.
  give.food.to-1S ...-3 — *Giniỷ **loot**.*

5.9.B.1.a.2. In PAI clause:

- ẇa:kátkʷ ṅì:ỷ ʔa=s [t] Máry — I miss Mary/ feel lonesome for Mary.
  feel.lonesome me PREP =DC [DM] M. — *Ẇaagatkw ṅiiỷ **as Mary**.*

  ẇa:kátkʷ ṅì:ỷ lo:-n — I miss(ed) you.
  feel.lonesome me ...-2S — *Ẇaagatkw ṅiiỷ **loon**.*

- timsə-kʷilá ṅì:ỷ ʔa=s [t] Péter
  FUT make-blanket me PREP =DC [DM] P.
  I am going to make a blanket for Peter.
  *Dim sigwila ṅiiỷ **as Peter**.*

  timsə-kʷilá ṅì:ỷ lo:-t — I am going to make him a blanket.
  FUT make-blanket me ...-3 — *Dim sigwila ṅiiỷ **loot**.*

- ṅa:m-kʷa:s-ɬá:la lo:-m̓ — S/he wants to borrow money from us.
  wanting-borrow-money ...-1P — *Ṅaam-gwaasdaala **loom̓**.*

5.9.B.1.a.3. Idiomatic expressions:

5.9.B.1.a.3.a. Statement of possession: with verb skí 'there is ...' *sgi*:

- ni:=ɬ skì-[t]=ɬ halíp̓isT ʔa=s [t] Máry==a:
  not=NC there.is-[3]=NC sewing-machine PREP =DC [DM] M.==Q
  Does Mary have a sewing machine?
  *Niihl sgihl halip'is **as Marya**?*

ni:=ɬ skì-[t]=ɬ halíṗisT lo:-n==a: Do you have a sewing machine?
not=NC there.is-[3]=NC sewing-machine ...-2S==Q *Niihl sgihl halip'is loona?*

(lit. 'there is ... to me, etc.' Cf. the statement of possession in Russian or Latin)

5.9.B.1.a.3.b. Statement of comparison with modifier ḱa: 'most' *K'aa*:

- ḱa: ẇi:-ńákᵂ t Pèter ʔa=s [t] Fréd Peter is taller than Fred.
  most big-long DM P. PREP=DC [DM] F. ***K'aa ẇiiŋakw t Peter as Fred.***

  ḱa: ẇii-ńákᵂ lo:-n He is taller than you.
  most big-long ...-2S ***K'aa ẇiiŋakw loon.***
  (lit. most tall, [compared] to ...)

5.9.B.1.b. Derived role:

5.9.B.1.b.1. As Adjunct with nominal predicate in regular clause:

5.9.B.1.b.1.a. After a subordinator:

- wil ḱutáć-ẏ̓ ʔa=s[t]kùs[t] ... as/because that's my coat.
  SUB coat-1S PREP=DC [DM] that ... *wil k'udats'iẏ̓ as gus.*

  wil ḱutáć-ẏ̓ lo:-t ... as/because it's my coat.
  SUB coat-1S ...-3 ... *wil k'udats'iẏ̓ loot.*

- wilʔansí:ṗinskᵂ-ẏ̓ lo:-n ... because you are my friend.
  SUB friend-1S ...-2S ... *wil ansiip'insgwiẏ̓ loon.*

5.9.B.1.b.1.b. After a negative verb:

- ni:-ti: t Lúcy ʔa=s[t]kùs[t] That isn't Lucy.
  not-INTS DM L. PREP=DC [DM] that *Nidii t Lucy as gus.*

ni:-ti: t Lúcy lo:-t — It isn't Lucy.
not-INTS DM L. ...-3 — *Nidii t Lucy **loot**.*

- ni:-ti: ɫkutáć-[t]=s[t]Lúcy ʔa=s[t]kùn — This isn't Lucy's coat.
not-INTS coat=DC[DM] L. PREP=DC[DM] this — *Nidii k'udats' Lucy **as gun**.*

ni:-ti: ɫkutáć-[t]=s[t]Lúcy lo:-t — It isn't Lucy's coat.
not-INTS coat=DC[DM] L. ...-3 — *Nidii k'udats' Lucy **loot**.*

- ni:-tiʔansí:p̓insk^{w}-ɣ̓ ʔa=s[t]Màry — Mary is not my friend.
not-INTS friend-1S PREP=DC[DM] M. — *Nidii ansiip'insgwiɣ̓ **as Mary**.*

ni:-tiʔansí:p̓insk^{w}-ɣ̓ lo:-t — She is not my friend.
not-INTS friend-1S ...-3 — *Nidii ansiip'insgwiɣ̓ **loot**.*

5.9.B.1.b.2. As Adjunct with relativized nominal predicate:

- ná:=ɬ ɫkutáć-(ə)t ʔa=s[t]kùn==i — Whose coat is this?
who=NC coat-REL PREP=DC[DM] this==Q — *Naahl k'udats'it **as guni**?*

ná:=ɬ ɫkutáć-(ə)t lo:-t — Whose coat is it?
who=NC coat-REL ...-3 — *Naahl k'udats'it **loot**?*

5.9.B.2. Contrastive role in discourse:

Where two successive clauses or sentences have similar structure but contrasting content, referring to the differing activities, qualities, possessions, etc., of two different persons, an Indirect pronoun with appropriate ending may be used in the second clause immediately following the noun or pronoun (including suffix pronouns) it refers to, to emphasize the contrast between persons. The other contrasting element may be any major constituent.

5.9.B.2.a. Contrasting predicates:

5.9.B.2.a.1. P_A:

- w̓i:-n̓ák^W t nic̓ì:c̓-y̓ ʔi:ɬku-tílpk^W-[t]=s[t]nò:y̓ lo:-t
  big-long DM grandmother-1S and little-short-[3]=DC [DM] my.mother ...-3
  My grandmother is tall, but my mother is short.
  (Fr. Ma grand-mère est grande, mais ma mère, elle, est petite.)
  W̓iin̓akw t nits'iits'iy̓ ii hlgudilpkws nooy̓ loot.

- timsiwilá:y̓insk^W t Màry cə ɬa: w̓i:.t̓ís-t
  FUT teach.AP DM M. IRR now grown.up-3
  tim ʔi: wa:cmá:n-[t]=s[t]Pèter lo:-t
  FUT and policeman-[3]=DC [DM] P. ...-3

Mary wants to be a teacher when she grows up, but Peter, he wants to be a policeman.

Dim siwilaay̓inskw t Mary ji hlaa w̓iit'ist, dim ii watsmaans Peter loot.

5.9.B.2.a.2. P_{EA}:

- xɬíl̓t̓in-[ə]-[t]=s[t]Màry=ɬ hó:n ʔi:-t qásq̓an-[t]=s[t]Lùcy lo:-t
  like.food-[CTL]-[3]=DC [DM] M.=NC fish and-3E dislike.food-[3]=DC [DM] L. ...-3
  Mary loves fish; but Lucy, she hates it.
  (Fr. Marie adore le poisson, mais Lucie, elle, elle déteste ça.)
  Xlil̓t'ins Maryhl hoon iit gask̓'ans Lucy loot.

5.9.B.2.b. Contrasting possessions:

- si: pó:t=ɬ hasáq-y̓ -- si: ká:=ɬ ti: hasàq-[t]=l náks-y̓ lo:-t
  new boat =NC desire-1S -- new car=NC CONTR desire-[3]=NC spouse-1S ...-3
  I want a new boat; but my wife, she wants a new car (lit. my desire is ...).
  (Fr. Je voudrais un nouveau bateau, mais ma femme, elle, elle veut une nouvelle voiture). *Sii boothl hasagay̓; sii kaahl dii hasak̓hl naksiy̓ loot.*

- ni:-ti:ʔakú-[t]cə xstá:-ɣ̓ -- $50=ɬ xstà:-[t]=s[t] Lúcy lo:-t
  not-INT s.t.-[3] IRR winning-1S -- ...=NC winning-[3]=DC [DM] L. ...-3
  I didn't win anything; but Lucy, she won $50.
  (Fr. Je n'ai rien gagné, mais Lucie, elle, elle a gagné 50 dollars).
  Nidii'agu ja xsdaaɣ̓ $50hl xsdaas Lucy loot.

5.9.B.2.c. Contrasting focused constituents:

- hó:n=ɬ ǩa: xɬíl̓t̓in-[ə]-[t]=s[t] Màry
  fish=NC most like.food-[CTL]-[3]=DC [DM] M.
  ʔi:q̓almó:s=ɬ ǩa: xɬìl̓t̓in-[ə]-[t]=s[t] Lúcy lo:-t
  and crab=NC most like.food-[CTL]-[3]=DC [DM] L. ...-3
  Mary likes fish best, but Lucy likes crab best.
  (Fr. Marie préfère le poisson, mais Lucie, elle, préfère le crabe.)
  Hoonhl k'aa xlil̓t'ins Mary ii k'almooshl k'aa xlil̓t'ins Lucy loot.

- -ʔàlkax̣-mcapá:n=ɬ ti: hó:x-ə-ɣ̓ -- I speak Japanese.
  talk-ATTR Japanese=NC INTS use.s.-CTL-1S *Algaxam Japaanhl dii hooyiɣ̓.*

  -ʔàlkax̣-m lú:sin=ɬ ti: hó:x-ə-ɣ̓ lo:-ɣ̓ -- I speak Russian myself.
  talk-ATTR Russian=NC INTS use.s.-CTL-1S ...-1S
  Algaxam Luusinhl dii hooyiɣ̓ looɣ̓.
  (Fr. Je parle japonais. -- Et moi, je parle russe.)

5.9.B.2.d. Contrasting Specified Complements:

- [t]Máry=ɬ wà-[t]=s[t] nó:ɣ̓
  DM M.=NC name-[3]=DC [DM] my.mother
  -ʔi: t Lúcy=ɬ wà-[t]=s[t] niči:č-ɣ̓ lo:-t
  and DM L.=NC name-[3]=DC [DM] grandmother ...-3
  My mother's name is Mary, but my grandmother's name is Lucy.
  (Fr. Ma mère s'appelle Marie, mais ma grand-mère, elle, s'appelle Lucie).
  Maryhl was nooɣ̓ ii t Lucyhl was aits'iits'iɣ̓ loot.

- [t]Kévin t ɲa:m-siwá-tT-[t]=s[t]Màry=ɬ ɬkú:ɬk^{W}-t
  [DM] K. 3E wanting-name.s.-DEF-[3]-CTL=DC [DM] M.=NC child-3
  ʔi: t Péter t ɲa:m-siwá-tT-[t]=ɬ nàks-tlo:-t
  and DM P. 3E wanting-name.s.-DEF-[3]=NC spouse-3 ...-3

Mary wants to name her baby Kevin, but her husband wants to name him Peter.
(Mary veut appeler son bébé Kevin, mais son mari, lui, il veut l'appeler Peter.)
Kevin t ɨaam-siwadis Maryhl hlguuhlkwt ii t Peter t ɨaam-siwadihl nakst ***loot.***

5.10. AMBIENT PREDICATES (P_0).

These are mostly words referring to the weather and similar natural phenomena such as

hay wís	'(to) rain'	*haywis*
sínt	'summer'	*sint*
sq̓é:x̱k^{W}	'(it's) dark [at night]'	*sg̱'eeg̱kw*
ʔa:m-a:-lax̱há good-MODIF-sky	'(it's) good weather'	*amaalag̱ha*
*k^{W}iné:q-mks cold-COMPAR	'to be cooler, comparatively cool'	*gwineegamks*

These words can function as either predicates or non-predicates in a clause:

5.10.A. As predicate:

- wil **haywís** ... as/when/where it rains.
  SUB rain ... ***wil haywis***.

  yùkʷ=ɬ **haywís** It's raining.
  PROG=NC rain *Yukwhl **haywis***.

5.10.B. As non-predicate:

- ć̀àxʷ=ɬ **haywís** It's raining hard.
  considerable-NC ... *Ts'axwhl **haywis***.

Sometimes other P_A's can also be used without arguments, as P_0's, as in

- ʔáːt̓iksk̓ʷ wil **sáq** It started to be very cold.
  arrive SUB sharp *Aat'ikskw wil **saq***.

- kaχkù wil **líl̓kit̓** When was the feast?
  when?=NC SUB [have.a.]feast *Gaxgu wil **lil̓git̓**?*

- qalksə=káʔsk̓ʷ-n ʔa=ɬ wil **qalksə=nóʔ=əst**
  through=look-2S PREP=NC SUB through=have.a.hole==AFF
  Look through the hole!
  *Galksiga'asgwin ahl wil **galksino'os***.

5.11. INTERJECTIVE PREDICATES.

This is a curious class of words. It comprises interjections which are imperative in function and have both a singular and a plural form. In the plural, they take the 2P personal suffix, like P_A's, but they take no suffix in the singular. They do not have a 1P form either. It is likely that this class includes words of diverse origins. The addition of the 2P suffix seems to be of recent origin, as it is not used in Boas.

Singular	Plural		
ʔá	ʔá-sim̓	Stop (this noise)!	
		A!	*Asim̓!*
kóm̓	kóm̓-sim̓	Go ahead! Do it!	
		Gom̓!	*Gomsim̓!*
qál	qál-sim̓	Come! Come here!	
		Gal!	*Galsim̓!*
tí	tí-sim̓	Come on! Let's go! Let's get going!	
		Di!	*Disim̓!*
t̓íɬ	t̓íɬ-sim̓	Hurry!	
		T'ihl!	*T'ihlsim̓!*
ʔatóʔ[8]	ʔatóʔ-sim̓	Go!	
		Ado'o!	*Ado'osim̓!*

This group includes the negative verb kilóʔ 'don't! *gilo /gilo'o* (5.13.C.) which is also used in the singular in front of a dependent clause, to negate an imperative:

kilóʔ	kilóʔ-sim̓	Don't!	
		Gilo!	*Gilosim̓!*

New members are in the process of being added to this class. Some YFS who use the 3S independent personal pronoun ńít *ńit* as an informal greeting (4.3.C.1.a.) also use a plural ńít-sim̓ to greet more than one person. Similarly the transitive imperative form háẇ-t 'stop it!' *Haẃt!* is reinterpreted by many as a single morpheme háẇit *haẃit*, which is then given a plural

háẇit-sim̓ *hawitsim̓* instead of the regular transitive imperative (4.3.D.2.) **simháẇ-t** (2P.E stop.s.-3) *Sim hawt!*

5.12. AUXILIARY VERBS.

Auxiliaries are a special type of intransitive verb. Some of them can also function as P_A's like regular intransitive verbs, and their auxiliary role derives from their semantic meaning as full verbs. Auxiliaries share some of their properties with Negative verbs (5.13. below). Both types of verbs take a predicate phrase as their argument.

The auxiliary role is identifiable by the following criteria:

a - auxiliaries do not bear primary stress;

b - auxiliaries cannot occur alone, for instance in answer to a question;

c - auxiliaries never take personal suffixes; they occur followed by a verbal or ambient predicate phrase.

Exception: the progressive form **hiyúk^{W}** of the auxiliary **yuk^{W}** can occur alone, without another predicate, as in:

- q̓ay **hi)yúk^{W}** ẏ̓ — I am still doing it.
  still ASP)AUX-1S — *K'ay hiyugwiy̓.*

The auxiliaries are:

yuk^{W}	Progressive ('it is happening')(PROG)[7]		*yukw*
ɬisk^{W}	Perfective ('it is finished')	(PERF)	*hliskw*
n̓ak^{W}	Evidential ('it is obvious')	(EVID)	*n̓akw*

5.12.A. **yuk^{W}** Progressive *yukw*: (from **yúk^{W}** 'to be in motion' *yukw*, normally used with proclitics of direction, 7.1.A.):

5.12.A.1. With P_O:

- **yùk^W**=ɬ má:tim — It is snowing.
  ...=NC snowfall — ***Yukwhl maadim.***

yùk^W==a?=ɬ má:tim — It is snowing! (believe it or not)
...==ASST=NC snowfall — ***Yugwa'ahl maadim!***

5.12.A.2. With P_A:

5.12.A.2.a. In declarative clause:

- **yùk^W**=ɬ yú:χk^W-ɣ̓ — I am eating.
  ...=NC eat-1S — ***Yukwhl yuuxgwiɣ̓.***

yùk^W==qa(t)=ɬ haɬáɬsT-t — I hear s/he is working.
...==REP=NC work-3 — ***Yukw-ga(t)hl hahlaɬsit.***

5.12.A.2.b. In question: the answer cannot consist of the auxiliary alone, but must include the main verb:

yùk^W=ɬ yú:χk^W-n==a: -- *yúk^W — Are you eating? - [Yes].
...=NC eat-2S==Q — ***Yukwhl yuuxgwina?*** - ****Yukw.*** [wrong]

yùk^W=ɬ yú:χk^W-ɣ̓ — - Yes [= I am eating].
...=NC eat-1S — -- ***Yukwhl yuuxgwiɣ̓.***

5.12.A.2.c. In relative clause: the progressive form **hiɣuk^W** *hiyukw* is used, and both it and the clause predicate take the REL suffix **-(ə)t** *-it/at/t* (7.2.A.2.):

- ná:=ɬ **hi)yùk^W**-ət=ɬ yú:χk^W-ət — Who is eating?
  who=NC ASP)...-REL=NC eat-REL — ***Naahl hiyugwithl yuuxgwit?***

5.12.A.3. With P_{EA}:

5.12.A.3.a. In main clause:

- **yùk^{W}** nəkíp-t — I am eating it.
  ... 1S.E eat.s.-3 — *Yukw ni gipt.*

- **yùk^{W}** -t kíp-t — S/he is eating it.
  ... 3.E eat.s.-3 — *Yukwt gipt.*

5.12.A.3.b. In (headless) relative clause:

- ... **yùk^{W}**-t **ʔan** kíp-t — ... the one who is eating it.
  ...-3E REL.E eat.s.-3 — ...*yukwt an gipt.*

5.12.A.4. Remark: The above represents modern usage. In Boas, it is mostly the reduplicated form that is used for the progressive meaning, as in:

- **hi)yùk^{W}**-t ƛ̓úx^{W}-[t]=ɬ lák^{W} ʔa=ɬ lít qan=ɬ táqɬ
  ASP)...-3 split.s.-[3]=ND wood PREP wedge and=NC hammer
  He was splitting wood with wedges and hammer (90.7-8).
  Hiyukwt k'uxwhl lakw ahl lit ganhl daghl.

while the plain form often has the meaning 'just happened' (now expressed by the combination **q̓ay ɬìsk^{W}** *k'ay hliskw*... , see below 5.12.B.), as in:

- **yùk^{W}**-t ksə=ʔúx-ti:t ƞ̓ì:y̓ ʔa=ɬ kálq
  ...-3E out=throw.s.-3P me PREP=NC outside
  They've just thrown me out of the house (124.1-2).
  Yukwt ksi'uxdiit ńiiy̓ ahl galk̓.

5.12.B. **ɬísk^{W}** Perfective *hliskw* (from **ɬísk^{W}** 'to be finished' *hliskw*): in single declarative clauses, this auxiliary is usually preceded by the

subordinators ɬa: 'by now...' *hlaa* (5.16.B.2.) or q̓ay 'still' (which means 'just now' in this context) *ḵ'ay* (5.16.B.9.).

5.12.B.1. With P_A:

- ɬa: **ɬìsk**^{W}=ɬ haɬál̓sT-ỷ — I have finished working.
  by.now ...=NC work-1S — *Hlaa **hliskwhl** hahlal̓siỷ.*

  ɬa: **ɬìsk**^{W}=ɬ haɬál̓sT-n==a: - *ɬìsk^W
  by.now ...=NC work-2S==Q - ... — Have you finished working? - [Yes].
  *Hlaa **hliskwhl** hahlal̓sina?*
  - **Hliskw.* [wrong]

  q̓ay **ɬìsk**^{W}=ɬ haɬál̓sT-ỷ — I just finished working.
  still ...=NC work-1S — *Ḵ'ay **hliskwhl** hahlal̓siỷ.*

  ɬa: **ɬìsk**^{W}==əmaʔ=ɬ haɬál̓sT-t — S/he's probably finished working.
  by.now ...==DUB=NC work-3 — *Hlaa **hlisgw**ima'ahl hahlal̓sit.*

- **ɬìsk**^{W}=ɬ haɬál̓sT-n tim ʔi: yú:x̣k^W-n
  ...=NC work-2S FUT and eat-2S
  Finish your work ,then you can eat.
  You'll eat after you finish your work.
  ***Hliskwhl** hahlal̓sin dim ii yuuẓgwin.*

5.12.B.2. With P_{EA}:

- ɬa: **ɬìsk**^{W} mə yóʔoks-t==a: -- *ɬisk^W
  by.now ... 2S.E wash.s.-3==Q — Have you finished washing it? - [Yes].
  *Hlaa **hliskw** mi yo'oksda?*
  - **Hliskw* [wrong].

ɬa: ɬìsk^{W} tyóʔoks-[t]=[s][t]Màry — Mary has finished washing it.
by.now ... 3E wash.s.-[3]=[DC][DM] M. — *Hlaa hliskwt yo'oks Mary.*

5.12.C. ṅak^{W} Evidential *ṅakw* (not used in questions) (≠ ṅák^{W} 'to be long' *ṅakw*)

The unstressed ṅak^{W} *ṅakw* introduces a highly probable statement based on direct evidence. Although the sentence often corresponds to a (rhetorical) question in English, it does not take the Interrogative postclitic ==a: (6.3.A.1.a.) as it is not a question in Nisgha.[9]

5.12.C.1. With P_A:

- ṅàk^{W}=ɬ mímst-n — You must be crazy! /Are you crazy?
  ...=NC crazy-2S — *Ṅakwhl mimsdin!*

- ṅàk^{W}=ɬ wóq-[t]=s [t] pè:pi: — Baby must be sleeping!
  ...=NC sleep-[3]=DC [DM] B. — *Ṅakwhl woks Beebii!*

- ṅàk^{W}=ɬ qal c̓àx^{W}-[t]=ɬpáʔansk^{W}-t
  ...=NC too considerable-[3]=NC drive-3
  S/he must have been driving too fast!
  Ṅakwhl gal ts'axwhl ba'anskwt!

5.12.C.2. With P_{EA}:

- ṅàk^{W} mə qal̓í-t — You must have dropped it!
  ... 2E drop.s.-3 — *Ṅakw ma gal̓it!*

- ṅàk^{W} mə x̣sínq-ỷ — [I see] you don't believe me!
  ... 2E disbelieve.s.-1S — *Ṅakw ma x̣singaỷ!*

- ṅàkʷ məqúc-[t]=ɬ ʔanʔún-n
  ... 2E cut.s.-[3]=NC hand-2S
  You must have cut yourself!
  (lit. ... cut your hand)
  Ṅakw ma ƛ'otshl an'unin!

- ṅàkʷ -t páxkʷ-[t]=ɬ c̓ìskʷ=ɬ t̓úk̓ʷ-n
  ... 3E enter.s.-[3]=NC louse=NC navel-2S
  A louse must have got into your navel!
  (since you giggle so much)
  Ṅakwt baƛkwhl ts'iskwhl t'ukw'in!

5.13. NEGATIVE VERBS.

Negative verbs have a quasi-auxiliary role and share some of their properties with Auxiliary verbs (5.12.). Like auxiliaries, Negative verbs can be followed by a predicate phrase. Unlike auxiliaries, they can be stressed and occur alone in answer to a question.

The negative verbs are:

nɨ́:	'not [to be], No!'	*nii*
haẇín	'not [to be] yet'	*haẇin*
ƛiló	'Don't!'	*gilo*
ʔáq	'to be non-existent, impossible'	*aƛ*

5.13.A. nɨ́(:) '...not...' *ni(i)*

5.13.A.1. Form and meaning: The most common negative verb is a form of the predicate nɨ́: ' no!; not to be' *nii* . When in is quasi-auxiliary role it occurs under the forms nɨ(:) *ni(i),* nɨƛɨ(:) *nigi(i),* nɨƛɨtɨ: *nigidii,* nɨtɨ: *nidii*. The last two forms derive from the addition of the Intensive modifier tɨ: *dii* to nɨ(:) *ni(i)* or nɨƛɨ(:) *nigi(i)*. The latter in turn includes the suffix -ƛɨ(:) *-gi* which may perhaps be identified historically with the Distal postclitic

(6.3.B.2.b.). These additional morphemes, which also occur with haẇín'... not yet' *haẇin*, prevent the insertion of the connective =ɬ *-hl* in front of the main predicate.

In present day Nisgha both OFS and YFS use ni(:) *ni(i)* (niḵi- *nigi*-before the 3E pronoun t) for negative questions; for negative statements OFS tend to distinguish between niḵi: *nigii* for plain negation and niḵiti: *nigidii* for insistent negation (similarly, in the Boas tales, niḵiti: *nigidii* can be translated by 'not at all' while niḵi: *nigii* is the ordinary negative). ni(:) *ni(i)* alone can be used before the proclitic/modifier k̓ʷiɬ *kw'ihl* 'about, around'. YFS tend to use niti: *nidii* for all negative statements. Although ti: *dii* is normally pronounced and written together with the negative word, they may be separated by an Ergative clitic pronoun (and the Future particle tim *dim*).

5.13.A.2. Contractions:

When ni: *nii* and its variants combine with clitic pronouns and the FUT particle tim *dim*, contractions occur in informal speech, expecially among YFS.

5.13.A.2. With P_A:

- I am not going to eat.

OFS: ni:-ḵi: tim ti: yú:x̣kʷ-ỷ
not-INTS FUT INTS eat-1S — ***Nigidim dii yuux̱gwiý.***

YFS: nimti: yú:x̣kʷ-ỷ
not.FUT eat-1S — ***Nimdii yuux̱gwiý.***

5.13.A.2. With P_{EA}:

- I did not eat it.

OFS: ni:-ḵi: nəkíp-t
not-INTS 1S.E eat.s.-3 — ***Nigii ni gipt.***

YFS: **ni**:-nə-**ti**: ḱíp-t
not-1S.E-INTS eat.s.-3 ***Nindii gipt.***

YFS: **ni**:-**ti**: nəḱíp-t
not-INTS 1S.E eat.s.-3 ***Nidii ni gipt.***

• I am <u>not</u> going to eat it.
OFS: **ni**:-**ḱi**: nə **tim ti**: ḱíp-t
not-INTS 1S.E FUT INTS eat.s.-3 ***Nigindim dii gipt.***

YFS: **nimti**: nəḱíp-t
not.FUT 1S.E eat.s.-3 ***Nimdii ni gipt.***

• Are you going to eat it?
OFS: **ni**:-**ḱi**: mə **tim** ḱíp-t==a:
not-INTS 2E FUT eat.s.-3==Q ***Nigii mi dim gipda?***

YFS: **ni**: mə **tim** ḱíp-t==a:
not 2E FUT eat.s.==Q ***Nii mi dim gipda?***

• Aren't you going to eat it?
OFS: **ni**:-**ḱi**: mə **tim ti**: ḱíp-t==a:
not-INTS 2E FUT INTS eat.s.-3==Q ***Nigii mi dim dii gipda?***

YFS: **nimti**: məḱíp-t==a:
not.FUT 2E FUT eat.s.-t==Q ***Nimdii mi gipda?***

The modifier **hux^{W}** 'again' *huxw* can also intervene between **ni**(:) *ni(i)* and **ti**: *dii*

• I won't eat it any more.
OFS: **ni**:-**ḱi**: nə **tim hux^{W}** ḱíp-t
not-INTS 1S.E FUT again INTS eat.s.-3 ***Nigindim huxw gipt.***

YFS: ni: **hux^{w} ti:** nə **tim** kíp-t
not again INTS 1S.E FUT eat.s.-3 ***Nihuxwdii ni dim gipt.***

YFS: **nimux^{w}ti:** nəkíp-t
[not-FUT-again] INTS 1S.E eat.s.-3 ***Nimuxwdii ni gipt.***

5.13.A.3. Use in negative statements:

5.13.A.3.a. Negation of nominal predicate

5.13.A.3.a.1. Denying the identity of a nominal:

5.13.A.3.a.1.a. Determinate nominal: as a determinate nominal cannot take a suffix ending, its A-nominal is separated from it by the preposition ʔa *a* (and suitable connective) when the nominal predicate follows a negative verb.

positive:

- [t]Máry t kùn — This is Mary.
  [DM] M. DM this — *Mary tgun.*

negative:

- ni:-ti: t Máry ʔa=s [t]kùn — This is not Mary.
  not-INTS DM M. PREP=DC [DM] this — ***Nidii t Mary as gun.***

5.13.A.3.a.1.b. Non-determinate nominal:

5.13.A.3.a.1.b.1. Unsuffixed noun: the noun behaves like any P_A predicate and its argument is suffixed to it; often the modifier k̓^{w}it 'about' *kw'iht* (5.15.B.44.) is added to emphasize the unreality of the statement being denied; it also shows that the noun is a clause predicate, not a downshifted predicate:

positive:

- pó:t tɬkùs[t] — That's a boat.
  boat DM that — *Boot tgus.*

negative:

- ni:-ti: ɬ̓ʷiɬ pó:t-t — It isn't a boat(I)
  not-INTS about boat-3 — ***Nidii (ɬʷ'ihl) bootɬ.***

- ni:-ti: ɬ̓ʷiɬ pó:t-[t]=s[t]kùs[t] — That's not a boat(I).
  not-INTS about boat-[t]=DC [DM] that — ***Nidii (ɬʷ'ihl) bootɬs gus.***

5.13.A.3.a.1.b.2. Downshifted nominal predicate: thenominal predicate is already suffixed; the A-nominal appears after the preposition ʔa *a* , or replaced by an indirect pronoun (5.9.B.1.b.1.b.):

positive:

- pó:t-t tɬkùs[t] — That's his boat.
  boat-3 DM that — *Bootɬ tgus.*

negative:

- ni:-ti: pó:t-t ʔa=s [t]kùs[t] — That isn't his boat.
  not-INTS boat-3 PREP=DC [DM] that — ***Nidii bootɬ as gus.***

- ni:-ti: pó:t-t lo:-t — It isn't his boat.
  not-INTS boat-3 IND-3 — ***Nidii bootɬ loot.***

5.13.A.3.a.2. Denying possession of a nominal: after the negative verb, the (non-determinate) possessed nominal behaves like any other P_A and its argument is a suffix, with the Adjunct connected by a connective:

positive:

- tá:la ṅì:n==a: — You got some money?
  money you==Q — *Daala ṅiina?*

- lip wílp tip Frèd — Fred 'and them' have their own house.
  self house DM.PL F. — *Lip wilp **dip Fred**.*

negative:

- ni:-ti: tá:la-ẏ — I don't have any money.
  not-INTS money-1S — ***Nidii** daalaẏ.*

- ni:-ti: lip wílp-[t]=s tip Fred — Fred 'and them' don't have their own house.
  not-INTS self house-[3]=DC DM.PL F. — ***Nidii** lip wilps **dip Fred**.*

5.13.A.3.b. Negation of non-nominal predicates: The predicate phrase follows the negative verb. Negation of the predicate can be reinforced by the modifier k̇ʷiɬ 'around, about' *kw'ihl*. The IRR particle cə *ji/ja* can be used before a following noun, in which case there is no connective.

5.13.A.3.b.1. With P_0:

- ni:-ti: páʔaskʷ — There is/was no wind.
  not-INTS wind — ***Nidii** ba'askw.*

  ni:==qa[t]=ɬpáʔaskʷ — They said there was no wind.
  not==REP=NC wind — ***Nii-ga(t)hl** ba'askw.*

5.13.A.3.b.2. With P_A: (intransitives, adjectives, numerals)

- OFS: ni:-ɬi: yú:χkʷ-ɣ̓ I didn't eat.
  not-INTS eat-1S *Nigii yuuχgwiɣ̓.*

  ni:-ɬi:-ti: yú:χkʷ-ɣ̓ I didn't eat at all.
  not-INTS-INTS eat-1S *Nigidii yuuχgwiɣ̓.*

YFS: ni:-ti: yú:χkʷ-ɣ̓ I didn't eat.
not-INTS eat-1S *Nidii yuuχgwiɣ̓.*

- ni:-ti: k̓ʷiɬ yú:χkʷ-[t]cə t Màry Mary wasn't eating!
  not-INT around eat-[3] IRR DM M. *Nidii k̓w'iɬ yuuχkw ji t Mary!*

- OFS: ni: k̓ʷiɬ ɲa:m=náks-ɣ̓ I don't want to get married!
  not about wanting=married-1S (What an idea!)
  Nii k̓w'iɬ ɲaam-naksiɣ̓!

  YFS: ni:-ti: ɲa:m=náks-ɣ̓ I don't want to get married.
  not-INTS wanting=married-1S *Nidii ɲaam-naksiɣ̓.*

  ní:=qa[t]=ɬ ɲa:m=náks-t I hear she doesn't/didn't want to get married.
  not=REP=NC wanting=married-3 *Nii-ga(t)ɬ ɲaam-nakst.*

- ni:-ti: χsk̓ʷiné:qs-ɣ̓ I am/was not cold.
  not-INTS feel.cold-1S *Nidii χsgwineeqsiɣ̓.*

5.13.A.3.b.3. With P_{EA}:

- OFS: ni:-ɬi: nəɬíp-t I didn't eat it.
  not-INTS 1S.E eat.s.-3 *Nigin gipt.*

  ni: ɬi: nə ti: ɬíp-t I did not eat it.
  not-INTS 1S.E eat.s.-3 *Nigindii gipt.*

ni: ɬi:-tɬíp-t	S/he didn't eat it.
not-INTS 3E eat.s.-3	***Nigit gipt.***
ni:-ɬi:-ti:-tɬíp-t	S/he did <u>not</u> eat it.
not-INTS-INTS 3E eat.s.-3	***Nigidiit gipt.***
YFS: ni:-nə-ti: kíp-t	I did not eat it.
not-1S.E-INTS eat.s.-3	***Nindii gipt.***
ni:-ti: nə kíp-t	I did not eat it.
not-INTS 1S.E eat.s.-3	***Nidii ni gipt.***
ni:-ti:-tɬíp-t	S/he did not eat it.
not-3E-INTS eat.s.-3	***Nidiit gipt.***

5.13.A.4. <u>Questions starting with the negative ni(ɬi): *ni(i)(gii)*</u>

The Interrogative postclitic ==a: (6.3.A.1.a.) conveys more a request for confirmation than a true question; asking a question simply by adding ==a: to a statement then creates a presumption that the statement is correct and puts on the listener the possible onus of replying on the negative:

• sí:pk^{W} ʔì:n==a:	You were sick? (I presume)
sick you==Q	***Siipkw ʔiina?***

It is therefore polite to phrase a question in the negative: this is comparable to adding a tag such as 'by any chance':

5.13.A.4.a. <u>With P_Q</u>:

• ni:=ɬ hay wís==a:	Did it rain? Is it raining?
not=NC rain==Q	***Niihl haywisa?***

5.13.A.4.b. With P_A:

(Nom) • ni:=ɬ tá:la-n==a: — Do you have any money?
...=NC money-2S==Q — ***Niihl daalana?***

(intr.) • ni:=ɬ sí:pk^W-n==a: — Are/Were you sick?
...=NC sick-2S==Q — ***Niihl siipgwina?***

ni:=ɬ sí:pk^W-t==a: — Is/Was s/he sick?
...=NCsick-3==Q — ***Niihl siipkwda?***

• ni:=ɬ ʔá:m-t==a: — Is it all right?
...=NCgood-3==Q — ***Niihl aamda?***

5.13.A.4.c. With P_{EA}:

• ni: məká?-[t]=ɬʔantə-tá:la-ẏ==a: — Have you (by any chance) seen my purse/wallet?
... 2E see.s.-[3]=NC container-money-1S==Q — ***Nii mi ga'ahl andidaalaẏa?***

ni:-ḳi:-tká?-t==a: — Did s/he (perhaps) see it?
-INTS-3Esee.s.-3==A — ***Nigit ga'ada?***

• ni: mətimx̣táx-m̓==a: — Would you (like to) eat with us?
... 2E FUT eat.with.s.o.-1P==Q — ***Nii mi dim x̱dayim̓a?***

Nowadays these questions are not considered negative, but simply polite. The Intensive modifier ti: *dii* (5.15.B.2.a.) is added if a negative question is meant:

• ni:=ɬ ti: sí:pk^W-n==a: — Aren't/Weren't you sick?
...=NC INTS sick-2S==Q — ***Niihl dii siipgwina?***

- ni: mə ti: káʔ-[t]=ɬʔantə-tá:la-ỷ==a: Haven't you seen my purse?
... 2E INTS see.s.-[3]=NC container-money-1S==Q ***Nii mi dii ga'ahl andidaalaỷa?***

5.13.A.5. Negation inside a clause:

niḳi:/niḳiti: *nigii/nigidii* (OFS) and niti: *nidii* (YFS) can both be used inside a dependent clause to negate the predicate in that clause:

5.13.A.5.a. With P_0:

- wil ni:-ti: haywís ... as it doesn't/didn't rain.
as ...-INTS rain ... ***wil nidii haywis.***

5.13.A.5.b. With P_A:

Nom: • wil ni:-ti: tá:la-ỷ ... as I don't have any money.
... money-1S ... ***wil nidii daalaỷ.***

intr: • wil ni:-ti: halálsT-ỷ ... as I don't/didn't work.
... work-1S ... ***wil nidii hahlalsiỷ.***

5.13.A.5.c. With P_{EA}:

- wil ni:-nə-ti: kíp-t ... as I did not eat it.
... -1S.E-INTS eat.s.-3 ... ***wil nindii gipt.***

wil ni:-ti:-tḳíp-t ... as s/he did not eat it.
...-INTS-3E eat.s.-3 ... ***wil nidiit gipt.***

Here the particular event being talked about is simply negated, in contrast with a sentence using the modifier ʔaḵ *aḵ* (5.15.A., 5.15.B.15.) which has a connotation of impossibility. This use of ni:(ti:) as a modifier seems to be fairly recent.

5.13.B. haẇín '... not yet' *haẇin*: This verb usually occurs alone (in answer to a question) or before a clause.

As with ní: *nii*, the Intensive modifier ti: *dii* may be separate, or added as a suffix, and older forms can also add the suffix -ḵi(:) *-gi(i)*. The meaning of the expanded forms is '... never (yet)/not ... ever'.

5.13.B.1. With P_0:

- haẇìn=ɬ má:tim==a: --haẇín — Has it snowed yet? - Not yet.
  ...=NC snowfall==Q - ... — ***Haẇinhl maadima? - Haẇin.***

- haẇìn-timá:tim — It hasn't snowed yet, it isn't winter yet.
  ... snowfall — ***Haẇindii maadim.***

5.13.B.2. With P_A:

- haẇìn=ɬ tá:ẇiɬ-t==a: --haẇín — Has s/he left yet? -- Not yet.
  ...=NC leave-3==Q — ***Haẇinhl daaẇihlda? -- Haẇin.***

  haẇìn==əmaʔ=ɬ tá:ẇiɬ-t — I wonder if s/he has left yet.
  ...==DUB=NC leave-3 — I guess s/he hasn't left yet.
  Haẇinima'ahl daaẇihlt.

  haẇìn==əmaʔ — I wonder [if ... yet].
  ...==DUB — ***Haẇinima'a.***

- haẇìn=ɬksiẏímqkʷ-n==a: — Have you shaved yet? (to man)
  ...=NC shave-2S==Q — ***Haẇinhl ksiẏimḵgwina?***

  haẇìn=ɬ ti: ksiẏímqkʷ-n==a: — Have you ever shaved? (to boy)
  ...=NC INTS shave-2S==Q — ***Haẇinhl dii ksiẏimḵgwina?***

5.13.B.3. With P_{EA}:

- haẇìn mə ká?-[t]=ɬ laχmíɬ==a: Have you seen the lava beds yet?
  ... 2E see.s.-[3]=NC lava==Q *Haẇin mi ga'ahl laχmihla?*

  haẇìn mə ti: ká?-[t]=ɬ laχmíɬ==a: Have you ever seen the lava beds?
  ... 2E INTS see.s.-[3]=NC lava==Q *Haẇin mi dii ga'ahl laχmihla?*

  haẇìn ti:-t ká?-[t]=ɬ laχmíɬ S/he has never seen the lava beds.
  ... INTS-3E see.s.-[3]=NC lava *Haẇindiit ga'ahl laχmihl.*

haẇínwith 1st person is often used for the expression of threats:

- haẇìn nəhináċaχ-n Wait till I spank you!
  ... 1S.E spank.s.-2S (lit. I have not spanked you yet)
  Haẇin ni hinats'aχan!

- haẇìnnə pís-[t]=ɬ ṁáχ lo:-siṁ Wait till I break the light-ball on you!
  ... 1S.E tear.s.-[3]=NC light(?) IND-2P (16.5)
  Haẇin ni bishl ṁaχ loosiṁ!

Hence 'not yet' with 1st person is expressed by haẇín-ti: *haẇindii*:

- I haven't seen it/them yet.
  OFS: haẇìn nə ti: ká?-t *Haẇin ni dii ga'at.*
  ... 1S.E INTS see.s.-3

  YFS: haẇìn-ti:nəká?-t *Haẇindii ni ga'at.*
  ...-INTS 1S.E ...

- haẇìn-ti:nə sim qal wilá:x-[t]=ɬ sim?álkaχ
  ... -INTS1S.E really too know.s.=NC N.lang. I don't know Nisgha too well yet. *Haẇindii ni sim gal wilaaxhl sim'algaχ.*

5.13.C. ƛiló[ʔ] 'don't...!' *gilo* : This verb can be uttered alone, or before a clause with a verbal predicate. ƛiló *gilo* is the more modern, colloquial form, ƛiló? *gilo'o* the older, more formal shape.

5.13.C.1. Alone, it functions as an interjective predicate (*354-5*) and has both a singular and a plural form:

ƛiló / ƛiló-sim̓	Don't! (sg./pl.)	*Gilo!/Gilosim̓!*

- ƛiló - ƛiló -naxn̓á-(y)ə-t==kiy̓ ʔa=ɬc̓im-wílp
  ... - ... - hear.s.-CTL-3==MIN PREP=NC in-house
  Don't [cry]! Don't! They'll hear it in the house [so stop it] ! (91.10-11)
  Gilo! Gilo! Naxn̓ayit-giy̓ ahl ts'im wilp!

5.13.C.2. With clause: the resulting sentence is a negative imperative. Usually the IRR particle cə *ji/ja* occurs between ƛiló *gilo* and the main verb.

5.13.C.2.a. With P_A (except nominal):

5.13.C.2.a.1. With the IRR particle cə *ji/ja* : ƛilò cə ...: 'Don't [start doing] ...' *Gilo ji/ja ...*

- ƛilò cə páx-n
  ... IRR ...
  Don't run! [Don't start running]
  Gilo ji baxan!

5.13.C.2.a.2. Without the IRR particle cə *ji/ja* : the connective =ɬ *-hl* occurs between the negative and the main verbs: ƛiló=ɬ ... : 'Stop [what you are doing]' *Gilohl ...*

- ƛilò=ɬ páx-n
  ...=NC run-2S
  Stop running!
  Gilohl baxan!

5.13.C.2.b. With P_{EA}: the IRR particle cə *ji/jə* always occurs before the verb: 'Don't do ...'

- **kilò** mə **cə** tás-t — Don't touch it!
  ... 2E IRR touch.s.-3 — ***Gilo mi ji dast!***

Some YFS keep **kilò cə** ... *Gilo ji* ... together with P_{EA}'s as well as with P_A's, thus:

- **kilò cə** mətás-t — Don't touch it!
  ... 2E IRR touch.s.-3 — ***Gilo ji mi dast!***

cə *ji/jə* can also be used before the A nominal Adjunct: compare:

- **kilò** mə **cə** tás-[t]**cə** ʔasàɣ̀-a:+ɬóqs — Do not touch a[ny] sunbeam! (in case there is a sunbeam, don't touch it)
  ... 2E IRR touch.s.-[3] IRR leg-LINK+sun — ***Gilo mi ji das ji asaɣ̀a hloƛs!***

kilò mə **cə** tás-[t]=**ɬ** ʔasàɣ̀-a:+ɬóqs — Don't touch the sunbeam!
...=NC ... — ***Gilo mi ji dashɬ asaɣ̀a hloƛs!***

5.13.D. **ʔáq** 'to be non-existent, impossible, not to exist, there is not .../there is no way ... (unfortunately)' *aƛ*

ʔáq *aƛ* can be used before both nominal and verbal predicates, as a quasi-auxiliary like the other negative verbs, but also as a subordinating verb.

5.13.D.1. With possessed nominal predicate:

ʔáq =**ɬ** + possessed noun: 'not to have ... (or any way to get it)' (cf. **ni:** (**ti:**) 5.13.A.)

- ʔàq=ɬ tá:la-ỷ
  ...=NC money-1S

  I don't have any money [at all].
  (lit. my money does not exist)
  Aḵhl daalaý.

- ʔàq=ɬ wíl-ỷ
  ...=NC act-1S

  There is nothing I can do/I can't do anything [about it]/I am in trouble/powerless/helpless.
  Aḵhl wiliý.

- q̓apáq==aʔ=ɬ wíl-n==əst
  absolutely==ASST=NC act-2S==AFF

  You are really in trouble, aren't you!
  (said jokingly)
  Ḵ'ap aga'ahl wilinis!

5.13.D.2. With verbal predicate, as a subordinating verb: In modern usage, the clause following ʔàq *aḵ* usually includes the FUT particle tim *dim*. Older usage (as in Boas 1902) does not usually include this particle.

5.13.D.2.a. With headless relative clause:

5.13.D.2.a.1. With headless Subject-relative clause: 'there is no one to ... [intr.]'

- ʔàq=ɬ tim lím[x]-(ə)t
  ...=NC FUT sing-REL

  There is/was no one who could sing.
  Aḵhl dim limit.

5.13.D.2.a.2. With headless Object-relative clause: 'to have nothing to ...'

- ʔàq=ɬ tim ḳíp-ə-t
  ...=NC FUT eat.s.-CTL-3

  S/he has/had nothing to eat.
  Aḵhl dim gibit.

- ʔàq=ɬ tim qóʔ-ə-t
  ...=NC FUT go.to.s.-CTL-3

  S/he has/had nowhere to go.
  Aḵhl dim go'ot.

- ʔàq=ɬ tim hó:x-ə-ỷ
  ...=NC FUT use.s.-CTL-1S

  I have nothing to wear/
  There is nothing I can use.
  Aḵhl dim hooyiỷ.

- ṅí[t]=ɬ k̓i: àq=ɬ yóx̣-kʷ-ə-[t]=s[t]c̓àk
  that's=NC and ...=NC follow.s.-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] Ts.

  [The trail ended at the foot of a cliff]
  ... so Ts'ak could not continue on his way (lit. ... had no route to follow)(126.7.)
  ... ***ṅihl k'ii aḵhl yoxgwis Ts'ak.***

5.13.D.2.a.3. <u>With headless E-relative clause</u>: 'there is no one who can ...[tr.]'

- ʔáq tim-t ʔan wilá:ỷin-t lo:-n
  ... FUT-3E REL.E let.s.know.s.-3 IND-2S

  There was no one who could have let you know.
  Aḵ dimt an wilaaỷint loon.

5.13.D.2.a.4. <u>With headless clause relativizing the Specified Complement</u>: (this clause has the form of a regular clause):

- ʔáq tip wilá:kʷ-T-t
  ... 1P.E treat.s.-DEF-3

  There is nothing we can do to them (no way we can kill them) (103.7)
  Aḵ dip wilaagwit.

- ʔáq nə tim k̓in-t
  ... 1S.E FUT feed.s.s.-DEF-3

  I cannot possibly feed h., I have nothing to feed h. ***Aḵ ni dim gint.***

5.13.D.2.b. <u>With regular clauses</u>:

5.13.D.2.b.1. <u>With P_A</u>: 'to be unable to ... (in general), there is no way to...'

- ʔáq=ɬ tim yé:-ỷ
  ...=NC FUT walk-1S

  I can't walk (e.g. I am crippled);
  Aḵhl dim yeeỷ.

- ʔáq=ɬ tim wóq-[t]=s[t]nò:ẏ My mother can't sleep, has insomnia.
  ...=NC FUT sleep-[3]=DC [DM] my.mother *Aɬ dim woqs nooẏ.*

5.13.D.2.b.2. With P_{EA}:

- áq tim tip ɬimó:m-ti:t There seems to be nothing we can do to help them/ no way we can help them.
  ... FUT 1P.E help.s.-3P *Aɬ dim tip ɬlimoomdiit.*

- áq t wila:ksə=kú:[t]-[t]=ɬ ʔi:ká ʔa=ɬ čimá:q-t
  ... 3E how out=take.s.-[3]=NC halibut.hook PREP=NC mouth-3
  [No matter how he tried] he just could not take the halibut hook out of his mouth (51.5-6). *Aɬ t wilaa ksiguuhl iiga ahl ts'imaaɬt.*

5.13.D.2.c. The combination áq wil cə *aɬ wil ii ...*: (with subordinator wil *wil* and IRR particle cə *ii/ja*) means 'wish there was a way to ..., if only there was a way to ...'

P_A:

- ʔaq wil cə kipáyk^w-ẏ If only I could fly!
  ... SUB IRR fly-1S *Aɬ wil ii gibaygwiẏ!*

P_{EA}:

- ʔaq wil cə nəkí:k^w-t If only I could buy it!
  ... SUB IRR 1S.E buy.s.-3 Wish there was a way I could buy it!
  Aɬ wil ii ni giikwt!

5.13.D.3. The negative modifier ʔax 'not' *aɬ*:

The modifier ʔax *aɬ* (5.15.B.15.) is related morphologically to ʔaq *aɬ* 'not to

exist, to be unavailable, impossible' through the preconsonantal Velar-fricativization rule. Like other modifiers, it is used before a predicate.

5.13.D.3.a. Unsuffixed:

5.13.D.3.a.1. With P_Q:

- timsə-má:ỷ ṅù:ṁ t̓a:ɬák^W cəta: ʔaẋhaywís
  FUT make-berries us tomorrow if ... rain
  If it does not rain, tomorrow we'll go berry-picking.
  Dim simaaý ṅuuṁ t'aahlakw jidaa aẋ haywis.

5.13.D.3.a.2. With P_A:

- ʔaḳúqan ʔaẋ yú:ẋk^W-n — Why don't/didn't you eat?
  what cause ... eat-2S — *Agu gan aẋ yuuẋgwin?*

5.13.D.3.a.3. With P_{EA}:

- ʔaḳúqan-t ʔaẋ kíp-t — Why can't/didn't s/he eat it?
  what cause-3E ... eat.s.-3 — *Agu gant aẋ gipt?*

- ntá məqan ʔaẋ ḳí:k^W-t — Is there a reason you didn't buy it?
  which.way 2E cause : buy.s.-3 — *Nda ma gan aẋ giikwt?*

- ɬa: sim ṅák^W nə ʔaẋ káʔ-n — I haven't seen you for a long time.
  now really long[time] 1S.E ... see.s.-2S — *Hlaa sim ṅakw ni aẋ ga'an.*

In present-day usage, ʔaẋ *aẋ* contrasts with ni:-ti: *nidii* inside a clause, as ni:ti: *nidii* seems to be gaining ground in a quasi-modifier role: ʔaẋ *aẋ* implies not just negation of a single event, like ni:-ti: *nidii*, but negation in general, impossibility. Compare:

- kʷilàl̓-[t]=ɬ ɬóqs=ɬ ni:-ti: haɬál̓sT-t
  three-[3]=NC month=NC not-INTS work-3

  S/he hasn't worked for 3 months
  (has been unemployed/hasn't wanted to work, etc.).
  *Gwilal̓hl hlok̲shl **nidii** hahlal̓s(i)t.*

  kʷilàl̓-[t]=ɬ ɬóqs=ɬ ʔax̱ haɬál̓sT-t
  three-[3]=NC month=NC ... work-3

  S/he has been unable to work for 3 months
  (e.g. as a result of illness, injury, etc.).
  *Gwilal̓hl hlok̲shl **ax̱** hahlal̓s(i)t.*

5.13.D.3.b. Suffixed with ti: *dii*: Like the negative verbs ni: *nii* and haẇín *haẇin*, the modifier ʔax̱ *ax̱* can be reinforced by the modifier ti: *dii*, hence ʔax̱-ti: 'never, never at all, under any circumstances' *ax̱dii* (≠ haẇín-ti 'never yet' *haẇindii*).

- ʔax̱-ti: c̓é:x ṅì:n — You can never get enough! (teasing)
  ... satiated you — ***Ax̱dii** ts'eex ṅiin!*

- k̓ip-ə-t=ɬ tim ʔax̱-ti: k̓ip-ə-t — He ate what he was not supposed to eat.
  eat.s.-CTL=NCFUT ... eat.s.-CTL-3 — *Gibithl dim **ax̱dii** gibit.*

ʔax̱-ti: *ax̱dii* can be used as a predicate before the complementizer wil (it seems that this form is the verb ʔáq *ak̲* with intensive modifier ti: *dii*, as with the other negative verbs ni: *nii* and haẇín *haẇin*):

- ʔax̱-ti: wil sa:=páx̱-t — 'World without end' (lit. never does it end)
  ... SUB off=run-3 — ***Ax̱dii** wil sasbax̱t.*

5.14. ADVERBS.

Adverbs cannot serve as clause predicates, only as complements. They can bear stress, be preceded by modifiers of suitable meaning, and be focused. However, they cannot be preceded by subordinators or by the FUT particle tim *dim*. They function only as complements, not as arguments, so they are not often preceded by a connective, except after the preposition ʔa *a*. Nor can they be components of prefixed or incorporating verbs (7.1.B.2.a., 9.2.A.).

Locational adverbs can be preceded by modifiers (5.15.) of suitable meaning, such as q̓ayim 'near ...' *k̲'ayim* and wa(qa)yt 'far ...' *wa(a)yt*.

Adverbs of time indicating the future may be preceded by the IRR particle (6.1.B.1.) cə *ji/ja*. This is also true of the interrogative adverb kax̣ḳú 'when?' *gax̣gu*.

Some examples are:

- <u>non-focused Complement</u>: the adverb occurs at the end of the clause:

• kisə=sáksk^{w} n̓iti:t **ké:c̓** downstream=leave.PL them downriver	They went away [to a place] down the river. *Gisisakskw n̓idiit* ***geets'***.
• tim náks-ti:**t̓a:ɬák^{w}** FUT get.married-IMPERS tomorrow	There is a wedding tomorrow. *Dim naksdii* ***t'aahlakw***.
• tq̓al=kó:=ɬ m̓à:l-ỷ **tú:w̓** against=moored=NC canoe-1S there	I have a canoe, over there. (106.2) *Tk̲'algyoohl m̓aaliỷ* ***duuw̓***.
• kó:ʔa=ɬ q̓ayim **tú:w̓** moored PROP=NC near there	It is [moored] just over there. (106.5) *Gyoo ahl k̲'ayim* ***duuw̓***.

- focused: in initial position (see also 4.7.A.3.b.):

- ḳayimtú:ẇ wil kó:-t
  near there SUB moored-3
  It is moored just over there.
  K'ayim duuẇ wil gyoot.

- ƙičó:n wil kè:ɬ-[t]=[ɬ] ɬku-wílksiɬkʷ
  at.back SUB lie-[3]=NC little-prince
  The princess slept at the back of the house. (B. 152.12)
  Gits'oon wil geehl hlgu wilksihlkw.

- cə kaχkú=ɬ tim wíl-t
  IRR when?=NC FUT act-3
  When is it going to be?
  Ji gaxguhl dim wilt?

- cə kaχkú=(y)əma?=ɬ tim wíl-t
  IRR when?=-DUB=NC FUT act-3
  I wonder when it is going to be?
  Ji gaxguyima'ahl dim wilt?

- ƛa:ɬákʷ tim wil náks-ti:
  tomorrow FUT SUB married-IMPS
  The wedding is going to be tomorrow.
  T'aahlakw dim wil naksdii.

5.15. MODIFIERS.

5.15.A. Modifiers are optional members of the predicate phrase. A few modifiers have concrete meaning, e.g. waɬqlayt 'far' *wa/g/ayt/wayt* (5.15.B.34), si: 'new(ly)' *sii* (5.15.B.40), ɬku 'little' *hlgu* (5.15.B.36), but many have manner or modal meaning, e.g. ksaχ 'only' *ksax* (5.15.B.17), ḳap 'absolutely, must...' *k'ap* (5.15.B.10), etc., or organize discourse, e.g. ti: *dii* (5.15.B.2.) which often indicates a contrast with another segment of discourse. These categories tend to overlap, however.

Modifiers must be differentiated from adverbs (5.14) on the one hand, from proclitics (7.1.) on the other:

- An adverb is not a member of the predicate phrase, but has an optional

complement role in the clause. It usually has locative or temporal meaning and can be uttered in isolation. A modifier cannot be uttered in isolation, but always precedes all other pre-predicate morphemes. It is not included within the scope of reduplication (see 7.1. for more details).

Prefixation of modifiers is not usually a productive process, except with the negative modifier ʔaẋ 'not' *ax* (5.15.B.15.) which is used extensively as a prefix, as in

ʔaẋ-qó:t	'irresponsible, foolish'
no-heart/mind	*axgoot*

Conversely, the proclitic ƛ̓ʷiɬ 'around, about' *kw'ihl* (5.15.B.44.) seems to be used as a modifier sometimes: its meaning is so vague and its use so general that it is sometimes difficult to tell the difference: it seems to be used as modifier in clauses beginning with a negative verb (5.13.), for instance:

• nì:-ti: ƛ̓ʷiɬ hó:n-t	It isn't a fish!
not-INTS around fish-3	*Nidii kw'ihl hoont!*
• nì: ƛ̓ʷiɬ ɬa:m=náks-ɣ̓	I don't want to get married!
not around want.to=married-1S	*Nii kw'ihl ɬaam-naksiɣ̓!*

5.15.B. List of modifiers. (This list is not given in any particular order).

5.15.B.1. ti 'suddenly, unexpectedly' *di*

Unlike the other modifiers, which can occur in any type of clause, ti *di* is always followed by a predicate-focused clause; even when it is preceded by an element which is normally followed by a regular clause, ti *di* seems to 'interrupt' the sentence and 'cancel' the regular type.

- kaxkúti qúc-ə-n=ɬqís-n — When did you cut your hair?
  when? ... cut.s.-CTL-2S=NC hair-2S — (I did not expect you to cut it)
  Gaxgu di k'ojinhl gesin?

(compare:

kaxkúməwil qúc-[t]=ɬqís-n — When did you cut your hair?
when? 2E SUB cut.s.-[3]=NC hair-2S — (I know you were going to cut it, I just want to know when)
Gaxgu mi wil k'otshl gesin?)

- yukʷ=ɬ wil-t ti ... — All of a sudden, ... [something happened]
  PROG=NC act/do-3 ... — *Yukwhl wilt, di...*

5.15.B.2. ti: *dii* can have Intensive or Contrastive meaning.

5.15.B.2.a. Intensive meaning: general rather than specific question or declaration:

- ?akú=ɬ ti: kíp-ə-[t]=ɬc̓ù:c̓ — What does a bird eat?
  what=NC .... eat.s.-CTL-[3]=NC bird — *Aguhl dii gibihl ts'uuts'?*

(without ti: *dii*, the sentence would mean 'What did the bird eat?')

- ?akù=ɬ ?álkax=ɬ ti: hó:x-ə-n — What language do you speak?
  what=NC speak=NC .... use.s.-CTL-2S — *Aguhl algaxhl dii hooyin?*

This modifier is also used as an Intensive suffix with negative verbs (5.13.A.4.c.).

5.15.B.2.b. Contrastive meaning: insistence on a new element within a context similar to a previous utterance: ti: *dii* contrasts one utterance with another of similar structure, whether actually present in discourse, or implied by the

context:

5.15.B.2.b.1. Contrasting focused constituents:

- ʔaɣ̓ánswil ẇítkʷ-ɣ̓ - I come from Aiyansh ...
  Aiyansh SUB come.from-1S - ***Aɣ̓ans wil ẇitgwiɣ̓*** ...

  (1) ... **ntá** wil **ti**: ẇítkʷ-n (1) ... where do you come from?
  where? SUB come.from-2S ... ***nda wil dii ẇitgwin?***

(2) - **ƛ̓itwinksíɬkʷ** wil **ti**: ẇítkʷ-ɣ̓ (2) - I come from Canyon City
Canyon.City SUB ... come.from-1S ***Gitwinksihlkw wil dii ẇitgwiɣ̓.***

- **ƛ̓ičó:n** wil kè:ɬ-[t]=[ɬ] ɬƛ̓u-wílksiɬkʷ ...
  at.back SUB lie-[3]=NC little-prince
  ƛ̓i: **laxƛ̓è:-[t]=ɬ lákʷ** wil **ti**: kè:ɬ-[t]=[ɬ] ɬƛ̓u kʷè:ʔ-m ɬƛ̓u-tƛ̓íɬkʷ
  and edge-[3]=NC fire SUB ... lie-[3]=NC little poor-ATTR little-child

  The princess slept at the back of the house, ...
  Gits'oon wil geehl hlgu wilksihlkw...
  ... and the poor boy slept by the fire (152.12-13).
  ... ***k'ii laxts'eehl lakw wil dii geehl hlgu gwee'em hlgutk'ihlkw.***

5.15.B.2.b.2. Contrast implied:

- ƛ̓axti: ƛ̓íːɣ̓ Me too! My turn!
  just.now ... me ***K'ax dii ƛ̓iiɣ̓!***

- cə **ti**: kʷiƛ̓á-(y)ə-n=ɬhaxʷtákʷ qan=ɬ hawíl
  IRR ... ask.for.s.-CTL-2S=NC bow and=NC arrow
  You too should ask for a bow and arrows! [like the others] (142.6-7)
  Ji dii gwiƛ̓ayinhl haxwdakw ganhl hawil!

- mit)mítkʷ=ɬ c̓àk̓ ʔa=ɬ ti: simá:ỷ-t
  PL)=NC dish PREP=NC ... pick.berries-3

The dishes were full of the berries she [not the other woman] had picked.(207.6)

*Mitmitkwhl ts'ak' ahl **dii** simaaỷt.*

5.15.B.3. lip '(doing s.t.) oneself; own (s.t.)' *lip*

This modifier may be used before a great variety of predicates, including n̓i-pronouns, in predicate or argument role. It usually insists on the identity of a person and is often translatable as an English reflexive pronoun in a reinforcing role.

5.15.B.3. a. With Intransitive: referring to Subject:

- n̓i[t]=ɬ k̓i: lip ʔukʷs=yé:-[t]=ɬ ɬku=wílksiɬkʷ
  that's=NC and ... .to.water=walk-[3]=NC little=prince

  Then the prince went down to the shore himself...
  *N̓ihl k'ii **lip** ukwsyeehl hlguwilksihlkw*... (175.13)

5.15.B.3.b. With Transitive: referring to Agent:

- n̓i[t]=ɬ k̓i:-t lip caqam=q̓é:qɬ-t
  that's=NC and-3E ... to.shore=drag.s.-3

  ... and dragged it [the halibut] up the beach himself. (207.6)
  ... *n̓ihl k'iit **lip** jagamk̲'eek̲hlt*.

5.15.B.3.c. With Nominal predicate: referring to A noun:

- lip ksim lax̲-kipú:t Máry — Mary is a Wolf herself!
  ... woman.of... on-wolf DM.S M. — [a member of the Wolf tribe]
  ***Lip** ksim Lax̲gibuu t Mary!*

5.15.B.3.d. With Possessive phrase: referring to Possessor: in this case the

modifier is semantically equivalent to English 'own':

- lip nàks-[t]=ɬ ẃi:likíńsk^{w} 'the grizzly [woman]'s own husband'
  ... spouse-[3]=NC great grizzly (204.11-12) ***lip naksh/ ẃii lik'íńskw***

- ni:-ti:sip)sí:pk^{w}-[t]=ɬ ẃè:n-ỷ wil ni:-ti: lip ẃé:n-ỷ lo:-t
  not-INTS PL)hurt-[3]=NC teeth-1S SUB not-INTS ... teeth-1S IND-3
  My teeth don't hurt because they are not my own teeth.
  Nidii sipsiipkwh/ ẃeeníý wil nidii lip ẃeeníý loot.

- hil)yáltk^{w} ʔa=ɬ lip qal-c̓ip)c̓áp-ti:t==ki:
  PL)return PREP=NC ... site-PL)group-3P==DIST
  They returned to their own villages (194.3-4).
  Hilyaltkw ah/ lip galts'ipts'apdiit-gi.

5.15.B.3.e. <u>With Independent ńì-pronoun</u>:

In older texts, lip *lip* is used before a ńì-pronoun only when the latter is in focused position:

- lip ńí:ỷ=ɬ qìnx̣ I myself am the trail. (128.8-9)
  ... me=NC trail ***Lip ńiiýh/ genx̣.***

- lip ńí:ỷ t ʔan lu:=kúx^{w}-t I [am the one who] shot it in! (20.6-7)
  ... me 3E RELE in=shoot.s.-3 ***Lip ńiiý t an luugurwt!***

- lip ńí[t]=ɬ x̣há?==ki: t ʔan kíp-t It was the slave himself that ate it.
  ... him=NC slave==DIST 3E RELE eat.s.-3 (40.8) ***Lip ńih/ x̣ha'a-gi t an gipt.***

Some younger speakers extend the use of this combination as an equivalent to the reflexive English morpheme *...self*, especially if asked to translate an English sentence containing a reflexive pronoun, as for instance (Belvin 1984):

- Mary saw herself in the mirror.
  *Ga'as Mary **lip ńit** ts'im anksiwillaag̱'altkw.*
  ká?-ə-[t]=s[t]Màry **lip ńítč**im?anksiwillá:q̓altk^{W}
  see.s.-CTL-[3]=DC.[DM] M. ... her in mirror

but this is not a normal, spontaneous Nisg̱a reflexive construction (Reflexive frames, 7.3.A.1.a.2.a.1.), any more than

Mary looked at her own self in the mirror

is a normal English reflexive construction.[10]

5.15.B.3.f. In the combination **lip?aná:** '(to be) the only one (to ...)' *lip-anaa* (from **ná:** 'who' *naa*)

- **lip?a-na:**hítk^{W} ńì:y̓ I was the only one standing.
  self spontaneous-who stand I *Lip-anaa hitkw ńiiy̓.*

5.15.B.4. **sa[q]ayt** 'together' *sagayt, saayt, sayt*

sa[q]ayt-k̓íl̓ 'the same'
...- one [object] ***sa(a)yt k'il̓***

sa[q]ayt-k̓il̓-mqó:t 'unity' (lit. same heart)
...- one [object] -ATTR heart ***saytk'il̓im goot***

- k̓i:-t **sa(qa)ytt**óq-[t]=s[t]tx̱é:msim=ɬ ló?op
  and-3E ... take.s.PL-[3]=DC.[DM] T.=NC stone
  Then Tx̱eemsim gathered several stones. (54.13)
  *K'iit **sayt** doq̓s Tx̱eemsimhl lo'op.*

5.15.B.5. **ḿasim** 'separately' *ḿasim*

- **m̓asim** wán:n̓ìti:t — They sat separately.
  ... sit.PL them — ***M̓asim*** *wan n̓idiit.*

- **m̓asim** lu:=taẋ)tóẋ-ə-tc̓imsix)sáw̓insḳ
  ... in=PL)place.s.PL-CTL-3 in PL)paper
  S/he put them into separate paper bags.
  M̓asim *luudaẋdoẋat ts'im sixsaw̓insḳ.*

5.15.B.6. **k̓o:lu:** 'all alone, by oneself' *k'yooluu*

k̓o:lu: t̓á: 'to sit all alone'
... sit — ***k'yooluu*** *t'aa*

5.15.B.7. **k̓ʷitu:** 'alone in a boat, car, etc.' *kw'iduu*

k̓ʷitu: ʔá:t 'to fish [with a net] alone [in a boat]'
... fish.w.net — ***kw'iduu*** *aat*

5.15.B.8. **ya[q]ayt** 'previously, already' *yagayt, yaayt, yayt*

- **ya[q]ayt** càm-tkʷ-m winé:x 'prepared food, already cooked food'
  ... cook.s.-PASS-ATTR food — ***yayt*** *jamtgum wineex*

- k̓i: **ya[q]ayt** t kíl̓-[t]=ɬ piláq==ḳi: ʔa=ɬ tim-t hó:x-t
  and ... 3E pick.s.-[3]=NC moss==DISTAL PREP=NC FUT-3E use.s.-3
  He had already/previously picked some moss to use (B.26.3-4).
  ... ***k'ii yagayt t gil̓hl bilaḵ-gi ah̓l dimt hooxt.***

5.15.B.9. **y̓a[q]ay** 'precisely, exactly, instead' *y̓agay, y̓aay, y̓ay*

5.15.B.9.a. (in non-contrastive utterance) 'precisely, exactly'

- tip ná:=ɬ tim **y̓ay** náks-ət — Who exactly is getting married?
  DM.PL who=NC FUT ... married-REL — *Dip naahl dim **y̓ay** naksit?*

- ʔakú=ɬ tim **y̓ay** ksaxkiṅám-ʔ-n — What exactly are you going to give?
  what=NC FUT ... gift-2S — (lit. ...is going to be your present)
  *Aguhl dim **y̓ay** ksaxgiṅama'an?*

5.15.B.9.b. (in contrastive utterance): 'instead'

- ṅi[t]=ɬ k̓i:-t sa:=kú:t-T-[t]=ɬ kát=ɬ ɬkú:ɬkʷ-t==ki:
  that's=NC and-3E off=take.s.-DEF-[3]=NC man=NC child-3==DIST
  ṅi[t]=ɬ k̓i:-t **y̓aqay** ṅi:=tq̓al=tákɬ-T-[t]=ɬkàt-mqán
  that's=NC and-3 ... on=against=tie.s.-DEF-[3]=NC man-ATTR wood
  Then the man took his son off [the roof]...
  Ṅihl k'iit saaguudihl gathl hlguuhlkwt-gi...
  ... and tied on the wooden figure instead. (91.11-13)
  ... *ṅihl k'iit **y̓agay** ṅiitk̲'aldakhlihl gadim gan*

5.15.B.10. **q̓ap** *qap*

5.15.B.10.a. With verb: 'must..., have to.., absolutely, simply, really, no getting out of it, no two ways about it, no choice about it'

- tim **q̓ap** húkskʷ ṅì:n — You simply have to attend.
  FUT .... attend ABS-2S — *Dim **k̲'ap** hukskw ṅiin.*

- **q̓ap**ʔàq==aʔ=ɬwíl-n==əst
  really non-existent==TRUE=NC act-2S==AFF
  You are really in trouble, aren't you!
  [there is simply nothing you can do]
  ***K̲'ap** aga'ahl wilinis!*

- kitwíltk^{W} t siwá-T-ti:t==ki: ʔa=ɬ k̓i: ni:-ki: wíl-t ...
  warrior 3E name.s.-DEF-3P==DIST PREP=NC and not-INTS be-3 ...
  ...q̓aptx̣ó:x̣k^{W}=ɬ w̓i:-hìlt-m c̓ú:c̓
  ... eat=NC great-many-ATT bird

They called them [the birds] warriors, but they were nothing of the sort,...
Gitwiltkw t siwatdiit-gi, ahl k'ii nigii wilt,...
...the multitude of birds were simply feeding.
...*k̲'ap tx̲oox̲kwhl w̓iihildim ts'uuts'.* (115.2-3)

- tim q̓ap k̓^{W}iɬ t̓á: n̓ì:ỷ ʔawáʔ-n — I simply must sit next to you. (45.9-10)
  FUT ... about sit I vicinity-2S — *Dim k̲'ap kw'ihl t'aa n̓iiỷ awa'an.*

- q̓ap ni:-ki: tim ti: n̓úw̓-ỷ — [Whatever happens]
  ... not-INTS FUT INTS die-1S — I am not going to die (133.1)
  K̲'ap nigii dim dii n̓uw̓iỷ

5.15.B.10.b. with noun: 'real, regular'

- q̓aptx̣á=ɬ ʔantitá:la-n==a — Is your purse real leather?
  ... leather=NC purse-2S==Q — *K̲'ap tx̲ahl andidaalana?*

- ni:-ti: q̓ap kát-t — He was not a real person [but a supernatural being].
  not-INTS ... man-3 — *Nidii k̲'ap gatt.*

- ni:-ti: q̓apnik^{W}ó:t-ỷ lo:-t — He is not my real father.
  not-INTS ... father-1S IND-3 — *Nidii k̲'ap nigwoodiỷ loot.*

5.15.B.11. ʔals 'already, earlier than expected, before you know it...' *als*

- ɬa: ʔalsk^{W}ó:yim — It's Spring already!
  now ... spring — *Hlaa als gwooyim!*

- ɬi.tim ḳim-c̓áw̓aqs n̓ì:y̓ ʔi: ʔals qó:ta-[t]=ɬ tà:la-y̓
  COND buy-shoes me and ... all.gone-[3]=NC money-1S

I was going to buy some shoes, but [I discovered] my money was gone already.

Hli dim gim-ts'aw̓aḵs n̓iiy̓ ii ***als*** *goodahl daalay̓.*

- ʔals yúkʷsatkʷ n̓ìti:t
  sud.real. evening-MED them

  [Before they knew it] it was evening already [and too late to get home].

  Als *yukwsatkw n̓idiit.*

- ʔals q̓ayḿás-[t]=ɬ ɬḳù:ɬkʷ-y̓
  ... young-[3]=NC child-1S

  [I suddenly realized] my child is already a teenager.

  Als *ḵ'ayḿashl hlguuhlgwiy̓.*

5.15.B.12. **kʷanim/kʷalim** 'continuing to..., keeping on'

gwanim/gwalim

- yukʷ=ɬ **kʷanim** qalá:q̓-ti:t
  PROG=NC ... play-3P

  They went on playing. (102.9-10)

  Yukwhl ***gwanim*** *galaaḵ'diit.*

- **kʷanim** sqá:kʷ-ə-n tim tip ḳín-n
  ... turn.down.s.-CTL-2S FUT 1P feed.s.-2S

  Whatever food we offer you, you keep refusing.

  Gwanim *sgaagwin dim dip ginin.*

5.15.B.13. **ʔatikʷil** 'always, all the time' *adigwil*

- ʔatikʷil minhiT n̓ìti:t
  ... argue them

  They argue(d) all the time.

  Adigwil *minhit n̓idiit.*

5.15.B.14. **q̓am** *ḵ'am* 'only..., just...' (restrictive meaning)

(compare with **ksax̱** *ksax̱* 5.15.B.17.)

This modifier can have a discourse function as well as modify a predicate.

5.15.B.14.a. In single clause:

5.15.B.14.a.1. Modifies numbers or expressions of quantity:

- q̓am k̓ól=ɬ ɬkù:ɬkʷ-ỷ — I have only one child.
  ... one[person]=NC child-1S — *K̲'am k'yoolhl hlguuhlgwiỷ.*

- q̓am ɬipú:-[t]=ɬ wàn ʔan-t tə-ʕaqɬkʷ-[t]=ɬ hú:t-ti:t
  ... few-[3]=NC deer REL.E-3E DOM-manage-[3]=NC escape.PL-3P
  Only a few deer were able to escape (85.1-2).
  K̲'am hlibuuhl wan ant di'ak̲hlkwhl huutdiit.

The restrictive meaning of q̓am *k̲'am* can be reinforced by ɬku 'little' *hlgu* (5.15.B.36.): this use is frequent in Boas:

- ni:-ki ɬku q̓am kina:t̓á:-[t]=ɬ k̓ò:l-t
  not-INT little ... remain-[3]=NC one[person]-3
  There wasn't even one person left (95.14).
  Nigii hlgu k̲'am ginaat'aahl k'yoolt.

5.15.B.14.a.1.b. q̓am *k̲'am* can be used in combination with the modifier liki: 'about, for instance' *ligii* (5.15.B.42.).

5.15.B.14.b. Use in discourse: q̓am *k̲'am* in a clause can restrict the domain of another clause, said before or after the one in which it appears.

5.15.B.14.b.1. q̓am *k'am* in first clause: temporal restriction: 'hardly, barely ..., as soon as... ' (Fr. dès ...):

- q̓am hí:ɬukʷ k̓i: lúkʷ-[t]=ɬ č̓áp
  ... morning and move.PL-[3]=NC group

As soon as it was morning, the whole village moved [to a new location] (37.10) (Fr. Dès le matin, ...) *K̲'am hiihlukw, k'ii lukwhl ts'ap.*

- tim q̓amlə-c̓é:x-T n̓ìsim̓ tim k̓i: tá:w̓iɬ-sim̓

  FUT ... [...-satiated-...]$_{PL}$ you.PL FUT and leave-2P

  As soon as you have eaten your fill, you will leave. (181.10)

  Dim k̲'am lits'eext n̓isim̓, dim k'ii daaw̓ihlsim̓.

5.15.B.14.b.2. q̓am k'am in second clause: qualifying previous utterance: 'but, only, it's just that...'

- ni:=ɬ ʔá:m-[t]=ɬ tim máx̣k^{W}-y̓lò:-sim̓==a

not=NC good-[3]=NC FUT ride-1S IND-2P==Q

  --ʔa:m - q̓am t̓imlá:n tim wil t̓á:-n

  good - ... stern FUT where sit-2S

  - Can I get a ride with you guys? - OK, but you'll have to ride in the back.

  - Niihl aamhl dim max̲gwiy̓ loosim̓a? - Aam, k̲'am t'imlaan dim wil t'aan.

- wilá:x-ə-n=ɬ hanáq̓ t kùst-i

  know.s.-CTL-2S=NC female DC that-Q

  wilá:x-ə-y̓ - q̓amni:-nə-ti: wilá:x-[t]=ɬ wá-t

  know.s.-CTL-1S- ... not-1S-INTS know.s.-[3]=NC name-3

  -Do you know that girl/woman? -Yes, but I don't know her name.

  Wilaayinhl hanak̲' tgusdi? - Wilaayiy̓, k̲'am nindii wilaaxhl wat.

- ni:-ki:-ti:-t tóq-ti:t=ɬ haq̓alá:x^{W}...

  not-INTS-INTS-3E take.s.PL-3P=NC club...

  q̓am tóq-ti:t=ɬ c̓ú:c̓ k̓i:-t q̓am lu:=haɬ=t̓ux^{W})t̓áx^{W}-ti:t

  ...take.s.PL-3P=NC and-3E ... in=parallel=PL)wring.s.-3P

  They did not take the clubs [to kill the birds],...

  Nigidiit dok̲diithl hak̲'alaaxw,...

  ... they just picked up the birds and wrung their necks.(115.3-5)

  ...k̲'am dok̲diithl ts'uuts', k'iit k̲'am luuhahlt'uxwt'akwdiit.

5.15.B.15. ʔax̲ 'not, impossibly' ax̲ (see also 5.13.D.3.)

The negative modifier ʔax̲ *ax̲* can be used as modifier or prefix.

5.15.B.15.a. Use as modifier:

- ʔá:m cə ʔax̲hay wís — Hope it doesn't rain!
  good IRR ... rain — *Aam ji ax̲ haywis!*

- ná: t ʔan ʔax̲wilá:x-n ẃi: kát — Who doesn't know you, Giant! (38.7)
  who 3E REL.E ... know-2S great man — *Naa t an ax̲ wilaayin, Ẃii Gat!*

- ḱi:-t ká?-[t]=ɬ winé:x=ɬ ɬə ʔax̲kíp-ə-t==ki:
  and-3E see.s.-[3]=NC food the ... eat.s.-CTL-3S==DIST
  ... and he saw that food that he had not eaten/been able to eat. (41.3-4)
  ...k'iit ga'ahl wineexhl hli ax̲ gibit-gi.

- ḿin=ɬó?-tT-ə-[t]=s[t]tx̲è:msim=ɬ k^{W}ilá-t
  upward=shove.s.-DEF-CTL-[3]=DC[DM]T.=ND blanket-3
  ʔa-tyáx^{W}-[t]=ɬ wil ʔax̲ xpá:ẃ-t==ki:
  PREP-3E hide.s.-[3]=NC SUB ... jaw-3==DIST
  Tx̲eeemsim lifted his blanket up [to his face] to hide the fact that he did not have a jaw. (52.7-8) *Ḿinhlo'otdis Tx̲eemsimhl gwilat at yaxwhl wil ax̲ xbaaẃt-gi.*

In the following examples, ʔax̲ *ax̲* modifies a focused constituent:

- ńi[t]=ɬ ḱi:sim ʔapax̲páq̇ask^{W}-ti:t ʔa=ɬ wil ʔax̲ló?op čə ksqò:q-m ʔáq̇ɬk^{W}-ət
  that's=NC and very upset.PL-2P PREP=NC SUB ... rock first-ATT succeed-REL
  They are upset because it was not the rock that made it [gave birth] first.(72.7-8)
  Ńihl k'ii sim abax̲bak'askwdiit ahl wil ax̲ lo'op ji ksgoogam aghlgwit.

- ʔàq=ɬ tá:la-ḿ qan ʔax̲kipáy k^{W}insk^{W}=ɬ tim yóx̲k^{W}-ə-ḿ
  non-existent=NC money-1P reason.why ... airplane=NC FUT go.by s.-CTL-1P

We don't have any money, so we can't take the plane
(lit. ... [that's] why it is not the plane that we will take).
Aḵhl daalaṁ, gan aẋ gibaykw'inskwhl dim yoẋguṁ.

5.15.B.15.b. Use as prefix: creating adjectives.

5.15.B.15.b.1. Before adjective: = 'non-..., un...'

ʔaẋ-maẋ)mùkʷ-mmi:q̓ó.qst	'the unripe salmonberrries' (50.5)
... -PL)ripe-ATT salmonberries	*aẋmaẋmugum miiḵ'ooḵst*

5.15.B.15.b.2. Before noun: = 'without, ...less' (see also 7.1.B.3.a.1.)

ʔaẋ-qó:t	'irresponsible'
...-heart	*aẋgoot*
ʔaẋ-ʔanʔúṅsT	'sleeveless'
...-sleeve	*aẋ'an'uṅs(t)*

5.15.B.16. k̓a: 'most, excessively, extremely' *k'aa*
The meaning is often reinforced by the modified sim 'really' *sim* (5.15.B.26.).

5.15.B.16.a. Used with verb:

- ṅi[t]=ɬ k̓i: páẋ-[t]=ɬ m̓á:l==ḳi: ʔa=ɬ laẋ-ʔáks
  that's=NC and run-[3]=NC canoe==DIST PREP=NC on-water
  - sim k̓a:ʔalu:-páẋ-t==ḳi:
  really ... visibly-run-3==DIST

Then the canoe flew [lit. ...ran] on the water, at tremendous speed (107.9-10).
Ṅihl k'ii baẋhl ṁaal-gi ahl laẋ aks, sim k'aa aluubaẋt-gi.

- sim k̓a:wilá:x-ə-[t]=s[t]ničì:č-ỷ==ḳi:=ɬ ʔatá:waq
  really ... know.s.-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] grandmother==DIST=NC story[telling]

My grandmother was a great storyteller
(lit. ... really knew how to tell stories).
*Sim **k'aa** wilaayis nits'iits'iý-gihl adaawak̲.*

5.15.B.16.b. Used with adjective:

5.15.B.16.b.1. Intensive or superlative meaning: the adjective may be a clause predicate, or attributive or more often relativized.

- sim **k̓a**: w̓i:t̓axkát — S/he is very very old.
  really ... very.old — *Sim **k'aa** w̓iit'ax̲gat.*

- w̓i: sim **k̓a**:ʔá:ma: m̓á:l t ḳùst-ḳi: — It was a magnificent canoe. (107.5)
  great really ... good canoe DM that-DIST — *W̓ii sim **k'aa** amaa m̓aal tgust-gi.*

- **k̓a**: ʔà:m-ət=ɬháykʷ — 'the Holy Spirit' (lit. the spirit that is most good ...)
  ... good-REL=NC spirit — ***k'aa** Aamithl Haykw*

- n̓i[t]=ɬ k̓i:-t silúkʷ-ti:t ʔa=ɬ **k̓a**: w̓i:-hílt-(ə)t=ɬ ʔílx̲
  that's=NC and-3E load.s.-3P PREP ... great-many-REL=NC seal
  Then they loaded it [the canoe] with a huge quantity of seals. (107.5-6)
  *N̓ihl k'iit silukwdiit ahl **k'aa** w̓iihildithl ilx̲.*

The intensive meaning of **k̓a**: *k'aa* may be contrasted stylistically with the restrictive meaning of **q̓am** *k̲'am* (5.15.B.14.), as in the following:

- sim **k̓a**: w̓i:=hílt - ni:-ḳi: huxʷ **q̓am** ɬipú:-t
  really ... great=many - not-INTS again just few-3
  There were huge numbers of them, no longer just a few. (178.10-11)
  *Sim **k'aa** w̓iihilt, nigii huxw **k̲'am** hlibuut.*

5.15.B.16.b.2. In expressions of comparison, with Indirect Object:

- k̓a: w̓i:=n̓ák^{W} n̓ì:n lò:-ỷ — You are taller than me.
  ... great-long you IND-1S — ***K'aa** w̓iin̓akw n̓iin looỷ.*

5.15.B.17. **ksax̱** 'only... , just...' (as opposed to others) *ksax̱* (compare with **q̓am** *k̲'am* 5.15.B.14. and **m̓ax̱** *m̓ax̱* 5.15.B.18.)

5.15.B.17.a. Used as modifier: usually occurs before focused constituents.

5.15.B.17.a.1. Before nominal:

- **ksax̱**c̓íp — There was just the skull (214.12).
  ... bone — ***Ksax̱** ts'ip.*

- **ksax̱**n̓í[t]=ɬ hasàq-n=a — Is that all you want?
  ... that's=NC desire-2S=QS — ***Ksax̱** n̓ihl hasagana?*

- **ksax̱**ɬə q̓áp-t=ɬ má:n-ət — There is only half of it left.
  ... the part/half-3=NC left-REL — ***Ksax̱** hla k̲'apthl maanit.*

5.15.B.17.a.2. Before verb:

- **ksax̱** kíp̓isk^{W}-t=ɬ ti: cáp-ə-t
  ... eat.berries.while.picking-3=NC INTS do.s.-CTL-3
  S/he does nothing but eat berries [instead of putting them in the pail].
  ***Ksax̱** gip'iskwthl dii jabit.*

- **ksax̱**sə-mà:ỷ-[t]=ɬ ksim ʔalu:-kikát, n̓i[t]=ɬ n̓í[t]=ɬ kíp-ti:t
  only make-berries-[3]=NC woman plain-people that's=NC that's=NC eat.s-3P
  They only ate the berries picked by the real woman [not those picked by the grizzly woman] .(207.11-12) ***Ksax̱** simaaỷhl ksim aluugigat, n̓ihl n̓ihl gipdiit.*

5.15.B.17.a.3. Before subordinate clause:

- **ksax̱** wil lícx̱kʷ-ẏ nə wil hax)hó:x-t — I only wear them for reading.
  ... SUB read-1S 1S.E SUB PL)use.s.-3 — ***Ksax̱*** *wil litsx̱gwiẏ ni wil haxhooxt.*

5.15.B.17.b. Used as prefix: (see 7.1.B.3.a.10.):

ksax̱-kiṅám — 'to give s. [as a present]'
... - give.s. — ***ksax̱giṅam***

ksax̱-kʷiṅéʔeskʷ — 'to beg'
... - ask.for.s.AP — ***ksax̱gwiṅe'eskw***

5.15.B.18. **ṁax̱** 'only, exclusively, all ..., nothing but ...' *ṁax̱*
(cf. **ksax̱** *ksax̱* 5.15.B.17. ; the meaning of **ṁax̱** *ṁax̱* is extensive whereas that of **ksax̱** *ksax̱* is restrictive)

ṁax̱ *ṁax̱* occurs mostly before nouns, or as a prefix in a frame (7.3.A.1.a.1.c.).

5.15.B.18.a. Before nouns:

- **ṁax̱**ʔì:ʔuxʷt=ɬ ɬḳí-ti:t — They only have sons (lit. their children are nothing but men/boys).
  ... men/boys=NC children-3P — ***Ṁax̱*** *ii'uxwthl hlgidiit.*

5.15.B.18.b. Used as a prefix: it occurs in the frame **ṁax**-...-T (very ..., too ..., all over ...' *ṁax̱...(t)*. (See examples in (7.3.A.1.a.1.c.)).

5.15.B.19. **kʷač** 'thoroughly, carefully, very well' *gwats'*

- cə **kʷač** yó:ʔks-ə-n=ɬẇé:n-n — [You should] brush your teeth carefully.
  IRR ... wash.s.PL-CTL-2S=NC teeth-2S — *Ji* ***gwats'*** *yoo'oksinhl ẇeenin.*

- tim **kʷač̓** lu:=sáksaʔn-ə-n=ɬ ʔímɬ Wash the pail thoroughly.
  FUT ... in=clean.s.-CTL-2S=NC pail *Dim **gwats'** luusaksa'aninhl imhl.*

- **kʷač̓** thank you Thank you very much!
  ... ***Gwats'** Thank you!*

In Boas 1902, this modifier occurs under the variant **kʷač̓iks** *gwats'iks*:

- ɬa: **kʷač̓iks** ʔánkʷs-t ... now he [Ts'ak] was thoroughly cooked.
  now ... cooked-3 (132.12-13)
  ... *hlaa **gwats'iks** ankwst.*

5.15.B.20. **qayks/qaks** 'finally, at long last, only now/then... (after waiting)' *gayks, gaks* (≠ **ʔals** *als*, 5.15.B.11.)

- ɬa: **qaks**kʷóːyim It's spring at last!
  now .... spring=AFF *Hlaa **gaks** gwooyim!*

- níː nə **qaks**káʔ-t I have never seen it/h.! (it's a surprise,
  not 1S.E .... see.s.-3 I have not been waiting to see it/h.)
  *Nii na **gaks** ga'at!*

- tim ʔas)ʔíːc-Ɬ-ə-n tim ʔiː mə **qaks**ɬ̓áɬ-Ɬ-t
  FUT PL)iron.s.-DEF-CTL-2S FUT and 2E ... put.s.away-DEF-3
  Iron them, and then you can put them away.
  *Dim as'iitsdin, dim ii ma **gaks** t'ahlit.*

qayks/qaks *gayks, gaks* is sometimes used with a free-standing regular clause (4.3.c.2.).

5.15.B.21. **hiː** 'at the beginning, starting' *hii* (≠ prefix **(hiː-)** *hii-*, 7.1.B.2.a.1.a.1.)

5.15.B.21.a. Used as modifier:

- ɬa: **hi**: kʷóːyim ʔiː ...
  now beginning spring
  ...at the beginning of spring, ...
  ...*hlaa hii gwooyim ii*...

- q̓ay **hi**: líːtuxʷT-tiːt
  still ... shoot.PL-3P
  As soon as they started to shoot, ... (20.4)
  (lit. they were still starting to ...)
  K'ay hii liduxwdiit, ...

5.15.B.21.b. Used as prefix:

hi:-qóːq-t
...-front-3
Before that ...
... *hiigookt* ...

5.15.B.22. **q̓amqayt** 'actually, as a matter of fact, it so happens... ' *k'amgayt*

This modifier introduces a fact known to the speaker (or the participant in the story) and previously unmentioned but now found to be relevant to the matter under discussion.

- **q̓amqayt**ká?-ə-[t]=s[t]txèːmsim=ɬ?áks
  ... see-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] T.=NC water
  As it happens, Txeemsim had seen a creek. (17.12)
  K'amgayt ga'as Txeemsimhl aks.

- ... ṅíːẏ̓ t ʔan ṁúkʷ-[t]=ɬ ʔan-hí-t
  I 3E REL.E catch.s.-[3]=NC cause.of-saying-3
  q̓amqaytniː-kiː-tiːṁúkʷ-[t]=ɬ simʔòːkit t kùn
  ... not-INTS-INTS catch-[3]=NC chief DM-this
  I am the one who caught them [the fish he is talking about].
  Niiy̓ t an ṁukwhl anhit,
  ... actually this chief did not catch anything at all. (44.8-9).
  ... *k'amgayt nigidii ṁukwhl sim'oogit tgun* .

• **q̓amqay**tq̓amc̓in=tóq-ə-t=ɬ wil ʔax̣-ti max̣)múkʷ-[t]=ɬ m:i q̓ò:qst
... secretly take.s.PL-CTL-3=NC SUB not-INTS PL)ripe-[3]=NC salmonberries
Actually, he had secretly taken some totally unripe salmonberries. (49.15-50.1)
K̲'amgayt *k̲'amts'indogathl wil ax̲dii max̲mukwhl miik̲'ook̲st.*

• k̓i: wil k̓i: **q̓amqay**tni:-ki: wóq-t ʔa=ɬ yú:x̣kʷ-t
and right.away ... not-INTS sleep-3 PREP=NC eat-3
And actually he did not sleep at all, he ate [all night] (37.1)
K'ii wil k'ii ***k̲'amgayt*** *nigii wok̲t ahl yuux̲kwt.*

5.15.B.23. **ɬa**: 'by now' *hlaa*

ɬa: *hlaa* is used both as a modifier and as a subordinator (5.16.B.2.). Examples in this section are of modifier use.

• **ɬa**: wilá:x-ə-ỷ ńí:n t ʔan his)yác-t
... know-CTL-1S you 3E REL.E PL)kill.s.-3
Now I know that it was you that killed them (B.157.6-7).
Hlaa *wilaayiỷ ńiin t an hisyatst.*

(compare use as SUB: ɬa: nə wila:x ... 'now that I know ...' *hlaa ni wilaax...*)

• ntá=ɬ **ɬa**: ẇa-(y)ə-n
which.way=NC ... reach.s.-CTL-2S
How far have you got to?
How far are you (in your project)?
Ndahl ***hlaa*** *ẇayin?*

• ntá=ɬ **ɬa**: qa-m̓àlkaqskʷ-ə]-[t]=s[t]Báby
which.way=NC ... [weight]-[3]=DC [DM] B.
How much does Baby weigh now?
What's Baby's weight now?
Ndahl ***hlaa*** *gam̓algak̲sgwis Baby?*

Here **ɬa**: *hlaa* is used within a clause before the abstract noun qa-m̓àlkaqskʷ-ə 'weight' *gam̓algak̲sgwi* ... which is the A-nominal of the

predicate **ntá** 'which way' *nda*.

5.15.B.24. **huxʷ** *huxw*

5.15.B.24.a. 'again' (often with **haǩsim** *hak'sim* 5.15.B.25.)

- tim **huxʷ** ká?-ə-ỷ ńì:n
  FUT ... see-CTL-1S you
  Good-bye!/ See you!
  (lit. I'll see you again)
  *Dim **huxw** ga'aý ńiin.*

- ḳiló cə **huxʷ** wíl-n
  don't IRR ... do-2S
  Don't do it again!
  *Gilo ji **huxw** wilin!*

- ɬa: **huxʷ** ńít==a?=s[t]txé:msim
  now ... him==ASST=DC[DM]T.
  So that was Txeemsim [the master of disguise] again! (52.11-12)
  *Hlaa **huxw** ńida'as Txeemsim!*

5.15.B.24.b. 'for no reason, without warning, on a whim, up and...' (cf. Bella Coola *su*, Saunders & Davis 1977)

- **huxʷ** kiǹám-ə-t=ɬ?íǩtiskʷ-t lò:-ỷ
  ... just-give.s.-CTL-3=NC necklace-3S IND-1S
  She gave me her necklace
  (just like that, on impulse).
  ***Huxw** giǹamithl it'iskwt looý.*

5.15.B.25. **haǩsim** 'again' *hak'sim*

This shortened form of **hačiksim** 'again' *hats'iksim* , which is found by itself in Boas, is now usually found only before **huxw** *huxw* (5.15.B.24.):

- **haǩsim** huxʷ hí-n
  ... again say-2S
  Say it again!
  ***Hak'sim** huxw hin!*

- ƛ̓i: **hačiksim**lu:yáltk^{W}-[t]=ɬ ẁi:qanà:ẁ
  and ... return-[3]=NC big frog
  ... and the huge frog came back again. (147.8.)
  ... *k'ii **hats'iksim** luuyaltkwhl ẁii ganaaẁ.*

- ƛ̓ni[t]=ɬ ƛ̓i: **haƛ̓sim**hux^{W}-tlu:=máqsa?n-[t]=ɬlít
  that's=NC and ... again-3E in =stand.s.PL-[3]=NC wedge
  Then he put the wedges in [the crack] again. (150.6-7)
  *Ńihl k'ii **hak'sim** huxwt luumaƛsa'anhl lit.*

5.15.B.26. **sim** 'real(ly), true/truly, very' *sim*

sim *sim* can be used before most predicates and also reinforces the meaning of other intensive modifiers such as **ƛ̓a**: 'most, extremely' *k'aa* (5.15.B.16), **luƛ̓^{W}il** *lukw'il* (5.15.B.28.), **qal** *gal* (5.15.B.29.) It usually modifies a single predicate, but can also be used in contrasting clauses. It also prefixes some nouns and verbs.

5.15.B.26.a. Used as modifier:

5.15.B.26.a.1. In single clause:

- **sim** ?á:m wila:-cáp-T-[t]=ɬ q̓ìs-n
  ... good how-make-DEF-[3]=NC hair-2S
  Your hair looks very nice.
  ***Sim** aam wilaa jabihl gesin.*

- ƛ̓ni[t]=ɬ ƛ̓i: **sim** ?apáq̓asƛ̓^{W}-ti:t
  that's=NC and ... excited-3P
  Then they were very excited (195.13-14).
  *Ńihl k'ii **sim** abaƛ'askwdiit.*

5.15.B.26.a.2. Beginning two adjacent clauses: (1) as soon as ... (2) then ...

- **sim** ẁá-(y)ə-[t]=ɬ ɬku=tƛ̓ìɬk^{W} wil hi)ńítk^{W}-[t]=ɬ ẁi:likìńsk^{W}...
  ... find-CTL-[3]=NC little=child SUB ASP)stand-[3]=NC great grizzly

sim̓čilim=páx̣-t ʔa=ɬ w̓i:ʔamí-t
... into=run-3 PREP=NC great voice-3
As soon as the little girl found the grizzly bear standing there,...
***Sim** w̓ayihl hlgutk'ihlkw wil hihitkwhl w̓ii lik'iṅskw,...*
... she ran into the house screaming (B. 204.8-9).
... ***sim** ts'ilimbax̱t ahl w̓ii amit.*

5.15.B.26.b. Used as noun prefix: 'real, genuine, best ...'

sim-qán	'cedar'
...-tree	***simgan***
sim-ḳi)kát	'chiefs (noblemen)'
...-PL)person	***simgigat***
sim-tá:la	'silver'
... - money (< dollar)	***simdaala***
sim-haɬóʔ	'cotton cloth'
... - cloth	***simhahlo'o***
sim-ʔálkax̣	'the Nisgha language; hence ' to speak Nisgha' ***sim'algax̱***
...-speak	

5.15.B.27. simḳit 'firmly' (= sim + ḳit 'firmly' (proclitic, 7.1.A.1.c.4.) *simgit*

- simḳit ʔálkax̣ — S/he spoke very firmly.
  ... speak — ***Simgit** algax̱.*

- cə simḳittám̓-t-ə-n=ɬ t̓imlánx-ỷ — Hold on tight to my neck! (74.2)
  IRR ... hug.s.-DEF-CTL-2S=NC neck-1S — *Ji **simgit** dam̓dinhl t'imlaniỷ!*

5.15.B.28. **luk̓ʷil** 'very' *lukw'il*

This modifier is often reinforced with a preceding **sim** *sim* (5.15.B.26.).

- **luk̓ʷil** ʔá:m — Very well! Very good!
  ... good — ***Lukw'il aam!***

- sim **luk̓ʷil** ní: — Certainly not!
  really ... no — ***Sim lukw'il nii!***

5.15.B.29. **qal** 'too...(much, etc.)' *gal* (≠ the homonymous interjective predicate, 5.11. and prefix, 7.1.B.1.b.5.e.).

- **qal** tál==əst — Too loud! [and you should know it]
  ... loud==AFF — ***Gal dalis!***

When preceded by **sim** *sim* (5.15.B.26.), the meaning is 'truly, absolutely'.

- sim **qal**mímst — [You are/S/he is] absolutely crazy!
  really ... crazy — ***Sim gal mimst!***

- sim **qal** lu:sa:ná:ɬkʷ-ə-[t]=ɬ qalc̓àp=ɬ wíl-t==ki:
  really ... marvel.at.s.-CTL-[3]=NC.village=NC.act-3==DISTAL
  The people were absolutely amazed at what she did. (205.3)
  Sim gal luusaanaahlgwihl galts'aphl wilt-gi.

With a negation, the meaning is 'not too well':

- ni: n[ə] ti: sim **qal**wilá:x-t — I don't know it/h. too well.
  not 1S.E INTS ... ... know.s.-2 — ***Nindii sim gal wilaaxt.***

5.15.B.30. **sa:** 'suddenly, unexpectedly, without prior warning or notice' *saa*; homophonous with proclitic sa:= *saa*... 'off' (7.1.A.1.b.34.)

- ǩi: sa:qísχkʷ-[t]=s[t]txé:msim
  and ... stop.crying-[3]=DC [DM] ...
  ʔa=ɬ ɬa:-t naxńá-[t]=ɬ hì-[t]=ɬ ẇi:tís-(ə)t
  PREP=NC now-3E near.s.-[3]=NC saying-[3]=NC old-REL
  ... and Tɣeemsim suddenly stopped crying when he heard what the old man said (22.5-6). *...k'ii saa gesɣkws Tɣeemsim ahl hlaat naɣńahl hihl ẇiit'isit.*

sa: *saa* is often used in a declarative sentence with tim FUT *dim* to express a warning:

- tim sa: sa:=ǯikʷántkʷ ńì:n — (Be careful) You might fall off!
  FUT ... off=fall you — *Dim saa saat'igwantkw ńiin!*

5.15.B.31. ǩaχ — 'just (...this once, ... for a moment)' *k'aɣ*
(≠ lam *lam* 5.15.B.32.)

ǩaχ *k'aɣ* signals an aside, a temporary and unimportant interruption of the normal course of events. It is often used with requests, or to announce one's immediate intentions.

- ǩaχ haẇín — Just a minute/second! / Just wait!
  ... not.yet — *K'aɣ hawin!*

- ǩaχ ti: ńí:ỷ — My turn!
  ... CONTR me — *K'aɣ dii ńiiỷ!*

- cə ǩaχ ɬimó:m-ə-n ńì:ỷ — Help me a minute, will you.
  IRR ... help.s.-CTL-2S me — Just give me a hand.
  Ji k'aɣ hlimoomin ńiiỷ.

- tim ǩaχ skʷá:ỷtkʷ ńì:ỷ — I'll just rest for a minute.
  FUT ... rest me — *Dim k'aɣ sgwaaỷtkw ńiiỷ.*

- tim **k̓ax̱** qó?-ə-y̓=ɬ tim x̱-k̲ó:fi:-y̓ I'll just get myself some coffee.
  FUT ... go.get.s.-CTL-1S=NC FUT eat-coffee-1S *Dim **k'ax̱** go'oy̓hl dim x̱koofiiy̓.*

5.15.B.32. **lam** 'for a short while' *lam* (cf. **k̓ax̱** *k'ax̱* 5.15.B.31.; **lam** *lam* has a more temporal meaning than **k̓ax̱** *k'ax̱* (5.15.B.17.)):

- tim k̓ax̱ **lam** skʷá:y̓tkʷ ńì:y̓ I am just going to have a short rest.
  FUT just ... rest me *Dim k'ax̱ **lam** sgwaay̓tkw ńiiy̓*

5.15.B.33. **ʔanu:** 'in the direction of [a place]' *anuu*

Used before locational adverb or noun(-phrase):

ʔanu:maɬix-yúẇin
... left-*hand?
'on the left-hand side'
***anuu** mat'ixyuẇin*

ʔanu: kikénix
... [place] upriver
'towards the source of the river, towards the North,'
***anuu** gigeenix*

ʔanu: hí:ɬukʷ
... morning
'toward morning'
***anuu** hiihlukw*

or subordinate clause:

ʔanu: wil ksə-kʷántkʷ-[t]=ɬ ɬòqs
... SUB out-?-[3]=NC sun
'towards the East' (lit. ... where the sun comes out)
***anuu** wil ksigwantkwhl hloḵs*

5.15.B.34. **waqayt, wa:yt, wayt** '(a)way...' *wagayt, waayt, wayt* (the three forms given are from old-fashioned formal to modern colloquial) (≠ **q̓ayim** *k'ayim* 5.15.B.35.).

5.15.B.34.a. Before locational adverb or noun:

waqayttú:ẃ	'way over there'
... over.there	***wa(ga)yt duuẃ***
waytlaχhá	'way up in the sky'
... sky	***wayt lagha***

5.15.B.34.b. Before verb: usually the verb is preceded by a proclitic of location or motion. The modifier can occur in the same clause in front of a locational adverb or noun.

- qal **wayt** t̓ip=t̓ákʷ-ə-n==əst — You turned it down way too low! [the heat, sound, etc.]
  too ... downward=twist.s.-CTL-2S==AFF
  *Gal **wayt** t'ipt'agwinis!*

- ɬa: **waqayt**ʔukʷs=ʔúlkskʷ-t ʔa=ɬ**waqayt**kí:ks
  now ... outward=drift-3 PREP=NC ... at.shore
  It [the hollow log] had now drifted away far from the shore (102.12-103.1).
  *Hlaa **wagayt** ukws'ulkskwt ahl **wagayt** giiks.*

- q̓ay **waqayt**ə)caqam=yúkʷ-ti:t ʔa=ɬ kí:ks
  still far ASP)to.shore=move-3P PREP=NC at.shore
  As they were approaching the shore, but were still at a great distance from it ... (160.10-11) *K'ay **wagayt** jijagamyukwdiit ahl giiks* ...

5.15.B.34.c. In combination with subordinator **wil** : = 'until...'

- **wayt wil** haɬhuƛ̓áqɬkʷ-t — ... until it boiled.
  ... SUB boil-3 — ... ***wayt wil hahlhutl'aghlkwt.***

- **wayt**tim **wil** haɬhuƛ̓áqɬkʷ-t — ... until it boils.
  ... FUT SUB boil-3 — ... ***wayt dim wil hahlhutl'aghlkwt.***

5.15.B.35. q̓ayim 'close to..., next to..., right near...' *k̲'ayim*
(≠ wa[q]ayt *wa(ga)yt* 5.15.B.34.)

5.15.B.35.a. Before adverb or noun with locational meaning:

q̓ayim tú:ẇ 'just over there' (a short distance away)
... over.there *k̲'ayim duuẇ*

- sim kitẇínq=ɬ lù:laq̓ - q̓ayimc̓im-c̓ál̓-t
  really whistle=NC ghost ... in-face-3
  A ghost whistled right into his face (27.6-7).
  Sim gitẇink̲hl luulak̲', k̲'ayim ts'im ts'al̓t.

5.15.B.35.b. Before adjective or intransitive verb:

q̓ayimtílpkʷ 'to be close by'
... short *k̲'ayim dilpkw*

- q̓ayimt̓á:=ɬ ʔansè:l̓ip-t ʔa=ɬ ʔawàʔ-[t]=ɬ ʔamhá:c̓
  ... sit=NC firepit-3 PREP=NC vicinity-[3]=NC uprooted.tree
  His firepit was right next to [the roots of] an uprooted tree (55.4-5).
  K̲'ayim t'aahl anseel̓ipt ahl awa'ahl amhaats'.

- q̓ayimn̓a:=páx̣=ɬ ẇi:ʔàks ʔa=ɬ q̓àp-[t]=ɬ c̓áp
  ... from.woods=run=NC big water PREP=NC end-[3]=NC village
  There was a large stream running down from the woods near the end of the village (146.9). *K̲'ayim n̓aabax̲hl ẇii aks ahl k̲'aphl ts'ap.*

5.15.B.35.b. Both uses occur in this example:

- n̓i[t]=ɬ k̓i:-t huxʷ nax̣n̓á-[t]=ɬ wil q̓ayimʔat)ʔá:t̓iksk̓ʷ-t ʔa=ɬ q̓ayimqalá:n-t

that's=NC and-3E again hear.s.-[3]=NC SUB ... PL)arrive-3 PREP=NC ... behind-3
Then again he hear them approaching right behind him.(93.1-2)
Nihl k'iit huxw naxnahl wil k'ayim at-aat'ikskwt ahl k'ayim galaant.

5.15.B.36. ɬku 'little' *hlgu*

5.15.B.36.a. Used as modifier:

5.15.B.36.a.1. Used as nominal modifier: this is the most frequent use in current speech, as the singular equivalent of pre-nominal ḵupa: *k'uba* (5.15.B.37.):

- ɬku ċúċ — 'little bird'
  ... bird — ***hlgu ts'uuts'***
- ɬku hanáq̓ — 'little girl'
  ... woman — ***hlgu hanak'***
- ɬku wáẗukʷ — 'slave girl'
  ... slave.woman — ***hlgu wat'ukw***
- ɬku t Sálly — 'Little Sally'
  ... DM ... — ***hlgu t Sally***

5.15.B.36.a.2. Used as a predicate modifier: this use is very common in Boas before intransitive verb or adjective:

- ɬa: ɬku ẇiẗís-t - ɬa: ɬkutaxkát-t
  now... grown-3 - now ... strong-3
  By now he [the baby giant] was quite big, quite strong (175.9).
  Hlaa hlgu wit'ist, hlaa hlgu daxgatt.

5.15.B.36.a.3. Reinforces the restrictive meaning of q̓am *k'am* (5.15.B.14.).

5.15.B.36.b. Used as singular prefix (7.1.B.3.a.4.)

5.15.B.36.b.1. With nouns:

ɬkʊ-tx̌íɬkʷ	'child (young person)'
... - *child	***hlgutk'ihlkw***

(Boas 1902 has a few examples of use of tx̌íɬkʷ 'child' *tk'ihlkʷ* without the prefix).

ɬkʊ-wílksiɬkʷ	'prince(ss)' (young person of noble
... - *prince?	birth, who has not yet received a title)
	hlguwilksihlkw

5.15.B.36.b.2. With verbs or adjectives:[11]

ɬkʊ-qísk^{w}	'narrow [object], skinny'
...-hairlike	***hlgugeskw***
ɬkʊ-ɬkú:l̓	'narrow [space]'
...-narrow	***hlguhlguul̓***

5.15.B.36.c. Remark: ɬkʊ *hlgu* seems to have become a prefix recently: compare this example from Boas:

- ɬkʊ q̓ay ci)čú:sk-[t]=ɬ ɬkʊ tx̌ìɬkʷ The child was still small. (182.12)
  ... still ASP)small-[3]=NC little child ***Hlgu k'ay jits'uuskhl hlgutk'ihlkw.***

where ɬkʊ *hlgu* is placed before the subordinator q̓ay 'still' *k'ay* (which triggers partial reduplication, 5.16.B.9.b.), with its modern equivalent which includes ɬkʊ *hlgu* within the scope of reduplication:

q̓ay **ɬi)ɬku** -ć̓ú:sk-[t]=ɬ ɬku tk̓ìɬkʷ The child is/was still small.
still ASP)little-small-[t]=NC little=child *K'ay hlihlguts'uuskhl hlgutk'ihlkw.*

5.15.B.37. **k̓upa:** 'a little' *k'uba*

5.15.B.37.a. Used as nominal modifier or prefix, as plural of **ɬku** *hlgu* (5.15.B.36.):

k̓upa:ʔíʔuxʷT	'little boys'
... men	***k'uba ii'uxwt***
kupa:-tk̓íɬkʷ	'children'
...-*child	***k'ubatk'ihlkw***

5.15.B.37.a. Used as predicate modifier: the use of this modifier seems to give the utterance an informal, affectionate, 'homey' feeling (≠ the slightly derogatory meaning of **ẇì** 'big, large' *ẇii*, 5.15.B.38.).

- **k̓upa:** ẇítkʷ==aʔn̓ì:n [I see it's true] you're back!
  ... come.from==ASST you ***K'uba ẇitgwa'a n̓iin!***

- ɬa: **k̓upa:**timháẇ-ỷ Time [for me] to go home!
  now ... FUT go.home-1S *Hlaa k'uba dim haẇiỷ!*

- cə **k̓upa:**ʔamaːká?-tT-ə-sim̓ Take good care of her! (191.15-192.1)
  IRR ... look.after.s.-DEF-CTL-2P *Ji k'uba amaaga'atdisim̓!*

5.15.B.38. **ẇì:** 'big, large, greatly' *ẇii* (≠ **ɬku** *hlgu* 5.15.B.36.)
The plural form (used before a noun, or when prefixed) is **ẇì:ɬaɣ** *ẇiit'aɣ*.

5.15.B.38.a. Used as modifier: **ẇì:** *ẇii* does not always refer to an objective quality, but often adds a derogatory emphasis (cf. French *gros*). The word 'big' is used with this meaning also in local English.

5.15.B.38.a.1. Before noun:

w̓i:lik̓íṅsk^{W} 'a big grizzly bear'
... grizzly bear *w̓ii lik'iṅskw*

- ni:-nə-ti: ʔanó:q-[t]=ɬ **w̓i**:hanáq̓ t kùs[t]
  not-1S.E.-INTS like.s.-[3]=NC ... woman DM that
  I don't like that woman ('that big woman').
  (Fr. Je n'aime pas cette bonne femme).
  Nindii anook̲hl w̓ii hanak̲' tgus.

In the following sentence, the modifier occurs before an E-relative clause which is the Adjunct to the Subject of the verb:

- k^{W}iná:ti:=ɬ kápin-[t]=ɬ **w̓i**: t ʔan lu:=líɬk-[t]=ɬ c̓im-t̓áx̣==ki:
  surprise!=NC emerge-3 - ... 3E REL.E in=guard.s.-[3]=NC in-lake==DISTAL
  Surprise! there emerged the big monster that lived in the lake and was its guardian. (14-15) *Gwinaadiihl gabinhl w̓ii t an luulihlkhl ts'im t'ax̲-gi.*

5.15.B.38.b. Used as modifier: Before verb or adjective:

- ṅi[t]=ɬ k̓i:-t **w̓i**: sə-míɬ-[t]=[ɬ]lák^{W}
  that's=NC and-3E ... make-burn-[3]=NC] firewood
  Then he lit a big fire. (89.8)
  ...Ṅihl k'iit w̓ii simihl lakw.

- ṅi[t]=ɬ k̓i: **w̓i**: ksə-páx̣-t ʔa=ɬ **w̓i**: ɬíntx-t
  that's=NC and ... out-run-3 PREP=NC ... angry-3
  She [the big grizzly woman] rushed out in anger (209.9.)
  Ṅihl k'ii w̓ii ksibax̲t ahl w̓ii hlintxt.

- huxʷti: ẇi:ṅáks — And he's married too! [apart from other reasons why you shouldn't associate with him] *Huxwdii ẇii naks!*
  also ... married

5.15.B.38.b. Used as prefix:

5.15.B.38.b.1. Prefixed to adjectives of suitable meaning: the plural form is often prefixed with ẇi:t̓ax̱ *ẇiit'ax̱* :

- ẇi:-t̓ís — 'big (person, animal), grown-up, old (person)' *ẇiit'is*
  ... -full

pl. ẇi:t̓ax̱-t̓is)t̓ís — *ẇiit'ax̱t'ist'is*

- ẇi:-láy̓ — 'big (container, house, etc.)' *ẇiilay̓*
  ...-large

- ẇi:-ṅákʷ — 'long (object), tall' *ẇiiṅakw*
  ...-long

5.15.B.38.b.2. Before circumstantial subordinator (in a compound):

ẇi:-wil-híl[t]-kat — 'multitude' *ẇiiwilhilgit*
...-as/where-many-people

5.15.B.39. ẇaɬin — 'former, ancient, old' *ẇahlin* (≠ si: *sii* 5.15.B.40.)

5.15.B.39.a. Before noun:

ẇaɬin ki)kát — 'the old people' (Indian ancestors) *ẇahlingigat*
... PL)people

ẇaɬin náks-t	'her former husband/his former wife'
... spouse-3	***ẇahlin nakst***

- **ẇaɬin** wílp wil ti:cóq-ti:t — They live in an old house.
  ... house SUB INTS live-3P — ***Ẇahlin wilp wil dii jokdiit.***

- haćiksimhux^{W} húkax-ə-t=ɬ ɬə **ẇaɬin** ẇi:qasqó:-t
  again again look.like.s.-CTL-3-NC the former great size-3

He [the giant] was back to his former size [after taking the form of a baby] (23.4). ***Hats'iksim huxw hugaxath! hli ẇahlin ẇii gasgoot.***

5.15.B.39.b. Before circumstantial subordinator:

- **ẇaɬin** wila:sə-t̓ílx — 'the old method of rendering oolichan grease [title of a brochure]'
  ... how make-grease — ***ẇahlin wilaa sit'ilx***

5.15.B.40. **si:** 'new(ly), present' *sii* (≠ **ẇaɬin** *ẇahlin* 5.15.B.39., **qam** *gam* 5.15.B.41.)

5.15.B.40.a. Used as modifier:

5.15.B.40.a.1. Before noun:

si: ki)kát	'the people of today'
... PL)people	***siigigat***
si: k̓utáć-ɣ̓	'my new coat'
... coat-1S	***sii k'udats'iɣ̓***

including a relativized predicate used as noun:

sì: náks-(ə)t	'newlyweds'
... married-REL	*sii naksit*

5.15.B.40.a.2. Before adverb:

sì:kú:n̓	'right now'
...now	*sii guun̓*

5.15.B.40.a.3. Before stative (passive) used attributively: cf. English *fresh, freshly*:

- sì: ʔànk^{W}s-mʔaná:x — 'fresh-baked bread'
  ... cooked-ATT bread — *sii ankwsim anaax*

- sì:m̓úk^{W}-s-m hó:n — 'fresh-caught fish'
  ... catch.fish.-PAS-ATT fish — *sii m̓ukwsim hoon*

5.15.B.40.a. Before predicate: 'once again'

...ʔa=ɬ wil sì: ǹí[t]=ɬ ɬk̓u k^{W}è:ʔ-m ɬk̓u-tk̓íɬk^{W}
PREP=NC SUB ... that's=NC little poor-ATT little-*child
tʔan sa:=ʔúx-T-[t]=ɬʔú:q
3E REL.E off=throw.s.-DEF-[3]=NC copper
[the chief was upset] ...because once again it was that wretched boy, who had knocked the copper off [the tree, and who had now triumphed again]! (145.2-3)
... *ahl wil sii ǹihl hlgu gwee'em hlgutk'ihlw t an saa'uyihl uuk* ...

5.15.B.40.b. Used as prefix before intransitive verb:

sì:-wíl	'to be new'
...-be	*siiwil*

5.15.B.41. qam 'old, worn, unfit for use' *gam* (≠ sì: *sii* 5.15.B.40.)

5.15.B.41.a. Used as modifier: before noun:

qam k̓utáč-ỷ	'my old [worn] coat'
... coat-1S	*gam kudats'iỷ*

5.15.B.41.a. Used as prefix: creates nouns from verbs: 'refuse from ...' (7.1.B.3.a.4.)

qam-ḳíp	'inedible scraps left after a meal'
... - eat.s.	*gamgip*
qam-x̣-čáq̓	'clamshell(s)'
...-eat-clam	*gamx̣ts'ak̲'*
qam-wíl	'(sthg) to be old, unusable; refuse'
...-be	*gamwil*

5.15.B.42. liḳi: '...any..., ...ever, for instance, maybe ..., about...' *ligii*

liḳi: *ligii*, of indefinite meaning, can be used by itself as a modifier, but is often associated with other pre-predicate morphemes.

5.15.B.42.a. Used as modifier:

5.15.B.42.a.1. With predicates:

5.15.B.42.a.1.a. With verb: the modifier can also be repeated before a noun(-phrase).

- ni:-ḳi: liḳi:caqam=tílpk^{W}-ti:t ʔa=ɬ liḳi:lax̣čè:-[t]=ɬ ʔáks
  not-INTS ... to.shore=close-3P PREP=NC ... edge-[3]=NC water

They weren't anywhere close to a shore (104.8).
Nigii ligii jagamdilpkwdiit ahl ligii laxts'eehl aks

liki: *ligii* is often used when the predicate (or auxiliary) is in the phrasal frame **wit** ... **-i**: ... 'looks like .....[sthg happening] *wit ... -i: ...* (7.3.B.2.b.)

- **wìt liki**: yùk^{W}-i:=ɬ wóq-t
  ... ... PROG-...=NC sleep-3
  S/he looks like s/he is sleeping.
  Wit ligii yugwiihl wokt.

5.15.B.42.a.1.b. With numeral: 'approximately...'

- ɬa: **liki**: txálpx̣-[t]=ɬ sà=ɬ wíl-t
  now ... four=NC day-[3]=NC act-3
  S/he has/had been doing it about four days...
  Hlaa ligii tx̣alpx̣hl sahl wilt ...

- ɬa: **liki**: k^{W}ilál̓-t==(ə)ma?=ɬɬòqs
  now ... three-3==DUB=NC moon
  I guess it had been about three months ... (170.13)
  Hlaa ligii gwilal̓dima'ahl hlok̓s ...

5.15.B.42.a.1.c. With pronoun:

- **liki**: t ná: tim-t ?an lu:=kúx^{W}-t
  ... DM who FUT-3E REL.E in=shoot.s.-3
  ńít=ɬ tim x̣stá:-(ə)t - **liki**: t ńí:ỷ - **liki**: t ńí:n
  him=NC FUT win-REL - ... DM me ... DM you
  Whoever hits the target, will win; could be me, could be you (19.2-3).
  Ligii t naa dimt an luugurwt, ńithl dim x̣sdaat, ligii t ńiiỷ, ligii t ńiin.

In many cases, **liki**: *ligii* is so closely associated with an indefinite pronoun that it functions as a prefix (see below 5.15.B.42.b and also 5.6.B.)

5.15.B.42.a.2. With other pre-predicate morphemes:

5.15.B.42.a.2.a. After modifier **q̓am** *k'am* (5.15.B.14.).

- ni:-ti:ʔakú-[t]cə**q̓am liɬi**:k̓ʷiɬ hí-t S/he hardly ever says a word.
  no-INTS what-[3] IRR ... about say-3 *Nidii agu ja **k'am ligii** kw'ihl hit.*

5.15.B.42.a.2.b. After subordinator **q̓ay** *k'ay* (5.16.B.9.): 'hardly..., barely..., as soons as ...'

- q̓ay **liɬi**:qísχkʷ-[t]=ɬ ɬku-tk̓ìɬkʷ
  still ... stop.crying-[3]=NC little-*child
  k̓i:-thuxʷ kʷin-qíɬqan-[t]=ɬ simʔò:kit=ɬ lákʷ
  and-3E again JUSS-poke.s.-[3]=NC chief=NC firewood
  As soon as the child [tied above the fire] stopped crying,...
  K'ay ligii gesɬkwhl hlgutk'ihlkw, ...
  ...the chief would give orders to poke the fire again(91.5-6).
  ... k'iit huxw gwin-gehlganhl sim'oogithl lakw.

5.15.B.42.a.2.c. In an alternative question with subordinator Cə 'whether' *ji/ja* after coordinator ʔo: 'or...' *oo* (5.17.B.): the modifier is used in the second clause, to insist on the fact that the alternative proposed may not be the only one:

- ɬku kát==a ʔo: cə **liɬi**: ɬku hanáq̓-t Is it a boy or [perhaps] a girl?
  little man==Q or whether... little woman-3 *Hlgu gada oo ji **ligii** hlgu hanaɬ'i?*

(If the alternative is only between two nouns or pronouns, the modifier may be used alone, cf. 5.15.B.42.a.1.c.).

5.155.B.42.b. Used as prefix:

liɬi:-wíl	'goods (esp. kitchenware, towels, etc.)
... - be	distributed at a settlement feast'
	ligiiwil

It adds extra indefinite meaning to indefinite pronouns (see 5.6.B.):

liɬi:-ʔaɬú	'something, whatever'
...-what	*ligii'agu*

5.15.B.43. **lu:payt** 'irresponsibly, foolishly' *luubayt*

This modifier is composed of the two proclitics **lu:**= 'in' *luu...* and **pa[q]lay t**in the middle' *bagayt, baayt, bayt* but the combination functions as an independent modifier.

- kilò mə cə **lu:payt**ɬáɬ-T-[t]=ɬ winé:x Don't throw away food
  don't! 2E IRR ... put.away.s.-DEF-{3}=NC food [irresponsibly]!
  *Gilo mi ji **luubayt** t'ahlih! wineex!*

- **lu:payt**lu:=tɬ̓u=páx̣=ɬ qó:t-ɣ̓ kú:n̓ I can't think! (lit. my mind is
  ... in=around=run=NC heart-1S now going around in circles)
  *Sim **luubayt** luutɬ'ubaxh! goodiɣ̓ guun̓!*

- sim **lu:payt**ni:-nə-ti: wilá:x-[t] wila: k̓ʷiɬ hí-n==əst
  really ... not-1S.E-INTS know.s.-{3} how about say-2S==AFF
  [You know,] I have no idea what you are talking about!
  *Sim **luubayt** nindii wilaax wilaa kw'ih! hinis!*

5.15.B.44. **k̓ʷiɬ** 'about, around' *kw'ih!*

This morpheme, one of the most common in the language, has a very vague, general meaning; locally it is usually translated by 'around', used much more freely than in Standard English. Some of its uses clearly mark it as a modifier,

others as a proclitic (7.1.A.1.c.1.), but in many cases it is difficult to know what category it is best assigned to.

Its use as a reinforcement to the generality of a negative statement is that of a modifier, as in

- (OFS) ni: k̓ʷiɬ ṅa:m-náks-ỷ — I don't want to get married!
  not ... wanting-married-1S — *Nii kw'ihl ṅaam-naksiỷ!*

This use is general in a negative statement about an ordinary (non-determinate, non-possessed, non-deverbative) noun, as in

- ni:-ti: k̓ʷiɬ hó:n-[t]=ɬ ṅè:qɬ — The killerwhale is not a fish.
  not-INTS ... fish-[3]=NC killerwhale — *Nidii kw'ihl hoonhl ṅeekhl.*

5.15.B.45. ʔalu: 'plainly, visibly, in plain sight, obviously' *aluu...*

5.15.B.45.a. Used as modifier:

ʔalu: páx̣ — 'to run/go really fast'
... run — ***aluu bax̣***

- ʔalu: hi)hítkʷ=ɬ wìlp — The house stood in plain sight (44.15).
  ...=ASP)stand — ***Aluu hihitkwhl wilp.***

5.15.B.45.b. Used as prefix:

ʔalu:-ki)kát — 'Indians', prob. orig. 'unconcealed, undisguised people' (as opposed to animals or supernatural beings in human form)[12] ***aluugigat***
...-PL)people

ʔalu: ɬá:	'to show, to be visible'
... exist	***sluut'aa***

5.15.B.46. **ʔiks** 'formerly, ...used to ...' *iks*

This modifier is used before verbal predicates, unlike **ẇaɬin** *ẇahlin* (5.15.B.39.) which is used before nouns.

- t ɫkún wil **ʔiks**hítk^{W}-[t]=ɬ pɂà:n==ki:
  DM this where ... stand-[3]=NC totem pole==DIST
  This is where the totem pole used to be.
  *Tguu wil **iks** hitkwhl pts'aan-gi.*

5.15.B.47. **k̓i:** 'ahead [of others]' *k'ii* (homophonous with the subordinator **k̓i:** 'and ...' *k'ii*, 5.16.B.5.).

• **k̓i:**yú:χk^{W}-n	Eat first! [before the others do]
... eat-2S	***K'ii yuuxgwin!***
• **k̓i:** qúl=ɬ k̓upa:-tk̓iɬk^{W}	The children ran ahead.
... run.PL=NC little.PL-*child	***K'ii golhl k'ubatk'ihlkw.***

This modifier is also used after the subordinator **ɬa:** 'by now...' *hlaa*. The combination **ɬa: k̓i:** *hlaa k'ii* may be contracted to **ɬa: ʔi:** *hlaa ii*. Its meaning is 'by then..., ... [had happened] earlier.'

- **ɬa: k̓i:** ɦúẇ-[t]=ɬniɂí:ɂ-ti:t==ki:
  by.now ... dead-[3]=ND grandmother-3P==DISTAL
  Their grandmother was dead by then/...had died earlier. (162.14)
  Hlaa k'ii ɦuẇhl nits'iits'diit-gi.

5.15.B.48. **ɬi** 'would ...' *hli* (homophonous with the most common form of the Restrictive particle **ɬə** *hli/hla* (6.1.B.2.)

This modifier is used in conditional clauses.

5.15.B.48.a. Before FUT particle **tim** *dim*, before verb: the combination **ɬi tim** *ɬi dim* presents an event that could happen or could have happened but did not.

5.15.B.48.a.1. In predicate-focused clause: the event was very likely to happen but was prevented: '... was going to...,...would have ...'.

- **ɬi timhúksk^{W} ɲi:ɣ̓**
  ... FUT attend me
  I was going to go/attend,
  I would have gone.
  Ɬi dim hukskw ɲiiɣ̓.

- **ɬi tim kí:k^{W}-ə-ɣ̓**
  -FUT buy.s.-CTL-1S
  I was going to buy it.
  I would have bought it.
  Ɬi dim gügwiɣ̓.

5.15.B.48.a.2. In regular clause: after clause beginning with **cə ɬi** *ji ɬi* (5.15.B.48.b.): depending on the context, can refer to present or past impossibility:

- **cə ɬi ta:la-ɣ̓** ...
  IRR ... money-1S
  Ji ɬi daalaɣ̓, ...

  ...**ɬi tim ʔi:nə kí:k^{W}-t**
  ... FUT and 1S.E buy.s.-3
  ... I would buy it./ have bought it.
  ... ***ɬi dim ii ni gükwt.***

  ... **ɬi tim hi:-México-ɣ̓**
  ... FUT go.to-M.-1S
  ... I would go/have gone to Mexico.
  ... ***ɬi dim ii hii-Mexicoɣ̓.***

5.15.B.48.b. In combination with the subordinator **cə** *ji*: see examples of **cə ɬi** *ji ɬi* in 5.15.B.48.a. above and also in 5.16.B.4.

5.15.B.49. č̓ə ' in spite of ... although.... even though ...' *ts'i* ...

Like ti (5.15.B.1.), this modifier is always followed by a predicate-focused clause. It is often reinforced by the modifier lik̓ii 'about, any... , for instance' *ligii* (5.15.B.48.).

- č̓əqaqítkʷ mə tim wila: ẁá-tT-t Even though you may find it hard ...
  ... difficult 2E FUT how find.s.-DEF-3 ***Ts'i gagetkw mi dim wilaa ẁadit*** ...

- č̓ə lik̓i:qásq̓an-ə-n mə tim ʔi:q̓ap kíp-t
  ... about dislike.food-CTL-2S 2E FUT and must eat-3
  Even though you may dislike it, you have to eat it.
  Ts'i ligii dim gask̓'anin mi dim ii k̓'ap gipt.

It often occurs before the 3rd person independent pronoun (acting as topicalizer) ńí[t]

- č̓ə ńít! č̓ə ńít!
  ... that's it
  Even so! Even so! (Even if all the dangers you describe befall us..., [we'll make it])(11.5.) ***Ts'i ńit! Ts'i ńit!***

The clause after ńí[t] is also a predicate focused clause:

- č̓ə ńí[t]=ɬ qásq̓an-ə-n=ɬ ɬáq̓askʷ ʔi: mə q̓ap kíp-t
  ... that's=NC dislike.food-CTL-2S=NC seaweed and 2E must eat.s.-3
  Even though you dislike seaweed, you have to eat it.
  (lit. even though seaweed is what you dislike...)
  Ts'i ńihl gask̓'anihl hlak̓'askw ii mi k̓'ap gipt.

5.15.B.50. kʷi:x 'always... , good at ... [doing something], liking to ... , keen to ... [do something]' *gwiix-* (cf. the meaning of German *gern*)

Nowadays this modifier seems to be used mostly as a prefix (7.1.B.1.b.3.b.), but

examples in Boas show modifier usage:

- má4-[t]=[4] cə n[ə] **kʷi:x** kíp-[t]=4 ʔanwín-[t]=s[t]kùst
  tells.s.-[3]=[NC] IRR 1S.E ... eat.s.-[3]=NC what.s.o.has-[3]=DC [DM] that
  Tell [him] that I am always very keen to eat what he's got. (40.5-6)
  *Mahl jin **gwiix** giphl an wins gust.*

- ní:=qat ki:-di:-t **kʷi:x** kíp-[t]=4 sim?ò:kit tkun ʔanwín-n
  not=REP INTS-INTS-3E ... eat.s.-[3]=NC chief DM this what.s.o.has-2S
  I hear that this chief never eats what you've got. (40.6-7)
  *Nii-gat gidiit **gwiix** giphl sim 'oogit tgun(hl) an winin.*

5.15.B.51. Downshifted P_As used as modifiers:

Adjectives suffixed with the Attributive suffix **-m** are often used as predicate modifiers, for instance:

- ńi:ỷ=4 tim **ksq̓ò:q-m**láqs-(ə)t — I am taking my bath first.
  me=NC FUT first-ATT bathe-REL — *Ńiiỷhl dim **ksgoogam** laksit.*

- 4a: **simù-m**náks-ti:t — They are married legally now.
  now correct-ATT married-3P — *Hlaa **simum** naksdiit.*

It seems that the same process is involved with **siƛa:maʔ-m** 'starting to ...' *sit'aama'am*, from **siƛa:maʔ** 'to start' *sit'aama'a*, and with **ƛa:m** (older **ƛaʔam**) 'wanting to..., feeling the urge/need to...' *ƛaam / ƛa'am*, of unknown origin, which are used very frequently:

- haẃín=4 **siƛà:maʔ-m**yé:-t==a — Has s/he started walking yet?
  not-yet=NC ... walk-3==Q — *Haẃinhl **sit'aama'am**-yeeda?*

- q̓as)q̓úc-ə-t=4 smáx ʔi: ńí[t] wil-t **siƛà:maʔam**kíp-t
  PL)cut.s.-CTL-3=NC meat and that's SUB 3E ...=eat.s.-3

S/he cut the meat into little pieces and then started to eat it.
K̲'ask̲'ojithl smax ii ṅi wil sit'aama'am-gipt.

- ṅa:mhi:-wilpksiɬóʔ ṅì:ỷ — I need to go to the bathroom.
  ... go.to.-toilet me — *Ṅaam-hii-wilpksihlo'o ṅiiỷ.*

- ni:=ɬ ṅa:mx̣-k̲ó:fi:-n==a — Do you want some coffee?
  not=NC ... eat-coffee-2S==Q — *Niihl ṅaam-x̲koofiina?*

- ʔakú=ɬ ṅa:m kíp-ə-n==əst — [Well,] what do you want to eat?
  what=NC ... eat.s.-CTL-2S==AFF — *Aguhl ṅaam-gibinis?*

5.16. SUBORDINATORS.

5.16.A. Subordinators are always followed by a regular clause (4.3.). They generally occur in front of the predicate phrase, although some morphemes,especially Ergative pronouns and the FUT particle tim *dim*, can precede a subordinator, so that the latter is integrated phonologically if not syntactically into the predicate phrase. Several of the subordinators also act as modifiers, and one is homophonous with the Irrealis particle. This makes it sometimes difficult to sort out which role should be attributed to which morpheme, so that the following classification and analysis should still be considered tentative.

Subordinators indicate...

- chronological or logical link:

  k̓i: 'and (then)...' *k'ii* (colloquial ʔi: *ii)*

- factual background (including time and location):

wil 'as, because, that, where, when...' *wil*

- factual consequence: qan '[reason] why...' *gan* - manner: wila: 'how' *wilaa*

-time: non-future: ta: 'when...'
ta: ɬa: (tiɬa:) 'when, once, after' (in general)
daa hlaa/dihlaa
ɬi ta: '[since] the time when;' *hlidaa*
tis wil 'at the moment when' *dis wil* + predicate

future: cə ɬa:/cə ta: ɬa: 'when (in the future)...' *ji hlaa/jidaa hlaa*
cə ta: 'if ...(sthg happens)' *jidaa*

- aspect: q̓ay '... still happening, just happened' *k'ay*
ɬa: 'by now, from now on, when, after...'
ʔa 'while, as...'

- goal: ʔa...[tim] 'in order to/that..' *a... (dim)*

- hypothesis/conditionality:

cə 'whether...' *ji/ja*
cə ɬi 'if ...(sthg were/had been true)' *ji hli*
cəʔan 'if ...(sthg were true)/then ... (sthg else would be true)' *ji an*

- alternative: ʔa=ɬ k̓i: 'yet..., but instead..., but meanwhile...' *ahl k'ii*

Two expressions function as subordinators in present-day Nisgha but seem to be originally made up of a verbal predicate followed by the IRR particle cə:

ʔup cə 'in case...(something undesirable happens), for fear..., lest...' *upji/upja*

mo: cə 'almost [happened]' *mooji/mooja*

5.16.B. List of subordinators: (not in a particular order)

5.16.B.1. qan 'the reason why' *gan*

5.16.B.1.a. Use as a subordinator: qan *gan* (usually translated in local English as 'why', used differently from Standard English) introduces as consequence, not a cause; the cause is stated in what precedes qan *gan* : a focused constituent, for instance a question word, or an entire clause.

- ʔaḳúqanʔaẋhúksk^{W}-t
  sick = ... not attend-3
  Why is s/he not here? Why didn't s/he come?
  Agu gan aẋ hukskwt?

- sí:pk^{W} - qanʔaẋhúksk^{W}-t
  sick = ... not attend-3
  S/he is sick, that's why s/he's not here. (local: ..., why s/he's...).
  S/he didn't come because s/he is/was sick.
  Siipkw, gan aẋ hukskwt.

- ʔaḳù məqanháks-ẏ==əst
  what 2E ... insult.s.-1S==AFF
  Hey, why do you call me names? (118.2)
  Agu ma gan haksiẏis?

- ṅí[t]=ɬ qanṫis)ṫú:ċk^{W}-[t]=ɬ qa)q̓à:x-[t]=ɬ qíwin
  that's=NC ... PL)black-[3]=NC PL)wing-[3]=NC seagull
  That's why seagulls' wings are black. (35.5)
  Ṅihl gan t'ist'uuts'kwhl gaḵ'aaxhl gewin.

If the predicate indicating the consequence is already known, it is not usually repeated following qan *gan*; the predicate wíl 'be/do/act' *wil* is used instead:

- ʔaḳùqan k̓^{W}iɬ mímq̓-n
  what ... about smile-2S
  Why are you smiling?
  Agu gan kw'ihl mimḵ'an?

lu:=ʔá:m=ɬ qò:t-ỷ **qan wil**-t — - [It's] because I am happy.
in=good=NC heart-1S ... be-3 — (lit. I am happy, [that's] why it is).
- *Luu'aamhl goodiý, **gan wilt**.*

- w̓i:t̓ís=ɬ wil **kítk**^{W}-t==ki: - ʔa-t wil páq-[t]=ɬ wintóʔ **qan wíl**-t
  great=NC SUB swell-3==DIST - PREP-3E SUB feel.s.-[3]=NC *windo'o* ... be/do-3
  He swelled up enormously; that was because he had tasted the *windo'o*
  [a mind-altering substance which was formerly chewed]. (90.12-13)
  *W̓iit'ishl wil **gitkwt**-gi; at wil bak̲hl windo'o, **gan wilt**.*

5.16.B.1.b. This subordinator can also be used as a prefix: see (7.1.B.3.b.1.).

5.16.B.2. **ɬa**: 'by now..., when..., after...' *hlaa*

This very common subordinator is also sometimes used as a modifier (5.15.23).

5.16.B.2.a. <u>In single clause</u>: 'now, by now, from now on'; often translatable by English present perfect:

P_0: • **ɬa**: má:tim — It's winter [now].
... snowfall/winter — ***Hlaa** maadim.*

P_A: • **ɬa**: pláksk^{W}-ỷ — I am tired [after doing s.t.].
... tired-1S — ***Hlaa** plakskwiý.*

• **ɬa**: x^{W}táx-ỷ — I am hungry [now].
... hungry-1S — ***Hlaa** xwdayiý*

• **ɬa**: hanáq̓-t — She is a woman now.
... woman-3 — ***Hlaa** hanak̲'t.*

• **ɬa**: q̓am k̓ó:l-t — S/he is all alone now.
... only one[person]-3 — ***Hlaa** k̲'am k'yoolt.*

- **ɬa**: ɬísk^{W}-n̓==a
  ... finished-2S==QU
  Have you finished?
  Hlaa hlisgwina?

- **ɬa**: c̓áẃaqs-[t]^{W}-n==a
  ... shoes-MED-2S==Q
  Do you have your shoes on (yet)?
  Have you put on your shoes?
  Hlaa ts'awẃaqsgwina?

P_{EA}: •**ɬa**: məɬísaʔn-t==a
  ... 2E finish.s.-3==Q
  Have you finished it?
  Hlaa mi hlisa'anda?

With the FUT particle, it announces an imminent occurrence:

- **ɬa**: **tim** má:tim
  ... FUT snowfall
  It is going to snow.
  Hlaa dim maadim.

- **ɬa**: **tim** háẃ-ỷ
  ... FUT go.home-1S
  I am going home now.
  Hlaa dim hawiý.

- **ɬa**: **tim** n̓úẃ-[t]=ɬ ɬkú:ɬk^{W}-n
  ... FUT die-[3]=NC child-2S
  Your child is about to die. (89.1)
  Hlaa dim n̓uẃhl hlguuhlgwin.

5.16.B.2.b. In clause linked to another: 'now that..., when..., after ...'

5.16.B.2.b.1. Singly or with FUT particle:

- c̓a:kúk^{W}sk^{W} n̓l:ỷ **ɬa**: nəká?-n
  startled I ... 1E see.s.-2S
  I was startled to see you
  (lit. ...when I saw you)
  Ts'aagyukwskw niiý hlaa ni ga'an.

• **ɬa**: ỷaqa=yé:-[t]=ɬnàks-[t]=ɬhá:wc==ki:k̓i:ʔálkax̌-[t]=s[t] txè:msim
... downhill=walk-[3]=I spouse-[3]=NC cormorant==DIST and speak-[3]=DC [DM] T.

When the cormorant's wife had come down to the beach, Tɣeemsim spoke.
(44.3-4) ***Hlaa yagayeehl nakshl haawts-gi, k'ii algaɣs Tɣeemsim.***

- lu:=ʔá:m=ɬ qò:t=ɬ hanáq̓ The woman was happy ...
  in=good=NC heart=NC woman *Luu'aamhl goothl hanaɫ'* ...

  ɬa:-t ká?-[t]=ɬ huxʷtá:ɫ̓in-t ... when she saw her grandchild.
  ...-3E see.s.=NC grandchild-3 ... ***hlaat ga'ahl huxwdaak'int.***

  ɬa: tim-t ká?-[t]=ɬ huxʷtá:ɫ̓in-t
  ... FUT-3E see.s.=NC grandchild-3
  ... now that she was going to see her grandchild.
  ... ***hlaa dimt ga'ahl huxwdaak'int.***

5.16.B.2.b.2. Preceded by the IRR particle cə *ji/ja*: cə ɬa: 'when... (at a definite point in the future)' *jihlaa*.

This combination differs in meaning from the individual meanings of the subordinator cə 'whether' *ji/ja* and the modifier ɬa: 'by now' *hlaa* (5.15.B.23). Compare also cə ta: ɬa: *jidaahlaa* (5.16.B.3.b.2.).

- tim hat)hátiks ɬù:m̓ cə ɬa: sínt This summer we'll go swimming.
  FUT PL)swim us IRR ... summer *Dim hathadiks ɬuum̓ jihlaa sint.*

5.16.B.2.c. For use with modifier ɬ̓i: / ʔi: *k'ii/ii* see 5.15.B.47.

5.16.B.3. ta: 'when ..., whenever ...' *daa*

Nowadays this word is used mostly in combination with other morphemes.

5.16.B.3.a. Not preceded by the IRR particle cə *ji/ja*:

5.16.B.3.a.1. ta: *daa* is found by itself with OFS and in Boas (often after the

preposition ʔa *a*, 5.18.):

- ḳilò=ɬ six)sám̓aq-sim̓==əst ʔa=ɬ ta:ʔhisqaʔá:qs-sim̓==əst
  don't=NC PL)shut.up-2P==AFF PREP=NC ... laugh.PL-2P==AFF
  Come on, don't keep your mouths shut like that when you laugh! (84.5-6)
  *Gilohl sixsam̓aḵsim̓is, ahl **daa** hisga'aaḵsim̓is!*

- ni:-ḳi:-t sa:=t̓áɬ-T-t ʔa=ɬ ta: ḳi)ké:ɬ-t
  not-INTS-3E off-put.s.PL-DEF-3 PREP=NC ... ASP)lie-3
  She did not remove them when she went to bed. (96.14)
  *Nigit saat'ahlit ahl **daa** gigeehlt.*

5.16.B.3.a.2. ta: ɬa: 'when ...(in general), once..[something happens] *daa hlaa* this expression is in general use with YFS, often reduced to tiɬa: *dihlaa*. Here ɬa: *hlaa* is probably the modifier (5.15.B.23), since the subordinator is ta: *daa*.

- ta: ɬa: síntʔi:sə-má:ỷ-m̓ In the summer, we pick berries.
  when now summer and make-berries-1P ***Daa hlaa** sint ii simaaỷim̓.*

5.16.B.3.a.3. ɬə ta: '(at) the exact time when..., since the time...' *hlidaa*: This expression is a combination of the restrictive particle ɬə *hli/hla* and the subordinator ta: *daa* (5.16.B.3.a.). It does not normally occur initially, but after another clause or focused constituent.

- ɬa: tx̣àlpx̣-wil-k̓àp-[t]=ɬ k̓ú:ɬ ɬə ta: skát-ỷ
  now four-SUB-ten-[3]=NC year be.born-1S
  I was born forty years ago.
  (lit. It is now forty years since I was born)
  *Hlaa tx̱alpx̱-wil-k'aphl k'uuhl **hlidaa** sgadiỷ.*

- ɬa: tx̣àlpx̣-wil-k̓àp-[t]=ɬ k̓ú:ɬ ɬə ta:-tnáksaʔan-ti:tn̓ì:ỷ
  now four-SUB-ten-[3]=NC year ... ...-3E marry.s.o.off-3P me

They married me off forty years ago.
Hlaa tx̱alpx̱-wil-k'aphl k'uuhl ***hlidaat*** *naksa'andiit ṅiiẏ.*

- ni:mə ʔamqó:[t]-[t]=ɬ ɬə ta: hi:-ḳitx̣at̓ín-m̓==a
  not 2E remember.s.=NC ... ... go.to-Greenville-1P==Q
  Do you remember the time we went to Greenville?
  Nii mi amgoohl ***hlidaa*** *hii-Gitx̱at'inim̓a?*

5.16.B.3.b. Preceded by the IRR particle cə *ji/ja*: The IRR particle can precede ta: *daa* or ta: ɬa: *daa hlaa* in the same way as it can precede complements referring to future time (6.1.B.1.b.2.). With older speakers, cə ta: 'if (and when) ...' *jidaa* is often preceded by the preposition ʔa which introduces most circumstantial complements.

5.16.B.3.b.1. cə ta: 'if (and when) ...' *jidaa*

This combination introduces a hypothetical condition that may still be realized. A clause beginning with cə ta: *jidaa* can occur sentence-initially or finally.

P_0: • tim ʔá:t ṅì:ẏ t̓a:ɬák^W	I'll go fishing tomorrow ...
FUT fish.w.net me tomorrow	*Dim aat ṅiiẏ t'aahlakw* ...
(ʔa) cə ta: ʔax̣páʔask^W	... if there is no wind.
(PREP)... ... not wind	... *(a)* ***jidaa*** *ax̱ ba'askw.*
• ʔakù=ɬ tim wíl-n	What will you do...
what=NC FUT do-2S	*Aguhl dim wilin* ...
(ʔa) cə ta:páʔask^W	... if it's windy?
(PREP) ... wind	... *(a)* ***jidaa*** *ba'askw?*
P_A: • cə ta: ta:la-ẏ	If I have the money, ...
... ... money-1S	***Jidaa*** *daalaẏ* ...
tim ʔi: nə ḳi:k^W-t	... I will buy it.
FUT and 1S.E buy.s.-3	... *dim ii ni giikwt.*

- cə ta: ʔáks-n
  ... ... drink-2S
  kilócəyu:hatáx-n
  don't IRR drive-2S

  If you drink,...
  Jidaa aksin,...
  ... don't drive.
  ... *gilo ji yuuhadaayin.*

P_{EA}: • cə ta: məkáʔ-[t]=ɬsmáx
  ... ... 2E see.s.-[3]=NC bear
  kilòcəpáx-n
  don't IRR run-2S

  If you see a bear, ...
  Jidaa mi ga'ahl smax, ...
  ... don't run.
  ... *gilo ji bagan.*

- cə ta: nəkí:k^{W}-t
  ... ... 1S.E buy.s.-3
  tim ʔi:qo:ta-[t]=ɬta:la-ỷ
  FUT and all.gone-[3]=NC money-1S

  If I buy it, ...
  Jidaa ni giikwt, ...
  ... all my money will be gone.
  ... *dim ii goodahl daalaỷ.*

- cə ta:-tsqa=yóxk^{W}-[t]=ɬ kát ńi[t]=ɬ ǩi:-t kíp-t
  ... ...-3E barring=follow.s.-[3]=NC man that's=NC and-3E eat.s.-3
  If anyone went in front of it [the monster canoe], it ate him. (107-1-2)
  Jidaat sgayoxkwhl gat, ńihl k'iit gipt.

In Boas, cə *ji* and ta: *daa* may be separated by the E clitic, as in:

- ni:-ki:tim ḿuk^{W}-n cə n(ə) ta: ťuk^{W}s=máq-T-tčimáks
  not-INTS FUT catch-2S IRR 1S.E when overboard=place.s.-DEF-3 in water
  You won't catch anything if I throw it into the water. (43.11-12)
  Nigii dim ḿugwin ji n daa t'ukwsmagat ts'im aks.

(modern usage would be:

  cita: nəťuk^{W}s=máq-T-t ...
  if 1S.E overboard=put.s.-DEF-3

  ... if I throw it into the water.
  ... *jidaa ni t'ukwsmagat ...*)

5.16.B.3.b.2. cə ta: ɬa: 'when ...(at some point in the future)' *jidaahlaa*

- tim stílims ɲì:n cə ta: ɬa: náks-ɣ̌
  FUT attendant you married-2S
  You'll be a bridesmaid when I get married.
  Dim sdilims ɲiin jidaahlaa naksiɣ̌.

- cə ta: ɬa: ǩáck^{W}-n ʔa=ɬ čiɬqá:t [13] cə ǩi: ǩ^{W}iɬ yé:-n
  ... ... land-2S PREP-NC Chilkat IRR and around walk-2S
  When you land in Chilkat, walk around (195.8-9).
  Jidaahlaa k'atsgwin ahl Ts'ihlgaat, ji k'ii kw'ihl yeen.

5.16.B.4. cə 'if (by chance)... ,whether ...(or not)' *ji/ja* : this subordinator should not be confused with the homophonous Irrealis particle (6.1.B.1.b.) which often occurs in the same clauses before a nominal, as well as before other subordinators.

5.16.B.4.a. Singly after predicate:

5.16.B.4.a.1. With non-alternative clauses:

- ʔá:m cəáx̱ hay wís — Hope it doesn't rain!
  good ... not rain — *Aam ji a̱x̱ haywis!*

  ʔá:m cəx̱stá:-n — Hope you win!
  good ... win-2S — *Aam ja x̱sdaan!*

- ǩax̱kítax̱-[t]=s[t]Máry ... — Just ask Mary...
  just ask.s.o.-[3]=DC [DM] M. — *K'a̱x̱ gida̱x̱s Mary ...*

  ni:-nə-ti:wilá:x-[t]... — I don't know...
  not-1S.E-INTS know.s.-[3] — *Nindii wilaax ...*

P_A: ... cə ɬa: ɬísk^W-t [14]	... whether she's finished.
... now finished-3	... *ji ɬlaa ɬliskwt.*
P_{EA}: ... cə-t ɲa:mstíl-ṁ	... whether she wants to go with us.
...-3E wanting accompany.s.-1P	... *jit ɲaam-sdilim.*
... cətim-tstíl-ṁ	... whether she is going to go with us.
... FUT-3E accompany-1P	... *ji dimt sdilim.*
• kítax-ə-t ɲì:ỷ=ɬ kàt ...	People asked me ...
ask.s.o.-CTL-2 me=NC people	*Gidaxat ɲiiỷɬ gat* ...
... cə qaqítk^W-[t]=ɬsim-ʔàlkax	... whether the Nisgha language was hard.
... difficult-[3]=NC real-talk	... *ja gagetkwɬ sim'algax.*
... cətim hi:-kitxatín-ỷ	... whether I was going to Greenville.
... FUT go.to-Greenville-1S	... *ji dim hii-Gitxat'iniỷ.*
... cə nəká?-[t]=ɬ kinqúlx	... whether I had been to Kincolith.
... 1S.E see.s.-[3]=NC K.	... *ji ni ga'aɬ Gingolx.*

The Irrealis particle cə *ji/ja* can be used before the next constituent instead of the connective, if that constituent is also hypothetical (see 6.1.B.1.b.1.).

5.16.B.4.a.2. With alternative clauses: the first clause is preceded by cə *ji/ja*; the second clause, introduced by the coordinator ʔo: 'or' *oo* (5.17.B.) before cə *ji/ja*, is followed by the modifier liki: 'about, maybe, any...' *ligii* (5.15.B.42.) and by the relevant alternative:

5.16.B.4 a.2.a. If the predicate of the first clause is being questioned, the second clause is a complete clause, but without nominal adjuncts:

kítax̣-ə-t n̓ì:ỷ t Màry	Mary asked me...
ask.s.o.-CTL-3 me DM M.	*Gidax̱at n̓iiỷ t Mary* ...

- cə ɬku kát-[t]=ɬ hux^{W}tá·k̓in-ỷ ... whether my grandchild was a boy...
  ... little man-[3]=NC grandchild-1S ... *ji hlgu gathl huxwdaak'iniỷ*...

ʔo: cə liḳi: ɬḳuhanáq̓-t	... or a girl.
or ... maybe little woman-3	... *oo ji ligii hlgu hanak̲'t.*

- cə nəcáp-[t]=ɬk̓utàc̓-ỷ ...whether I had made my coat ...
  ... 1S.E make-[3]=NC coat-1S ... *ji ni japhl k'udats'iỷ* ...

ʔo: cə liḳi: nə ḳí:k^{W}-t	... or bought it.
or ... maybe 1S.E buy.s.-3	... *oo ji ligii ni giikwt.*

5.16.B.4.b.2. If the part of the clause which is relevant to the alternative is not the predicate, but another constituent, that constituent is in focused position in the first clause and repeated in its alternative form in the second clause:

ḳítax̣-ti:t n̓ì:ỷ ...	They asked me ...
ask.s.o.-3P me	*Gidax̱diit n̓iiỷ* ...

- cəḳitx̣at̓ín wil w̓ítk^{W}-ỷ ... whether I was coming from Greenville...
  ... Greenville SUB come.from-1S ... *ji Gitx̱at'in wil w̓itgwiỷ*...

ʔo: cə liḳi: ḳinqúlx	... or from Kincolith.
or ... maybe Kincolith	... *oo ji ligii Gingolx.*

Remark: This seems to be a modern development with ʔo: cə liḳi: *oo ji ligii* taken as a unit meaning 'or.' Older speakers would use only liḳi: *ligii* in this case, since the alternative does not contain a clause predicate:

- cəḳitx̣at̓ín wil w̓ítkʷ-ỷ ... whether I was coming from Greenville...
  ... Greenville SUB come.from-1S ... *ji Gitx̣at'in wil w̓itgwiỷ...*

  liḳi: ḳinqúlx ... or from Kincolith.
  maybe Kincolith ... *ligii Gingolx.*

5.16.B.4.b. <u>In combination with other morphemes</u>:

5.16.B.4.b.1. cə ɬi 'if... [sthg were true]' *ji hli*

The combination of the subordinator cə *ji/ja* and the modifier ɬi 'if' *hli* (5.15.B.48.) presents a hypothesis that is known not to be true; the hypothetical consequence is stated before or after, with ɬi tim ... *hli dim...* ((5.15.B.48.a.). With YFS, that hypothesis can refer to the present or the past; with OFS, it tends to refer to the past (see 5.16.B.4.b.2. for the present):

- cə ɬi ta:la-ỷ ... If I had (had) the money, ...
  ... ... money-1S *Ji hli daalaỷ, ...*
  ... ɬi tim ʔi: nə ḳi:kʷ-t ... I would buy/have bought it.
  REST FUT and 1S.E buy.s.-3 ... *hli dim ii ni giikwt.*

- cə ɬi hi:-<u>México</u>-ỷ ... If I went/had gone to Mexico ...
  ... ... go.to.-M.-1S *Ji hli hii-Mexicoỷ ...*

- cə ɬi ʔax̣si:pkʷ-[t]=s [t] <u>Pèter</u> If Peter had not been sick ...
  ... ... not sick-[3]=DC [DM] P. *Ji hli ax̣ siipkws Peter ...*

- cə ɬə nəʔax̣ki:kʷ-t If I had not bought it ...
  ... ... 1S.E not buy.s.-3 *Ji hli ni ax̣ giikwt ...*

- ni:-ḳi: ɬi.tim ti: wil-t ʔa cə ɬi ksqò:q-mʔáqɬkʷ-[t]=ɬ lòʔop
  not-INTS CONDITIONAL INTS act-3 PREP ... ... first-ATT succeed-[3]=NC stone

It wouldn't have happened if the rock had been the first to give birth (72.5-6).
Nigii hli dim dii wilt a ji hli ksgoogam aghlkwhl lo'op.

5.16.B.4.b.2. cə ʔan 'if...(sthg were true)' *ji an/ja an* : this combination introduces a hypothesis that is not presently realized and can depend either on a present or past condition (ʔan *an* does not seem to occur alone with this meaning and cannot be identified with the homophonous prefix and clitic); with OFS, that other condition is also introduced by cə ʔan *ji an/ja an*:

• (OFS) cə ʔan tá:la-ỷ ...	If I had/had had the money, ...
... ... money-1S	*Ji an daalaỷ* ...
cə ʔan nə kí:kʷ-t	... I would buy/have bought it.
... ... 1S.E buy.s.-3	... *ji an ni giikwt.*
• cə ʔan nə wilá:x-t ...	If I knew/had known [it],...
... ... 1S.E know.s.-3	*Ji an ni wilaaxt,...*
cə ʔan nə má-T-t lò:-n	... I would tell/have told you.
... ... 1S.E tell.s.-DEF-3 IND-2S	... *ji an ni mahlit loon.*

With YFS there is some confusion between cə ʔan *ji an* and cə ɬi *ji hli* and the two tend to be interchangeable for presenting a hypothesis, but there seems to be much individual variation. OFS are the only ones who use cə ʔan *ji an* in both clauses.

5.16.B.5. k̓i: / ʔi: 'and [then...]' *k'ii / ii*:

k̓i: *k'ii* is older, more formal , ʔi: *ii* more modern and colloquial.

This subordinator, which much more frequent than the English equivalent, does not begin discourse, but links clauses in the chronological (sometimes logical) order of the events described. It also occurs in combination with other morphemes.

5.16.B.5. Single use: **k̓i**: *k'ii* can be preceded by the particles **tim** FUT *dim* or **cə** IRR *ji/ja*.

P_A: •ta: ɬa: sínt ʔi: sə-má:y̓-m̓ — We pick berries in the summer.
when now summer ... pick-berries-1P — *Daa hlaa sint ii simaay'im.*

- t̓a:ɬákʷ tim ʔi: sə-má:y̓-m̓ — We'll go berry-picking tomorrow.
tomorrow FUT ... — *T'aahlakw dim ii simaay'im.*

- ɬa: tim wó:waq-ti:t tim k̓i:m̓in=yé:-n
by.now FUT sleep.PL-3P FUT ... upward-go-2S
Once they are asleep, go up [to the roof] .(91.2-3)
Hlaa dim woowaqdiit, dim k'ii m̓inyeen.

- q̓ap lip c̓àp-[t]=ɬ c̓imílx c̓im áks
absolutely self domain-[3]=NC beaver in water
k̓i:spaqayt sqañístti:c̓àp-[t]=ɬʔáxʷt
... among mountain CONTR domain-[3]=NC porcupine
The water is truly the beaver's domain, but the porcupine's is the mountains.
(74.11-12) *K'ap lip ts'aphl ts'imilx ts'im aks, k'ii sbagayt sgañist dii ts'aphl axwt.*

P_{EA}: (The order of E pronoun and modal particle may vary).

- ɬìskʷ mə yó:ʔoks-t cə ʔi: məkʷ ac̓imlímk-t
PERF 2E wash.s.PL-3 IRR ... 2E carefully wipe.s.PL-3
You should wipe them carefully after you wash them.
Hliskw mi yoo'okst ji ii mi gwats'limlimkt.

In narrative there may be a string of clauses beginning with **k̓i**: *k'ii* , for instance:

- ... k̓i: hac̓iksimhuxʷ yé:-t ... — ... and he wandered again ...
... again again walk-3 — ... *k'ii hats'iksim huxw yeet* ...

... ǩi: čín-t a=ɬ wìlp-[t]=ɬ likíńsk^{W} ... ... he went into a grizzly's house ...
... enter-3 PREP=NC house-[3]=NC grizzly ... *k'ii ts'int ahl wilphl lik'ińskw*...

... ǩi:-tsé:lix-[t]=ɬ likíńsk^{W}ʔa=ɬ tim ʔi:ká-t
...-3 ask.s.o.to.go.along-[3]=NC grizzly PREP=NC FUT halibut.fishing-3
... and he asked the grizzly to go halibut-fishing with him (56.3-4).
... *k'iit seelixhl lik'ińskw ahl dim iigat.*

In some of the Boas stories, there are sometimes also long passages where almost every clause begins with the phrase ńi[t]=ɬ ǩi: '(this happened) and then ...' *ńihl k'ii* where ńit 'that's ...' *ńit*... refers to the preceding sentence. The frequency of this phrase in the collection seems to be due to the slow dictation method, clause by clause; some of the storytellers use it much more than others; stories that I have heard, recorded on tape, use it only sparingly if at all.

5.16.B.5.b. ʔa=ɬ ǩi: 'yet..., but [actually]...' *ahl k'ii*

Here, ǩi: *k'ii* is preceded by the preposition ʔa *a* which precedes many circumstantial cmplements. The NC connective =ɬ ...*hl* links the preposition to the following clause introduced by ǩi: *k'ii*.

This combination does not occur sentence-initially. It may be followed by a full clause or only the relevant constituent (contrasting with that in the main clause, which would normally be focused). In conversation, the clause following often ends in the Assertive postclitic ==aʔ ...*a'a* (6.3.A.2.a.).

<u>Contrast with focused constituent</u>:

with Foc. Subject (A)

- haǹi:qó:t-ỷ t<u>Oscar</u>=ɬ ha)hé:-(ə)t I thought it was Oscar speaking, ...
thought-1S DM O.=NC ASP)say-REL *Haǹiigoodiỷ t Oscarhl haheet*,...

ʔa=ɬ ɬ̓i: t Húbert==aʔ	...but it was actually Hubert!
... ... DM H. ==ASST	... *ahl k'ii t Huberta'a!*

with Foc. Agent (E):

• haɁi:qó:t-ý t Oscart ʔan cáp-t	I thought Oscar had made it...
thought=1S DM O. 3E REL.E make.s.-3	*HaɁiigoodiý t Oscar t an japt, ...*
ʔa=ɬ ɬ̓i: t Dánny==aʔ	... but it was actually Danny.
... ... DM D.==ASST	... *ahl k'ii t Dannya'a.*

ɬ̓i: *k'ii* is also used in the combination wil ɬ̓i: (5.16.B.7.b.) *wil k'ii*. In ɬa: ɬ̓i: (5.15.B.47.) the morpheme ɬ̓i: *k'ii* is most probably the homophonous modifier (5.15.B.48.).

5.16.B.6. ʔa *a*: This morpheme is primarily a preposition (5.18.). As such it introduces circumstantial complements and in this role it often precedes other subordinators, especially in OFS speech. But it is also used as a subordinator in its own right, before a clause.

5.16.B.6.a. Without the FUT particle: 'as, while...' The meaning is often quite vague, but the information in the clause introduced by ʔa *a* is related to the one in the first clause.

• simwiyítk^{W}	She cried hard ...
real cry	*Sim wiyitkw* ...
P_A: ʔa=ɬ lìp̓ilsk^{W}-m + ʔá:t-t	...as she was mending the nets.
...=NC mend-ATTR+net-3	... *ahl lip'ilsgum-aatt.*
P_{EA}: ʔa-t líp̓il-[t]=ɬ ʔà:t-[t]=ɬ náks-t	... as she mended her husband's net.
...-3E mend.s.-[3]=NC net-[3]=NC spouse-3	... *at lip'ilhl aathl nakst.*

- txa:ɬ̓ìtkʷs-[t]=ɬ ... ɬipɬán-t wil tɬ̓al=wán-[t]=ɬʔamálkʷ
  all-[3]=NC ... body-[3] where against=sit.PL-[3]=NC scab
  ʔa-tká?-[t]=ɬʔansipsí:p̓inskʷ-[t]=ɬ ɬku-wílksiɬkʷ
  ...-3E see.s.-[3]=NC friend.PL-[3]=NC little-*prince
  Her whole ... body was covered with scabs, as the prince's friends could see. (189.15-190.2)
  Tx̱auɬ̓itkwshl ... hliphlant wil tɬ̓'alwanhl amalkw at ga'ahl ansipsiip'inskwhl hlguwilksihlkw.

5.16.B.6.b. With the FUT particle: ʔa *a* expresses a goal.

- ɬ̓i[t]=ɬ k̓i:-t wisin=his)yác-t==ki:ʔa=ɬ timsə-lít-t==ki:
  that's=NC and-3 lengthwise=PL)chop.s.=3==DIST ...=NC FUT make-wedge-3==DIST
  Then he chopped it lengthwise to make wedges (148.4.).
  Ɬ̓ihl k'iit wisinhisyatst-gi ahl dim silitt-gi.

- ɬa:lu:=tip=hítkʷ-[t]=ɬ ẁi:qàn
  by.now in=downward=stand-[3]=NC big tree
  ʔa=ɬ tim-t ɬóɁqʷ-[t]=ɬʔantɬ̓ulìlpiksʷ
  ...=NC FUT-3E swallow.s.-[3]=NC whirlpool
  By now the huge log was upended [in the water], about to be swallowed by a whirlpool (lit. ... so that a whirlpool was about to swallow it). (104.11-12)
  Hlaa luut'iphitkwhl ẁii gan ahl dimt hlog'kwhl antk'ulilbikskw.

- ɬ̓i[t]=ɬ k̓i:háẁ-[t]=ɬ sim?ò:kit ʔa=ɬ tim-t sik̓iɬ-cákʷ-T-[t]=sc̓ák̓
  that's=NC and stop-[3]=NC chief ...=NC FUT-3E try-kill.s.-DEF-[3]=DC Ts'ak
  Then the chief stopped trying to kill Ts'ak. (135.12)
  Ɬ̓ihl k'ii haẁhl sim'oogit ahl dimt sik'ihl-jagwis Ts'ak.

5.16.B.6.c. In Boas, ʔa *a* can also express a goal, even without the FUT particle tim *dim*:

- n̓i[t]=ɬ k̓i:sikó:tkʷ-[t]=ɬ ɬku-wìlksiɬkʷ
  that's=NC and set.off-[3] little-*prince
  ʔa-t qóʔ-[t]=ɬ k̓ìl̓-[t]=ɬ qalc̓áp
  ...-3E go.to.s.-[3]=NC one-[3]=NC village
  Then the prince set off on a trip to another village. (194.8)
  N̓ihl k'ii sigyootkwhl hlguwilksihlkw at go'ohl k'il̓hl galts'ap.

- k̓i:ksə=ɬóʔ-[t]=ɬ q̓aymàqs-ət ʔa-tkáʔ-ti.t=ɬʔanhí-[t]=s[t]w̓i:-kát
  and out=go.PL-[3]=NC young.PL-REL ...-3E see.s.-3P=NC saying-[3]=DC [DM]
  big-man
  And the young men went out to see what Giant was talking about (33.7-8).
  K'ii ksihlo'ohl k̲'aymak̲sit at ga'adiithl anhis W̓iigat.

5.16.B.7. **wil** *wil* introduces a statement of fact, without modal connotations. It is used for a variety of circumstantial complements.

Although this subordinator must often be translated by English 'where' or 'when'[15], it is not a question word. If used in a question, it always follows the question word (other morphemes may intervene).

5.16.B.7.a. Single use:

5.16.B.7.a.1. General meaning with other clause:

- likskát n̓ì:n **wil** c̓àl̓-m+tkʷá-tkʷ-n
  different you ... eye-ATT=glass-MED-2S
  You look different with your glasses on (as/when you have glasses on).
  Liksgat n̓iin wil ts'al̓imtgwatgwin.

5.16.B.7.a.2. After verb of knowledge or perception:

- ni:mə naxn̓á-[t]=ɬ **wil** n̓a:t̓ist̓ísaʔ-ti:ʔa=ɬptóʔ==a:
  not 2E hear.s.-[3]=NC ... knock-IMPS PREP-NC door==Q

Did you hear a knock at the door?
*Nii mi naxńahl **wil** ńaat'ist'isa'adii ahl pdo'a?*

- ńi-[t]=ɬ ki:-t ká?-[t]=ɬ **wil** li:páyk^{W}-[t]=ɬ qìwin
  that's-[3]=NC and-3E see.s.-[3]=NC ... fly.PL-[3]=NC seagull
  Then he saw seagulls flying (103.4-5).
  *Ńihl k'iit ga'ahi **wil** liibaykwhl gewin.*

- ɬa:-t páq-[t]=ɬ tim **wil** ?alísk^{W}-t ... when he felt that he was getting weak ... (100.8).
  now-3E feel.s.-[3]=NC FUT ... weak-3
  ... *hlaat bakhl dim **wil** aliskwt* ...

5.16.B.7.a.3. <u>After Focused complement</u>:

5.16.B.7.a.3.a. <u>Time</u>:

- kaxḳú**wil** wíl-t — When was it/ did it happen?
  when? ... be/do-3 — *Gaxgu **wil** wilt?*

- t̓a:yúẃin tim **wil** wílt — It's going to be tonight.
  tonight FUT ... be/do-3 — *T'aayuẃin dim **wil** wilt.*

When referring to time, **wil** *wil* can be preceded by the modifier **ɬa**: 'now' *hlaa* (5.15.B.2.): 'now that... '

lu:=?á:m=ɬ qò:t-ỷ — I am happy ...
in=good=NC heart-1S — *Luu'aamhl goodiỷ* ...

- ... **ɬa**: **wil** sínt — ... now that it's summer
  ... as summer — ... ***hlaa wil** sint.*

- ... **ɬa**: **wil** ɬísk^{W}-ỷ — ... now that I have finished.
  ... as finished-1S — ... ***hlaa wil** hlisgwiỷ.*

... ɬa: tim **wil** ɬísk^{W}-ỷ ... now that I am going to be finished.
... FUT as finished-1S ... ***hlaa** dim **wil** hlisgwiẏ.*

- ... ɬa: nə **wil** káʔ-n ... now that I see you.
... 1E as see.s.-2S ... ***hlaa** ni **wil** ga'an.*

... ɬa: nə tim **wil** káʔ-n ... now that I am going to see you.
... 1E FUT as see.s.-2S ... ***hlaa** ni dim **wil** ga'an.*

5.16.B.7.a.3.b. Location:

- ntà **wil** w̓ítk^{W}-n Where do you come from?
where ... come.from-2S *Nda **wil** w̓itgwin?*

- kitx̣at̓ín**wil** w̓ítk^{W}-ỷ I come from Greenville.
Greenville ... come.from-1S *Gitx̱at'in **wil** w̓itgwiẏ.*

- ntà mə **wil** ti-w̓ítk^{W}-t Where did you get it from?
where 2E ... DOMIN-come.from-3 *Nda mi **wil** diw̓itkwt?*

- lax̣c̓è:-[t]=ɬ ʔalá t **wil** n̓i:=tá:-T-ti:t
edge-[3]=NC smokehole 3E ... on=sit-DEF-3P
They put him on the edge of the smokehole (87.12).
*Lax̱ts'eehl ala t **wil** n̓iit'aatdiit.*

5.16.B.7.a.3.c. Goal/Beneficiary:

- ʔakù **wil** hó:x-s-t What is it used for?
what ... use.s.-PAS-3 *Agu **wil** hookst?*

ʔakù mə **wil** hó:x-t What did you use it for?
what 2E ... use.s.-3 *Agu mi **wil** hooxt?*

- nà: **wil** ksaxk̓iṅáma?-n — Who did you give presents to?
  who ... give.present-2S — *Naa **wil** ksaxgiṅama'an?*

  nà: mə **wil** ksaxkiṅám-t — Who did you give it to [as a present]?
  who 2 ... give.s.as.present-3 — *Naa mi **wil** ksaxgiṅamt?*

5.16.B.7.a.3.d. Actual Agent of Jussive: (7.2.C.1.a.1.b.4.(b))

- nà: mi **wil** k^{W}in-cáp-T-t — Who did you have it done by?
  who 2 ... JUSS-make.s.-DEF-3 — Who did you get to do it?
  *Naa mi **wil** gwin-jabit?*

5.16.B.7.a.4. Introduces Object clause with Adjective as predicate: the clause including *wil* is a descriptive clause equivalent to an English noun-phrase with an adjective:

- q̓amqaytq̓amc̓in=tóq-ə-t=ɬ**wil**?ax̣-ti:mix)múk^{W}-[t]=ɬmi:q̓ó:qst
  actually secretly=take.s.PL-CTL ... not-INTS PL)ripe-[3]=NC salmonberries
  Actually he had secretly taken some totally unripe salmonberries. (49.15-50.1)
  *K̲'amgayt k̲'amts'indogathl **wil** ax̲dii mixmukwhl miik̲'ook̲st.*

- ksax̣**wil**?ax̣-qa-ỷàns-T-[t]=ɬsq̓an-má:ỷ=ɬkà?-ə-ỷ
  only ... not-DISTR-leaf-DEF-[3]=NC bush-berries=NC see.s.-CTL-1S
  I only see/saw some leafless bushes.
  *Ksax̲ **wil** ax̲gaỷansihl sk̲'anmaaỷhl ga'aỷ.*

The Restrictive particle ɬə *hli/hla* is used if the noun is not mentioned:

- ksax̣**ɬə wil**?ax̣-qa-ỷàns-T-t=ɬkà?-ə-ỷ
  only the ... not-DISTR-leaf-DEF-3=NC see.s.-CTL-1S
  I only see/saw (the) leafless ones.
  *Ksax̲ **hli wil** ax̲gaỷansithl ga'aỷ.*

5.16.B.7.a.5. Some other subordinate clauses introduced by wil *wil* are also treated as noun phrases, taking the Restrictive particle ɬə *ɬi/ɬa* and the Distributive prefix qa- *ga-*: see ɬə *ɬi/ɬa* (6.1.B.2.b.3.).

5.16.B.7.a.5. wil *wil* is sometimes used as prefix: see 7.1.B.3.b.2..

5.16.B.7.b. wil k̓i: (older, more formal) / wil ʔi: / wiʔi: (modern, colloquial) '... right away...' *wil k'ii / wil ii / wi'ii*. It is difficult to tell whether the k̓i: *k'ii* element is the subordinator (5.16.B.5.) or the modifier meaning 'first, ahead of others' (5.15.B.47).

This combination is never found in a first clause. It often occurs after the subordinator k̓i: *k'ii* in narrative style.

- q̓am ká?-ə-[t]=ɬ kipù: wil ni:-ki: qa-ẃé:n-[t]=ɬ wàn==ki:
  just see.s.-CTL-[3]=NC wolf SUB not-INTS DISTR-teeth-[3]=NC deer==DIST
  k̓i: wil k̓i:-tháp-ti:t
  and ...-3E jump.on.s.-3P
  As soon as the wolves saw that the deer did not have any teeth, right away they jumped on them. (84.14-15)
  K̓'am ga'ahl gibuu wil nigii gaẃeenhl wan-gi, k'ii wil k̓'iit hapdiit.

5.16.B.8. wila: 'how' *wilaa*

This subordinator introduces manner complements. A transitive verb after wila: *wilaa* often takes the DEF suffix -T- (7.2.C.1.a.1.b.4.(a)) even though it does not normally take this suffix otherwise.

5.16.B.8.a. Introducing complement of predicate:

5.16.B.8.a.1. After P_A (non-nominal): This construction is very frequent after adjectives, corresponding to an adverbial complement in English.

- sílk^{W} **wila**:pá?ask^{W} — It's/it was blowing something awful.
  awful ... wind — *Silkw **wilaa** ba'askw.*

- sílk^{W} **wila**:ká?ask^{W}-t — The look on h. face could kill.
  awful ... look-3 — (the way s/he looked [at people] was awful) *Silkw **wilaa** ga'askwt.*

- ?á:m **wila**: wíl-n==a — How are you? (lit. are you well?)
  good ... be/do-2S==Q — *Aam **wilaa** wilina?*

  ?á:m **wila**: wíl-ỷ — - Fine. (lit. I am well).
  good ... be/do-1S — - *Aam **wilaa** wiliỷ.*

- t ḵún mə tim **wila**:tóx̣-[t]=ɬ?an?ún-n
  DM this 2E FUT ... put.s.PL-[3]=NC hand-2S
  Place your hands this way.
  *Tgun mi dim **wilaa** doḵhl an'unin.*

- sim ?á:m **wila**: məcáp-T-t — You made it really well.
  really good ... 2E make.s.-3 — *Sim aam **wilaa** mi jabit.*

- ċəsimqaqítk^{W} mə **wila**: ẇá-tT-t
  though very hard 2E ... find.s.-DEF-3
  Even though you might find it very hard, ...
  *Ts'i sim gagetkw mi **wilaa** ẇadit, ...*

5.16.B.8.a.2. <u>After transitive verb</u>:

- tim[k^{W}in-ká?-tT]-ə-ỷlo:-n — I'll show you ...
  FUT [...-see.s.-...]$_{JUS}$-CTL-1S IND-2S — *Dim gwinga'atdiỷ loon ...*

  ... **wila**: hó:x-s-t — ... how it's used.
  ... use.s.-PASS-3 — ... ***wilaa** hookst.*

... **wila:** nəhó:x-T-t
... 1E use.s.-DEF-3
... how I use it.
... ***wilaa ni hooyit.***

5.16.B.8.a.3. After qani: 'continuing indefinitely, no end in sight, can't seem to stop' *ganii* (this word seems to be a kind of P_A but it is most often used in combination with **wila:** *wilaa*, so that some speakers treat qani:**wila:** *ganii wilaa* as a single subordinator).

P_A: • qani: **wila:** wóx̲-[t]=ɬ ẇi:ʔùs-ti.t
... ... bark=NC big dog-3P
Their dog barks continually/has been barking continually/can't seem to stop barking.
*Ganii **wilaa** wox̲hl ẇii usdiit.*

P_{EA}: • qani: **wila:** nəhó:x-t
... ... 1S.E use.s.-3
I continue to use it/I have been using it all this time (and have no intention of stopping).
*Ganii **wilaa** ni hooxt.*

qani:-t **wila:** ká:ɬkʷ-[t]=ɬ kàt==ki:
... -3E ... spear.s.-[3]=NC man==DIST
The man continued to spear them... (105.4)
***Ganii t wilaa** gahlkwhl gat-gi.*

5.16.B.8.b. In combination with question word: (see Indefinite pronouns, 5.6.A.2.a.3.b.3.)

5.16.B.8.b.1. **nta wila:** 'how...?' *nda wilaa ...?*

P_A: • ntà=ɬ **wila:** wíl-n
which.way=NC how be/do-2S
How are you?[16]
*Ndahl **wilaa** wilin?*

• ntà **wila:** hó:ks-t
... ... used-3
How is it used?
*Nda **wilaa** hookst?*

P_{EA}: • ntà mə **wila**: hó:x-T-t — How do/did you use it?
... 2S.E ... use.s.-DEF-3 — *Ndə mi **wilaa** hooyit?*

• ntà **wila**:-tcip)cáp-[t]=ɬẇaɬin-ki)kát=ɬqa-hu)wílp-ti:t
... ...-3e PL)make.s.-[3]=NC former-PL)person=NC DIST-PL)house-3PL
How did the old people (= ancestors) build their houses?
*Nda **wilaat** jipjaphl ẇahlingigathl gahuwilpdiit?*

5.16.B.8.c. Part of morphosyntactic frames: see Frames 7.3.B.2.a.

5.16.B.8.d. Used as prefix: see 7.1.B.3.b.4.

5.16.B.9. **q̇ay** 'still happening, just happened' *k'ay*

5.16.B.9.a. With non-reduplicated predicate stem: 'just now, just happened (cf. Fr. *venir de* (+ verb)).

• **q̇ay** ẇítk^{W}-t ʔa=ɬ kinqúlx — S/he just came back from Kincolith.
... be.back-3S PREP=NC Kincolith — *K'ay ẇitkwt ahl Gingolx.*

• **q̇ay** ɬísk^{W}-m̓ — We've just finished.
... finish-1P — *K'ay hlisgum̓.*

• n̓ak^{W}=ɬ **q̇ay** kúk^{W}sk^{W}-n — I bet you just woke up!
EVID=NC ... wake.up-2S — *N̓akwhl k'ay gyukwsgwin!*

This is also the meaning of **q̇ay** *k'ay* when used with the auxiliary **ɬisk^{W}** 'finished' *hliskw* (5.12.B.)

• **q̇ay ɬisk^{W}**=ɬ yòʔoks+nóʔoɬ-ỷ — I have just about finished the dishes.
... finished=NC wash+dishes-3 — *K'ay hliskwhl yo'oksno'ohliỷ.*

- q̓ay ɬiskʷ nəyóʔoks-t — I have just about finished washing it.
  ... ... 1S.E wash.s.-3 — ***K̲'ay hliskw*** *ni yo'okst.*

5.16.B.9.b. Usually with partially reduplicated stem: 'still' (continuing action which is expected to end; surprise that it hasn't ended yet)(≠ qani: wila: *ganii wila:* 5.16.B.8.a.3.)

Partial reduplication may affect the main predicate (if a P_A), or an auxiliary or other initial predicate:

5.16.B.9.b.1. With main predicate (P_A):

- q̓ay ki)ké:ɬ-t — S/he is still in bed.
  ... ASP)lie-3 — ***K̲'ay gigeehlt.***

- q̓ay hu)wóq-t — S/he is still asleep.
  ... ASP)sleep-3 — ***K̲'ay huwok̲t.***

- q̓ay pi)pé:pi:-t — S/he is still a baby.
  ... ASP)baby-3 — ***K̲'ay bibeebiit.***

- q̓ay ɬi)ɬku=tk̓íɬkʷ-t — S/he is still a child.
  ... ASP)little=child-3 — ***K̲'ay hlihlgutk'ihlkwt.***

- qay ku)kʷiné:qamksk̓i:huxʷk̓áckʷ-ỷ
  ... ASP)cool and again land-1S
  I come back [from fishing] when it is still cool. (59.1)
  K̲'ay gugwineegamks, kii huxw k'atsgwiỷ.

but q̓ay *k̲'ay* is also found without reduplication with this meaning:

- q̓ay ɬíntx-[t]=s[t]Màry tis-wil-[t]w̓ítkʷ-[t]=ɬnàks-t
  ... mad-[3]=DC[DM] M. when-as come.back-[t]=NC spouse-3

Mary was still mad when her husband came home.
K'ay hlintxs Mary diswil ẇitkwhl nakst.

5.16.B.9.b.2. With auxiliary **yuk^{W}** 'progressive' *yukw*: used with intransitive and transitive verbs:

P_A: • **q̓ay hi)**yùk^{W}=ɬ haɬál̓sT-t	S/he is still working.
still ASP)AUX=NC work-3	***K'ay hiyukwhl hahlal̓sit.***
P_{EA}: • **q̓ay hi)**yùk^{W}-tyó?oks-t	S/he is still washing it.
... ASP)AUX-3 wash.s.-3	***K'ay hiyukwt yo'okst.***
q̓ay hi)yùk^{W} nəyó?oks-t	I am still washing it.
... ASP)AUX 1S.E wash.s.-3	***K'ay hiyukw ni yo'okst.***

5.16.B.9.c. Used as prefix: see 7.1.B.3.b.3.

5.16.B.10. **tis wil-**... 'at the time when ..., at the same time as ...' (simultaneous but unrelated events) *dis wil...*

This expression functions as a subordinator; the meaning and status of **tis** *dis* (which is sometimes used by itseld) are unclear and *wil* **wil** here is the predicate meaning 'be,do,act', not the subordinator (cf. **qan wil-** *gan wilt...*, 5.16.B.1.). It is usually linked by connective to the following clause, as is normal of predicate complementation, and followed by a 3 suffix pronoun at the end of a clause, but some speakers treat it as a subordinator and simply use **tis wil** *diswil* without connective before a clause.

- q̓am xpíl̓=ɬ qapì:-[t]=ɬ x̌k̓ú:ɬk^{W}-[t]=s[t] Mary
  just ten=NC amount-[t]=NC age-[3]=DC [DM] M.
  tis wil-[t]=ɬ táx^{W}-[t]=ɬ?ankikátk^{W}-t
  ... ...-[3]=NC die.PL-[3]=NC parent.PL-3

Mary was only ten years old when her parents died.
*K'am xbiłhł gabiihł xk'uuhłkws Mary **dis wilh**ł daxwhł angigatkwt.*

- q̓ayhi)yùk^{W}=ɬ wiyítk^{W}-[t]=s[t]Màry
  still ASP)PROG=NC cry-[3]=DC]DM] M.
  tis wil-[t]=ɬ ẇítk^{W}-[t]=ɬ nàks-t
  ... ...-[3]=NC come.back=NC spouse-3
  Mary was still crying when her husband came home.
  *K'ay hiyukwhł wiyitkws Mary **dis wilh**ł ẇitkwhł nakst.*

5.16.B.11. Predicate + cə *ji/ja* used as subordinator: The two expressions *upji/upja* and *mooji/mooja* are used as subordinators but seem to consist of a predicate (otherwise unused) followed by the subordinator cə *ji/ja* (5.16.B.4.).

Compare these two sentences said by the same character before and after facing danger:

- ʔùp cə ṁúẇ-ỷ
  ... ... die-1S
  Oh no, I am going to die! (74.4)
  May I live through this!
  ***Upji** ṁuẇiỷ!*

- q̓am **mò**: cəṁúẇ-ỷ
  just die-1S
  I just barely escaped death! (76.13-14)
  *K'am **mooji** ṁuẇiỷ!*

with other instances of predicate complementation, as in

- ʔá:**m** cə ṁúk^{W}-ỷ
  good ... catch-1S
  Hope I catch something (while fishing)!
  *Ám **ji** ṁugwiỷ!*

5.16.B.11.a. ʔup cə 'anticipating that... just in case..., lest ..., God forbid that... (something bad should happen)' *upji/upja*.

- hó:x-ə-t=ɬqanḵikó:ks-t — S/he wore h. lifejacket ...
  wear.s.-CTL-3=NC lifejacket-3 — *Hooyithl gangigyookst* ...

P_A: ʔup cə xháyk^W-[t]=ɬ pò:t — ... in case the boat capsized.
... ... capsize-{3}=NC boat — ... ***upja xhaykwhl boot***.

P_{EA}: ʔup cə-txháyk^W-ʔn-[t]=ɬ ẇi: qò:p=ɬ pó:t
... ...-3E capsize-CAUS-{3}=NC big wave=NC boat
... in case a big wave made the boat capsize.
... ***upjit xhaykw'inhl ẇii goophl boot***.

5.16.B.11.b. mò: cə 'almost (happened but didn't)' *mooji/mooja*

P_A: • mò: cə tik^{W}ántk^W-ẏ — I almost fell.
... ... fall-1S — ***Mooji t'igwantgwiẏ***.

• mò: cəxháyk^W-[t]=ɬ pó:t-m̓ — Our boat almost capsized.
... ... capsize-{3}=NC boat-1P — ***Mooji xhaykwhl boodim̓***.

PE_A: • mò: cənəṫák-[t]=ɬ haq̓áq̓aʔ-ẏ — I almost forgot my key.
... ... 1S.E forget.s.-{3}=NC key-1S — ***Mooji ni t'akhl haxg̓'axg̓'aẏ***.

• mò: cə nə ʔax wilá:x-n — I almost didn't recognize you.
... ... capsize-{3}=NC boat-1P — ***Mooji ni ax wilaayin***.

5.17. COORDINATORS

The inclusive coordinator qan 'and, including' *gan* is used almost exclusively to coordinate nominals, rarely clauses; the exclusive coordinator ʔo: 'or' *oo* can coordinate both nominals and clauses, in combination with other morphemes.

When a coordinated phrase is focused, only the first element is anteposed; the coordinator and the rest of the phrase are placed after the rest of the predicate

phrase. (This however is changing under the influence of English).

When followed by a nominal, qan *gan* is followed by the appropriate connective (6.2.B.): =S before determinates (including the ɂí-pronouns, 5.8.), =ɬ *-hl* before non-determinates; ʔo: *oo* is always followed by the modifier liɬi: 'about, maybe' *ligii* (5.15.B.42.); before a clause, the subordinator cə 'if..., whether...' *ji/ja* (5.16.E.) also intervenes; either morpheme precludes the use of a connective.

5.17.A. Inclusive qan 'and, including' *gan*:

Coordination applies almost exclusively to nominal phrases. Linking two clauses or sentences usually requires subordination (with ɬi: *ɬ'ii*, 5.16.B.5.). Adjectives cannot be coordinated:[17] they are predicates and require separate clauses (5.3.).

5.17.A.1. After plural: the noun after qan *gan* introduces precisions about the exact composition of the group the most significant member of which indicated by a previous plural noun or pronoun (independent or suffixed):

tip Peter qan=s[t] Joe DM.PL P. ...=DC{DM J.	'Peter and Joe' (a group, headed by Peter, which includes Joe) *dip Peter gans Joe*
tipnikʷòːt-ɂ qan=s[t]nóːɂ DM.PL father-1S ...=DC{DM} mother.1S	'my parents, my father and mother' *dip nigwoodiɂ gans nooɂ*
ɂùːɂ qan=snikʷóːt-ɂ us ...=DC father-1S	'my father and I' (lit. we, including my father) *ɂuuɂ gans nigwoodiɂ*

•ɂi[t]=ɬ ɬiːsim qal luː=ʔam)ʔáːm-[t]=ɬ qa-qóːt-t[18] qan=ɬ ɬku niči ċ-t
that's-{3}=NC and really in-PL)good-{3}=NC DISTR-heart-3 ...=NC little granny-3

Then he and his grandmother were overjoyed. (119.13-14)
Ṅihl k'ii sim gal luu'am'aamhl gagoott[18] ***gan****hl hlgu nits'iits't.*

5.17.A.2. <u>with singular noun-phrase</u>: here qan *gan* means simply 'and':

ksax̣ ṅi ẏ qan=s [t] ṅi:n 'only you and I'
only me ...=DC [DM] you *ksax̱ ṅiiẏ gans ṅiin*

- ci ti: k^{W}iṅá-(y)ə-n=ɬhax^{W}ták^{W} qan=ɬ hawíl
  IRR too ask.for.s.-CTL-2S=NC bow ...=NC arrow
  You should ask for a bow and arrows too! (like the others) (142.6-7)
  Ji dii gwiṅayinhl haxwdakw ***gan****hl hawil!*

In an enumeration, qan *gan* can be repeated before each item (here the repetition seems to emphasize the superabundance of food):

- mítk^{W}=ɬ qalc̓àp ʔa=ɬ hón qan=ɬ yáʔ qan=ɬ tx̣úx qan=ɬ ʔílx̣ qan=ɬ cí:x^{W} qan=ɬ t̓ípin qan=ɬ ɬpín
  full=NC village PREP=NC fish ...=NC spring.salmon ...=NC halibut ...=NC seal ...=NC porpoise ...=NC sealion ...=NC whale
  The village was full of salmon, and spring salmon, and halibut, and seals, and porpoises, and sealions, and whales. (180.14-181.2)
  Mitkwhl galts'ap ahl hoon ***gan****hl ya'a* ***gan****hl tx̱ox* ***gan****hl ilx̱* ***gan****hl jiixw* ***gan****hl t'ibin* ***gan****hl hlbin.*

However it is more usual to have only one qan *gan* in enumerations of this type.

5.17.A.3. <u>Focused constituent includes qan *gan*:</u>

Only the first element of the coordinated is in focused position; the rest, with qan *gan*, comes after the predicate phrase. (Under the influence of English, many YFS place the entire coordinated phrase in focused position).

Focused S coordinated with other nominal:

- hax^{W}ták^{W}=ɬ hò:x-s-(ə)t **qan**=ɬ hawíl
  bow=NC use.s.-PASS-REL ...=NC arrow
  Bows and arrows were used (lit. a bow was used, and arrows).
  *Haxwdakwhl hooksit, **ganhl** hawil.*

Focused Object:

- ksaxhax^{W}ták^{W}=ɬ ti: cáp-ə-t **qan**=ɬ hawíl
  only bow=NC INTS make.s.-CTL-3 ...=NC arrow
  He did nothing but make bows and arrows. (169.3-4)
  *Ksax haxwdakwhl dii jabit, **ganhl** hawil.*

Focused E:

- ksax ɬku niči:c̓ t ʔan kíp-t, **qan**=ɬ ɬku k^{W}è:ʔ-m ɬku-tk̓íɬk^{W}
  only little grandmother 3E REL.E eat.s.-3 ...=NC little poor-ATTR little-*child
  Only the grandmother and the poor boy ate it. (152.10-11)
  (lit. it was only the grandmother that ate it, and the poor boy)
  *Ksax hlgu nits'iits' t an gipt, **ganhl** hlgu gwee'em hlgutk'ihlkw.*

5.17.B. Alternative ʔO: 'or' *oo*: This morpheme seems to be a preposition on a par with *gan*, however it is not indispensable in the statement of an alternative.

5.17.B.1. Coordinating noun-phrases: ʔO: *oo* is always followed by the modifier **liki**: 'about, maybe, for instance' *ligii* (5.15.B.42.), preventing the use of a connective. A phrase coordinated with ʔO: *oo* is usually focused; only the first element is anteposed, and ʔO: *oo* and the second element come after the predicate phrase.

- qán=ɬ hó:ks-(ə)t ʔO: **liki**: čip — Wood or bone was used.
  wood=NC used-REL ... ... bone — *Ganhl hooksit, **oo ligii** ts'ip.*

- qán=ɬ hó:x-ti:t ʔo: liɬi: číp
  wood=NC use.s.-3P ... ... bone
  They used wood or bone.
  Ganhl hooxdiit, oo ligii ts'ip.

However, under the influence of English, YFS tend to place the entire coordinated phrase in focused position. As well, because of the frequent association of the subordinator cə 'whether' *ji/ja* with ʔo: *oo* (5.17.B.2. below), some YFS treat ʔo: cə liɬi: *oo ji ligii* as a single unit which they use in all alternative statements (cf. 5.16.B.4.).

5.17.B.2. Coordinating alternative clauses:

The first clause is a complete interrogative clause including the interrogative postclitic ==a (==i after demonstrative) (6.3.A.1.a.), with the relevant word(s) in initial position. This means that words other than the clause predicate are in focused position.

The second clause includes only the alternative portion introduced by ʔo: 'or' *oo*; this complete clause is introduced by the subordinator cə 'whether' *ji/ja* (5.16.B.4.), and the modifier liɬi: 'for instance, perhaps, maybe ....' *ligii* (5.15.B.42.) which leaves open the possibility of other alternatives yet. The following examples are of sentences with alternative clause predicates.

5.17.B.2.a. Alternative PA:

- ɬku kát=ɬ ɬku pè:pi:==(y)a
  little man=NC little baby==Q
  Is the baby a boy or a girl?
  (lit. is the baby a boy...
  Hlgu gathl hlgu beebiiya...

  ʔo: cə liɬi: ɬkuhanáq̓-t
  ... ... little woman-3
  ... or whether it is a girl)
  ... ***oo ji ligii hlgu hanak̲'t?***

- tim ʔá:t ɲì:n==a
  FUT fish.w.net you==Q
  Are you going fishing...
  Dim aat ɲiina...

  ʔo: cə tim liɬi:si:ĺíńskʷ-n
  ... ... FUT hunt-2S
  ... or hunting?
  ... ***oo ji dim ligii siiliŋsgwin?***

5.17.B.2.b. Alternative PEA:

- ni:məcáp-[t]==ɬswéta-n==a — Did you make your sweater...
  not 2E make.s.-[3]=NC sweater-2S==Q — *Nii mi japhl swetana* ...
  ʔo: cə liki: məkí:kʷ-t — ... or buy it?
  ... ... 2E buy.s.-3 — ... ***oo ji ligii*** *mi giikwt?*

5.17.B.2.c. The same morphemes are also used to coordinate alternative indirect questions (see cə 'whether' *ji/ja* 5.16.B.4.).

5.18. PREPOSITION.

There is only one preposition in Nisgha. This preposition, ʔa *a* has a very general meaning. It precedes clausal and sentential complements: it occurs both before nominals and adverbs and before clauses. Except before Indirect Objects, ʔa *a* seems to be used much less by YFS than OFS: probably under the influence of English, locational prefixes (7.1.B.2.b.4.) tend to be perceived as prepositions.

ʔa *a* also occurs as a subordinator (5.16.B.4.), a role which seems derived from its prepositional role.

5.18.A. Used before nominal: in a variety of clausal complement roles:

5.18.A.1. Indirect Object: (see also Indirect pronouns, 5.9. above)

5.18.A.1.a. Basic role:

- ɲi[t]=ɬ ɬ̓i: ʔálkax-[t]=ɬ ɬ̓ò:l-[t]=ɬ kàt ʔa=s[t]c̓ák
  that's=NC and speak-[3]=NC one[person]-[3]=NC man ...=DC[DM]Ts'ak
  Then a man spoke to Ts'ak. (120.5-6)
  Ńihl k'ii algaxhl k'yoolhl gat as Ts'ak.

- kìlò mə cə [k^{W}in-ká?-tT]-t?a=ɬwák-n
  don't 2E IRR show.s.-3 ...=NC M's.brother-2S
  Don't show it to your brother! (195.8)
  Gilo mi ji gwin-ga'adit ahl wagin!

- tim sə-swéta ɲì:ỷ ?a=s [t] Máry I am going to make a sweater for Mary.
  FUT make-sweater me ...=DC [DM] M. *Dim sisweta ɲiiỷ as Mary.*

- tim k^{W}a:s+tá:la ɲì:ỷ ?a=s [t] Máry
  FUT borrow+money me ...=DC [DM] M.
  I am going to borrow money from Mary.
  Dim gwaasdaala ɲiiỷ as Mary.

5.18.A.1.b. Derived role:

- original Specified Complement, appears clause-finally after the preposition when another constituent is focused: (see 4.7.B.2.)

- ná:=ɬ wá-(ə)t ?a=s [t] Péter — Who is called Peter?
  who=NC name-REL ...=DC [DM] P. *Nahl wat as Peter?*

- ɲí[t]=ɬ siwá-tT-ə-m̓ ?a=ɬ tíkit — That's what we call *digit* [smoked oolichans].
  that's=NC name.s.-DEF-CTL ...=NC smoked.oolichans *Ɲihl siwatdim̓ ahl "digit."*

- original transitive Object, appears as Indirect Object of Antipassive:

- simɲák^{W}=ɬkipè?esk^{W}-ỷ ?a=s [t] Máry ?i: ni:-ti: ?á:t̓iksk^{W}-t
  really long=NC wait(AP.I)-1S ...=DC [DM] M. and not-INTS arrive-3
  I waited around a long time for Mary and she didn't come.
  Sim ɲakwhl gibe'esgwiỷ as Mary ii nidii aat'ikskwt.

5.18.A.2. Circumstantial complements:

- means, instrument:

- ɬ̓i:=yác-ə-t=ɬ laχ̣-ʔáks**ʔa**=ɬ ɬə wáqɬ-t
  on=strike.s.-CTL-3=NC on-water ...=NC the beavertail-3
  He [the beaver] struck the surface of the water with his tail. (75.15-76.1)
  Ɬ̓iiyajiithl laɣ'aks ahl hli waɣhlt.

- location: the nominal or adverb following **ʔa** *a* gives the site of the action indicated by the verb; the manner, motion, etc. of this action may be precised by a proclitic:

- cə k̓aχ̣ t̓á: ɬ̓i:n **ʔa**=ɬ kilílx
  IRR for.a.while sit you ...-NC on.hill
  [You should] sit somewhere above the village (91.1-2)
  Ji k'aɣ t'aa ɬ̓iin ahl gililx.

- ɬ̓i[t]=ɬ k̓i:-t simí+=[ɬ] lák^{W} **ʔa**=ɬ ɬáx^{W}-t
  that's=NC and-3E light.s.=[NC] firewood ...=NC underside-3
  Then he lit a fire underneath. (89.10)
  Ɬ̓ihl k'iit simihl lakw ahl hlaxwt.

- ɬ̓i[t]=ɬ k̓i:lámcaχ̣-t[19] **ʔa**=ɬwílp-t
  that's=NC and enter.PL ...=NC house-3
  Then they went into his house. (Boas)
  Ɬ̓ihl k'ii lamjaɣt ahl wilpt.

- ẃítk^{W}-t **ʔa**=ɬ laχ̣-sqaɬ̓íst ɬ̓i[t]=ɬ k̓i: ɬ̓a:=páχ̣-t **ʔa**=ɬ qalc̓áp
  come.from-3 ...=NC on-mountain that's=NC and from.woods=run-3 ...=NC village
  Once he was back from the mountain, he ran down to the village. (93.13-14)
  Ẃitkwt ahl laɣ sgaɬ̓ist, ɬ̓ihl k'ii ɬ̓aabaɣt ahl galts'ap.

- ɬ̓i:=ỷáq=ɬ ʔù:q **ʔa**=ɬ laχ̣-qán
  on=hang=NC copper ...=NC on-tree
  There is a copper hanging on a tree. (139.1-2)
  Ɬ̓iiỷaɣhl uuɣ ahl laɣ gan.

- k̓i:hak^{W}in=yé:-[t]=ɬ kàt **ʔa**=ɬ ʔawá?-t
  and towards=walk-[3]=NC man ...=NC proximity-3

... and a man came towards him(138.14-15).
... *k'ii hagwinyeehl gat ahl awa'at.*

- Time:

- k̓ɪ:-t n̓a:=wílq-T-[t]=ɬ ɬə smáx-t ʔa=ɬ w̓i: sá
  and-3E from.woods=transport.s.-DEF-[3]=NC the meat-3 ...=NC big day

... and he spent all day transporting the meat [of the grizzly he had killed] back to the village (119.9) ... *k'iit n̓aawilgahl hli smaxt ahl w̓ii sa.*

- ʔa cə t̓a:ɬák^{w} ... tomorrow [OFS].
  ... IRR tomorrow ... *a ji t'aahlakw.*

5.18.B. Used before clauses:

5.18.B.2. As subordinator: see 5.16.B.6.

5.18.B.1. Preceding other subordinators: Since ʔa *a* usually introduces a circumstantial complement, it can often be found in front of clauses beginning with other subordinators (see examples in 5.16.B.6.).

NOTES ON CHAPTER 5

[1] The word **cák$^{\blacktriangledown}$** 'to kill s.' *jakw* refers to a method other than shooting, involving direct contact between killer and killed,(e.g. stabbing, beating to death., etc.). In this case, Ts'ak (Boas 1902) killed the grizzly by being snuffed in by him and lighting a fire in its belly.

[2] From the Nisgha translation of the Lord's Prayer, by the Rev. Hubert McMillan and other Nisgha elders.

[3] See Tarpent 1983:a for an attempt at isolating number morphemes and reconstructing the original meanings of some of the number words.

[4] example taken from *Liligidim Amadalg'askw*.

[5] These phenomena have been linked (Jelinek 1986) to an 'argument hierarchy' of 1/2 over 3; however, they are also explainable by the pronominal argument structure of the predicate phrase (4.3.), since pronouns, take precedence over nouns, which are only Adjuncts.

[6] As the Gitksan equivalent is **ʔalo**:- *aloo...* , it is possible that these pronouns are related to the noun **ʔali**- *ali...* 'towards, around...'

[7] See remark below, 5.12.A.4.

[8] Some people also use **ʔatóʔ-n** *Ado'on!* for the singular, showing analogical P_A patterning.

[9] The auxiliary **ṅak$^{\blacktriangledown}$** *ṅakw* which never bears primary stress should not be confused with its homonym, the adjective **ṅák$^{\blacktriangledown}$** '(time) to be long ' *ṅakw*. Compare:

•**ṅàk^{W}**=ɬ sí:pk^{W}-n	You must be sick!
EVID=NC sick-2S	*Ṅakwhl siipgwin!*
•**ṅák^{W}**=ɬ sì:pk^{W}-n	You were sick a long time.
long.time=NC sick-2S	*Ṅakwhl siipgwin.*

Only the adjective **ṅák$^{\blacktriangledown}$** *ṅakw* can be used with the Interrogative postclitic **=a**: *...a:*

•ṅák^{w}=ɬ sìpk^{w}-n==a	Were you sick a long time?
long.time=NCsick-2S==Q	*Ṅakwhl siipgwina?*

[10] Belvin also gives **lip q̓úc-ə-t lip ṅit** as a translation of English "He cut himself" (1984): this sentence is about as natural as "He himself cut his own self, he cut his own self by himself." A Nisgha speaker would give a more precise description, such as

• q̓úc-ə-t=ɬ?an?ún-t	S/he cut his/her hand.
cut.s.-CTL-3=NC hand-3	*Kojithl an'unt.*

[11] In most cases the corresponding plural forms have the characteristically plural reduplicated shape (**8.**) and do not include a prefixed modifier: e.g. **qas)qisk▼** *gasgeskw* pl. of **ɬku-qisk▼** *hlgugeskw* 'narrow, skinny.'

[12] The missionary McCullagh interpreted this as 'public people' (quoted in Raunet) but it is more likely that it means 'undisguised people'; in one Boas story a man has two wives, a grizzly woman (**ksim liḳiṅsk▼** *ksim lik'iṅskw*), who has some grizzly and some human attributes, and a real woman (**ksim ʔalu:ḳikát** *ksim aluugigat*).

[13] The transcription of this place-name, found in Boas, is approximate as I was not able to elicit an actual pronunciation.

[14] In this example, the subordinator **ɬa:** *hlaa* is part of the clause that is subordinated with **cə** *ji/ja*.

[15] cf. Fr. **où** [in relative, not interrogative use] has both locative and temporal meaning after a noun: **au moment où** *'at the moment when'* / **la fois où** *'the time when'* (**quand** *'when'* is ungrammatical after a noun) /**à l'endroit où** *'at the place where'.*

[16] A person asking this question expects a fairly detailed answer. The formalized Nisgha greeting corresponding to English 'How are you?' is **ʔá:m ▼ila: ▼íí-n==a** 'Are you well?' *Aam wilaa wiiina?* (5.16.B.8.a.1.).

[17] e.g. *a red and white house:* this type of expression is foreign to Nisgha although it may be found in translations from English. Descriptions are usually more precise in Nisgha: e.g. *an eagle is black with white head and tail:*

- t̓ú:c̓k^{W}=ɬ wilkàt-[t]=ɬ x̣ská:k An eagle is black
  black=NC color-[3]=NC eagle *T'uuts'kwhl wilgathl x̱sgaak*

ʔiisa:=má:ksk^{W}-[t]=ɬ t̓imqìs-t and its head is white [set off from the body]
  and off=white-[3]=NC heat-3 *ii saamaakskwhl t'imgest*

ʔiihux^{W}ti: wíl-[t]=ɬ q̓aɬy̓è:n-t and its tail is too.
  and also be/do-[3]=NC bird.tail-3 *ii huxwdii wilhl k̲'ahly̓eent.*

18 Modern usage would be: ... **qa-qó:t-ti:t** ... *gagootdiit* ... , with 3P ending (cf. 7.2.A.1.a.2.).

19 Modern usage would be **lámcax̱-ti:t** ... *lamjax̱diit* , with 3P ending (cf. 7.2.A.1.a.2.).

CHAPTER 6: CLITICS

Clitics are semi-free morphemes, more flexible in their use than affixes: they do not become part of the word morphologically or syntactically but are bound to it phonologically. [1]

6.1. Clitics preceding the predicate:

6.1.A. Ergative pronouns:

6.1.A.1. Ergative personal pronouns:

6.1.A.1.a. Shapes:

	SG	PL
1	nə *ni/na*	tip *dip*
2	mə *mi/ma*	məsim *mi ... sim*
3	t *t*	t ... (-ti:t) *t ... (diit)*

6.1.A.1.b. Remarks:

6.1.A.1.b.1. 1E pronouns:

(a) The 1S.E pronoun nə *ni/na* is identical in shape with the frozen prefix present on senior kinship terms (7.1.B.1.b.1.b.2.), but this is most probably a coincidence as the frozen prefix is productive in Coast Tsimshian with the meaning 'alienated possession.'

(b) The 1P.E pronoun tip *tip* is identical in shape with the plural determinate marker (6.2.A.): there may ba a historical relationship. as both designate groups, but this is only conjectural as there is no parallel relationship with other morphemes.

6.1.A.1.b.2. 2E pronouns: The 2E pronoun is mə *mi/ma* for both singular and plural; the morpheme sim *sim* occurs only in the plural, after the ergative mə *mi/ma* from which it can be separated by FUT and IRR particles, as in.

- ni mə tim simstíl-ỷ==a
  not ... FUT ... accompany.s.-1S==QU
  Nii mi dim sim sdiliỷa?
  Are you (pl.) going to come with me?

- kilò mə cə simyòx̱k^{w}-ỷ
  Don't! ... FUT ...follow.s.-1S
  Gilo mi ji sim yox̱gwiỷ!
  Don't follow me! (to two or more)

The morpheme sim *sim* occurs with the verb in imperative constructions (4.3.D.1.b.), thus differentiating singular from plural Agent:

- simyòx̱k^{w}-ỷ
  ...follow.s.-1S
  Sim yox̱gwiỷ!
  Follow me! (to two or more)

- yòx̱k^{w}-ỷ
  follow.s.-1S
  Yox̱gwiỷ!
  Follow me! (to one)

This morpheme adds precision to the 2E pronoun and has no other function(it is homophonous with a modifier meaning 'really, very', 5.15.B.26., but it is unlikely that this is more than a coincidence). It if is also a pronoun, it is strange to have two E pronouns in the same clause: however, REL.E ʔan *an* (6.1.A.2.) is used only in conjunction with 3E t, and the 3P pronoun -tiːt ...*diit* complements 3E t to indicate a plural Agent. There are then other occurrences of two pronouns together, so perhaps sim can be considered a pronoun as well (these extra pronouns might be described as 'secondary pronouns').

6.1.A.1.b.3. 3E pronoun: For the 3rd person, the E pronoun is t; with a plural Agent, the 3P personal suffix -ti:t *...diit* (7.2.A.1.a.2.b.) is added to the verb only if there is no noun coreferring with the E pronoun: compare:

- ni:-ti:-tká?-ti:t — They didn't see it/him/her/them.
  not-INTS-**3E** see.s.-**3P** — *Nidiit ga'adiit*

  ni:-ti:-tká?-ti:t=ɬ ha:náɋ — They didn't see the women.
  not-INTS-**3E** see.s.-**3P**=NC women — *Nidiit ga'adiithl haanaɬ'*

  ni:-ti:-tká?-[t]=ɬ ha:nàɋ — The women didn't see it/him/her/them.
  not-INTS-**3E** see.s.-[3]=NC women — *Nidiit ga'ahl haanaɬ'*

(note the difference in stress on the noun, depending on whether it is Object or Agent).

6.1.A.1.b.4. Unlike the suffix pronoun series (7.2.A.1.), the ergative clitic pronoun series does not include an Impersonal member. The way to indicate an impersonal (unspecified) Agent is to use either a nominalization (if the sentence structure allows, 4.5.A.3.b.), or a Passive.

6.1.A.1.c. Occurrence of clitic pronouns with other pre-predicate morphemes: All ergative pronouns occur before the predicate, and may be separated from it by other morphemes, such as FUT and IRR particles (6.1.B.1.), modifiers (5.15.), and subordinators (5.16.).

With FUT tim *dim* and IRR cə *ji/ja* , as with the subordinators pronouns consisting of a resonant + unspecified vowel occur before the particle, those of other shapes occur after the particle (However, some YFS do not make his distinction and always place the E pronoun after the particle).

- ni: **mə tim** ti:qó?-ỷ==a: — Won't you (sg.) come and get me?
  not 2E FUT INTS go.get.s.-1S==Q — *Nii **mi dim** dii go'oỷ**a**?*

- ʔakúmə qan ʔaχqóʔ-ỷ — Why didn't you (sg.)come and get me?
  what? 2E why not go.get.s.-1S — *Agu mə gan aχ go'oỷ?*

- ntá mə tim qan ʔaχqóʔ-ỷ — Why won't you (sg.)come and get me?
  what? 2E FUT why not go.get.s.-1S — *Nda mi dim gan aχ go'oỷ?*

- ntá mə tim sim qan ʔaχ qóʔ-ỷ — Why won't you (pl.)come and get me?
  what? 2E FUT 2E.PL shy not go.get.s.-1S — *Nda mi dim sim gan aχ go'oỷ?*

- ɬa yùkʷ nə tim qóʔ-n — I am about to come and get you.
  now PROG 1S.E FUT go.get.s.-2S — *Hlaa yukw ni dim go'on.*

- ɬa yùkʷ tim tip qóʔ-n — We are about to come and get you.
  now PROG FUT 1P.E go.get.s.-2S — *Hlaa yukw dim dip go'on.*

- ɬa yùkʷ tim-t qóʔ-n t Pèter — Peter is about to come and get you.
  now PROG FUT-3E go.get.s.-2S DM P. — *Hlaa yukw dimt go'on t Peter.*
  PTCL ... tr.vb.

- qús-ə-ỷ nə tim qóʔ-n — I couldn't come and get you.
  can't-CTL-1S 1S.E FUT go.get.s.-2S — *Gosiỷ ni dim go'on.*

- ɲíɬt]nəqan ʔaχ qóʔ-n — That's why I didn't come and get you.
  that's 1S.E why not go.get.s.-2S — *Ni nə gan aχ go'on.*

- ɲíɬt]qannə tim qóʔ-n — That's why I will come and get you.
  that's why 1S.E FUT go.get.s.-2S — *Ni gan ni dim go'on.*

6.1.A.2. Ergative relative pronoun ʔan *an*:

The REL.E pronoun ʔan *an* always occurs together with the 3E pronoun t, whether before or after it. When 3E t is placed after the REL.E pronoun, it is often deleted in rapid speech, especially before another /t/ or an affricate.

this does not impede understanding since the presence of ʔan *an* is enough to indicate relativization, so the consciousness of 3E t seems to be on the wane with some YFS.

The REL.E pronoun may occur following its antecedent noun, as in:

- ná ==(y)əmaʔtim-t ʔan qóʔ-ẏ I wonder who [is the one' who] will come and get me!
  who?==DUB FUT-3E REL.E go.get.s.-1S
  Naayima'a dimt an go'oý!

- Péter tim-t ʔan qóʔ-n Peter [is the one who] will come and get you.
  P. FUT-3E REL.E go.get.s.-2S *Peter dimt an go'on.*

- ná t ʔan qóʔ-n Who came to get you?
  who? 3E REL.E go.get.s.-2S *Naa t an go'on?*

- pilíst t ʔan kú:[t]-[t]=ɬ ɬkú:ɬkʷ-n
  star 3E REL.E take.s.-[3]=NC child-2S
  It was a star that took your child (87.12)
  Bilíst t an guuhl hlguuhlgwin.

Or the antecedent may be unmentioned (Headless Agent-relative clause):

- wilá x-ə-n t ʔan kú:[t]-[t]=ɬ ɬkú:ɬkʷ-n==a
  know.s.-CTL-2S 3E REL.E take.s.-[3]=NC child-2S==QU
  You know who took your child? (87.11)
  Wilaayin t an guuhl hlguuhlgwina?

(see 6.1.B.2.b.2. for use with the Restrictive particle ɬə *hli/hla*).

6.1.B. Clitic particles:

6.1.B.1. The Modal particles FUT tim *dim* and IRR cə *ji/ja*:

Both of these particles could be described as belonging to a single category of potentiality, tim *dim* indicating strong or definite potentiality of an event that is certain or at least intended to happen (hence the future), cə *ji/ja* indicating indefinite potentiality, possibility, hypothesis. Both are used frequently in sentences with imperative function: tim *dim* is used to give orders, or very definite directions, cə *ji/ja* to make friendly or polite suggestions.

The two particles have some syntactic properties in common, but are not in complementary distribution since has a wider range of occurrence. The use of cə *ji/ja* as a particle should not be confused with its use as a subordinator (5.16.B.6.), although it is sometimes difficult to determine its exact function.

6.1.B.1.a. Properties common to FUT tim *dim* and IRR cə *ji/ja*:

6.1.B.1.a.1. Can occur in both regular and predicate-focused clauses:

Regular clauses:

- ɬìskʷ=ɬ tim χkó·fi:-n — After you drink your coffee [now], ...
  PERF=NC FUT have.coffee-2S — *Hliskwhl **dim** χkoofiin,...*
  tim ʔi:məlu:=yóʔoks-[t]=ɬ kóp-n — [I want you to] wash your cup.
  FUT and 2E in=wash.s.-[3]=NC cup-2S — ... ***dim** ii mi luuyo'okshl kobin.*

- ɬìskʷ cə χkó·fi:-n — After you drink your coffee [whenever], ...
  PERF IRR have.coffee-2S — *Hliskw **ji** χkoofiin,...*
  cə ʔi:məlu:=yóʔoks-[t]=ɬ kóp-n — please wash your cup
  IRR and 2E in=wash.s.-[3]=NC cup-2S — ... ***ji** ii mi luuyo'okshl kobin.*

Predicate-focused clause:

- timt̓á:n̓ì:n ʔa=s[t]kús[t] — Sit down over there! (lit. you are going to sit down: order) ***Dim** t'aa n̓iin as gus.*
  FUT sit you PREP=DC [DM that

cə ɬá ɲì n ʔa=s[t]kús[t]
IRR sit you PREP=DC [DM that

[You could] sit down over there!
(if you like: suggestion)
Ji t'aa ɲiin as gus.

- timɬax̣ɬimóːm-ə-n ɲìːɣ̓
  FUT just.now help.s.-CTL-2S me

  Dim ɬ'ax̣ ɬlimoomin ɲiiɣ̓.

  cə ɬax̣ɬimóːm-ə-n ɲìːɣ̓
  IRR just.now help.s.-CTL-2S me

  [I want you to] help me a minute (order)

  [You could/Please] help me a minute.
  How about giving me a hand.
  (polite request)
  Ji ɬ'ax̣ ɬlimoomin ɲiiɣ̓.

- cə tiː kʷiɲá-(y)ə-n=ɬ haxʷtákʷ qan=ɬ hawíl
  IRR too ask.for.s.-CTL-2S=NC bow and=NC arrow

  [You should] ask for a bow and arrow too [like the others]! (142.6-7)
  Ji dii gwiɲayinɬ haxwdakw ganɬ hawil.

6.1.B.1.a.2. Used before both main and downshifted predicates: (see predicate downshifting, 4.5.A.1.d.; this section does not apply to determinates): Note that the connective −ɬ ...*ɬ* is not used before cə *ji/ja*:

- timkíːkʷ-ə-ɣ̓=ɬ ...
  FUT buy.s.-CTL-1S=NC ...

  I am going to buy ...
  Dim giigwiɣ̓ɬ ...

  ... timhax̣miɣ̓éːn-ɣ̓
  ... FUT pipe-1S

  ... myself a pipe.
  ...***dim hax̣miɣ̓eeniɣ̓.***

  ... timhax̣miɣ̓éːn-[t]=s[t]nikʷóːt-ɣ̓
  ... FUT pipe-[3]=DC [DM] father-1S

  ... my father a pipe.
  ...***dim hax̣miɣ̓eens nigwoodiɣ̓.***

- cə kíːkʷ-ə-n ...
  IRR buy.s.-CTL-2S ...

  [You could] buy ...
  Ji giigwin ...

... cə haχmiy̓é:n-n
... IRR pipe-2S

... yourself a pipe!
...ji haχmiy̓eenin!

... cə haχmiy̓é:n-[t]=s[tɬ]hikʷó:t-n
... IRR pipe-[3]=DC [DM] father-2S

... your father a pipe!
...ji haχmiy̓eens nigwoodin!

- **tim** lip ẇá-(y)ə-ḿ=ɬ **tim** ńáx-ḿ
  FUT self obtain.s.-CTL-1P=NC FUT bait-1P

  We'll get our own bait (56.5-6).
  ***Dim** lip ẇayiḿɬ **dim** ńaaḿ.*

cəlip ẇá-(y)ə-siḿ cə ńáx-siḿ
IRR self obtain.s.-CTL-2P IRR bait-2P

[You could] get our own bait!
Ji lip ẇayisiḿ ji ńaχsiḿ!

6.1.B.1.a.3. Complementary distribution of the two particles: with many verbs that take a clausal Object, **tim** *dim* is used in the Object clause:

- t̓ák-ə-y̓ nə**tim**sqa=t̓ákʷ-[t]=ɬ pt̓ó?
  forget.s.-CTL-1S 1S.E. FUT barring=twist.s.-[3]=NC door

  I forgot to lock the door.
  *T'agiy̓ ni **dim** sgat'akwɬ pdo'o.*

mó:cə nə t̓ák-[t]nə **tim**sqa=t̓ákʷ-[t]=ɬ pt̓ó?
almost 1S.E forget.s.-[3] 1S.E. FUT barring=twist.s.-[3]=NC door

I almost forgot to lock the door.
*Mooji ni t'ak ni **dim** sgat'akwɬ pdo'o.*

But cə *ji/ja* is used after certain verbs, for instance the negative verb **kilǫ́** 'Don't!' *Gilo!* (5.13.C.), as in:

kilǫ̀ mə cə t̓ák-[t]mə cə sqa=t̓ákʷ-[t]=ɬ pt̓ó?
Don't 2E IRR forget.s.-[3] 2E. IRR barring=twist.s.-[3]=NC door

Don't forget to lock the door!
Gilo mi ji t'ak mi ji sgat'akwɬ pdo'o!

6.1.B.1.b. Specific properties of Cə IRR *ji/ja*:

6.1.B.1.b.1. Replaces or 'cancels' a connective: the presence of Cə *ji/ja* seems to 'cancel' the connective normally used in a sentence without the particle.

6.1.B.1.b.1.a. Before non-determinates: (see also examples in 6.1.B.1.a.2.). In the following examples with negatively focused constituents, the particle emphasizes the unreality of the denied statement:

- ni:-ki: t ná cətìlimxkʷ-(ə)t — There wasn't anyone who answered.
  not-INTS DM who IRR answer-REL *Nigitnaa ji dilimxgwit.*

(compare with a sentence without the particle, but with connective:

ni:-ki: t ná=ɬ tìlimxkʷ-(ə)t — Nobody answered.
not-INTS DM who=NC answer-REL *Nigitnaahl dilimxgwit.*)

- ni:-ti: ńí:ɣ cəć̓àl-m+tkʷá-(ə)t lò:-t — They are not my glasses!
  not-INTS me IRR eye-ATTR+glass-REL IND-3 *Nidii ńiiɣ ji ts'alim tgwat loot!*

- ni:-ti: ńí:n cəʔasáɣ-(ə)t cə hiɬáqT-ət — It isn't your leg that's broken!
not-INTS you IRR leg-REL IRR broken-REL (It isn't you whose leg is broken)
Nidii ńiin ji asaɣt ji hihlagat!

- ni:-ti: k̓ʷiɬ t̓á:-[t] cə ti: kimxtí-ɣ
  not-INTS around exist-[3] IRR INTS opp.sex.sibling-1S
  I don't have a brother (W)/sister (M).
  (lit. my ... doesn't exist)
  Nidii kw'ihl t'aa ji dii gimxdiɣ.

In the following sentence, the two particles occur together: Cə *ji/ja* reinforces the negative verb with is the higher predicate, while tim *dim* is part of the predicate phrase in the following headless Object-relative clause:

- ni:-ki: skɪ-t cə tim kíp-ə-[t]=ɬ ɬkù:ɬk^{W}-[t]=ɬsim?ó·kit
  not-INTS there.is-3 IRR FUT eat.s.-CTL-[3]=NC child-[3]=NC chief
  There was nothing for the chief's daughter to eat. (146.2.)
  Nigii sgit ji dim gibihl hlguuhlkwhl sim'oogit.

6.1.B.1.b.1.b. Before determinates: unlike tim FUT *dim*, cə IRR *ji/ja* can occur before determinates. Therefore it is followed by the Determinate Marker t before a singular determinate word in all cases, including those which would otherwise require the Determinate Connective =S, after which the DM t would disappear through consonant-deletion (Connectives 6.2.B., Determinate Markers 6.2.A.).

In predicate-focused clause, t normally appears on the surface: compare:

- timc̓iláyx^{W}-ə-n t Máry — [I want you to] go visit Mary.
  IRR visit.s.-CTL-2S IRR DM M. — *Dim ts'ilaywin t Mary.*

- cəc̓iláyx^{W}-ə-n cə t Máry — [You could/might] go visit, say, Mary!
  IRR visit.s.-CTL-2S IRR DM M. — *Ji ts'ilaywin ji t Mary!*

6.1.B.1.b.2. Occurs before Complements: A few examples:

Focused locative complement:

- cəsilày̓s-m xpí:s cə wil lu:-skí-y̓
  IRR enlarged-ATTR box IRR where in=lie-1S
  How about making my grave-box larger! (7.10)
  (lit. suppose it were an enlarged box where I might lie)
  Ji silay̓sim gbiis ji wil lu:gí-y̓

Time adverbials indicating future time: (the particle is optional it the word already has future meaning):

cəkú:n̓	'in just a minute, in a moment'
... now	*ji guun̓*
cəkaχ̣kú ...	When [in the future] ...?
... when?	*Ji gaxgu* ...
(cə)t̓a:ɬák^{W}	'tomorrow'
... tomorrow	*(ji) t'aahlakw*
cəqató:ʔ-t	'the day after tomorrow (lit. on the
...beyond-3	other side of it)' *ja gadoo'ot*

6.1.B.2. The Restrictive particle ɬə *hli/hla*:

6.1.b.2.a. In noun-phrase: placed before a possessed noun (3.2.A.2.), the particle ɬə *hli/hla* seems to indicate that this noun is viewed as a part separate from the whole; it also conveys the emotional detachment of the speaker: 'the ... [of /the ...].[2]

6.1.B.2.a.1. Non-generic possession:

ɬə mà:s-[t]=ɬ sku:sí:t	'the peel of a potato, potato peelings'
... peel-[3]=NC potato	*hli maashl sguusiit*
ɬə má:s-t	'the peel'
... peel-3	*hli maast*
ɬə ɬk̓ì-[t]=ɬ smáx	'the young of a bear; bear cubs'
... children-[3]=NC bear	*hli hlgihl smax*
ɬə ɬk̓í-t	'the young, the cubs'
... children-3	*hli hlgit*

ɬə ɬkílk^{W}-ɣ̓	'my sweat' (lit. the sweat of me)
... sweating-1S	*ɬli ɬlgilgwiɣ̓*

6.1.B.2.a.2. Generic possession: the noun is suffixed with the Definite Medial suffix (7.2.C.1.b.)

ɬə qàn-(t)T-[t]=ɬ qán	'the trunk of a/the tree'
... tree=DEF-[3]=NC tree	*ɬla gandihl gan*
ɬə mè:q-T-[t]=ɬ skinísT	'the cones of a/the pine'
... cone=DEF-[3]=NC pine	*ɬla meegahl sginist*

6.1.B.2.a.3. Nominalization of a P_{EA}: see 4.5.A.3.b., 7.2.C.1.a.1.c.

6.1.B.2.b. In relative clauses: (cf. 4.7.A.) In some environments the use of the particle is obligatory, in others it adds restrictive meaning.

6.1.B.2.b.1. Before verb. in Object-relative clause: If the relativized noun is not mentioned, it is obligatorily replaced by the particle in the relative clause:

- ɬa:-t huxʷ ẃá-[t]=ɬ ɬə ẃá-(y)ə-[t]=ɬ wàk-t
  now-3E again reach.s.-[3]=NC ... reach.s.-CTL-[3]=NC M's brother-3
  When again he reached the [place that] his brother had reached ... (202.4-5)
  Hlaat huxw ẃahl ɬli ẃayihl wakt ...

Such a clause may be in apposition to the antecedent noun:

- caqam=qó?-ə-t=ɬ?áxʷt - ɬə ẃó?-ə-t==kɬ:
  shoreward=go.get.s.-CTL-3=NC porcupine - ... invite.s.-NC-3==DISTAL
  He [the beaver] brought the porcupine, his guest, [back] to shore (73.9)
  (... the porcupine, that he had invited ...)
  Jagamgo'othl axwt, ɬli ẃo'ot-gi.

6.1.B.2.b.2. Before Ergative relative clause: the 3E pronoun t occurs after the particle, before the REL.E pronoun ʔan *an* (6.1.A.2.). Use of the particle is not obligatory, but adds a restrictive meaning: compare:

- wilá:x-ə-n t ʔan kú:[t]-[t]=ɬ ɬkú:ɬkʷ-n==a
  know.s.-CTL-2S 3E REL.E take.s.-[3]=NC child-2S==Q
  You know who took your child? (87.10)
  Wilaayin t an guuhl hlguuhlgwina?

- wilá:x-ə-n ɬə t ʔan kú:[t]-[t]=ɬ ɬkú:ɬkʷ-n==a
  know.s.-CTL-2S 3E ... REL.E take.s.-[3]=NC child-2S==Q
  You know the one who took your child?
  Wilaayin hlit an guuhl hlguuhlgwina?

6.1.B.2.b.3. Before circumstantial relative clause: the use of the particle is especially common before the subordinator wil *wil* (5.16.B.7.) in its locative meaning, and before the subordinator ta: *daa*. The combination ɬə ta: *hlidaa* functions like a subordinator in its own right (5.16.B.3.a.3.). The combination ɬə wil *hli wil* used with an adjective as predicate also has a specific meaning.

6.1.B.2.b.3.a. Before the subordinator wil *wil* (5.16.B.7.):

6.1.B.2.b.3.a.1. In locational complement: the particle adds restrictive meaning:

- huxʷ ẇá-ti:t=ɬ ɬə wil wíl[t]=ɬ wàk-t==ki:
  again reach.s.-3P=NC ... ... be/act-[3]=NC M's brother-3==DISTAL
  Again they reached the [place] where his brother had been (202.5-6).
  Huxw ẇadiithl hli wil wilhl wakt-gi.

6.1.B.2.b.3.a.2. With adjective: the particle is obligatory if there is no noun, and the meaning is "the/a ... one." (5.16.B.7.a.4.)

- ʔanó:q-ə-ɣ̓=ɬ **ɬə wil** kʷiskʷó:skʷ-t I <u>like</u> the blue one.
  like.s.-CTL-1S=NC ... ... blue-3 *Anoogaɣ̓hl **hli wil** gwilgwooskwt.*

- ksaχ̣**ɬə wil** nɬ̓í:l̓ukʷ-t=ɬ tóχ̣-(ə)t lò:-m̓ We only have the long ones.
  only ... ... long.PL-3=NC be.PL-REL IND-1P *Ksaχ̣ **hli wil** nɬ̓íil̓ukwthl doχ̣at loom̓.*

6.1.B.2.b.3.b. <u>With subordinator ta: *daa*</u>: the combination **ɬə ta:** *hlidaa* means 'the time when ..., since the time when... '

- ɬa: xpíl̓-[t]=ɬ k̓ù:ɬ **ɬə ta:** ɲúẃ-t S/he has been dead ten years.
  now ten-[3]=NC year ... ... dead-3 (It is ten years since s/he died).
  *Hlaa xbil̓hl k'uuhl **hlidaa** ɲuẃt.*

ɬə ta: lə-ʔó:ɣ̓ ... since time immemorial...
... ... PL-?? ... ***hlidaa** la'ooɣ̓* ...

6.2. <u>Particles preceding nominals</u>:

6.2.A. <u>Determinate markers</u>:

The determinate markers **t** for the singular and **tip** *dip* for the plural are particles used before all determinates (3.2.A.1.), but under certain phonological conditions singular **t** does not occur on the surface. Where it does occur, it attaches phonologically to the preceding word, except with demonstratives, where it is felt by speakers to be part of the following word.

Both **t** and **tip** *dip* are used before a singular noun or pronoun referring to a person: **t** marks a single individual, **tip** *dip* a group ow which the person mentioned is the salient representative: his or her family, associates, or whoever he or she happens to be with at the moment referre to. Such a phrase is difficult into Standard English, as it is much more general and vague that phrases such as 'X and h. spouse/family,' X and his partner,', X and h. sister,' etc. The very useful Nisgha phrase *dip X* is translated in local English speech either

by *Them X*, or, especially amoung young people, by *X and them*, a phrase which also occurs in some nonstandard English dialects.[3] Accordingly the tag *...and them* is used here to translates examples with tip *dip*.

6.2.A.1. Occurrence of both t and tip *dip*: in all environments except:

- for all speakers: after connective =S, where surface occurrence is prevented by a phonological rule (see 6.2.A.2.b.);
- for YFS: in initial position before determinates other than demonstratives (6.2.A.2.a.).

- límx t Màry
  sing DM M.
  Mary sang.
  Limx t Mary.

  límx tip Màry
  sing DM.PL M.
  Mary 'and them' sang.
  Limx dip Mary.

- límx tkùs[t]
  sing DM that
  That person sang.
  Limx t gus.

  límx tipkùs[t]
  sing DM.PL that
  Those persons sang.
  Limx dip gus.

- lip wílp t Màry
  self house DM M.
  Mary has her own house.
  Lip wilp t Mary.

  lip wílp tip Màry
  self house DM.PL M.
  Mary 'and them' have their own house.
  Lip wilp dip Mary.

- ksaxt Márylìm[x]-(ə)t
  only DM M. sing-REL
  Only Mary sang.
  Ksax t Maryhl limit.

ksaxtip Márylìm[x]-(ə)t — Only Mary 'and them' sang.
only DM.PL M. sing-REL — *Ksax dip Maryhl limit.*

- ni:-ti: t Márycə lìm[x]-(ə)t — It wasn't Mary who sang.
  not INTS DM M IRR sing-REL — *Nidii t Mary ji limit.*

  ni:-ti: tip Márycə lìm[x]-(ə)t — It wasn't Mary 'and them' who sang.
  not INTS DM.PL M. IRR sing-REL — *Nidii dip Mary ji limit.*

- ni:-ti: t Máry cə wìlp-(ə)t lò:-t — It isn't Mary's house.
  not INTS DM M. IRR house-REL IND-3 — *Nidii t Mary ji wilbit loot.*

  ni:-ti: tip Máry cə wìlp-(ə)t lò:-t — It isn't Mary 'and them''s house.
  not INTS DM.PL M. IRR house-REL IND-3 — *Nidii dip Mary ji wilbit loot.*

- naxn̓á-(y)ə-nt Máry==a: — You heard Mary?
  hear.s.-CTL-2S DM M.==Q — *Naxn̓ayin t Marya?*

  naxn̓á-(y)ə-ntip Máry==a: — You heard Mary 'and them'?
  hear.s.-CTL-2S DM.PL M.==Q — *Naxn̓ayin dip Marya?*

- ni:-nə-ti: wilá:x-[t]cə t Máry=ɬ hu)wìl-(ə)t
  not-1S.E-INTS know.s.-[3] whether DM M.=NC ASP)be-REL
  I don't know whether it is/was Mary.
  Nindii wilaax ji t Maryhl huwilit.

  ni:-nə-ti: wilá:x-[t]cə tip Máry=ɬ hu)wìl-(ə)t
  not-1S.E-INTS know.s.-[3] whether DM.PL M.=NC ASP)be-REL
  I don't know whether it is/was Mary 'and them'.
  Nindii wilaax ji dip Maryhl huwilit.

- ná:tim-tʔan náksk^{W}-[t]=ɬ ɬkú:ɬk^{W}-ỷ tsqaẘó
  who FUT-3E REL.E marry.s.-[3]=NC child-1S DM S.

Who is going to marry my daughter Sgaẇo? (222)
Naa dimt an nakskwhl hlguuhlgwiý t Sgaẇo?

6.2.A.2. Non-occurrence of in some environments:

6.2.A.2.a. Initially: Pre-consonantal t tends to drop in initial position. As a result, the complementary distribution between and *dip* is obscured in this position, where only *dip* occurs on the surface. In absolute initial position before a name [4] or the indefinite pronoun ná: 'who?' *naa*, the singular DM is still used by OFS, but not by YFS.

- (t) ná:=ɬ hu)wìl-(ə)t
  (DM) who?=NC ASP)be-REL
  Who was it?/ Who did it?
  (T) naahl huwilit?

  tip ná:=ɬ hu)wìl-(ə)t
  DM.PL who?.=NC ASP)be-REL
  Who [what group] was it?/ ... did it?
  ***Dip** naahl huwilit?*

- (t) Máry=ɬ hu)wìl-(ə)t
  (DM) M.=NC ASP)be-REL
  It is/was Mary/Mary did it.
  (T) Maryhl huwilit.

  tip Máry=ɬ hu)wìl-(ə)t
  DM.PL M.=NC ASP)be-REL
  It is/was Mary 'and them'/... did it.
  ***Dip** Maryhl huwilit.*

- (t) ná:=ɬ wìlp-(ə)t lò:t
  (DM) who?=NC house-REL IND-3
  Whose house is it?.
  (T) naahl wilbit loot?

  tip ná:=ɬ wìlp-(ə)t lò:t
  DM.PL who?=NC house-REL IND-3
  Whose [what group's] house is it?.
  ***Dip** naahl wilbit loot?*

- (t) Máry=ɬ wìlp-(ə)t lò:t
  (DM) M.=NC house-REL IND-3
  It is Mary's house.
  (T) Maryhl wilbit loot.

tip Máry=ɬ wìlp-(ə)t lò:t — It is Mary 'and them' 's house.
DM.PL M.=NC house-REL IND-3 — *Dip Maryhl wilbit loot.*

The singular DM is kept before the demonstratives kún 'this' *gun* and kús[t] 'that' *gus*, and many speakers feel it to be part of the demonstrative:

- (t) kús[t]=ɬ hu)wìl-(ə)t — It is/was that one/That one did it.
  (DM) that=NC ASP)be-REL — *Tgushl huwilit.*

  tip kús[t] =ɬ hu)wìl-(ə)t — It is/was those people/Those people did it.
  DM.PL that=NC ASP)be-REL — *Dip gushl huwilit.*

6.2.A.2.b. Ater connective =s: When it is preceded by the determinate connective (6.2.B.1.), the singular DM t is between two consonants, and therefore subject to a cluster-simplification rule (10.2.A.2.b.1.c.) which deletes it. That it must be assumed to be present in underlying form is shown by the occurrence of the plural DM under the same conditions:[5]

- ni:-ti: límx-[t]=s [t] Màry — Mary didn't sing.
  not-INTS sing-[3]=DC [DM] M. — *Nidii limxs Mary.*

  ni:-ti: límx-[t]=s tip Màry — Mary 'and them' didn't sing.
  not-INTS sing-[3]=DC DM.PL M. — *Nidii limxs dip Mary.*

- ni:-ti: lip wílp-[t]=s [t] Màry — Mary doesn't have her own house.
  not-INTS self house-[3]=DC [DM] M. — *Nidii lip wilps Mary.*

  ni:-ti: lip wílp-[t]=s tip Màry — Mary 'and them' don't have their own house.
  not-INTS self house-[3]=DC DM.PL M. — *Nidii lip wilps dip Mary.*

- ni:mə naxn̓á-[t]=s [t] Màry==a: — Did you hear Mary?
  not 2E hear.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M.==Q — *Nii mi naxn̓as Marya?*

ni:mənaxn̓á-[t]=stip Màry==a — Did you hear Mary 'and them'?
not.2E hear.s.-[3]=DC.DM.PL M.==QU — *Nii mi naxn̓as **dip** Marya?*

- cəkiń̓ám-ə-n?a=s[t] Màry — Please give it to Mary!
IRR give.s.-CTL-2S PREP =DC [DM] M. — *Ji giń̓amin as Mary!*

cəkiń̓ám-ə-n?a=stip Màry — Please give it to Mary 'and them'!
IRR give.s.-CTL-2S PREP =DC DM.PL M. — *Ji giń̓amin as **dip** Mary!*

This is also shown by its occurrence when the noun is preceded by a modifier (the connective is no longer the DC =S since the word following the predicate is a modifier, which is not a determinate):

- ni:-ti:límx-[t]=ɬ ɬku t Màry — Little Mary didn't sing.
not-INTS sing-[3]=NC little DM M. — *Nidii limxhl **hlgu t** Mary.*

6.2.A.3. Occurrence of the plural DM tip *dip* before plural -pronouns: The plural DM *dip* can also be used before the independent plural pronouns 'you.PL' ǹ́sim̓ *ńsim̓* and ǹ́di:t 'they'them' *ńdiit* (5.8.C.1.), especially after preposition. This seems particularly common in the speech of YFS and is probably a recent development, an extension of the use of the plural marker before demonstratives (cf. Tarpent 1982b). There seem to be no examples of this use in Boas.

- timki:ń̓ám-ə-ỷ?a=s(tip)ǹ́sim̓ — I'll give them to you (pl.).
FUT give.s.PL-CTL-2S PREP=DC (DM.PL) you.PL — *Dim giń̓amiỷ as **(dip)** ńsim̓.*

6.2.B. Connectives:

The connectives =S and =ɬ *...hl* are suffixed to certain elements of the sentence and indicate (a) that these elements bear a major relation to each other, and (b) whether the following element is determinate (if the connective is =S) or nondeterminate (if the connective is =ɬ *...hl*). The Determinate

Connective (DC) =S has a more limited distribution than the Non-determinate Connective =ɬ *...hl* which combines. in front of non-determinates. the functions that the Determinate Connective =S and the Determinate markers ƚ and ƚip *dip* (6.2.A.) have in front of determinates. In addition, =ɬ *...hl* is often used to link a clause to a preceding element, or a focused constituent to the following element. Both connectives seem to be 'cancelled' by some other morphemes, especially the Irrealis particle cə *ji/ja* (6.1.B.1.b.).

6.2.B.1. Occurrence of both connectives: the Non-determinate connective =ɬ *...hl* occurs in front of non-determinates, in all environments where the determinate connective =S can occur in front of determinates. It the word that the connective is normally attached to ends in a postclitic (6.3.), the connective comes after the postclitic.

6.2.B.1.a. Between a predicate (main or downshifted) followed by the 3 suffix -ƚ and an immediately following determinate noun: (note that the 3 suffix does not usually occur on the surface because of the consonant-deletion rule, 10.2.A.2.b.1.c.).

6.2.B.1.a.1. In a predicate-focused transitive clause: before the noun or demonstrative pronoun (preceded by a determinate marker) which is the Adjunct to the 3 suffix which is the E argument:

- ɬimó:m-ə-[t]-s [t] Màry=ɬ hanáq̓ Mary helped the woman.
  help.s.-CTL-[3]=NC [DM] M.=NC woman *Hlimoomis Maryɬ hanaq̓'.*

  ɬimó:m-ə-[t]-s tip Màry=ɬ hanáq̓ Mary 'and them' helped the woman.
  help.s.-CTL-[3]=NC DM.PL M.=NC woman *Hlimoomis dip Maryɬ hanaq̓'.*

- ɬimó:m-ə-[t]=ɬ hanáq̓ t Màry The woman helped Mary.
  help.s.-CTL-[3]=NC woman DM M. *Hlimoomiɬ hanaq̓' t Mary.*

5.2.B.1.a.2. In a regular clause or downshifted construction: between a predicate and an immediately following determinate noun, regardless of the function of that noun:

a. Between possessed noun and possessor Adjunct:

wìlp-[t]=s [t] Máry	'Mary's house'
house-[3]=DC [DM] M.	*wilps Mary*
wìlp-[t]=s tip Máry	'"Mary and them"'s house'
house-[3]=DC DM.PL M.	*wilps dip Mary*
wìlp-[t]=s tip kún	'these people's house'
house-[3]=DC DM.PL this	*wilps dip gun*
wìlp-[t]=ɬ hanáq̓	'the woman's house'
house-[3]=NC woman	*wilphl hanaḵ'*

b. Between an intransitive verb and an Adjunct noun:

• willímx-[t]=s [t] Màry	... as Mary sang.
SUB sing-[3]=DC [DM] M.	... *wil limxs Mary.*
willímx-[t]=s tip Màry	... as Mary 'and them' sang.
SUB sing-[3]=DC DM.PL M.	... *wil limxs dip Mary.*
willímx-[t]=ɬ hanàq̓	... as the woman sang.
SUB sing-[3]=DC [DM] M.	... *wil limxhl hanaḵ'.*
• wil-tɬimó:m-[t]=s [t] Màry	... as Mary helped him/her.
SUB-3E help.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M.	... *wilt hlimooms Mary.*

wil-t ɬimó:m-[t]=s tip Màry ... as Mary 'and them' helped him/her.
SUB-3E help.s.-[3]=DC DM.PL M. ... *wilt ɬlimooms dip Mary*.

wil-t ɬimó:m-[t]=ɬ hanáq̓ ... as the woman helped him/her.
SUB-3E help.s.-[3]=NC woman ... *wilt ɬlimoomɬ hanaḵ'*.

- wil tip ɬimó:m-[t]=s [t] Máry ... as we helped Mary.
  SUB-1P.E help.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M. ... *wil dip ɬlimooms Mary*.

  wil tip ɬimó:m-[t]=s tip Máry ... as we helped Mary 'and them'.
  SUB-1P.E help.s.-[3]=DC DM.PL M. ... *wil dip ɬlimooms dip Mary*.

  wil tip ɬimó:m-[t]=ɬ hanáq̓ ... as we helped the woman.
  SUB-1P.E help.s.-[3]=NC woman ... *wil dip ɬlimoomɬ hanaḵ'*.

6.2.B.1.b. Both connectives also occur after the preposition ʔa *a* (5.18.) and the coordinator qan 'and' *gan* (5.17.A.), which can occur before a noun, demonstrative or independent pronoun:

- ʔa=s [t] Màry ... to/for/from Mary.
  PREP=DC [DM] M. ... *as Mary*.

  ʔa=s tip Màry ... to/for/from Mary 'and them'.
  PREP=DC DM.PL M. ... *as dip Mary*.

  ʔa=ɬ hanáq̓ ... to/for/from the woman.
  PREP=NC woman ... *aɬ hanaḵ'*.

- ʔa=s [t] kún / ʔa=s[t]kús[t] 'here/there'
  PREP=DC [DM] this/ PREP=DC [DM] this *as gun / as gus*

ʔa=s tip kún / ʔa=s[t]kús[t] … to/for/from these people
PREP=DC DM.PL this *as dip gun*

- ʔa=s[t] ɲí n / ʔa=s (tip) ɲísiɱ … to/for/from you (sg./pl.)
PREP=DC [DM] this/ PREP=DC [DM] this *as ɲiin / as dip ɲisiɱ*

- tip Máry qan=s [t] Lúcy 'Mary and Lucy'
DM.PL M. and=DC [DM] L. *dip Mary gans Lucy*

tip Máry qan=s [t] nóx-t 'Mary and her mother'
DM.PL M. and=DC [DM] mother-3 *dip Mary gans noxt*

tip Máry qan=ɬ náks-t 'Mary and her husband'
DM.PL M. and=NC spouse-3 *dip Mary ganhɬ nakst*

6.2.B.2. Further occurrences of the nondeterminate connective suffix =ɬ …*hɬ*:

6.2.B.2.a. Acts as a non-determinate marker: The non-determinate connective =ɬ …*hɬ* also occurs before non-determinates in the same environments where the determinate markers t and tip *dip* occur with determinates (6.2.A.), except initially and after modifiers. In the following section, parallel examples of determinate marker and connective use are given, and the connective is written separately from the preceding word, in order to emphasize this parallelism.

6.2.B.2.a.1. In predicate-focused clause, between the predicate and the A noun:

- ntá t Màry Where is Mary? What is Mary up to?
which.way DM M. *Nda t Mary?*

ntá ɬ hanàq̓ Where is the woman?
which.way DM M. *Ndahɬ hanaq̓'?*

- límx t Màry — Mary sang.
  sing DM M. — *Limx t Mary.*

  límx ɬ hanàq̓ — The woman sang.
  sing NC woman — *Limxɬ hanaq̓'.*

- ɬimó:m-ə-[t]=ɬ hanàq̓ t Màry — The woman helped Mary.
  help.s.-CTL-[3]=NC woman DM M. — *Hlimoomiɬ hanaq̓' t Mary.*

  ɬimó:m-ə-[t]=ɬ hanàq̓ ɬ kimxtí-t — The woman helped her brother.
  help.s.-CTL-[3]=NC woman NC opp.sib. — *Hlimoomiɬ hanaq̓'ɬ gimxdit.*

- ɬimó:m-ə-t ńí:ỷ t Màry — Mary helped me.
  help.s.-CTL-3 me DM M. — *Hlimoomit ńiiỷ t Mary.*

  ɬimó:m-ə-t ńí:ỷ ɬ hanàq̓ — The woman helped me.
  help.s.-CTL-3 me NC woman — *Hlimoomit ńiiỷ ɬ hanaq̓'.*

6.2.B.2.a.2. In regular clause: before a noun that does not immediately follow the verb:

- wil-t ɬimó:m-[t]=s [t] Màry t Lúcy — ... as Mary helped Lucy.
  SUB-3E help.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M. DM L. — ... *wilt ɬlimooms Mary t Lucy.*

  wil-t ɬimó:m-[t]=s [t] Màry ɬ hanáq̓ — ... as Mary helped the woman.
  SUB-3E help.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M. NC woman — ... *wilt ɬlimooms Mary ɬ hanaq̓'.*

- wil-t ɬimó:m-ỷ t Màry — ... as Mary helped me.
  SUB-3E help.s.-1S DM M. — ... *wilt ɬlimoomiỷ t Mary.*

- wil-t ɬimó:m-ỷ ɬ hanàq̓ — ... as the woman helped me.
  SUB-3E help.s.-1S NC woman — ... *wilt ɬlimoomiỷɬ hanaq̓'.*

6.2.B.2.b. Other privileges of occurrence of =ɬ *...hl*:

6.2.B.2.b.1. Between a higher predicate and an intransitive predicate: Higher predicates in this case include auxiliary and negative verbs.

- ʔám:=ɬ tim límx-[t]=s[t]Màry — Mary should sing.
  good=NC FUT sing-[3]=DC[DM] M. — *Aamhl dim limxs Mary.*

- yùk^{W}=ɬ límx-[t]=s[t]Màry — Mary is singing.
  PROG=NC sing-[3]=DC[DM] M. — *Yukwhl limxs Mary.*

- ni:=ɬ límx-[t]=s[t]Màry==a. — Did Mary sing?
  not=NC sing-[3]=DC[DM] M.==Q — *Niihl limxs Marya?*

- kiló=ɬ lím[x]-n — Stop singing!
  Don't=NC sing-2S — *Gilohl limin!*

But the connective does not occur if a modifier (5.15.) or the IRR particle cə *ji/ja* (6.1.B.1.b.) intervenes:

- ni:-ti: límx-[t]=s[t]Màry — Mary did not sing.
  not-INTS sing-[3]=DC[DM] M. — *Nidii limxs Mary.*

(here the INTS morpheme is originally the modifier ti: *dii*, see 5.13.A.)

- kiló cə lím[x]-n — Don't sing! (=don't start singing!)
  Don't IRR sing-2S — *Gilo ji limin!*

6.2.B.2.b.2. Between a transitive verb and an intransitive clause which is its A adjunct: The transitive verb may be followed by the Adjunct to its E argument:

- qús-ə-[t]=s[t]Màry=ɬ tim límxt — Mary was unable to sing.
  can't.do.s.-CTL-[3]=DC[DM] M.=NC FUT sing-3 — *Gosis Maryhl dim limxt.*

- ʔák-ə-[t]=s[t]Màry=ɬ tim límxt Mary forgot to sing.
  forget.s.-CTL-{3}=DC [DM] M.=NC FUT sing-3 *T'agis Maryɬ dim limxt.*

But the connective is not use if the IRR particle cə *ji/ja* intervenes:

- ni:-ti:-t ʔák-[t]=s[t]Màry cə tim límx-t Mary didn't forget to sing!
  not-INTS-3E forget.s.-{3}=DC [DM] M.=NC FUT sing-3 *Nidiit t'aks Mary ji dim limxt!*

6.2.B.2.b.3. Between an anteposed constituent and the rest of the clause: (unless an Ergative pronoun or a subordinator intervenes):

a. Between a Specified Complement and a non-transitive predicate:

- [t]Màry=ɬ wà-t Her name is Mary.
  [DM] M.=NC name-3 *(T) Maryɬ wat.*

- wicíx=ɬ siwàtkʷs-t It's called a caribou.
  caribou=NC named-3 *Wijixɬ siwatkwst.*

b. Between Focused Subject and downshifted intransitive verb:

- [t]Màry=ɬ lìm[x]-(ə)t It was Mary who sang.
  [DM] M.=NC sing-REL *(T) Maryɬ limit.*

c. Between Focused possessor and possessed noun:

- [t]Màry=ɬ wìlp-(ə)t lò:-t It's Mary's house.
  [DM] M.=NC house-REL IND-3 *(T) Maryɬ wilbit loot.*

d. Between Focused Object and transitive predicate:

- [t]Màry=ɬ ɬimò:m-ə-[t]=s[t]Lùcy It was Mary that Lucy helped.
  [DM] M.=NC help.s.-CTL-{3}=DC [DM] L. *(T) Maryɬ ɬimoomis Lucy.*

d. Between a predicate and a leadless Object-relative clause:

- ʔám:=ɬ cáp-ə-n
  good=NC make.s.-CTL-2S
  What you did is/was good.
  You did well.
  Aamɬ jabin.

- ʔáq=ɬ tim cáp-ə-ɣ̓
  non-existent=NC FUT make.s.-CTL-1S
  I have nothing to do.
  Aɬ dim jabiɣ̓

e. Between the numeral and the noun in a numeral noun-phrase:

ƛ̓ò:l=ɬ hanáq̓
one[person]=NCwoman
'one/a /the woman'
ƛ'yoolɬ hanaƛ'

f. Between a downshifted relativized adjective or numeral and a noun in a noun-phrase:

paqatìl-(ə)t=ɬ ha:náq̓
two[persons]-REL=NCwoman.PL
'the two women'
bagadilitɬ haanaƛ'

ƛa:à:m(ə)t=ɬ háyk^{w}
most good-REL=NC spirit
'theHoly Spirit'
ƛ'aa Aamitɬ Haykw

6.2.B.3. Non-occurrence of the connectives:

a. Before or after an Ergative clitic pronoun: hence not before a P_{EA} in regular clause:

- á:m mə tim ɬimó:m-[t]=s [t] Máry
  good 2E FUT help.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M.
  You should/you better help Mary.
  Aam ɬi dim ɬlimooms Mary.

b. Before or after the IRR particle cə *ji/ja* (note that since there is no connective, the singular determinate marker t occurs phonologically; there is

no marker before a non-determinate noun):

- ni:-ti: k̓^{W}iɬ límx-[t] cə t Màry — Mary didn't sing!
  not-INTS around sing-[3] IRR DM M. — *Nidii k'w'ihl limx ji t Mary!*

  ni:-ti: k̓^{W}iɬ límx-[t] cə hanàq̓ — The woman didn't sing!
  not-INTS around sing-[3] IRR woman — *Nidii k'w'ihl limx ji hanaq̓'!*

(compare without the particle:

ni:-ti:límx-[t]=s [t] Màry — Mary didn't sing.
not-INTS sing.-[3] =DC [DM] M. — *Nidii limxs Mary.*

ni:-ti:límx-[t]=ɬ hanàq̓ — The woman didn't sing.
not-INTS sing.-[3] =NC woman — *Nidii limxhl hanaq̓'*)

- cə kí:k^{W}-ə-n cə si: k̓utáč-n — [You might] buy yourself a new coat!
  IRR buy.s.-CTL-2S IRR new coat-2S — *Ji giigwin ji sii k'udats'in!*

(compare without the particle:

tim kí:k^{W}-ə-n=ɬ tim si: k̓utáč-n — [You are going to/I want you to] buy yourself a new coat.
IRR buy.s.-CTL-2S IRR new coat-2S — *Dim giigwinhl dim sii k'udats'in.*

c. After modal particles (6.1.B.1., modifiers (5.15.) and subordinators (5.16.): for instance, the presence of the modifier liki: 'about, may be, for instance' *ligii* explains that there is never a connective after the coordinator ʔo: 'or' *oo* (5.17.B.) as there is after the coordinator qan 'and' *gan* (5.17.A.):

- qán qan=ɬ čip — 'wood and bone'
  wood and=NC bone — *gan ganhl ts'ip*

qán ʔo: liḳi: čip	'wood or bone'
wood or maybe bone	*gan oo ligii ts'ip*
• tip Máry qan=s [t] Lúcy	'Mary and Lucy'
DM.PL M. and=DC [DM] L.	*dip Mary **gans** Lucy*
(t) Máry ʔo: liḳi: t Lúcy	'Mary or Lucy'
DM.PL M. or maybe DM L.	*(t) Mary, **oo ligii** t Lucy*

6.3. POSTCLITICS.

These morphemes are suffixes which can be added to some of the constituents (varying with the actual postclitics) of the predicate phrase and do not affect its structure. However, sometimes their occurrence changes the phonological context and makes apparent the 3 suffix which is otherwise deleted in many contexts (4.3.B.). With postclitics befinning with vowels, the same morphophonemic rules apply as with other vowel-initial suffixes.

Most of the postclitics function as parts of groups and pairs, each of which has a particular pragmatic function, One group of postclitics has to do with the truth value of the information conveyed, another with its verifiability, another with its distance from the speaker, another deals with undesirable information. Within these categories, members of pairs have opposite meanings. Usually, only one postclitic is used in a clause, but occasionally there can be more than one, to express subtle shades of meaning and attitude.

The pragmatic function of the postclitics has to do with the context of the speech event as well as with the actual events it refers to. These are not purely formal grammatical matters, and the description of the meaning of the postclitics would be incomplete it if did not also take into account the relation between speaker and listener: sentences are not uttered in a void, but are addressed to at least one person (even if that person is oneself), and the feelings

and background knowledge of that person must be considered.

These morphemes then are indispensable to the fluent and idiomatic use of Nisgha, enabling the speaker to emphasize his role as conversational partner, narrator or relator, and to make clear to others in what manner his words are to be taken. On the other hand, they can be very difficult for the analyst to elicit and to translate: translation of English sentences into Nisgha often leaves them out altogether, while translation from Nisgha of sentences containing some of the postclitics is often very awkward and inadequate,[7] since the same attitudes are expressed in English by a variety of means ranging from tone of voice to elaborate circumlocutions.

6.3.A. Truth value of the information: Two pairs of postclitics, Interrogative/ Affirmative and Dubitative/Assertive, have to do with the truth value of the information. The relation between speaker's and listener's knowledge of this information is shown in the following chart:

Speaker / Listener	knows	doesn't know
should know	==əs[t̓] AFFIRMATIVE *...(y)is*	==a: INTERROGATIVE *...(y)a*
doesn't know	==a? ASSERTIVE *...(y)a'a*	==[ə]ma? DUBITATIVE *...(y)ima'a*

6.3.A.1. The pair ==a: INTERROGATIVE *...(y)a* / ==əs[t] AFFIRMATIVE *...(y)is*:

These postclitics normally occur at the end of the sentence, and may be followed only by a term of address. With this pair, the speaker seeks to establish a shared frame of reference with the listened, who is expected to know the truth about a statement. The INTERROGATIVE postclitic ==a *...(y)a* indicates the attitude: "I don't know the truth about ..., but I expect you do," while the AFFIRMATIVE postclitic ==əs[t] *...(y)is* indicates: 'This is true, and we should both agree on it.' As much as with the truth value of the information conveyed, then, these two postclitics have to do with the interaction between speaker and listener.

6.3.A.1.a. The INTERROGATIVE ==a: *...(y)a*: (*...ya* after vowel, alternant *...i* after demonstrative):

A yes/no question ends in the Interrogative postclitic ==a: *...(y)a*. Such a question may be in the form of a predicate-focused clause:

- [t]ná:tɬkùn==i
  [DM] who DM this==Q
  Who's that? (lit. is that Somebody?)
  (T) naa tguni?

- ɲí:n==a: Màry
  you==Q M.
  Is that you, Mary?
  Ńiina, Mary?

- sí:pkʷ ɲì:n==a:
  sick you==Q
  You were sick?
  Siipkw ńiina?

- lu:=má:n=ɬ kò:fi:==(y)a:
  in=remain=NC coffee==Q
  Any coffee left? (lit. ... in [the pot])
  Luumaanhl koofiiya?

- ẘá-(y)ə-n=ɬʔantitá:la-ỷ==a:
  find.s.-CTL-2S=NC purse-1S==Q
  You found my wallet/purse?
  Ẅayinhl andidaalaỷa?

- timpaẋ=máq-T-ə-ỷ ṅí n==a: You want a ride up?
  FUT uphill=put.s.-DEF-CTL-1S you==Q *Dim baẋmaḵdiẏ ṅiina?*

- ʔaḳú=ɬḳi)kíp-ə-n-q̓almó:s==a: What are you eating? [is it] crab?
  what=NC ASP)eat.s.-CTL-2S- crab==Q *Aguhl gigibin? ḵ'almoosa?*

But it is more polite to frame a yes/no question negatively (5.13.A.4.):

- ni:=ɬ sí:pkʷ-n==a: Were you sick?
  not=NC sick-2S==Q You were not sick, by any chance?
  Niihl siipgwina?

- ni:mə w̓á-(t]=ɬʔantitá:la-ỷ==a: Did you find my wallet/purse?
  find.s.-CTL-2S=NC purse-1S==Q You haven't found my wallet, by any chance?
  Nii mi w̓ahl andidaalaẏa?

- ni:=ɬʔá:m-[t]=ɬtimpaẋ=máẋkʷ-ỷ lò:-n==a:
  not=NC good-[3] =NC FUT uphill=ride-1S IND-2S==Q
  Can you give me a ride up?
  Can I ride up with you?
  Niihl aamhl dim baẋmaẋgwiẏ loona?

In either/or questions, the postclitic occurs only at the end of the first clause:

- ɬḳu kát=ɬ ɬḳu pè:pi:==(y)a: Is the baby a boy...
  little man=NC little baby==Q *Hlgu gathl hlgu beebiiya...*
  ʔo: cə liḳi: ɬḳu hanáq̓-t ... or [is it] a girl? (lit. or maybe it is a girl)
  or IRR maybe little woman-3 *... oo ji ligii hlgu hanaḵ't?*

6.3.A.1.b. <u>The AFFIRMATIVE postclitic ==əs[t]...*(y)is*</u>: (final /t/ is old or very formal; ...*(y)is* after vowel, ...*as* after uvular, ...*s* after glottal stop plus copy vowel):

This postclitic is often used in declarative sentences as well as questions beginning with a question word. It seems to have a pragmatic function similar to that of English *why, so, sure, of course, Come on!* or French *eh bien* (or, more colloquially, *ben*), *donc* , *alors, voyons* , although the normal English equivalent would rather be a different intonation. In declarative sentences it states a fact presumably already known to the listener. In questions, it seems to express the surprise or at least the interest (friendly or otherwise) of the speaker: such questions without the postclitic sound definitely more neutral, colder. In both cases it seems to affirm the existence of a common ground between speaker and listener.

1. In questions:

- ʔakú=ɬci)cáp-ə-n==əs[t] (Hey/Well/So) what are you doing?
  what=NC ASP)make.s.-CTL-2S==... *Aguhl jijabinis?*
  (Fr. Qu'est-ce que tu fais donc?)

- ʔakú=ɬ tim ti:kí:kʷ-ə-n==əst (So) what do you want to buy?
  what=NC FUT INTS buy.s.-CTL-2S==... (195.15-196.1)
  Aguhl dim dii giigwinist?
  (Fr. Alors, qu'est-ce que tu veux acheter?)

- ʔakúməqanháks-ý==əs[t] (Hey) why do you call me names? (118.2)
  what 2E why instuls.s.-1S==... *Agu ma gan haksiýis?*
  (Fr. Mais pourquoi donc m'insultes-tu?)

2. In answers and comments: *...(y)is* is used when the speaker expects that the listener is (or will very shortly be) in a position to know the truth ('Come on, I shouldn't have to tell you this, we both know it), so that the statement is not intended to present new information but to reaffirm known information.

- [t]ná:t kùst==i - [t]Máry==(y)əs[t] Who's that? - Why, it's Mary!
  [DM] who DM that==Q - [DM] M.==... *Naa tgusdi? - Maryis!*

- ʔakú=ɬki)kíp̓-ə-n==əs[t]
  what=NC ASP)eat.s.-CTL-2S==...
  (Hey/Well/So) what are you eating?
  Aguhl gigibinis?
  (Fr. Ben, qu'est-ce que tu manges?)

  - q̓almó:s==əs[t]
  crab==...
  - Why, crab of course! (can't you tell?)
  - *K'almoosis!*
  (Fr. Ben, du crabe!)

- qaltál==əs[t]
  too loud==...
  (Hey) too loud! (and you should know it)
  Gal dalis!

- c̓áxʷ ɲ̓ì:n==əs[t]
  considerable you==...
  (Well,) you are really something!
  Ts'axw ɲ̓iinis!
  (Fr. Toi alors! tu exagères!)

- ɬa: χstá:-n=əst wàk-y̓ ẇi:kát
  now win-2S==... M's brother-1S big man
  (Well/So) you've won, brother Giant! (20.13)
  Hlaa χsdaanist, wagiy̓ Ẇii Gat!
  (Fr. Tu as donc gagné, ...)

3. Requests: the postclitic is often used to indicate that the listener should have thought of doing the suggested action:

- cəm̓ál-ə-n=ɬk̓utáć-n==əs[t]
  IRR button.s.-CTL-2S=NC coat-2S==...
  (Come on,) button your coat!
  Ji m̓alinhl k'udats'inis!
  (Fr. Boutonne donc ton manteau!)

- sim simíɬ-[t]=[ɬ]lákʷ==əs[t]
  2E.PL light.s.-[3]=[NC] firewood==...
  (Come on,) [all of you], light the fire!
  (130.8-9) *Sim simihl lagwist!*
  (Fr. Allumez donc le feu!)

- simcaqam=máq-T-[t]=ɬk̓è:kʷ-T-[t]=ɬʔanwín-sim̓==əs[t]lò:-y̓ [9]
  2E.PL shoreward=put.s.-DEF-[3]=NC one[fish]-DEF-[3]=NC what.o's.got==... IND-1S

(Hey), throw one [of your fish] ashore for me! (16.3-4)
Sim jagammagahl k'eegwihl anwinsimist looy!
(Fr. Jetez-en donc un sur la berge, pour moi!)

- kiló=ɬsix)sám̓aq-sim̓==əst?a=ɬta hisqa?á:qs-sim̓==əst
Don't=NC PL)keep.mouth.shut-2P==... PREP=NC when laugh.PL-2P==...
(Come on,) don't keep your mouths shut when you laugh! (84.5-6)
Gilohl sixsam̓aksimist, ahl daa hisga'aaksisimist!
(Fr. Mais ne gardez donc pas la bouche fermée quand vous riez, voyons!)

6.3.A.2. The pair ==a? ASSERTIVE *...(y)a'a/* ==[ə]ma? DUBITATIVE *...(y)ima'a*:

These two postclitics are suffixed to the first contentive word or phrase of the sentence, which may be the predicate, an auxiliary or negative verb, or a covused element such as a question word.

With this pair, the speaker is conveying information of his own, but does not assume any relevant knowledge on the part of the listener: the ASSERTIVE postclitic ==a?*...(y)a'a* indicates the attitude: 'I know for a fact that this is true,', while the DUBITATIVE postclitic ==[ə]ma?*(y)ima'a* indicates: "This is probably true, I wonder whether it is really true."[10]

6.3.A.2.a. The ASSERTIVE postclitic ==a? *...(y)a'a*:

The postclitic ==a?*...(y)a'a* indicates that the speaker can vouch for the truth of the utterance, even against his own or others' expectations. It is used for making startling, unexpected announcements:

- [t]q̓an=nó?=a?=ɬ ptò?-n — Your door is unlocked!
ajar=hole==...=NCdoor-2S — (I bet you didn't know)
K'anno'a'ahl pdo'on!

- ɬa: tùkʷskʷ-m+lákʷ-m̓==aʔ We're out of firewood!
  now run.out-ATTR+firewood==... *Hlaa dukwsgum-laguṁa'a!*

- c̓áxʷ==aʔ *Totally awesome!* (late 1980's
  considerable==... expression) *Ts'axwa'a!*
- ɬa: huxʷ n̓ít==aʔ=ɬ hu)wìl-(ə)t So that was him again! [in disguise,
  now again him==...=NC ASP)be-REL but there is no doubt about it] (27.4)
  Hlaa huxw n̓ida'ahl huwilit!

This postclitic can be used with any predicate, including auxiliary and negative verbs:

- yùkʷ==aʔ=ɬ má:tim It's <u>snowing</u>! (believe it or not!)
  PROG==...=NC snowing *Yugwa'ahl maadim!*
  (Fr. Mais il neige!)

- ní:==(y)aʔ=ɬ tim ti: n̓úẇ-n==əs[t] Of course you are <u>not</u> going to die!
  not==...=NC FUT INTS dead-2S==AFF *Niiya'ahl dim dii n̓uẇinis!*
  (Fr. Mais je t'assure que tu ne vas pas mourir!)

In Boas, the Assertive postclitic is sometimes followed by the Affirmative postclitic:

- sim(h)ú-t==aʔ==əst He <u>is</u> telling the truth! (29.13)
  correct-3==...==AFF *Simuda'ast!*
  (Fr. En effet, il dit bien la vérité!)

- ksə=tə-páx̣-ə-[t]=s[t]tx̣è:msim=ɬm̓áx̣==aʔ==əst
  out=DOMIN-run-CTL=DC[DM]T.=NC light?==...==AFF
  [Believe it or not,] Tx̱eemsim has taken off with the light! (23.3)
  Ksidibaayis Tx̱eemsimhl ṁax̱a'ast!
  (Fr. Ça alors, Tx̱eemsim est parti en emportant la lumière!)

6.3.A.2.b. The DUBITATIVE postclitic ==[ə]ma? *...(y)ima'a* : (present-day usually *...ima'a*/*...ama'a* after consonant, *...yima'a* after vowel; Boas usually has just *...ma'a*).

The use of this postclitic in a declarative sentence means that the speaker thinks that what he says could be true on the basis of what he knows or can infer, but does not want to commit himself as he could be proved wrong. Conditions of occurrence parallel that of the Assertive postclitic ==a? *...(y)a'a* (6.3.A.2.a.).

- yùk^{W}==**əma?**=ɬ hay wís ḳinqùlx — It's probably raining/I wonder if it's raining ... in Kincolith.
  PROG==...=NC raining Kincolith
  *Yugwi**ma'ahl** haywis Gingolx.*

- ní:==**(y)əma?**=ɬ tim hay wís — It's probably not going to rain.
  PROG==...=NC FUT raining
  *Niiyi**ma'ahl** dim haywis.*

- ḳinqúlx==**əma?**wil pák^{W}-ti:t — I wonder if they are from Kincolith.
  Kincolith==...=where come.from-3P
  *Gingolxi**ma'a** wil bakwdiit.*

- wilá:x-ə-t==**əma?**=s [t] niči:č-ý
  know.s.-CTL-3==... =DC [DM grandmother-1S
  I wonder if my grandmother knows it/him/her.
  My grandmother probably knows it/him/her.
  *Wilaayidi**ma'as** nits'iits'iý.*

- hílt==**əma?**=ɬ ɬàx-[t]=s tip ḳùst ʔa nə tim kíp-t
  many==...=NC bait-[3]=DC DM.PL that PREP 1S.E FUT eat.s.-3
  Those people probably have lots of bait, so I can eat it. (50.14)
  *Hildi**ma'ahl** ɬags dip gust an(i) dim gipt.*

It is polite to use this postclitic when asking a question, since in doing so the speaker is only talking about himself and does not imply that he requires an

answer: Nisgha people usually use 'I wonder' as the English equivalent of this postclitic in a question.

- ʔakú==(y)əmaʔ=ɬ tim cáp-ə-ỷ — I am wondering what to do.
  what==...=NCFUT make.s.-CTL-1S — *Aguyima'ahl dim jabiỷ?*

- náː==(y)əmaʔtip kùst==i — I am wondering who those people are.
  who==...DM.PL that==QU — Who are those people, I wonder?
  Who can they be?
  Naayima'a dip gusdi?

The addressee may be wondering the same thing, and reply:

- ʔakú==(y)əmaʔ — I wonder [what you could do].
  what==... — *Aguyima'a.*

- náː==(y)əmaʔ — I wonder [who they are].
  what==... — *Naayima'a.*

For the same reason, this postclitic is used in very polite requests:

- niː=ɬ ʔáːm-t==əmaʔ=ɬ timcaqa=máx̣kʷ-ỷ lòː-sim̓==a
  not=NC good-3==...=NCFUT across=ride-1S IND-2P==QU
  Would it be all right for me to go across with you [in your boat]?
  Niihl aamdima'ahl dim jagamax̣gwiỷ loosim̓a?

6.3.B. Unverifiable information: the pair ==qat *-gat* / ==kin *-gin*: These two postclitics indicate that the information cannot be verified. With ==qat ...*-gat* the speaker states that it comes from others; with ==kin ...*-gin*, that the evidence used to be available and no longer is.

6.3.B.1. The REPORTIVE postclitic ==qat-*gat*: (the final /t/ is deleted obligatorily before connective =S, less consistently before connective =ɬ).

This postclitic occurs under the same syntactic conditions as the pair ==a? *...(y)a'a* / ==[ə]ma? *...(y)ima'a* (6.3.A.2.).

By using ==qat *...-gat* the speaker disclaims responsibility for the truth of the utterance, because he is only reporting information originating with others.

- sí:pkʷ==qat t Màry
  sick==... DM M.
  I hear Mary is sick.
  Siipkw-gat t Mary.

- líl̓kit==qa[t]-ɬ kipù:
  feast==... =NC wolf
  It seems the wolves held a feast (83.1).
  Lil̓git-gahl gibuu.

- tim bíngo-ti:==qat cə̓a:yúẇin
  FUT bingo-IMPS==... IRR tonight
  I hear there's going to be bingo tonight.
  Dim bingodii-gat t'aayuẇin.

- ńákʷ==qa[t]-ɬ sí:pkʷ-[t]=s[t]Màry
  sick==...=NC sick-{3}=DC [DM] M.
  I hear Mary was sick a long time.
  Ńakw-ga(t)hl siipkws Mary.

- sílkʷ==qa[t]-ɬ wila: pá?askʷ kinqùlxkàxkʷ
  awful==...=NC how wind Kincolith last.night
  I hear there was a terrible storm in Kincolith last night.
  Silkw-ga(t)hl wilaa ba'askw Gingolx gagkw.

Using ==qat *...-gat* in questions means that the speaker is only asking about a report, not about the truth of an event. The reply may also include the postclitic (cf. with ==[ə]ma? *...(y)ima'a* above):

- ?akút(ə)-yá==qat t Màry
  what 3E-say==... DM M.
  What's Mary supposed to have said?
  Agu diya-gat t Mary?

Order and instructions emanating from legitimate authority are reported using this postclitic:

- cəkaχ̣ḵú==**qa[t]**=ɬ tim qa-tχ̣ó:ʔ-m̓ When did they say we'get paid?
  IRR when==... =NC FUT PL-paid-1P *Ji gaxgu-**ga(t)**hl dim gatxoo'om̓?*

  -qanú:tk^{W} tḵùn==**qat** - They said this week.
  week DM this==... *Ganuutkw tgun-**gat**.*

In the Boas stories, the postclitic is characteristic of the speech of underlings, who only report (or sometimes pretend to report) their masters' words:

- cəlúk^{W}==**qat** n̓ìsim̓ cə̓ta:ɬàk^{W}
  IRR move==... you.PL IRR tomorrow

I am supposed to tell you [the whole village] to please move tomorrow (37.9-10).
*Ji lukw-**gat** n̓isim̓ ji t'aahlakw.*

- ní:==**qat**-ki:-ti:-tk^{W}i:x ḵip-[t]=ɬ sim?ò:ḵit tḵùn=ɬ ?anwín-n

not==...-INTS-INTS-3E always.like.to eat.s.-[3]=NC chief DM this=NC what.o's.got-2S
I am told this chief is not at all keen to eat that stuff. (40.6-7).
*Nii-**gat**-gidiit gwiix giphl sim'oogit tgunhl anwinin.*

6.3.B.2. <u>The postclitic ==**ḵin** *-gin*</u>: It is more difficult to give a label to this postclitic, which is also less commonly used, so that information is fragmentary. It seems to indicate that the information used to be available to the speaker and should still be but is not.

- n̓ísim̓ t?an tóq-[t]=ɬ tχ̣úx==**ḵin**==a:
  you.PL 3E REL.E take.s.PL-[3]=NC halibut==...==Q
  Was it you who took the halibut [that were here a moment ago]? (113.8.)
  *N̓isim̓ t an do<u>k</u>hl t<u>g</u>ox-**gina**?*

- ʔakù=ɬ wá-t==gin — Now what was that word? [I forget]
  what=NC name-3==... — *Aguhl wat-gin?*

This postclitic may be losing ground to ==gì: DISTAL *-gi* (6.3.C.2.).

6.3.C. Physical distance: the pair ==sa PROXIMAL *-sa* / ==gì: DISTAL *-gi*:

The two postclitics ==sa *-sa* and ==gì: *-gi* refer to the speaker's physical distance (in time or space) to what he is talking about, but physical distance can also imply emotional distance. These postclitics are usually attached to a nominal in the clause, most often the last one. If there is no nominal (e.g. if there is no A-adjunect), they are attached to the predicate. In at least one case the Distal postclitic ==gì: *-gi* has become part of a noun-phrase:

sim?ò:gitlaxhá==gì: — 'God' (lit. the chief in the sky)
chief sky==...` — *Sim'oogit laxhagi*

6.3.C.1. The PROXIMAL postclitic ==sa *-sa*: This postclitic indicates that the topic of conversation is physically close to the speaker, and often emotionally close as well:

- ʔakú=ɬ wà-[t]=s[t]kún==sa — What is this [e.g. that I hold in my hand]?
  what=NC name-[3]=DC [DM] this==... — *Aguhl was gun-sa?*

- lipcáp-ə-ỷ==sa — [Look at this] I made it myself.
  self make.s.-CTL-1S==... — *Lip jabiỷ-sa.*

- ɬa:sim kámk-[t]=ɬ laxhà==sa — This weather is really nice and warm.
  now really hot-[3]=NC sky==... — *Hlaa sim gamkhl laxha-sa.*

- ká?-[t]=ɬ ʔanhè:-[t]=ɬ qá:q ʔa=ɬ ké:w==sa
  see.s.-[3]=NC saying-[3]=NC raven PREP=NC on.beach==...

Go see what the raven is caving about on the beach! (151.13-14)
Ga'ahl anheehl gaak ahl geew-sa!

- ẇi:txúx==sa
big halibut==...

- It's a big halibut! (175.11)
Ẇii txox-sa!

- ni:=ɬ čín-[t]=s[t]ǩa:ɬ=hè:tkʷ-m+q̓ísimq ʔa=ɬ čim-wílp==a:

not=NC enter-[3]=DC[DM] sideways=heading-ATTR+labret PREP=NC in-house==Q
Did Labret-sticking-out-on-one-side come into the house, by any chance? (191.12-13) *Niihl ts'ins K'aahlheetgum-K'esimk ahl ts'im wilba?*

- čín==sa - čín==sa
enter==... - enter==...

- Yes, she did, and she is right here! (191.14) *Ts'in-sa! Ts'in-sa!*

6.3.C.2. The DISTAL postclitic ==ki: *-gi*: This postclitic indicates that the topic of conversation is remote from the speaker in place or time or both:

- kaxkú==ki:
when?==...

When was it?
Gaxgu-gi?

- lipcáp-ə-ỷ==ki:
when?==...

I [had] made it myself [but I don't have it any more]
Lip jabiỷ-gi.

- ẇi:sim?ó:kittnipìp-t==ki:
big chief DM maternal.uncle-3==...

H. uncle was a great chief [in a story]/ H. uncle used to be a great chief [but is dead now] /H. uncle [who lives far away] is a great chief.
Ẇii sim'oogit t nibipt-gi.

- ?ató? - sim ká?-[t]=ɬ ɬkú:ɬkʷ-ỷ==ki:
Gp! - 2E.PL see.s.-[3]=NC child-1S==...

Go see my son [who is far away and may be dead] ! (180.7-8)
Ado'o, sim ga'ahl hlguuhlgwiỷ-gi.

This postclitic is used liberally in tales, which refer to the past. This is a typical story beginning from the Boas tales:

- ʔó:l=ɬ ɬku-tʔì:ɬkʷ==**ki**:
  one[person]=NC little-child==...
  There was a boy ...
  *K'yoolhl hlgutk'ihlkw-**gi**...*

  ʔák=ɬ wà-t==**ki**:
  Ts'ak=NC name-3==...
  ... named Ts'ak ...
  *... Ts'akhl wat-**gi**...*

  qan=ɬ ɬku niʔí:ʔ-t
  and=NC grandmother-3
  ... and his grandmother...
  *... **ganhl hlgu** nits'iits't...*

  ʔni[t]=ɬ ʔi:hítkʷ-[t]=ɬ ɬku wìlp-ti:t==**ki**:
  that's=NC and stand-[3]=NC little house-3P==...
  ... and they had a little house ... (117.1-2)
  *... **nihl k'ii hitkwhl hlgu wilpdiit-gi**...*

This proclitic is very common and may be encroaching on the domain of ==**kin** *-**gin*** (6.3.B.2.), as in:

- ntà=ɬʔaʔa:lú:-ý==**ki**:
  which.way=NC gun-1S==...
  Where is my gun? [It is not where it should be]
  *Ndahl k'ap'aluuý-**gi**?*

6.3.D. Dealing with unwelcome information:

6.3.D.1. Disclaiming responsibility for undesired event: the pair ==**kiʔý** MINATORY *-**giý*** and ==**kʷa:** COMMISERATIVE *-**gwaa***:

With these two postclitics, the speaker presents undesirable events and disclaims responsibility for their occurrence: ==**kiʔý** *-giý* warns of something that will most likely happen if steps are not taken (especially by the listener) bo prevent it: 'It won't be my fault if this happens,' while ==**kʷa:** *-gwaa* bemoans

something that has already happened: 'It was nobody's fault, it could not be prevented.'

6.3.D.1.a. The MINATORY postclitic ==**ḳiy̓** *-giy̓*: The meaning of this postclitic is 'Careful, or ...; I/you/we wouldn't want this to happen, but I won't be responsible if it does.' The postclitic is usually affised to a focused predicate. Even though the event talked about hasn't happened yet, the future particle (which would suggest that it will definitely happen) is never used.[10]

- t̓ikʷántkʷ==**ḳiy̓** n̓ì:n — Careful, or you'll fall!/You're going to fall!
  fall==... you — *T'igwantkw-**giy̓** n̓iin!*

- kúkʷskʷ==**ḳiy̓** t pè:pi: — [Ssh!] Baby is going to wake up!
  wake.up==... DM Baby — *Gyukwskw-**giy̓** t Beebii!*

- n̓i:hítkʷ-ə-y̓==**ḳiy̓**=ɬ ʔasáy̓-n — Careful, or I'll step on your foot!
  step.on.s.-CTL-1S==...=NC foot-2S — *N̓iihitgwiy̓-**giy̓**hl asay̓in!*

- ḳiló-ḳiló-naxn̓á-(y)ə-t==**ḳiy̓** ʔa=ɬ c̓im-wìlp
  Don't - Don't - hear.s.-CTL-3==... PREP=NC in-house
  Don't [cry]! Don't! They'll hear it in the house! (91.10-11)
  *Gilo! Gilo! Naxn̓ayit-**giy̓** ahl ts'im wilp!*

- yác-ə-y̓==**ḳiy̓** n̓ì:n — Careful, or I could strike you!
  strike.s.-CTL-1S==... you — [so get out of my way!] (Barbeau)[11]
  *Yajiy̓-**giy̓** n̓iin!*

- ʔatóʔ-yáltkʷ-n-cákʷ-T-ə-y̓==**ḳiy̓** n̓ì:n
  Go! - return-2S - kill.s.-DEF-CTL-1S==... you
  Go back, or I'll kill you! [as I am going berserk!] (210.1)
  *Ado'o, yaltgwin, jakwdiy̓-**giy̓** n̓iin!*

- pí:k̓ʷ-n - x̣hà? - huxʷ sitó.q-ə-n=**kiy̓** n̓ì:y̓
  lie-2S - slave - again deceive.s-CTL-2S==... me
  You're lying, you slave! You're not going to fool me! [you might if I was not careful] (210.1) *Biikw'in, x̱ha'a! Huxw sidoogan-**giy̓** n̓iiy̓!*

6.3.D.1.b. The COMMISERATIVE postclitic ==**kʷa**: *-gwaa*: This postclitic indicates that in the speaker's opinion the event could not have been prevented by any amount of effort, so that the victim (who may be the speaker) is worthy of commiseration.

- ?ayawá:=ɬ wìl-n==**kʷa**:
  alas!=NC act-2S==...
  Alas! There was nothing you could do!
  *Ayawaahl wilin-**gwaa**!*

- ?ayawá:=ɬq̓aɬà:n-y̓==**kʷa**:
  alas!=NC brother.in.law-1S==...
  Alas! My poor brother-in-law [who died in an 'accident']! (64.2.)
  *Ayawaahl k̲'ahlaaniy̓-**gwaa**!*

- n̓íti:t t ?an wilá:kʷ-T-y̓==**kʷa**:
  them 3E REL.E treat.s.-DEF-1S==...
  They did it to me! (it was their fault, I am blameless)
  *N̓idiit an wilaakwdiy̓-**gwaa**!*

6.3.D.2. Lack of personal interest in the information: the pair ==sin *-sin* and ==siɬ *-sihl*:

This pair contrasts in meaning with the pair ==əs[t] *-(y)is!* ==a *-(y)a* (6.3.A.) but its use does not seem to be as widespread. The two postclitics ==sin *-sin* and ==siɬ *-sihl* seem to convey the attitude: 'This is a matter that doesn't really concern me, I would rather not deal with this, but it is my duty to do so.' With the postclitic ==sin *-sin*, the speaker expressed his own reaction; with the postclitic ==siɬ *-sihl*, the speaker takes it upon himself to inform the listener, for the latter's sake.

In older texts, these two postclitics are often followed by a suffix -a *-a* which it

is not always possible to analyze as the INTERROGATIVE postclitic ==a: *-(y)a*, but which is reminiscent of the suffix on the more formal alternants of demonstratives (5.7.).

6.3.D.2.a. The postclitic ==sin *-sin*: This postclitic seems to be used mostly with questions. The attitude it expresses seems to be: 'This is something that I am not interested in, that I would rather not hear about, but it looks like I have to deal with it.' This attitude can be real, or feigned. In most cases the speaker is responding to information received with a question of his own: implied is 'What is it to me? Why should I be concerned?'

- ʔaḳú=ɬ wìl-t==sin
  what=NCact-3==...
  So what's s/he done? [something disgraceful no doubt]
  Aguhl wilt-sin?

- ʔaḳú=ɬ hì-t==sin - ɬa hux^{w} ṅí[t]=ɬ ẇi:[t] tx̱è:msim
  what=NC say-3==... - now again that's=NC big [DM] T.

So what did he say [this time]? That's big Tx̱eemsim [the notorious liar] all over again! (23.9-10) *Aguhl hit-sin? Hlaa huxw ṅihl ẇii t Tx̱eemsim!*

The question is often a rhetorical one which relieves the speaker's feelings of annoyance and worry:

- ʔaḳùnə-yáṅì:ẏ==sin
  what 1S.E-say me==...
  Oh no, what have I said!
  Agu niya ṅiiẏ-sin?

- ʔaḳùqantá:ẇiɬ-t==sin
  what why leave-3==...
  Why did s/he have to go? (e.g. Is s/he up to no good? Why did s/he die? etc.)
  Agu gan daaẇihlt-sin?

In a well-known story (sqaẇó *Sgaẇo*, 222), a marriageable girl is being advertised; one after the other, potential suitors offer themselves, all pronouncing the same formula. Their use of the postclitic conveys a lack of

interest which is feigned rather than real:

- ni:=ɬ ɲí:ɣ̀ tim-t ʔan náksk^{w}-[t]=ɬ ɬkù:ɬk^{w}-[t]=ɬ hé·-(ə)t==sin==a
  not=NC me FUT-3E REL.E marry.s.-[3]=NC child-[3]=NC say-REL==...==Q

I wouldn't be the one called upon to marry the daughter of the one who speaks, by any chance [not that it matters to me]? (222)

Niihl ɲiiɣ̀ dimt an nakskwhl hlguuhlkwhl heet-sina?

6.3.D.2.b. The postclitic ==siɬ *-sihl*: This postclitic is used to inform the listener that he is in an embarrassing situation. The meaning is: 'Sorry, excuse me, but ...; this is none of my business, but it is something you should know and I am only mentioning it for your sake,' or, to use Victorian phraseology: 'with all due respect, it is my painful duty to inform you that ...' The few examples where it is found in Boas show it in contrast with ==sin *-sin*. Both postclitics seem to have their alternate forms ending in -a *-a*.

A trick has been played on an unsuspecting chief while he slept; the trickster wakes him up with:

- sim?ó:kit-yùk^{w} 12==a?=ɬsi:ppán-n==siɬa
  chief-PROG==ASST=NC bellyache-2S==...

  Chief, I am sorry, but you just had a bellyache [and soiled your bed] (25.9)

Sim'oogit, yugwa'ahl siipbaninsihla!

The chief's response to this unwelcome bit of information is a question ending in ==sin *-sin*:

- ʔo:-ntá wil wìl-[t]=ɬ ʔanhé:-n==sina Oh no, how could this happen?
  Oh - which.way SUB be/act-[3]-NC saying-2S==... (25.10-11)

Oo, nda wil wilhl anheen-sina?

and the trickster's confirming statement again includes ==siɬ *-sihl*:

- yùk$^{W\ 12}$==a?=ɬ si:ppán-n ?a=ɬ hu)wóq-n==**siɬa**
  PROG==ASST=NC bellyache-2S PREP=NC ASP)sleep-2S==...

I am very sorry, but you did have a bellyache in your sleep [and soiled your bed]

(25.11) *Yugwa'ahl siipbanin ahl huwogan-**sihla**!*

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

[1] Following recent usage among Tsimshianists, the term *proclitic* used by Boas (1911:298) for all pre-predicate morphemes has been retained in this study for a kind of circumstantial prefix with definable characteristics. Those morphemes, not being true clitics, are not described in this section but in 7.1.A. (cf. note 6).

[2] For more details, see Tarpent 1986.

[3] Rigsby p.c.

[4] The use of **t** before proper names has become somewhat redundant since the adoption of Christian names, which have no meaning and are clearly differentiated from ordinary words. The old native names had concrete meanings and it was important to differentiate the naming use from the common use. For instance, McCullagh tells an anecdote (quoted in Moeran and Raunet) about a man named *t'Gak*, probably **t qá:q** 'Raven' *t Gaak*. Other names he mentions do not have the marker.

[5] With a limited corpus of examples, the non-occurrence of **t** after **=s** and initially may give the superficial impression that **t** is a connective in complementary distribution with **=s** (e.g. in the first version of Tarpent 1981a). Consideration of a wider range of examples leaves no doubt that **t** and **tip** *dip* are Determinate Markers, morphemes of a different kind.

[6] Boas 1911 used this term for a wider range of morphemes, including the Attributive suffix **-m**. Modern Tsimshianists (e.g. Rigsby, Dunn) use it only for the pre-nominal particles described here.

[7] cf. explaining the use of Canadian *eh*, or of words such as *Well!* and *So!* in colloquial English, or *Eh bien* (or *ben*) and *donc* in colloquial French.

[8] Because the postclitic is often used when the speaker refers to concrete evidence that is equally available to the listener (or is assumed to be so), the meaning can be misinterpreted as demonstrative by a superficial observer, cf. the gloss given by Boas (1911:349): 'presence and nearness.'

[9] In this example from Boas, the postclitic is added to the last stressed word of the sentence. In modern usage it would be more likely to be added to the very last word.

[10] Compare with the use of the modifier **sa:** *saa* (5.15.B.30.) which also presents

an undesirable potential event, but without suggesting responsibility for preventing it.

[11] Barbeau translates 'I strike thee' which ignores the meaning of the postclitic.

[12] Here the auxiliary **yuk▼** *yukw* has the Perfective meaning 'just happened' which it sometimes has in Boas, rather than its modern Progressive meaning 'be ...ing' (see 5.12.A., 5.12.A.4.).

CHAPTER 7: AFFIXES

Affixes can be divided into those preceding the stem (proclitics and prefixes), those following the stem (suffixes), and fixed combinations of the two, here called *frames*.

7.1. Affixes preceding the stem:

Two kinds of affixes can precede the stem: prefixes and 'proclitics'. The latter are a kind of lexical prefix rather than a clitic: however, the term *proclitic* used by Boas (1911:398ff.) has been retained here (although Boas' term covers a wider range of morphemes). Prefixes determine the class membership of a word, or are affixed to words having a given class membership, as opposed to proclitics, which have much greater freedom of occurrence. Removing a prefix from a word in context would often result in an ungrammatical utterance as well as in semantic incongruity; in most cases, removing the proclitic alone would only alter the semantics.

Both prefixes and proclitics are affected phonologically by their proximity to the predicate head. The rules which affect reduplicated syllables (Vowel insertion and/or specification, Velar fricativization or vocalization, Affricate simplification and deglottalization) all occur: this is shown positively in some cases where a prefix or proclitic is relatable to a free morpheme, and also negatively since neither prefixes nor proclitics end in Velar stops, in affricates or in glottalized segments.

7.1.A. Proclitics:

A Proclitic is a kind of prefix with circumstantial meaning, which does not affect the grammatical status of the word it is attached to. The latter is usually a verb, and it is not uncommon to have two or even three of these morphemes before a verb, but proclitics also occur before nouns. They are not true clitics, but the term provides a convenient way of distinguishing them from the other

types of prefixes (see Prefixes, 7.1.B.). Like prefixes, proclitics are varied in their phonological structure: none of them ends in an affricate, a glottalized consonant or a Velar stop, which suggests that they obey widespread phonological rules of the language. Like the lexical prefixes, they are sometimes similar to existing lexical items in shape and meaning.

Nisgha proclitics are similar in meaning to English *in, out, up, down, away,* etc., although the semantic range seems to be wider. In English, most of these morphemes are only loosely bonded to the verb, and have a certain freedom of movement, as in

*She put **on** her coat / She put her coat **on**.*

They usually appear after the verb:

*to run **out**, he ran **out***

but they can also be completely separate:

***Out** he ran*. (but not: **On she put her coat.*)

A few can also be prefixed to the verb, to which they impart a different meaning and grammatical category; in this case the morpheme in question has absolutely no freedom of movement: the following examples have different meanings:

*She **out**ran him ≠ She ran him **out**.*

Similarly, in Nisgha there are degrees of bonding of the proclitic with the verb. Since proclitics always occur before the verb, never afterwards, proclitic movement is not an available device as it is in English. Instead, close bonding is achieved by a parasyntactic construction called here framing--using a suffix together with the proclitic (see Frames, 7.3.). Only loosely bonded proclitics are

considered in this section.

Proclitics can be so loosely bonded that it is sometimes difficult to determine whether a given morpheme is a proclitic or a modifier (5.15.), but in general the following criteria apply:

a. A modifier always precedes a proclitic;

b. A proclitic is usually within the scope of aspectual reduplication (8.1.A.), a modifier never is, as in this example which contains both (reduplication occurs after the subordinator q̓ay 'still' *k'ay*, 5.16.B.9.):

- q̓ay waqaytci)caqam=yúkʷ-ti:t ʔa=ɬ kí:ks
  still far ASP)to.shore=move-3P PREP=NC place.facing.water
  SUB MODIF RED)PROC=...

[While] they were approaching the shore, but were still far at sea...(160.10-11).
K'ay wagayt jijagamyukwdiit ahl giiks...

Reduplication of the proclitic is not always obligatory; sometimes the stem is reduplicated instead, usually with a meaning difference: compare: proclitic included:

... wil l)lu:=qác-[t]=ɬ ʔàks	... in which the water is/was
SUB ASP)in=be[liquid]-[3]=NC water	(e.g. in a pot, glass, etc.).
	... *wil lluugatshl aks*.

and: proclitic not included:

... wil lu:=qa)qác-[t]=ɬ ʔàks	... in which the water is/was
SUB in=ASP)be[liquid]-[3]=NC water	(e.g. in a lake, hole, etc.).
	... *wil luugagatshl aks*.

However, plural reduplication does not usually include the proclitic:

lu:=čix)ʔák	'(lights) to be/go out'
in=PL)extinguished	*luuts'ixts'ak*
kʷɬi:=hax)háks	'to bawl s.o. (pl.) out'
all.over=PL)insult.s.	*kwhliihaxhaks*

except for some modern plurals, expecially of nouns, where the proclitic is semantically more closely bound to the lexical item:

six)sqa=piɬéʔ	'curtains'
PL)barring=spread	*sixsgabihlee'e*

c. An ergative clitic pronoun always occurs before a proclitic (which is part of the predicate) but may occur either before or after a modifier, which is not. In the following examples, proclitic and modifier are homophonous:

ex. with proclitic sa:= 'off' *saa*...:

• ʔi:-t sa:=kú:t-ti:t	... and they took it off.
and-3E off-take.s.-3P	... *iit saaguutdiit.*

versus modifier sa: 'suddenly' *saa*:

• ńi[t]=ɬ ǩi: sa:-t kú:t-ti:t	Then suddenly they caught him (10.5).
that's...=NC and suddenly-3E take.s.-3P	*Ńihl k'ii saat guutdiit.*

d. A verb beginning with a proclitic may be prefixed with a noun-forming prefix:

ʔan-ǩʷiɬ=yé:	'[one's] territory, grounds'
place.of-around=walk	*ankw'ihlyee*

ha-ƛ̓i:-pàx̣-ʔn-ʔsk^{w}-m+áks 'eavestrough, drainpipe'
INSTR-on=run-CAUS-AP.I-ATTR+water *haƛ̓iiba'ansgum-aks*

Semantic categories represented by proclitics include location, motion and manner.

7.1.A.1. Location and Motion proclitics: It seems arbitrary to separate location and motion as many proclitics are used for both, especially when in combination. Many of these proclitics occur in pairs.

7.1.A.1.a. Use of location and motion proclitics: The locational complement which normally comes at the end of the clause (after the nominal Adjuncts to the pronominal arguments, 4.2.) gives a definite site for the location or motion indicated by the proclitic, which is part of the predicate.

7.1.A.1.a.1. With P_A's:

7.1.A.1.a.1.a. With intransitives:

Some proclitics are often associated with a specific locational prefix in the complement:

ƛ̓i:=yé: ... lax̣-míɬ 'to walk on ... the lava'
on=walk ... on-burn *ƛ̓iiyee ... lax̣ miɬ*

ƛ̓i:=ƛ̓á: ... lax̣-qán 'to sit on ... a log'
on=sit ... on-log *ƛ̓iit'aa ... lax̣ gan*

lu:=ƛ̓á: ... čim-wílp 'to stay in ... the house'
in=sit ... in-house *luut'aa ... ts'im wilp*

others with adverbs with specific meaning:

ʔakʷi:=t̓á: ... kálq 'to sit ... outside'
outside=sit ... outside *agwiit'aa ... galk*

[t]q̓ali=máxkʷ ... kiké:nix 'to ride ... upriver'
up.a.river=ride ... upriver *k'aliimaxkw ... gigeenix*

or with certain nouns with locational meaning:

[t]k̓utk̓u=páx ... tà:x-[t]=ɬhan̓iitxó:xkʷ
around=run ... perimeter-[3]=NC table
'to run all around ... the table'
k'utk'ubax ... daaxhl han̓iitxooxkw

laqaltip=skí ... ɬàxʷ-[t]=ɬ wílp 'to be under ... the house'
under=lie ... underside-[3]=house *lagaldipsgi ... hlaxwhl wilp*

These proclitics can also be used in the absence of locational complements, in fact this use is very frequent; it is practically unknown for such complements to be used without a proclitic occurring on the verb.

7.1.A.1.a.1.b. In noun-phrases and compounds:

lu:=sy̓è:n-[t]-ɬ č̓im-t̓áx 'the bottom of the lake'
in=bottom-[3]=NC in-lake *luusy̓eenhl ts'im t'ax*

lu:=qakàmkə-[t]=ɬč̓im-wílp 'the heat in the house'
in=heat-[3]=NC in-house *luugagamgihl tsim wilp*

tk̓u=tà:x-[t]=ɬʔanʈú:yin '[around] the perimeter of the garden'
around=perimeter-[3]=NC garden *tk'udaaxhl anduuyin*

including nominal compounds:

lu:=wíl-m+čim-ʔáks	'water creature (amphibian, sea
in=be-ATTR+in-water	mammal, etc.)'
	luuwilim ts'im aks

The prefixation of a motion proclitic to a noun can give the latter adverbial meaning:

[t]q̓ali=lísims	'[going] up the Nass river'
up.a.river=Nass.river	***k'alilLisims***
qalksə=ptó?	'in the doorway'
through=door	***galksipdo'o***
t̓ip=qanéːqs	'on/down the steps'
downward=ladder, stairs	***t'ipganeeks***

7.1.A.1.a.2. With P_{EA}'s:

There is usually no locational prefix on the object noun.

čilim=ká?...=ɬ wílp	'to look inside ... the house'
into=see.s. ...=NC house	***ts'ilimga'a ...hl wilp***
lu:=ká?...=ɬ ćàl̓-[t]=ɬ likitnáː	'to look into ... s.o.'s eyes'
in=see.s. ...=NC eyes-[3]=NC somebody	***luuga'a ...hl ts'alhl ligitnaa***
caqa=kilá:l̓...=ɬ kát	'to watch ... a man go across'
across=watch.s.in.motion ...=NC man	[the motion here is that of the eyes, which follow that of the Object of the verb] ***jagagilaal̓...hl gat***

7.1.A.1.b. List of location and motion proclitics: The following list does not claim to be complete, as there is enormous variation in the frequency of occurrence

of individual proclitics, and a few seem to be obsolete. No attempt has been made to follow a particular order, except that opposite members of pairs are usually given next to each other.

7.1.A.1.b.1. lu:= 'in, inside' (usually location, more rarely motion) *luu...*; probably the commonest proclitic.

lu:=t̓á:	'(animate) to be in s.t., esp. to be in a house:	
...=sit, stay	at home, or in jail'	***luut'aa***
lu:=sḳí	'(object) to be in s.t.; (person) to be in	
...=lie.motionless	hospital'	***luusgi***
lu:=qó.ta	'(container) to be empty; (contents) to be	
...=all.gone	gone'	***luugooda***
lu:=tá.w̓iɬ	'to disappear in s.t.; esp. (sun) to set'	
...=leave, disappear		***luudaaw̓ihl***
lu:=ʔá:caχ	'to fit in s.t.'	
...=reach,fit.s.		***luu'aajaχ***

This proclitic is often found in expressions referring to the heart as the seat of thoughts and emotions, as in:

lu:=ʔá:m=ɬ qò:t-ỷ	I am happy.	
...=good=NC heart-1S		***Luu'aamhl goodiỷ.***

It is also often found with other proclitics, e.g.

lu:=t̓ip=hítkʷ	'to stand upright in a hole'	
...=downward=stand		***luut'iphitkw***

lu:=ƛiti:=hítk^{w} '(mechanism) to stop'
...=stop.motion=stand ***luugidiihitkw***

lu:=caqa=tƛ̓u=páx̣ 'to run around the house (= be very busy)'
...=from.end.to.end=around=run ***luujagatƛ'ubax̣***

See 7.1.A.1.c.9. for lu:=pa[qa]yt *luubayt*.

7.1.A.1.b.2. ʔak^{w}i:= 'outside, at the side' (location) *agwii...*

(a) concrete meaning:

ʔak^{w}i:=kó: 'to be parked/moored outside'
...=moored, parked ***agwiigyoo***

ʔak^{w}i:=kálq 'just outside'
...=outside ***agwiigalƛ̓***

(b) figurative meaning:

ʔak^{w}i:=nipíp 'great-uncle (mother's maternal uncle)'
...=maternal.uncle ***agwiinibip***

7.1.A.1.b.3. ksə= 'out of s.t. [usually from the side]' *ksi.../ksə...* ; usually motion (= homophonous prefixes, 7.1.B.2.b.3.d., 7.1.B.2.a.2.a.)(= čilim= 'into' *ts'ilim...* 7.1.A.1.b.4.; cf. also t̓uk^{w}s= 'out of s.t.' *t'ukws...* 7.1.A.1.b.8.):

ksə=ká?ask^{w} 'to look out (of a window, etc.)'
...=look ***ksiga'askw***

ksə=hítk^{w} 'to stick out'
...=stand ***ksihitkw***

ksə=t̓ís 'to push s.t. out'
...=push.s. ***ksit'is***

ksə=q̓úc 'to cut s.t. out'
...=look ***ksak'ots***

7.1.A.1.b.4. **č̓ilim**= 'into s.t. [house, etc., from the side:]' *ts'ilim...* ; motion (= **ksə**= 'out' *ksi.../ksa...* 7.1.A.1.b.3.) (cf. also **laqam**= 'into s.t.' *lagam...* 7.1.A.1.b.7.):

č̓ilim=káʔask^{W} 'to look in'
...=look ***ts'ilimga'askw***

č̓ilim=q̓óʔ 'to fetch s.t. inside'
...=go.to.s. ***ts'ilimgo'o***

č̓ilim=ʔanó:l̓T 'to allow s.o. inside'
...=allow.s. ***ts'ilim'anool̓-di***

7.1.A.1.b.5. **qalksə**= 'through s.t. [a hole, tunnel, difficult experience, etc.]' *galksi.../galksa...* ; motion:

(a) concrete meaning:

qalksə=káʔask^{W} 'to look through s.t. [e.g. with binoculars]'
...=look ***galksiga'askw***

qalksə=nóʔ '(object) to have a hole through it'
...=hole ***galksino'o***

qalksə=k^{W}ɬák '(garment, etc.) to be inside out'
...=messed.up? ***galksikwhlak***

(b) figurative meaning:

qalksə=ʔálkaẋ 'to speak through s.t. [a phone, C.B., etc.]'
...=talk *galksi'algax̱*

qalksə=ʔáqɬkʷ 'to make it through [an illness, a course of study, etc.]; to graduate'
...=succeed *galksi'ak̲hlkw*

7.1.A.1.b.6. [t]q̓an= 'opening, ajar' *(t)k̲'an...*

[t]q̓an=nóʔ '(door, etc.) to be ajar, not locked'
...=hole *(t)k̲'anno'o*

[t]q̓an=t̓á:-tkʷ '(sky) to clear'
...=stay-MED *(t)k̲'ant'aatkw*

7.1.A.1.b.7. laqam='into s.t. [at the top]' *lagam...* (= t̓ukʷs= 'out of s.t. [from the top] *t'ukws...*, 7.1.A.1.b.8.). (cf. also c̓ilim='into' *ts'ilim...* 7.1.A.1.b.4.)

(a) 'into s.t. , from the top', esp. into a movable object (container, boat); hence also 'into a vehicle':

laqam=páẋ 'to go aboard, get into a car, etc.'
...=run *lagambax̱*

laqam=úx 'to throw s.t. aboard, or into a container'
...=throw.s. *lagam'ux*

(b) 'into the water'

laqam=t̓á: 'to sit in the water'
...=sit *lagamt'aa*

laqam=halhálɬin 'to send s. spinning into the water'
...=make.s.spin *laqamhalhalt'in*

7.1.A.1.b.8. ɬukʷs= 'out of s.t. [from the top], overboard' *t'ukws...* (= laqam='into s.t. [at the top]' *laqam...* , 7.1.A.1.b.7.). (cf. also ksə='out of s.t.' *ksi.../ksə...* 7.1.A.1.b.3.):

ɬukʷs=ɬikʷántkʷ 'to fall overboard'
...=fall *t'ukwst'igwantkw*

ɬukʷs=kú:[t] 'to take s.t. out [of a container, boat, etc.]
...=take.s. *t'ukwsguu(t)*

ɬukʷs=ʔúx 'to throw s. overboard'
...=throw.s. *t'ukws'ux*

7.1.A.1.b.9. ƛ̓i:= 'on s.t. horizontal' *ƛ̓ii...* ; us. location, also figurative meaning; (= laqaltip= 'under s.t.' *laqaldip...* 7.1.A.1.b.10.):

ƛ̓i:=ɬá: 'to sit on s.t.'
...=sit *ƛ̓iit'aa*

ƛ̓i:=yóχkʷ 'to go over s.t. (both concrete and
...=follow.a.route figurative meanings)' *ƛ̓iiyoχkw*

ƛ̓i:=ẃá 'to come upon s.t.'
...=reach,find.s. *ƛ̓iiẃa*

7.1.A.1.b.10. laqaltip= 'under s.t. horizontal [but without contact] *laqaldip...* ; location; (= ƛ̓i:= 'on s.t. horizontal' *ƛ̓ii...* 7.1.A.1.b.9., cf. lukʷɬə= *lukwhli...* 7.1.A.11.b.66):

laqaltip=t̓á: 'to sit/be under s.t.'
...=sit *laqaldipt'aa*

7.1.A.1.b.11. kiltip= 'under the bottom of s.t. [round]' *gildip...*; us. motion:

kiltip=ʔúx 'to upset s.t.'
...=hit,throw.s. *gildip-ux*

kiltip=tálpiksk^{w} 'to hold on to the underside of s.t.' (e.g. person in the water, holding on to a canoe while hiding from its occupants)(Boas)
...=crouch *gildipdalbikskw*

kiltip=yáɬk^{w} 'round-bottomed cauldron'
...=smooth *gildipyahlkw*

7.1.A.1.b.12. m̓in= 'upward [vertically]" *m̓in...*; motion: (= t̓ip= 'downward' *t'ip...* 7.1.A.1.b.13.);

m̓in=yé: 'to go/walk up, esp. upstairs'
...=go, walk *m̓inyee*

m̓in=káʔask^{w} 'to look up (to the sky)'
...=look *m̓inga'askw*

m̓in=n̓ák^{w} '(tree, building, mountain) to be tall'
...=long *m̓inn̓akw*

m̓in=tə-tá:w̓iɬ 'to take s. away into the sky'
...=DOMIN-go.away *m̓indidaaw̓ihl*

7.1.A.1.b.13. t̓ip= 'downward' *t'ip...* ; motion; (= m̓in= 'upward' *m̓in...*, 7.1.A.1.b.12.);

ṫip=yé:	'to go/walk down, esp. downstairs'
...=go, walk	***t'ipyee***
ṫip=ṫikʷántkʷ	'to fall down'
...=fall	***t'ipt'igwantkw***
ṫip=ḵi)ḵíl	'(leaves, snowflakes, etc.) to fall down one
...=ASP)one	by one' ***t'ipgik'il***
ṫip=qané:qs	'on/down the stairs'
...=ladder	***t'ipganeeks***

7.1.A.1.b.14. **paχ=** 'uphill' (esp. up the riverbank or beach up to the village, or up into the wooded mountains behind the village) *baχ...* ; motion; (= **ẏaqa=** 'downhill' *ẏaga...*, 7.1.A.1.b.15.);

paχ=yé:	'to go/walk uphill, hike up'
...=go, walk	***baχyee***
paχ=máq̓an	'to give s.o. a ride up'
...=give.ride.to.s.	***baχmaḵ'an***
paχ=yúkʷ	'to move uphill; (esp. water level, river
...=move	tide) to rise' ***baχyukw***
wil-paχ=haɬ=hítkʷ	'slope, rollercoaster'
where-...=along=stand	***wilbaχhahlhitkw***

7.1.A.1.b.15. **ẏaqa=** 'downhill' *ẏaga...* (esp. from the village down the riverbank or beach, or down from the mountains back to the village); motion; (= **paχ=** 'uphill' *baχ...* 7.1.A.1.b.14.);

ẏaqa=yé:	'to go/walk downhill'
...=go, walk	*ẏaqayee*
ẏaqa=yúkʷ	'to move downhill; (esp. water level, river
...=move	tide) to fall, go down *ẏaqayukw*
ẏaqa=líl̓pin	'to roll s.t. downhill'
...=roll.s.	*ẏaqalil̓p'in*

7.1.A.1.b.16. [t]q̓ali= 'up a river, upstream' *(t)k̲'alii...* ; motion; (≈ kisə= 'downstream' *gisi.../gisa...*, 7.1.A.1.b.17.);

[t]q̓ali=yé:	'to go/walk upriver; January'
...=go, walk	*k̲'aliiyee*
ti)tq̓ali=wá:x	'to be paddling up the river'
...=paddle	*dik̲'aliiwaax*
[t]q̓ali=máx̣kʷ	'to ride in a boat up the river'
...=ride	*k̲'aliimax̣kw*
q̓ali=ʔáks	'river'
...=water	*k̲'alii'aks*

7.1.A.1.b.17. kisə= 'downstream' *gisi.../gisa...* ; motion; (≈ [t]q̓ali= 'up a river, upstream' *(t)k̲'alii...* , 7.1.A.1.b.16.);

kisə=yé:	'to go/walk down the river'
...=go, walk	*gisiyee*
kisə=ʔúlksʷ	'to drift down the river'
...=drift	*gisi'ulkskw*

kisə=qal)qúl	'(water, stream) to run down'
...=PL)\water\run	*gisagalgol*

7.1.A.1.b.18. caqa= 'from one end or side to the other', hence 'across/ crossing (esp. a river), affording passage' *jaga...*; motion or location; (cf. sqa= 'across, barring passage' *sga...*, 7.1.A.1.b.19., la:x̱= 'at both ends' *laax̱...*, 7.1.A.1.b.20.):

caqa=yé:	'to go/walk across'
...=go, walk	*jagayee*
caqa=hé:tk^{w}	'(person, animal) to head across s.t.;'
...=extend	(object) to be [stretched, etc.], to extend, across s.t.' *jagaheetkw*
caqa=yóx̱k^{w}	'to cross on s.t., to follow s. across'
...=follow.s.	*jagayox̱kw*
caqa=qané:qs	'bridge'
...=ladder	*jagaganeex̱ks*

7.1.A.1.b.19. sqa= 'across, in the way, barring passage' *sga...*; motion or location; (≠caqa= 'across, affording passage' *jaga...*, 7.1.A.1.b.18.):

sqa=hítk^{w}	'to stand in the way'
...=stand	*sgahitkw*
sqa=pé:q̓	'to stretch out one's arms to prevent s.
...=stretch.out.?	from going through' *sgabeex̱'*
sqa=ƛ̓áq̓a?	'theatre curtain'
...=hanging	*sgaƛ̓ax̱'a'a*

- kìlò mə cə **sqa**=sáx̣-[t]=ɬ ptóʔ cəta: mə **sqa**=ƛ̓ákʷ-t
  don't 2ERG IRR ...=pull.s.-[3]=NC door if 2ERG ...=twist.s.-3
  Don't pull the door shut if you lock it.
  *Gilo mi ji **sgasaɣhl** pdo'o jidaa mi **sgat**'akwt.*

7.1.A.1.b.20. la:x̣=/le:x̣= 'equally at both ends: (a) location: on both sides, in both hands; (b) motion: back and forth' *laaɣ...*; (cf. caqa= 'from one end or side to the other, across' *jaga...*, 7.1.A.1.b.18., stax̣= 'on one side only' *sdaɣ...* 7.1.A.1.b.64.):

(a) location:

la:x̣=taq̓)tóq-T	'to take <u>things</u> in each hand'
...=PL)take.s.pl.-DEF	***laaɣdaɣdoǩ-di***
la:x̣=ʔálkaq̓	'to interpret (= talk on each side)'
...=talk	***laaɣ'algaɣ***

(b) motion:

la:x̣=yé:	'to go/walk back and forth'
...=go, walk	***laaɣyee***
la:x̣=ƛ̓ʷáciksk̓ʷ	'to rock back and forth'
...=rocking	***laaɣkw'ajikskw***
la:x̣=wìlƛ̓qaʔ-m+kát	'to ferry people back and forth; ferry'
...=transport-ATTR+man	***laaɣwilǩ'a'am-gat***
la:x̣=caqa=qóʔ	'to cross back and forth to get s.'
...=crossing=go.to.s.	***laaɣjagago'o***

7.A.1.b.21. ḵa:ɬ= 'pulling to one side, lopsided' *k'aahl...*

This proclitic begins with the element /ḵ̓/ which recurs in most words with the meaning 'one' (7.1.B.2.c.1.). It may be reduced to ḵiɬ= *k'ihl... or gihl...*

ḵa:ɬ=q̓ísaʔ-tkʷ	'to kneel down'	
...=knee-MED		***k'aahlḵ'esa'atkw,***
		k'ihlḵ'esa'atkw,
		gihlḵ'esa'atkw
ḵa:ɬ=hé:tkʷ	'to extend/pull to one side [more than	
...=extend, etc.	the other]'	***k'aahlheetkw***
ḵa:ɬ=hè:tkʷ-mq̓ísimq	'Labret-sticking-out-on-one-side' (heroine	
...=extend-ATT labret	of a Boas story)	***K'aahlheetgum-K'esimḵ***

7.1.A.1.b.22. n̓a:= 'conspicuously against a background' (location or motion) *n̓aa...*: hence:

(a) 'in one or more spots'

n̓a=ƛ̓ú:c̓kʷ	'to have a black spot'	
...=black		***n̓aat'uuts'kw***
n̓a=ƛ̓is)ƛ̓ú:c̓kʷ	'to have black spots'	
...=PL)black		***n̓aat'ist'uuts'kw***
n̓a=qákʷ	'to be bald'	
...=swan?		***n̓aagakw***

(b) 'emerging from the woods' (= q̓altix= 'into the woods (not visible)' *k'aldix...* 7.1.A.1.b.23., paχ='uphill,' hence 'into the woods (above the village)' *baχ...* 7.1.A.1.b.14.)

ṅa=yé:	'to go/come back from the woods'
...=walk, go	*ṅaayee*
ṅa=hítk^{w}	'to stand at the edge of the woods'
...=stand	*ṅaahitkw*

7.1.A.1.b.23. **q̓altix=** 'deep in the woods, not visible from the village' (motion) *k'aldix...* (seems obsolete now; **pax̲=** *bax̲...* 7.1.A.1.b.14. used instead): (= **ṅa:=** 'emerging from the woods' *ṅaa...* 7.1.A.1.b.22.(b)):

q̓altix=yé:	'to go into the woods'
...=walk, go	*k'aldixyee*
q̓altix=qó:ta	'(group) to have all gone into the woods'
...=all.gone	*k'aldixgooda*

7.1.A.1.b.24. **y̓aws=** 'from a confined or hidden place into the open (e.g. from the bushes into the road, from within a cupboard, behind a curtain, etc.)' (motion) *y'aws...* (= **ƛičiɬ=** 'into a confined space' *gits'ihl...* 7.1.A.1.b.25.):

y̓aws=yé:	'to appear (e.g. out of the bushes)'
...=walk, go	*y'awsyee*
y̓aws=tə-yé:	'to bring s. out into the open'
...=DOM-walk, go	*y'awsdiyee*

7.1.A.1.b.25. **ƛičiɬ=** 'into a confined or hidden place (e.g. into an inner room, a cupboard, backstage, etc.)' (motion) *gits'ihl...* (= **y̓aws=** 'out of a hidden place into the open' *y'aws...* 7.1.A.1.b.24.):

ƛičiɬ=qó:ta	'to all be holed up [somewhere]' (Boas)
...=all.gone	*gits'ihlgooda*

ƛičiɬ=ksqó:q 'to be the first to go in[to a hole, etc.]'
...=first ***gits'ihlksgook***

7.1.A.1.b.26. **haɬ=** 'along, parallel to, a line, esp. the shoreline' (location or motion) ***hahl...***

haɬ=yé: 'to walk along s.t., esp. the shore'
...=walk, go ***hahlyee***

haɬ=ská '[inanimate] to be/lie along s.t., along the '
...=be [motionless] shore' ***hahlsgi***

7.1.A.1.b.27. **ƛiɬa:= / ƛ̓iɬa: / hiɬa:** 'past [a reference point in space or time] '(location or motion) ***gilaa... / k'ilaa... /hilaa...***

ƛiɬa:=qó:ta 'to have all gone past'
...=all.gone ***gilaagooda***

ƛiɬa:=tá:ẇiɬ 'to go past and disappear (e.g. past a point,'
...=go.away lighthouse, etc.); (time period) to be over'
gilaadaawihl

7.1.A.1.b.28. **hakʷin=** 'closer' (motion) ***hagwin...*** (= **wətin=** 'further away' ***wadin.../widin...*** 7.1.A.1.b.29.):

hakʷin=yé: 'to get/come closer'
...=walk, go ***hagwinyee***

hakʷin=t̓á: 'to sit closer [to s.]'
...=sit ***hagwint'aa***

7.1.A.1.b.29. **wətin=** 'further away' (motion) ***wadin.../widin...*** (= **hakʷin=** 'closer' ***hagwin...*** 7.1.A.1.b.28.):

wətin=yé: 'to get/go further away'
...=walk, go ***wadinyee***

ha-**wətin**=ká?ask^{w} 'binoculars'
INST-...=look ***hawadinga'askw***

7.1.A.1.b.30. **caqam**= 'towards the point of reference' (motion) *jagam...* ; hence: (a) (concrete meaning) 'moving from water towards shore' (= **?uk^{w}s**= *ukws...* 7.1.A.1.b.31.) and (b) (fig.) 'reaching one's end or goal:

caqam=ƛ́ilpk^{w} 'to be [in the water] close to shore'
...=short, close.by ***jagamdilpkw***

caqam=páx (a) 'to run ahore (e.g. from a boat)'
...=run (b) (period of time) 'to come to an end'
jagambax

caqam=?áqƛk^{w} (a) 'to manage to get ashore'
...=succeed, manage (b) 'to reach one's goal, reach the end of a period in life (e.g. to graduate, get married, etc.) ***jagam'akhlkw***

7.1.A.1.b.31. **?uk^{w}s**= 'outward, away from the point of reference', esp. 'moving from the shore towards the water' (motion) or 'facing the water' (location) *ukws...* ; (= **caqam**= *jagam...* 7.1.A.1.b.30.) :

?uk^{w}s=ƛ̓á: 'to sit (on the beach, on a rock, etc.) facing
...=sit the water' ***ukwst'aa***

?uk^{w}s=wíl 'to get away from the village'
...=be, act ***ukwswil***

uk^{w}s=hé:tk^{w}	'to head out to sea'
...=extend	***ukwsheetkw***

This proclitic also occurs together with [t]ƛ̓ə= *(t)k'i.../(t)k'a...* 7.1.A.1.b.32. The meaning of the combination is 'on a high point, on a cliff':

ʔuk^{w}s=[t]ƛ̓ə=ɬá:	'to to sit on a high point, at the edge of a
...=...=sit	cliff' ***ukwsk'it'aa***

[ʔuk^{w}s=[t]ƛ̓ə=qùs]-m-s-[wán)-tk^{w}	'to jump off like a deer'
[[...=...=jump]-...-...[deer]-MED]$_{act.like}$	(= to act impulsively)
	ukwsk'agosimswantkw

7.1.A.1.b.32. [t]ƛ̓ə= 'dropping down to a lower level' (motion or location) *(t)k'i.../(t)k'a...*:

[t]ƛ̓ə=yé:	'[level] to have gone down'
...=walk, go	***(t)k'iyee***

[t]ƛ̓ə=ɬá:ẇɬɬ	'[boat, person] to sink'
...=leave, disappear	***(t)k'idaawihl***

[t]ƛ̓ə=m̓ál	'to button s.t. crooked (one side lower than
...=extend	the other)' ***(t)k'imal***

Often occurs in combination with ʔuk^{w}s= *ukws...* 7.1.A.b.31.

7.1.A.1.b.33. [t]q̓al= *(t)k'al...* (a) (concrete) 'flat/flush against s.t.' (motion or location, ≈ sa:= *saa...* 7.1.A.1.b.34.) ; (b) (fig.) 'increasing' (≈ sa:= *saa...* 7.1.A.1.b.34., t̓im= *t'im...* 7.1.A.1.b.44.):

(a) concrete meaning: usually location:

[t]q̓al=ḵó: '(boat) to be moored, tied to s.t.'
...=moored *(t)ɬ'alg̱yoo*

[t]q̓al=ẃá-tT 'to meet s.o.'
...=find, reach.s.-DEF *(t)ɬ'alẃa-(t)di*

[t]q̓al=ɬá:ẃiɬ '(color, clothing) to match'
...=leave, disappear *(t)ɬ'aldaaẃihl*

(b) figurative meaning: 'accruing, increasing':

[t]q̓al=yé: 'to increase'
...=go *(t)ɬ'alyee*

ti)tq̓al=yé:/qa)q̓al=yé: 'to be increasing'
ASP)...=go *dit̓ɬ'alyee, gaɬ'alyee*

[t]q̓al=ɬúksaʔan 'to add s.t. to s.t.'
...=put.s. *(t)ɬ'alhuksa'an*

7.1.A.1.b.34. sa:= 'off, away from s.t.' (motion or location, = [t]q̓al= *(t)ɬ'al...* 7.1.A.1.b.33.) (also = homophonous modifier sa: *saa* 5.15.B.30.):

(a) concrete meaning:

sa:=yé: '(person) to go off, away'
...=go/walk *saayee*

sa:=t̓ikʷántkʷ 'to fall off (e.g. off a tree, a bike, etc.)'
...=fall *saat'igwantkw*

sa:=q̓úc 'to cut s.t. off'
...=cut.s. *saaɬ'ots*

(b) figurative meaning: 'decreasing, coming to an end'

sa:=páx	'(story, world) to end'	
...=run		***saabag***
sa:=yé:	'to decrease'	
...=cut.s.		***saayee***

7.1.A.1.b.35. **k^{w}ilks=** 'back' (motion) *gwilks...*

k^{w}ilks=yé:	'to walk back'	
...=go/walk		***gwilksyee***
k^{w}ilks=qó?	'to go get s. back'	
...=go.get.s.		***gwilksgo'o***
k^{w}ilks=k^{w}iɬá	'to ask for s.t. back'	
...=ask.for.s.		***gwilksgwiɬa***

This proclitic is also found in the frame **k^{w}ilks=...-[t]k^{w}/-s** 'Reflexive' *gwilks...tk^{w}/...s* (7.3.A.1.a.2.a.1.a.).

7.1.A.1.b.36. **spə=** 'horizontally off s.t.' *sbi.../sba...* (= homophonous prefix, 7.1.B.2.b.4.e.):

spə=qús	'to hop/jump off (a boat at the dock or	
...=jump	beach, a car)'	***sbagos***
spə=ɬú:[t]	'to take s.t. off s.t. else (e.g. a pot off the	
...=take.s.	stove)'	***sbiguu***
spə=ɬó:	'(canoe, boat) to land on the beach'	
...=moored		***sbigyoo***

7.1.A.1.b.37. **x̱lip=** 'at one end, at the tip' *x̱lip...*

x̱lip=ƛ̓úc̓kʷ	'to be black at the tip, to have a black tip,
...=black	to be tipped with black' ***x̱lipt'uuts'kw***
x̱lip=qanq̓íńks	'to chew on the tip of s.t.'
...=chew.on.s.	***x̱lipgangeńks***
x̱lip=q̓áp	'endpiece, tip'
...=piece	***x̱lipk'ap***

7.1.A.1.b.38. **x̱c̓ə=** 'crosswise, perpendicularly, across the grain, across the middle' *x̱ts'i.../x̱ts'a...* (= **wisin=** *wisin...* 7.1.A.1.b.39.):

x̱c̓ə=q̓úc	'to cut s.t. across the grain, to make a
...=cut.s.	perpendicular cut in s.t.' ***x̱ts'ak'ots***
x̱c̓ə=yác	'to strike s.t. across the middle'
...=strike.s.	***x̱ts'iyats***
x̱c̓ə=his)yác	'to chop s.t. across the grain (e.g. a log into
...=PL)strike.s.	lengths of wood) ***x̱ts'ihisyats***

7.1.A.1.b.39. **wisin=**'lengthwise, along the grain' *wisin...* (= **x̱c̓ə=** *x̱ts'i.../ x̱ts'a...* 7.1.A.1.b.38.):

wisin=his)yác	'to strike s.t. several times along the grain,
...=PL)strike.s.	e.g. while making kindling from wood'
	(148.4) ***wisinhisyats***
wisin=hé:tkʷ	'(in a canoe) to rush [at s.o. who is at the
...=extend/rush	other end]' (57.2) ***wisinheetkw***

7.1.A.1.b.40. tx̱as= 'along the whole length of s.t.'; hence also 'throughout a period of time' *tx̱as...* (= x̱pə= *x̱bi.../x̱ba...* 7.1.A.1.b.41.):

tx̱as=yé:	'to walk the whole length of s.t. (e.g. of a
...=walk, go	fallen log)' ***tx̱asyee***
tx̱as=ʔnákʷ	'(time period) to have run through, to be
...=long (time)	just about over' ***tx̱asʔnakw***
tx̱as=má:tim	'all winter long'
...=winter	***tx̱asmaadim***

7.1.A.1.b.41. x̱pə= 'at the halfway point (in distance or time)' *x̱bi.../x̱ba...* (= tx̱as= *tx̱as...* 7.1.A.1.b.40.):

x̱pə=ƛú:[t]	'to catch s.t. in mid-air'
...=take.s.	***x̱biguu***
x̱pə=ƛíp	'(bird, etc.) to catch s.t. in mid-air and eat it'
...=eat.s.	***x̱bigip***
x̱pə=ʔnákʷ	'(time period) to be half over'
...=long (time)	***x̱biʔnakw***

7.1.A.1.b.42. sk̓ʷin= 'at the end of a line or row' (location) *sk̓w'in...*

sk̓ʷin=hítkʷ	'to stand at the end of a row'
...=stand	***sk̓w'inhitkw***

7.1.A.1.b.43. ƛimi:= 'to the rear' (motion) *gimii...*

kimi:=yé:	(older) 'to come/go towards the rear of the
...=go/walk	building'; (modern) 'to "come forward" [us. towards the rear of the building] when called by the M.C. to speak during a public event' ***gimiiyee***

7.1.A.1.b.44. ṫim= 'away from s.t.' *t'im...*, hence (a) concrete) 'away from the wall, towards the middle of the house' (obsolete), and (b) (figurative) 'diminishing' (both meanings ≈ [t]q̓al= *(t)ḵ'al...* 7.1.A.1.b.33.):

ṫim=yé:	(a) 'to come to the middle of the house
...=stand	(Boas); (b) (supplies, etc.) 'to diminish' ***t'imyee***

7.1.A.1.b.45. kina:= 'left behind (location)' (probably from earlier ka:na:=) *ginaa.../ganaa...*

kina:=hítk^{w}	'(person) to be late'
...=stand	***ginaahitkw***
kina:=k^{w}álk^{w}	'(boat, etc.) to be left high and dry'
...=dry	***ginaagwalkw***
kina:=ƛitílsT	'to survive (while others have died)'
...=live	***ginaadidils(t)***

7.1.A.1.b.46. loq̓ali:= 'behind, at the end (location or motion)' *loḵ'alii...*

loq̓ali:=hítk^{w}	'to stand behind s.'
...=stand	***loḵ'aliihitkw***
loq̓ali:=yé:	'to walk behind s.'
...=walk, go	***loḵ'aliiyee***

loq̓ali:=ɬhin)yántk^{w}	'to have a chill run down one's spine'
...=tickle	***loḵ'aliihinyantkw***

7.1.A.1.b.47. [t]q̓a:= 'tottering, losing one's balance' *(t)ḵ'aa...*

[t]q̓a:=ɬó?	'(structure, building) to collapse'
...=shove/collapse	***(t)ḵ'aahlo'o***
[t]q̓a:=ʔk^{w}ácisk^{w}	'(person) to sway and collapse'
...=totter, rock	***(t)ḵ'aakw'ajiikskw***

7.1.A.1.b.48. ɬim= 'in front, towards s.o., expecting s.o. (Fr. *à la rencontre de...*)' *hlim...*

ɬim=páx̱-[t]k^{w}	'to run to meet s.o.'
...=run-MED	***hlimbax̱kw***
ɬim=máqsk^{w}	'(group) to stand waiting for s.o.'
...=stand.PL	***hlimmax̱kskw***

7.1.A.1.b.49. lu:=spa[qa]yt= '...n between' *luusbayt...* (< lu:= 'in' *luu...* 7.1.A.1.b.1. + prefix spa[qa]yt 'among' *sba(a)yt...* 7.1.B.2.b.4.f.)

lu:=spa[qa]yt=ɬítk^{w}	'to stand between others'
...=...=stand	***luusbaythitkw***
lu:=spa[qa]yt=ɬanáq̓	to be the only male among females'
...=...=woman	***luusbaythanax̱'***

7.1.A.1.b.50. [t]x̱̓u= 'around in a circle (us. motion)' *(t)ḵ'u...* (cf. x̱ɬim= 'around s., encircling s.' *x̱lim...* 7.1.A.1.b.65.)

[t]ƛ̓u=yáltkʷ 'to turn around'
...=turn ***tƛ'uyaltkw***

[t]ƛ̓u=páx̣ 'to be round'
...=run ***tƛ'ubax̣***

[t]ƛ̓u=tá:x 'perimeter'
...=perimeter ***tƛ'udaax***

7.1.A.1.b.51. [t]ƛ̓utƛ̓u= 'all around s.t.' *(t)ƛ'utƛ'u...* (orig. reduplicated form of [t]ƛ̓u= *(t)ƛ'u...* 7.1.A.1.b.50.)

[t]ƛ̓utƛ̓u=páx̣ 'to run all around s.'
...=run ***ƛ'utƛ'ubax̣***

[t]ƛ̓utƛ̓u=wán '(persons) to sit in a circle, e.g. around a
...=sit.PL room' ***ƛ'utƛ'uwan***

[t]ƛ̓utƛ̓u=náq̓ 'skirt'
...=dress ***ƛ'utƛ'unaƛ̓***

7.1.A.1.b.52. haspa:= 'concave side up', hence also '(animal, person) reclining on one's back' *hasbaa...* (= pəlx̣sim= *balx̣sim.../bilx̣sim...* 7.1.A.1.b.53.)

haspa:=ƛ̓ó: '(canoe, boat) to be on land; (person), to
...=moored recline' ***hasbaagyoo***

haspa:=píntkʷ '(person, animal) to lie on one's back,
...=stick.out.belly showing one's belly' ***hasbaabintkw***

haspa:=sƛ̓ít'in 'to place a concave object (dish, glass, etc.)
...=place.s. hollow side up' ***hasbaasgit'in***

7.1.A.1.b.53. pəlχsim= 'concave side down', hence also '(animal) with back up, (person) lying face down' *balɣsim.../bilɣsim...* (= haspa:= *hasbaa...* 7.1.A.1.b.52.)

pəlχsim=ɬó:	'(canoe, boat) to be upside down (on land)'
...=moored	***balɣsimgyoo***
pəlχsim=skɬ́tin	'to place a concave object (dish, glass, etc.)
...=place.s.	upside down' ***balɣsimsgit'in***

7.1.A.1.b.54. ƛ̓inχɬ= / ƛ̓anχɬ 'upside down (vertically), head down' *k'inɣhl...*

ƛ̓inχɬ=hé·tkʷ	'to be head down'
...=extend	***k'inɣhlheetkw***

7.1.A.1.b.55. haltim= 'up from the ground, from a lying position' *haldim...* (motion)

haltim=ɬ̓á·	'to sit up'
...=sit	***haldimt'aa***
haltim=páχ	'to get up from sitting (in order to do s.t.);'
...=run	(fig.) to volunteer (to do s.t.)'
	haldimbaɣ
haltim=ƛ̓ú·[t]	'to pick s.o. up from a lying position (e.g. a
...=take.s.	baby), from the ground; (fig.) to help s.o.
	to recover from a disgrace' ***haldimguu(t)***

7.1.A.1.b.56. [t]q̓ayks= 'close to the ground (location)' *(t)k'ayks...*, *gayks...*

[t]q̓ayks=ḳé:ɬ
...=lie

'(person, animal) to lie on the ground or floor' ***tḵ'ayksgeehl***

[t]q̓ayks=ɬílpkʷ
...=close/short

'(structure, building) to be low' ***tḵ'ayksdilpkw***

7.1.A.1.b.57. ḳiti:= 'stopping a motion' *gidi*

ḳiti:=hítkʷ
...=stand

'(person, animal) to stop' ***gidiihitkw***

lu:=ḳiti:=hítkʷ
in=...=stand

'(engine, watch, etc.) to stop' ***luugidiihitkw***

ḳiti:=ḳú:[t]
...=take.s.

'to hold s. back (e.g. a dog), to stop s. from advancing' ***gidiiguu(t)***

7.1.A.1.b.58. pa[qa]yt= *bagayt..., baayt..., bayt...* (= ha̓tix= *hat'ix...*
7.1.A.1.b.59.)

(a) (location): 'in the middle'

pa[qa]yt=ḳí
...=(object) be, lie

'(object) to be in the middle' ***baytsgi***

(b) (motion): 'in half crosswise'

pa[qa]yt=m̓átkʷ
...=fall.apart

'(soft object) to fall apart [into two pieces]' ***baytm̓atkw***

pa[qa]yt=p̓ís
...=tear.s.

'to tear s.t. in half' ***baytbis***

7.1.A.1.b.59. **haɬix=** 'in half lengthwise (motion)' *hat'ix...* (< **pa[qa]yt=** *bagayt..., baayt..., bayt...* 7.1.A.1.b.58.)

haɬix=q̓úc	'to cut s.t. [long] (e.g. a fish) in half'
...=cut.s.	(55.3.) ***hat'ixk'ots***

7.1.A.1.b.60. **ɬis=** 'changing from one place to another' *gis...*

ɬis=ɬúkʷ-s	'to move away [to live s.w. else]'
...=PL.move-MED	***gislukws***
ɬis=ƛ̓ó ɬ̓in	'to move a boat to another moorage, a car
...=moor/park.s.	to another parking place'
	gisgyoot'in
ɬis=yé ɬ̓in	'to pass s.t. on to s.o.'
...=cause.s.to.go	***gisyeet'in***
ɬis=ɬu =qác-T	'to pour s.t. [liquid] into another container'
...=in=pour.s.-DEF	***gisluugats-di***

7.1.A.1.b.61. **kʷɬi:=** 'all over = randomly, in many parts of the same object, messily' *kwhlii...* (often used with plural stem) (cf. **ɬ̓ilq̓al=/ɬilq̓al=** *k'ilk'al..., gilk'al...* 7.1.A.1.b.62.)

kʷɬi:=m̓án	'to smear s.t. (a face, etc.) all over (messily)'
...=smear, anoint.s.	***kwhliim̓an***
kʷɬi:=háks	'to bawl s.o. out'
...=scold.s.	***kwhliihaks***
kʷɬi:=t̓ix)t̓áɬ̓iltkʷ	'(garment, etc.) to be all wrinkled up'
...=PL)folded	***kwhliit'ixt'ak'iltkw***

kʷɬi:=ɬix)ɬák	'to be all scratched up'
...=PL)scratched	***kwhliihlixhlaak***

7.1.A.1.b.62. **ƛ̓ilq̓al=/ƛilq̓al**=*ƛ'ilƛ'al...*, *gilƛ'al...* 'all over = completely covering an object' (cf. **kʷɬi:=** *kwhlii...* 7.1.A.1.b.61.)

ƛilq̓al=m̓án	'to apply s.t. all over s.t. (e.g. cream or
...=smear, anoint.s.	powder on one's face)' ***gilƛ'alm̓an***
ƛilq̓al=sékʂT	'to splash water all over s.'
...=water.s.	***gilƛ'alseeks-di***
ƛilq̓al=ɬáx	'(animal) to be covered with fur'
...=fur	***gilƛ'allax***
ƛilq̓al=ʔi.nú	'to be completely bald'
...=turnip	***gilƛ'al'iinuu***

7.1.A.1.b.63. **staX̣=/sta:**='on one side only, at one end' *sdaX̣.../sdaa...* (**ɬa:X̣**= 'on both sides, at both ends' *laaX̣...* 7.1.A.1.b.20.)

staX̣=ɣúkʷ	'to hold s.t. in one hand, under one arm'
...=hold.s.	***sdaXyukw***
staX̣=ʔasáɣ̓	'to have only one leg [having lost the other
...=leg/foot	one]' ***sdaX'asaɣ***
staX̣=ƛítkʷ	'(one of a pair of body parts, one side of the
...=swell	body) to be swollen' ***sdaXgitkw***

7.1.A.1.b.64. **saX̣**='gathering things together' *saX̣...* (perhaps originally related to the modifier **sa[qa]yt** *sagayt/sayt*, 5.15.B.4.):

saχ=dóχ	'to gather s.t.pl. together'
...=take.s.pl.	***saχdoχ***

7.1.A.1.b.65. χɬim= 'going around s.t.' *χlim...*

χɬim=tix)tákɬ	'to tie s.t.pl. into a bundle'
...=PL)bind.s.	***χlimdixdakhl***
χɬim=tám̓-tT	'to throw one's arms around s.o.'
...=press.s.-DEF	***χlimdam̓-di***

7.1.A.1.b.66. luk^{w}ɬə= 'right under sthg. [and in close contact]' *lukwhli.../lukwhla...* (= m̓aqɬə= *m̓aqhli.../m̓aqhla...*, 7.1.A.1.b.67.; cf. loqaltip= *logaldip...*, 7.1.A.1.b.10.):

luk^{w}ɬə-hítk^{w}	'to stand right under s.t.'
...-stand	***lukwhlihitkw***
luk^{w}ɬə-m̓áqs	'underpants, undershorts'
...-pants	***lukwhlim̓aqs***
luk^{w}ɬə-ksláẇisk^{w}	'undershirt'
...-shirt	***lukwhlikslaẇiskw***

7.1.A.1.b.67. m̓aqɬə='right over sthg' *m̓aqhli.../m̓aqhla...* (= luk^{w}ɬə= *lukwhli...* 7.1.A.1.b.66.):

m̓aqɬə-qús	'to skip rope'
...-jump	***m̓aqhlaqos***
m̓aqɬə-máq	'to place s.t. over s.t. else (e.g. a leg over a log while walking in the bush)'
...-jump	***m̓aqhlimaq***

7.1.A.1.c. List of manner proclitics:

It is sometimes difficult to know whether the following morphemes should be considered as manner proclitics or as modifiers, as some of their uses are borderline between the two. The following list is therefore tentative, and some morphemes are listed in both categories.

7.1.A.1.c.1. k̓ʷiɬ= 'around, about' *kw'ihl-*

This proclitic, of very vague meaning, is used much more freely than the closest Standard English translations suggest.

kʷiɬ=wíl	'to be around'
...=be, act, do	***kw'ihlwil***
kʷiɬ=yé:	'to walk around'
...=walk	***kw'ihlyee***

- ɬa: k̓ʷiɬ=yé:-[t]=ɬ ɬku-tk̓ìɬkʷ==a: Is the child walking yet?
  now ... walk-[3]=NC little-child==Q *Hlaa **kw'ihlyeehl hlgutk'ihlgwa?***

- ʔakùqan k̓ʷiɬ=hisʔá:qs-n==əst Why are you laughing?
  what CAUSE ...=laugh-2S==AFF (local: ... laughing around?)
  *Agu gan **kw'ihl** his'aaksinis?*

In some of its uses k̓ʷiɬ= *kw'ihl* behaves as modifier (5.15.B.44.), but it should be considered primarily a proclitic as it can participate in aspectual reduplication:

- k̓ax ká?-[t]=ɬ wil ku)k̓ʷiɬ=yé:-[t]=s[t]Bàby
  just.now see.s.-[3]=NC SUB ASP)...=walk-[3]=DC [DM] B.
  Just look at Baby walking around!
  K'ax ga'ahl wil gukw'ihlyees Baby!

7.1.A.1.c.2. saq̓ap='without specific goal or purpose' *sak̲'ap...*

saq̓ap=yé: 'to be out for a walk'
...=walk, go ***sak̲'apyee***

saq̓ap=t̓ís 'to push s.t. while on a walk (e.g. ... a baby carriage)'
...=push.s. ***sak̲'apt'is***

7.1.A.1.c.3. tax̣=/tix='firmly, with strength' *dax̲.../dix...*

tax̣=yúkʷ-T/tix=yúkʷ-T 'to hold s.t. in both hands'
...=hold.s.-DEF ***dax̲yukw-di, dixyukw-di***

tax̣=kát 'to be strong'
...=person (?) ***dax̲gat***

7.1.A.1.c.4. k̲it='firmly, unyieldingly' *git...*

lu:=k̲it=hítkʷ '(movable object) to be stuck'
in=...=stand ***luugithitkw***

7.1.A.1.c.5. k̲iwil=/kuwil='even more, even further, beyond normal reach or expectation' *gyuwil...* (Boas: k̲ilwil= *gilwil...*)

k̲iwil=yé: '(quality, state) to increase even more'
...=go ***gyuwilyee***

k̲iwil=tá:w̓iɬ 'to become even less, to decrease further'
...=go.away ***gyuwildaaw̓ihl***

7.1.A.1.c.6. q̓amc̓in='secretly, without attracting attention' *k̲'amts'in...*

ɫ̓amc̓in=c̓in 'to come in secretly'
...=enter *ɬ'amts'ints'in*

- ńi[t]=ɬ k̓i hux^{W} ɫ̓amc̓in=ké·ɬ-t
that's-NC and again ...=lie.down-3
Then he went back to bed without anyone knowing (153.9).
Ńihl k'ii huxw ɬ'amts'ingeehlt.

- hi)yùk^{W}-ɬ qa)ɫ̓amc̓in=wiyítk^{W}-t S/he is crying in secret.
ASP)PROG=NC ASP)...=cry-3 *Hiyukwhl gaɬ'amts'inwiyitkwt.*

7.1.A.1.c.7. ɫ̓alt̓im='for s.o. else, in sympathy with s.o. else' *ɬ'alt'im...*

ɫ̓alt̓im=yàc+lák^{W} 'to chop wood for s.o. else'
...=strike.s.+firewood *ɬ'alt'imyatslakw*

ɫ̓alt̓im=támsk^{W} '(lit.) to lift for s.o.'; hence (fig.) 'to feel
...=lift [sorrow, etc.] in sympathy with s.o.'
ɬ'alt'imdamskw

7.1.A.1.c.8. la:= 'badly, unpleasantly, boringly, unluckily' *laa...*

la:=hítk^{W} 'to be tired of, fed up with [doing s.t.]'
...=stand *laahitkw*

la:=laχhá 'bad weather' (old word)
...=sky/weather *laalaχha*

la:=sá-tk^{W} 'to have bad luck (esp. in hunting)'
...=day-MED *laasatkw*

la:=t̓á ...=ɬ qò·t... 'to be disappointed'
...=sit, stay...=NC heart ... *laat'aa...hl goot...*

7.1.A.1.c.9. **lu:pa(:)yt=** 'idly, inappropriately, foolishly, irresponsibly, without due reflection or proper dignity (Fr. *n'importe comment, à tort et à travers*).

lu:payt=ɬitílsT	'to lead a disorderly life'
...=live	***luubaytdidils(t)***
lu:payt=ʔálkax̣	'to yak away, to say any nonsense that
...=speak	comes into one's head'
	luubayt-alga̱x̣
lu:payt=ɬáɬ-T	'to waste s.t., throw s.t. away
...=put.away.s.pl.	irresponsibly' ***luubaytt'ahł-di***

7.1.B. Prefixes:

Prefixes can be divided into grammatical and lexical prefixes. Grammatical prefixes determine the grammatical category of the word to which they are affixed. Lexical prefixes comprise a wide variety of morphemes, some of which are related to existing verbs: many have a function similar to that of the head in an unmediated compound noun or verb (9.)

7.1.B.1. Grammatical prefixes: These prefixes determine the grammatical category of the word resulting from their affixation to a stem or another word.

7.1.B.1.a. Prefixes indicating a grammatical category:

7.1.B.1.a.1. Plural prefixes:

7.1.B.1.a.1.a. The frozen plural prefix {lə-}: This prefix occurs in a number of plural intransitive verb forms (3.2.C.2.a.1.c.), either alone or in combination with the suffix {-T} (7.3.A.1.a.1.a.). The oldest forms show stress on the prefix:

skát	'to be born' *sgat*	lískit	'to be born (pl.) *lisgit*
kúkʷskʷ	'to wake up' *gyukwskw*	lúkukʷskʷ	'to wake up (pl.)' *lugukwskw*

With singular stems beginning with a Velar, that Velar is weakened and deleted in the intervocalic position created by the prefix, hence alternations such as:

qínx̣	'(tree) to fall' *genɣ*	línx̣	'(trees) to fall' *linɣ*

Several such plurals in lə- *li.../la...* are no longer used by thenselves, but have become the bases for fully reduplicated forms (8.2.), as in

kímk	'to wipe s.t.' *gimk*	*límk̓ > lim)límk	'to wipe s.t.pl.' *limlimk*
ʔa-s-ká:pax̣	'to chatter constantly' *asgaabaɣ*	ʔa-s-ɬip)*lá:pax̣	'to chatter (pl.) 'constantly' *asɬiplaabaɣ*

In more recent forms, stress is on the base or stem:

mó:tkʷ	'to be cured,' saved, rescued' *mootkw*	lə-mó:tkʷ	'to be cured, saved, rescued (pl.) *limootkw*
*t̓é:-tkʷ	'to walk fast' *t'eetkw*	lə-t̓é:-T	'to walk fast (pl.)' *lit'eet*
ʔa-yé:	'to go fast' *ayee*	ʔa-lə-yé:-T	'to go fast (pl.)' *aliyeet*

7.1.B.1.a.1.b. The Distributive plural prefix (qa-): This prefix is most often used in possessive phrases, before a possessed object, to indicate possession of the same type of object in equal measure by several possessors (3.2.A.2.a.), as in:

qó:t	'heart' *goot*	qa-qó:t-m̓	'our hearts' *gagoodim̓*
ʔasisáy̓	'feet/legs' *asisaý*	qa-ʔasisáy̓-ti:t	'their feet/legs' *ga'asisaýdiit*

It is also used productively in the modern period as a plural for intransitives and adjectives, especially those which do not have a plural formed by any other method, as in the following, which all refer to actions and qualities of several individuals:

wóx̣	'to bark' *wox*	qa-wóx̣	'to bark (pl.)' *gawox*
x̣ć́áy̓	'to be thick' *xts'aý*	qa-x̣ć́áy̓	'to be thick (pl.)' *gaxts'aý*

That this prefix is becoming a strictly plural prefix is shown by its used with the the following noun, relatively recently borrowed (from the Chinook Jargon, ultimately from Fr. *le prêtre*):

liplé:t	'priest' *lipleet*	qa-liplé:t	'priests' *galipleet*

7.1.B.1.a.2. Prefixes forming transitive verbs of dominance: The two prefixes (tə-) *di- /da-* and (k^{w}in-) *gwin-* can be affixed to any suitable verb to form another, transitive verb. Both have a meaning of 'dominance over the actor': physical dominance for the Dominative prefix (tə-) *di-/da-*, mental dominance for the Jussive (k^{w}in-) *gwin-*.

7.1.B.1.a.2.a. The DOMINATIVE prefix {tə-} *di- /da-*: 'to take s. along while ...ing, to ... while ... ing.'

This prefix is usually attached to an intransitive verb, sometimes to a transitive verb. The verb stem is singular for a singular Object, plural for a plural Object. Semantically, the Agent of the new Dominative transitive verb performs the action described by the intransitive verb stem, with total physical dominance over the other participant, which is only passively experiencing this action.

tə-yé:	'to take s. for a walk, to ... while walking'
...-walk	***diyee***
tə-lə-mó:tk^{W}	'to save, cure, rescue s.o.(pl.)'
...-PL-saved	***dilimootkw***
tə-tálq	'to talk with s.o. (have a coversation)'
...-talk.to.s.	***didalk̲***
tq̓al=tə-takɬ	'to have/keep s.o. tied up, a prisoner'
against=...-bind.s.	***tk̲'aldidakhl***

Verbs formed with this prefix can have either a nominal Object, as in:

- tə-yé:-(y)ə-t=[ɬ] ɬk̲ú:ɬk^{W}-t S/he took h. child along [while walking]
  ...-walk-CTL-3=NC child-3 ***Diyeeyithl hlguuhlkwt.***

- tə-sú:qsk^{W}-ə-[t]=ɬ c̓imìlx=ɬ ʔáx^{W}t
  ...-dive-CTL-[3]=NC beaver=NC porcupine
  The beaver took the porcupine diving.
  Disuuk̲sgwihl ts'imilxhl axwt.

- m̓in=tə-tá:w̓iɬ-ə-[t]=ɬ pil̓ìsT=ɬ ɬk̲u-tk̓íɬk^{W}
  upwards=...-go.away-CTL-[3]=NC star=NC little-child

The star took the child away, up into the sky.
Mindidaawihlihl bilisthl hlgutk'ihlkw.

- ksə=tə-páx̱-ə-[t]=s[t]txè:msim=ɬm̓áx̱==a?==əst
  out=...-run-CTL-{3}=DC[DM]T.=NC*light==ASST==AFF
  Tx̱eemsim ran out with the light! (23.3.)
  Ksidibaayis Tx̱eemsimhl max̱a'ast!

or a clausal Object, as in:

- tə-lím[x]-ə-t=ɬ ʔí:č̓aʔ-t — S/he sang while ironing.
  ...-sing-CTL-3=NCironing-3 — *Dilimithl iits'a'at.*

- tim k̓ax̱ tə-t̓á:-(y)ə-ỷ=ɬ sə-ta:ɬí:sk-ỷ
  FUT just.now ...-sit-CTL-1S=NC make-socks-1S
  I'll just sit down with my knitting.
  Dim k'ax̱ dit'aayiỷhl sidaahliisgiỷ.

- ni:-ti:-t tə-ʔáqɬkʷ-t tim-t tə-yé:-[t]=ɬx̱-skán-t
  not-INT-3E ...-succeed-3FUT-3E ...-walk-{3}=NC eat-gum-3
  He can't walk and chew gum at the same time.
  Nidiit di'ax̱hlkwt dimt diyeehl x̱sgant.

Most of the time, the predicate head in the Object clause (highlighted in the following examples) is an intransitive verb, as in the examples above, but in some cases it can be either intransitive or transitive, as in:

- <u>intransitive</u>: (note that here the verb stem is the numeral k̓ó:l 'one [person]' *k'yool*):

- lip tə-k̓ó:l-ə-t=ɬ sáksaʔansk̓ʷ-t
  self ...-one[person]-CTL-3=NC clean.up-3

S/he did all the cleaning h.self.
Lip dik'yoolith/ saksa'anskwt.

- tə-ʔáqɬkʷ-ə-[t]=ɬ čimìlx t xčə=kíp-[t]=ɬ qán
  ...-succeed-CTL-[3]=NC beaver 3E crosswise=eat.s.-[3]=NC tree
  A beaver can eat through a tree.
  Di'akhlgwihl ts'imilx t xts'igiphl gan.

7.1.B.1.a.2.b. The JUSSIVE prefix (kʷin-) *gwin-* 'to tell/order s.o. to do s.t., to have s.o. do s.t., to have s.t. done' (Fr. *faire faire*):

Semantically, the Jussive construction implies that the Agent of the transitive verb has the right to expect that the action will be performed.

7.1.B.1.a.2.b.1. With intransitive verb: the result is a transitive verb whose Object would be the Subject of the intransitive verb to which the prefix is attached.

kʷin-čín	'to tell s.o. to come in, to have s.o. come in'
...-come.in	*gwin-ts'in*
kʷin-kiʔítkʷ	'to tell s.o. to get up'
...-get.up	*gwin-giitkw*

- ʔakù mə qan ʔax kʷin-čín-[t]=s[t]Máry
  what 2E reason.why not ...-come.in-[3]=DC [DM] M.
  Why didn't/don't you tell Mary to come in? ... have Mary come in?
  Agu ma gan ax gwin-ts'ins Mary?

7.1..B.1.a.2.b.2. With transitive verb: 'to have/order s.t. done': (If the agent actually performing the action is mentioned, the DEF suffix (-T) must be added, resulting in a frame, 7.3.A.2.a.):

kʷin-q̓úc 'to have s.t. cut'
...-cut.s. ***gwin-k̲'ots***

- tim kʷin-q̓úc-ə-y̓=ɬ qís-y̓ I am going to have my hair cut.
  FUT ...-cut.s.-CTL-1S=NC hair-1S (Fr. Je vais me faire couper les cheveux.)
  *Dim k'ax̲ **gwin**-k̲'ojiy̓hl gesiy̓.*

- kʷin-sə-míɬ-ə-[t]=ɬ simʔò:kit=ɬ lákʷ
  ...-make-burn-CTL-[3]=NC chief=NC firewood
  The chief ordered the fire lit.
  (Fr. Le chef fit allumer le feu.)
  ***Gwin**-simihlihl sim'oogithl lakw.*

7.1.B.1.b. Prefixes creating words of a particular class:

7.1.B.1.b.1. Prefixes forming nouns:

7.1.B.1.b.1.a. Productive noun-forming prefixes: there are only a few of these, but they are highly productive.

7.1.B.1.b.1.a.1. (ʔan-) *an-* : this very widely used prefix has the general meaning: 'specific source or cause of ...,' hence the resulting nouns may have concrete or abstract meanings, someitmes both (for use in forming adverbs, see 7.1.B.4.a.).

7.1.B.1.b.1.a.1.a. With intransitive verbs: this is the most common use.

(1) concrete meanings:

(a) 'a place for doing ...'

ʔan-si:l̓íńskʷ 'hunting grounds'
...-hunting ***ansiil̓ińskw***

ʔan-sə-máy̓	'berry-picking grounds'
...-pick-berries	*ansimaay̓*
ʔan-ʔíːs	'toilet'
...-urinate	*an'iis*

(b) 'something used for ...' (compare (ha-), instrumental (7.1.B.1.a.2.); (ʔan-) has a more general meaning):

ʔan-wóːt̓	'merchandise for sale'
...-trading	*anwoot'*
ʔan-líp̓ilskʷ	'thread'
...-mending	*anlip'ilskw*
ʔan-wánaʔ	'seed'
...-planting	*anwana'a*

Some words which have this prefix are otherwise unidentifiable, e.g.

ʔan-túːyin	'garden'
...-??	*anduuyin*

(2) <u>abstract meaning</u>: deverbative: 's.t. or s.o. that causes or induces ..., instance or object of ...':

ʔan-xpəčáxʷ	's. one is afraid of'
...-afraid	*anxbits'axw*
ʔan-síːp̓inskʷ	'friend, lover'
...-loving	*ansiip'inskw*

ʔan-ʔax̣-*áqɬ 's.t. one can't afford'
...-not-*can? *an'ax̱'ak̲hl*

ʔan-[x̣s-nəkʷó:t-[t]kʷ] 'adoptive father'
...-[...-father-...]resemble *anx̱snigwootkw*

(3) Note that ambiguity may result from these various meanings, as in

ʔan-ʔáks '(1) drinking-place, waterhole
...-drinking (2) alcohol' *an'aks*

where the second meaning is obviously more modern than the first, and in

ʔan-haɬálsT '[type of] job; place of work'
...-working *anhahlals*

(4) Of special interest because of their frequency are three very common words:

ʔan-hí 'what s.o. wants/has to say; person
...-saying addressed' *anhi*

ʔan-hé: 'what s.o. means'
...-speaking *anhee*

ʔan-*wín 'who/what s.o. has got hold of'
...-?? *anwin*

The last word in this list is an all-purpose word, almost comparable to Fr. 'truc' or 'machin,' useful when the speaker doesn't know or doesn't bother to use the proper word. The stem *wín *win* may be a variant of wíl 'be, do, act' *wil* (Rigsby, p.c.), or it could also be related to wán 'to sit/exist (pl.), to set, plant s.t.'

Some sentence examples are:

- wilá:x-ə-n=ɬ ʔanhé:-ỷ==a: — You know what I mean?
  know.s.-CTL-2S=NC what.o.means-1S==Q — *Wilaayinhl **anheeỷa**?*

- ʔaḳú=ɬ ʔanwín-n==əst — What have you got there?
  what=NC what.o.holds-2S==AFF — *Aguhl **anwin**inis?*

- ʔaḳú=ɬ ʔanhí-t — What did/does s/he have to say?
  what=NC what.o.says — What is s/he talking about?
  *Aguhl **anhi**t?*

7.1.B.1.b.1.a.1.b. With locational nouns: especially with those nouns built by framing locational adverbs:

(ʔan-) *an-* can be prefixed to the frame (qa-...-ə) *ga...i/a...* 7.3.B.1.a.) when encasing a locational adverb, to create noun-phrases with locational meaning:

ʔan-[qa-tú:ẇ-[ə]]-... — 'on the far side of ...[a place]'
...-[...-over.there-...]$_{ABST}$ — ***angaduuẇ**...*

ʔan-[qa-ḳí:ks-ə]-... — 'on the waterfront side of ...[a place]'
...-[...-on.waterfront-...]$_{ABST}$ — ***angagiiksi**...*

ʔan-[qa-*ḳì:ỷ-[ə]]-[t]=ɬčiẇínqɬ — 'on this side of the point [at sea]'
...-[...-over.here-...]$_{ABST}$-[3]=NC point — ***angagiiỷhl ts'iẇinḵhl***

7.1.B.1.b.1.a.2. (ha-) *ha-*

(a) currently productive meaning: 's.t. used for ...' with intransitive verb. The currently productive meaning of this prefix is more concrete and instrumental than that of (ʔan-) *an-* (7.1.B.1.b.1.a.1.). The semantic range shows considerable extension in the post-contact pdriod, but there are many

older instances as well.

(1) older words:

ha-ẃóːq	' [shaman's] sucking-tube, edible stem
...-suck.thru.tube	of cow-parsnip' ***hasmook***
ha-wíl	' (Boas 1902) instrument, weapon,
...-act (?)	(esp. and modern) arrow' ***hawil***
ha-táq	'grease scoop/skimmer'
...-skim,scoop	***hadak***
ha-náks	'present given by boy's parents when
...-[get].married	asking for girl in marriage' ***hanaks***
ha-ɬóʔ	'sail'
...-push, shove	***hahlo'o***

(2) more recent words: many of these are formed on detransitive (7.2.C.2.a.) or compound intransitive (9.2.A.2.) verbs:

ha-ʔíːc̓aʔ	'[an] iron (for ironing clothes)'
...-ironing	***ha'iits'a'a***
ha-x̱-smáx	'fork'
...-eat-meat	***haxsmax***
ha-yòʔoks+ẃéːn-tɬ̓ʷ	'toothbrush'
...-wash.s.+teeth-REFL	***hayo'oksweentkw***
ha-yàlaʔ-m+ɬkimát	'eggbeater'
...-turn-ATTR+egg	***hayala'am-hlgimat***

ha-m̓in=tàmq̓ansk̓^{W}-m+qaté.l̓ip 'capstan, anchor winch'
...-upward=pull-ATT+anchor *ham̓indamk̲'ansgum-gadeel̓ip*

This prefix is often found with a verb starting with the proclitic {n̓i:-} -'on' *n̓ii...* (7.1.A.1.b.9.), so much so that the combination {han̓i:-} *han̓ii-* has acquired the status of a prefix in its own right, with specialized meanings (7.1.B.2.b.3.c.).

(b) frozen meanings:

(1) concrete meaning: 'having...' (with noun):

ha-kóʔ 'back'
...-fish.backbone *hak'yo'o*

ha-tá:x 'steering wheel'
...-perimeter, surround *hadaax*

ha-náq̓ 'woman'
...-dress, apron *hanak̲'*

(2) abstract meaning: 'cause, instance of ...' (similar to one meaning of {ʔan-} *an-* (7.1..B.1.b.1.a.1.a.):

ha-có:q 's.t. one is ashamed of'
...-ashamed *hajook̲*

ha-lúx^{W}-s > halúk^{W}s 's.t. one doesn't want to let others have'
...-refuse, deny-MED *halukws*

ha-sáq 's.t. one needs or wants'
...-?? (cf. sáxk^{W} 'to agree'?) *hasak̲*

(3) unknown meanings: the prefix is also recognizable in more opaque words, such as

ha-ɬáq-[t]k^{w} >haɬáxk^{w}	'sinful, evil, sin'
...-??-MED??	*hat'axkw*

7.1.B.1.b.1.b. Non-productive noun-forming prefixes:

7.1.B.1.b.1.b.1. (k^{w}ə-) 'Young ...!' *gwi-*

This prefix is only used with two terms of address. It may be related to ɬkʉ/ɬk^{w}ə 'little' *hlgu* (5.15.B.36.), or to k^{w}é:? 'poor, miserable (unable to provide for h.self)' *gwee'e*.

k^{w}ə-tá:ɬ	'Young lady!'	
...-Lady!		*Gwidaahl!*
k^{w}ə-ná:t	'Young man!'	
...-[male] friend! Buddy! Sonny!		*Gwinaat!*

It is possible that historically the same prefix may be involved in k^{w}iɲá 'to ask for s.t.' *gwiɲa*, but k^{w}iné:χk^{w} '[s.t.] to be cold' *gwineexkw* is probably from a different derivation.

7.1.B.1.b.1.b.2. (nə-) *ni-*

This prefix warrants special mention because of the semantic importance of the words it is attached to. It is found only in five of the six senior kinship terms (referring to an ascendant generation_), but its origin is probably grammatical rather than lexical, as shown by a comparison with Coast Tsimshian where it indicates alienated possession.

For four of these words, the related term of address does not ir clude the prefix:

REFERENCE		ADDRESS	
nə-yé?	'grandfather'	yé?	
	niye'e		*Ye'e!*
nə-čí:č	'grandmother'	cí:c	
	nits'iits'		*Jiits!*
nə-píp	'maternal uncle'	pí:p	
	nibip		*Biip!*
nə-xtá:	'aunt (esp. paternal)'	ta:tá	
	nixdaa		*Daada!*

The fifth term also includes the prefix, although the corresponding term of address is different:

nə-k^{w}ó:t	'father'	pa:pá	
	nigwoot		*Baaba!*

The remaining senior kinship term:

nóx	'mother'	ná:?	
	nox		*Naa'a!*

also begins with initial /n/, which here is part of the root (as shown by the term of address and by the plural 'mothers' *noonax*, 8.2., Type 1--archaic--reduplication). Perhaps this phonological coincidence helped retain the /n/-initial prefix on the other members of this noun set (for other interesting properties of this set, see 3.2.A.1.).

7.1.B.1.b.1.b.3. (qa-) *ga-* This prefix, homophonous with the Distributive prefix (7.1.B.1.a.1.b.), forms a small number of nouns with locational meaning, which are used in phrases headed by other nouns. In several cases, the unprefixed base is not used in isolation, although it may be found in other derivatives:

qa-*lá:n	'[at the] rear of ..., past ...'
...-rear, stern	*galaan...*
qa-ksílk^{W}	'[at the] mid-point of ...'
...-middle	*gaksihlkw...*
qa-*tó:ʔ	'[at] a point beyond ...(??)'
...-*place.beyond??	*gadoo'o...*
e.g. qalá:n-ɣ̓	'after me, after I leave'
rear.of.s.-1S	*galaaniɣ̓*
qatóʔ-[t]=ɬk̓ó:c	'the day before yesterday'
place.beyond.s.??--[3]=NC yesterday	*gadoo'ohl k'yoots*

7.1.B.1.b.2. Prefixes used with numerals (see 5.4.):

7.1.B.1.b.2.a. Forming nouns from numerals meaning 'one':

7.1.B.1.b.2.a.1. (məɬə-) 'each, every ...' *mahli-/mihli-/mihla-*

This prefix is attached to numerals meaning 'one', and the meaning of the resulting word is 'each one ..., every one of ...'. These words are used like numerals in noun-phrases (5.4.B.1.).

məɬə-k̓ó:l	'each/every [person]'
...-one[person]	*mahlik'yool...*

məɬə-k̓ʷitá:t ...-one[person in a canoe /boat/vehicle]	'[to be] each in h. own canoe/boat/ vehicle'	***mahlikw'idaat***
məɬə-k̓íl̓ ...-one[thing]	'each/every [thing]'	***mahlik'il̓...***

- məɬə-k̓ìl̓-[t]=ɬ sá ʔi: ... Every day, ...
  ...-one[thing]-[3]=NC day and ... ***Mahlik'il̓hl sa ii ...***

- ʔálkax̣=ɬ məɬə-k̓ò:l-[t]=ɬ kát Every man spoke.
  speak=NC ...-one[person]-[3]=NC man *Algax̱hl **mahlik**'yoolhl gat.*

7.1.B.1.b.2.a.2. (stə-) *sdi-/sda-* forms nouns from numerals meaning 'one' in the 'human' and 'animal' categories. These nouns designate companions, and the prefix is probably related to the verb *stíl* 'to accompany s.o.' *sdil*.

stə-k̓ó:l ...-one[person]	'companion, playmate [of an older child or an adult]'	***sdik'yool***
stə-k̓é:kʷ ...-one[animal]	'companion, playmate [of a young child or an animal]'	***sdik'eekw***

(Note the use of the 'animal' number for a child presumably below the 'age of reason').

7.1.B.1.b.2.b. With other numerals: (c̓u:-) 'the ...eth' *ts'uu-* forms ordinals (which are not adjectives):

c̓u:-paqatíl ...-two [persons]	'second [person]'	***ts'uubagadil***

ċu:-kʷilán 'third [animal]'
...-three [animals] ***ts'uugwilan***

Boas 1985 also gives a form built on 'one', which seems now obsolete:

ċu:-k̓íl̓ 'first [object]'
...-one [object] ***ts'uuk'il̓***

- máskʷ=ɬ wilkàt-[t]=ɬ k̓è:kʷ-T-[t]=ɬ ʔús
  brown=NC color-[3]=NC one [animal]-DEF=NC dog
  ʔi:n̓a:=t̓is)t̓ú:ċkʷ-[t]=ɬ ċu:-t̓ipx̣á:t-ət
  and in.spots=PL)black-[3]=ND ...-two[animals]-REL
  One dog is brown, and the other one has black spots.
  Maskwhl wilgathl k'eegwihl us ii n̓aat'ist'uuts'kwhl ***ts'uut'ipx̱aadit.***

7.1.B.1.b.3. Prefixes forming adjectives:

7.1.B.1.b.3.a. (ks-) '[to be] most ...' *ks-* is generally prefixed to a word with locational meaning:

(1) with adverb: (5.14.):

ks-ké:w '[to be] at the lowest point in the village'
...-close.to.water hence fig. 'to be humble' ***ksgeew***

ks-kiké:nix '[to be] furthest upriver'
...-upriver (loc.) ***ksgigeenix***

(2) with noun: (locational meaning):

ks-qalá:n '[to be] last'
...-[at] rear ***ksgalaan***

ks-ɬáx^{W} > ksláx^{W} '[to be] undermost'
...-underside *kslaxw*

ks-sílk^{W} > ksílk^{W} '[to be] in the middle'
...-middle *ksilkw*

7.1.B.1.b.4. Adverb-forming prefixes:

7.1.B.1.b.4.a. (ʔan-) *an-* This prefix forms mostly nouns (7.1.B.1.b.1.a.1.), many of which mean 'place of ...,' but it can also be prefixed to some adverbs of place, resulting in new adverbs. It is not clear at this point what the meaning difference is between plain and prefixed adverbs.

ʔan-tú:ẇ 'over there, (at a place over there?)'
...-over.there *anduuẇ*

ʔan-ɬálq 'outside, (at a place outside?)'
...-over.there *anduuẇ*

ʔan-tó:sta? 'on the opposite side [of a dividing
...-on.other.side obstacle, whether concrete or abstract)]'
andoosda'a

ʔan-*tó:ʔ 'next door, in the other room/house'
...-s.beyond? *andoo'o*

7.1.B.1.b.4.b. (kə-) *gi-/ga-* forms a number of adverbs of place or time, including an interrogative adverb. This prefix is also recognizable in several cases where the rest of the word is not. (Where the stem word begins with a glottal stop, the latter is deleted, by a rule which is no longer productive, 10.2.A.2.b.2.a.(4)).

(1) adverbs of place:

kə-*lá:n	'in the stern'	
...-stern/rear		*gilaan*
kə-ʔó:ɬ	'in the confined space behind s.t. (e.g.	
...-space.behind	between door and wall, between village	
	and woods	*gits'oohl*
kə-*álq	'outside'	
...-??		*gal̲k*

The adverb **kilílx** 'further up the/a hill, on the/a mountain' *gililx* appears superficially to include the same prefix, but the CT cognate *gyilhawli* 'id.' shows that here the prefix is * **(kil-)** (which could be an alternate form of **(kin-)** *gin-* 7.1.B.2.b.3.c.).

(2) adverbs of time: usually 'last ... [time period]'

kə-má:tim	'last winter'	
...-winter		*gimaadim*
kə-*ʔáx̲kʷ	'last night'	
...-night		*ga̲x̲kw*
kə-ʔú:ɬ	'many years ago'	
...-year		*gik'uuhl*
kə-tx̲ítkʷ	'last year'	
...-??		*git̲x̲etkw*

This series also includes the interrogative (see 5.6.A.1.b.):

kə-ʔáx̲-kú>kax̲kú	'When...?'	
...-not-s.t., what		*ga̲x̲gu*

7.1.B.1.5. Prefixes forming multiple categories: The semantic range of these prefixes recalls that of modifiers (5.15.), which can be associated with the major word-classes, and they may well be former modifiers (cf. modifiers used as prefixes, 7.1.B.3.a.).

7.1.B.1.5.a. (ʔa-) *a-* (not productive except in frame).

This prefix is often associated with the modifier lip 'self' *lip* (5.15.B.3.) which reinforces the meaning, especially in the frame lip-ʔa...-[t]k^{w}/-s (7.3. A.1.a.2.a.1.b.) *lip-a...(t)kw/...s* which is productive.

(1) from nouns or intransitive verbs, forms intransitive verbs and adjectives: the meaning seems to be generally 'naturally, spontaneously, early, precociously, without outside impulse or help,' but it may be obscured.

ʔa-ẏ́áns	Aiyansh = 'leafing early, early leaves'
...-leaf	*Aẏ́ans*
ʔa-*lá:n	'slow' (spontaneously in the rear?'
...-stern, rear	*alaan*
ʔa-m̓ás	'to grow faster than usual, to have a
...-grow	growth spurt, (plant) to grow wild'
	am̓ás
ʔa-sḳí	'abnormal, ugly, comical'
...-lie, be [object]	*asgi*

The same prefix seems to be recognizable at the beginning of the transitive verbs ʔanó:q 'to like, approve of, s.' *anook* and ʔanó:l̓ 'to allow, condone s.' *anool̓*, which seem to be derived from a common (intransitive) stem, but the rest of the words is not identifiable.

(2) forms nouns or pronouns:

ʔa-ḵú	'what?, something, anything'
...-something?	*agu*

(The stem ḵú *gu* recurs in various words, see 5.6.A.1.b.1. and 7.1.B.1.b.4.b.(2)). The same prefix seems to be recognizablee at the beginning of nouns such as ʔanísT 'branch' *anis(t)*, ʔaná:x 'flour, bread' *anaax*, ʔaná:s 'skin' *anaas*, but the rest of the words cannot be identified. The word ʔanúɬ 'drum' *anuhl* is originally probably from ʔan-*húɬ **an-huhl*, as shown by the CT cognate *nahool*.

(3) forms modifier: (cf. 5.15.B.3.f.)

lip-ʔa-ná:	'... as the only one who ...'
self-...-someone	*lip-anaa*

7.1.B.1.b.5.b. (liks-) 'different, not normal or proper' *liks...*

(1) with noun: forms noun:

liks-ỷáns	'weeds'
...-leaf, blade of grass	*liksỷans*

liks-ċáp	'a village not one's own'
...-organized group, tribe, village	*liksts'ap*

(2) with verb:

a. forms noun:

liks-ṫá:	'island'
...-stay, exist, sit	*likst'aa*

b. forms adjective:

liks-kát 'different'
...-to be, to fare (?) *liksgat*
(here, not 'person')

7.1.B.1.b.5.c. (mə-) *mi/mə* (non-productive): Some of the few words containing this prefix suggest that its meaning is 'like, resembling...', but the stem is not always identifiable.

(1) forms adjective:

mə-hanáq̓ 'effeminate'
...-woman *mihanaǩ'/məhanaǩ'*

mə-ẇácx̣ 'naughty, crazy'
...-otter *miẇatsx̣*

(2) forms nouns:

mə-lít 'steelhead'
...-? (here, not 'wedge') *milit*

mə-*ẏé:n 'smoke'
...-sthg.unpleasant? (cf. CT *yaan* 'excrement')
miẏeen

mə-ʔó:q̓ay 'slime dripping from oolichans'
...-? *mi'ooǩ'ay*

7.1.B.1.b.5.d. (sil-) *sil...*

(1) forms noun from other noun: 'fellow ..., companion of the same kind'

sil-kát	'fellowman, neighbour' (Biblical sense)
...-man/person	***silgat***
sil-hanáq̓	'"fellow woman" (woman companion of
...-woman	another woman)(Boas 1902)'
	silhanak̓'
sil-lóʔop	'whetstone' (formerly used to sharpen
...-stone	stone axe, etc.) ***sillo'op***

(2) <u>forms transitive verb from intransitive</u>: 'to ... together with <u>s.o.</u>'

sil-qalá:q̓	'to play with <u>s.o.</u>'
...-play	***silgalaak̓'***

sometimes with the Distributive prefix (qa-) ***ga...*** :

sil-qa-wíl	'to associate, keep company with, <u>s.o.</u>,
...-play	to be together with <u>s.o.</u> while doing s.t.'
	silgawil

This prefix or combination of prefixes is productive when in a frame, 7.3.A.2.b.1.(a).

7.1.B.1.b.5.e. (qal-) ***gal...*** original meaning perhaps 'invisibly, without visible goal or result'

(1) <u>forms nouns</u>:

a. 'empty ...'

qal-ʔínq	'traditional storage box'
...-trad.storage.box	***gal'ink̓***

lax̣-**qal**-hu)wílp	'empty house sites' (from which most of
site.of-...-PL)house	the timbers were removed when the
	village was moved) (147.4)
	laxgalhuwilp

b. 's.t. empty of ...: site of ..., empty place normally used for ...'

qal-ʔamí	'throat'
...-voice	***gal'ami***
qal-c̓áp	'village'
...-organized group, tribe, etc.	***galts'ap***
qal-c̓íp	'skinny person'
...-bone	***galts'ip***
qal-*tóʔ	'in the wild, in the forest' (= where
...-s. beyond?	people live) ***galdoo'o***

(2) <u>forms verbs</u>: 'without showing anything (?)'

qal-ẇítk^{w}	'to come back empty-handed from
...-be.back	hunting' ***galẇitkw***
qal-*yín	'to go into a house secretly (esp. for
...-enter?	nefarious or immoral purposes)'
	galyin

7.1.B.2. <u>Lexical prefixes</u>: Although most of these prefixes determine the grammatical category of the resulting word, they have a very precise lexical meaning, unlike the more general prefixes listed in 7.1.B.1. Many of them are probably former compounding elements ("cranberry-type" morphemes). The following list does not claim to be complete.

7.1.B.2.a. Prefixes forming verbs:

7.1.B.2.a.1. Prefixes forming intransitive verbs, mostly from nouns: These prefixes are only used in composition. The meaning of the resulting verb is comparable to that of an unmediated compound (9.2.A., 9.2.A.1.). In a few cases, the prefix is identical to the stem or base of an existing verb, but there are reasons for treating the resulting verb as a prefixed form rather than a compound (see 7.1.B.2.a.1.b.).

7.1.B.2.a.1.a. Prefixes presently unrelated to existing verbs:

7.1.B.2.a.1.a.1. (hi:-) 'to go to ... [a place]' *hii-...*: can be prefixed to any noun with suitable meaning.

hi:-kinqúlx	'to go to Kincolith'
...-Kincolith	***hii-Gingolx***
hi:-qaltimwó:t̓	'to go to the store'
...-store	***hii-galdimwoot'***
hi:-wilpsí:pk^{w}	'to go to the hospital' (e.g. to visit a
...-hospital	patient) ***hii-wilpsiipkw***

This prefix cannot be attached to an adverb, e.g. one cannot say *hi:-ké:c̓ for 'to go downriver' (* *hii-geets'* is wrong).

7.1.B.2.a.1.a.2. (sə-) *si.../sə...* This extremely productive prefix has the general meaning 'to bring [noun] into use.' It applies mostly to two semantic domains: supplies (esp. of food) and artifacts. (for transitive use, see 7.1.B.2.a.2.).

(a) 'to pick/harvest/catch and/or process ...'

sə-hó:n	'to catch and process salmon'
...-fish (salmon)	*sihoon*
sə-sá:k	'to catch and process oolichans'
...-oolichans	*sisaak*
sə-ć̓áq̓	'to dig for clams'
...-clam	*sits'ak'*
sə-má:y̓	'to pick berries'
...-berries	*simaay̓*
sə-t̓ílx	'to render oolichan grease'
...-oolichan.grease	*sit'ilx*
sə-kʼó:fi:	'to make coffee'
...-coffee	*sikoofii*

This prefix can also be used with a transitive suffix, in a frame, 7.3.A.2.a.6.

(b) 'to make [and complete] ... (baskets, garments, etc.)':

sə-ʔá:t	'to make a fishnet'
...-fishnet	*si'aat*
sə-kʷilá	'to make a blanket'
...-blanket	*sigwila*
sə-pć̓á:n	'to make and erect a totem pole'
...-totem.pole	*sipts'aan*
sə-ta:ɬí:sk	'to knit'
...-socks	*sidaahliisk*

sə-swét̲a	'to make a sweater'
...-sweater	*sisweta*

These words refer to the total work of making the object, from start to finish. For work in progress, or for more ambitious, lengthier undertakings, such as building a house, a suffix is used, resulting in a frame, 7.3.A.1.a.2.b.3.

7.1.B.2.a.1.a.3. (sin-) *siu...* 'to chase ..., to go after ..., to try to catch ...': can be used with the name of any suitable prey.

sin-ʔt̓ípin	'to hunt sealions'
...-sealion	*sint'ibin*
sin-hó:n	'to go after fish'
...-fish (salmon)	*sinhoon*
sin-hanáq̓	'to chase women'
...-woman	*sinhanaƛ'*

7.1.B.2.a.1.a.4. (tu:-) *duu...* 'to get/fetch ... [s.t. ready]' (without the effort implied in (sə-) *se.../sə...*, 7.1.B.2.a.1.a.3.): can be affixed to any suitable noun.

tu:-hó:n	'to get fish' (e.g. buy it from s.o.)
...-fish (salmon)	*duuhoon*
tu:-lákʷ	'to get firewood' (e.g. cut by s.o. else,
...-firewood	from the shed, etc.) *duulakw*
tu:-tá:la	'to get money' (e.g. withdraw it at the
...-money	bank) *duudaala*

7.1.B.2.a.1.a.5. (ʔtil-) *t'il...* 'to be in charge of ... (especially of assigning a team of people their proper roles or shares).' Can be attached to any noun of suitable meaning.

ɬil-sá:k	'to oversee the oolichan fishery and
...-money	processing' *ɬ'ilsaak*
ɬil-lú:laq̓	'to be in charge of funeral
...-corpse	arrangements' *ɬ'illuulaq̓*

The following example with an intransitive verb as stem seems modern and probably influenced by English:

ɬil-mí:luk^{w}	'to be in charge of a dance'
...-dancing	*ɬ'ilmiiluk̓w*

7.1.B.2.a.1.a.6. (x-) *x*... An extremely productive suffix in its current meaning, but with older extant meanings as well.

(a) currently productive meaning: 'to eat/drink/consume ...'

x-hó:n	'to eat fish (salmon)'
...-fish (salmon)	*xhoon*
x-kó:fi:	'to drink coffee'
...-coffee	*xkoofii*
x-miy̓é:n	'to smoke (tobacco)'
...-smoke/cigarette	*xmiy̓een*

(b) older meaning: 'to receive/take one's rightful share of ..., to exercise one's rightful claim to ..., to lay claim to ...' (this is probably the original meaning from which (a) derives):

x-k^{w}ilá	'to receive a blanket (as a witness to a
...-blanket	public ceremony)' *xgwila*

x̲-tá:la ...-money (< dollar)	'to receive money (as a participant in a public ceremony) *xdaala*
x̲-sqaẃísT ...-fish (salmon)	'to climb mountains, to hunt in the mountains': prob. orig. 'to exercise one's rightful claim to a mountain territory' *xsgaẃist*
x̲-liks-náks ...-different-spouse	'to commit adultery' *xliksnaks*
x̲-hó?oks ...-balsam.fir	'[skin] to have a rash, i.e. to require an application of balsam fir resin' *xho'oks*

Some stems occur only with this prefix, e.g.

x̲-ʔkáyɬ ...-?	'traditional reward/payment for certain services' *xk'ayhl*

7.1.B.2.a.1.a.7. (yu:-) *yuu...* 'to wield ..., to manipulate ... skillfully': this prefix is attached to words designating objects the proper use of which requires specific skill.

yu:-hatá:x ...-sterring.wheel	'to steer a boat, drive a car' *yuuhadaax*
yu:-ʔanúɬ ...-drum	'to play the drum(s)' *yuu'anuhl*
yu:-halímx ...-musical instr. (not wind)	'to play the piano or organ' *yuuhalimx*

This prefix is also found with a suffix, in a frame, 7.3.A.1.a.2.b.4.

7.1.B.2.a.1.b. Prefixes related to verbs: These are identical in shape to existing verb stems. Formally, they are like the first component of verbal compounds (9.2.A.).

7.1.B.2.a.1.b.1. Prefixed verbs with the structure of unmediated compounds: (see 9.2.A.1.): A transitive verb found in a compound has the same meaning within the compound as it has in isolation. If not, the shape is treated here as a prefix.

7.1.B.2.a.1.b.1.a. {ʔis-} *is...* 'to smell of ...': can be added to any noun of suitable meaning.

ʔis-hó:n	'to smell of fish'
...-fish (salmon)	*ishoon*
ʔis-lá:m	'to smell of alcohol'
...-alcohol (< rum)	*islaam*
lu:=ʔis-ʔús	'(house) to smell of dog'
in=...-dog	*luu'is'us*
• ni:-ti: is-kú-t	It doesn't have a smell (lit. it doesn't
not-INTS ...-s.t.-3	smell of anything). *Nidii isgut.*

This prefix is identical to the stem of the intransitive verb ʔisk^{w} 'to stink' *iskw*. It is likely that it is a former transitive verb, but it is not presently used as such.

7.1.B.2.a.1.b.1.b. {k^{w}a:s-} *gwaas...* 'to borrow ...': can be added to any noun of suitable meaning.

kʷa:s-tá:la 'to borrow money'
...-money (< dollar) ***gwaasdaala***

kʷa:s-haxbé:qskʷ 'to borrow a saw'
...-saw ***gwaashaxbeekskw***

- ṅa:m kʷa:s-haxbé:qskʷ ṅì:ỷ lò:n I would like to borrow your saw.
  wanting ...-saw me *Ṅaam-**gwaas**haxbeekskw ṅiiý loon.*

There is a transitive verb kʷa:s-T *gwaas-di* with the meaning 'to give s.o. a loan', where the Direct Object is the beneficiary of the loan, and the thing loaned an optional Prepositional phrase:

- tim kʷa:s-T-ə-ỷ ṅì:n ʔa=ɬ haxbé:qskʷ-ỷ
  FUT lend.to.s.-DEF-CTL-1S you PREP=NC saw-1S
  I will lend you my saw.
  *Dim **gwaas**diý ṅiin ahl haxbeeksgwiý.*

The original meaning of kʷa:s *gwaas* is probably 'to be indebted for ...', hence with transitivizing suffix 'to cause s.o. to be indebted for ...'.

7.1.B.2.a.1.b.1.c. (si:p-) *siip...* 'to have a ...ache'

The number of words formed with this prefix is small, as with the equivalent English compounds. The semantic range is not exactly the same as that of English, but the words affected are all body parts.

si:p-t̓imqís 'to have a headache'
...-head ***siipt'imges***

si:p-w̓é:n 'to have a toothache'
...-teeth ***siipw̓een***

sí:p-ćé:ẇ	'to have diarrhea'
...-insides, guts	*siipts'eeẅ*

This prefix is identical with the stem or base of the stative verb sí:pkʷ 'to hurt, ache, be sick' *siipkw*, but it is not used in isolation.

7.1.B.2.a.1.b.2. Prefixed verb with the structure of a mediated compound: (see 9.2.A.2.): (kim-) *gim-*... 'to buy ... [sg. Object]'

This prefix can be used with any singular, pair or mass noun of suitable meaning, as in:

kim-kslá*ẇ*iskʷ	'to buy a shirt'
...-shirt	*gim-kslaẅiskw*
kim-pó:t	'to buy a boat'
...-boat	*gim-boot*
kim-winé:x	'to buy groceries'
...-food	*gim-wineex*
kim-ćá*ẇ*aqs	'to buy [a pair of] shoes'
...-[pair.of]shoes	*gim-ts'aẅaqs*

This restriction to a non-plural noun is not shared by the other intransitive-verb-forming prefixes, but differentiation between singular and plural nouns sometimes occurs with mediated compound verbs (9.2.A.2.), so the prefix could be considered as the first half of such a verb. Formally, the prefix also ends in /m/which could be the ATTR suffix characteristic of these compounds.

For a plural noun, the prefix is replaced by tòq̓a?-m *dok̓'a'am-*... , which displays all the features of the first half of a mediated compound, as in

tòq̓aʔ-m+c̓áẇaqs 'to buy [two or more pairs of] shoes'
take.s.pl.DETR-ATTR+[pair.of] shoes *doḵ'a'am-ts'aẇaqs*

tòq̓aʔ-m+ʔamʔúḳit 'to buy clothes'
take.s.pl.DETR-ATTR+clothes *doḵ'a'am-am'ugit*

It is likely that the prefix (ḳim-) *gim-...* is indeed a reduced form of the first hal of a mediated compound. It could be related to the transitive verb ḳí:kʷ 'to buy s.t.' *giikw*, with base * ḳí: , or to the transitive verb ḳú:[t] 'to take/buy s.t.(sg.)' *guu*, the plural of which is tóq 'to take/buy s.t.(pl.)' *doḵ*, the stem of tóq̓aʔ *doḵ'a'a* which is used with a plural noun. This uncertainty and the loss of the distinctive quality of the vowel in the unstressed prefix make it safer to treat ḳim *gim-...* as a prefix in the current state of the language.

7.1.B.2.a.2. Prefixes forming transitive verbs from other parts of speech:

7.1.B.2.a.2.a. (ksə-) *ksi.../ksa...* 'to remove [noun] from s.'

ksə-más 'to peel s.t.'
...-peel/bark *ksimaas*

ksə-ỷáns 'to weed s.t.'
...-leaf, grass *ksiỷans*

This prefix also occurs in a frame, 7.3.A.1.a.2.b.2. It is homophonous with the Proclitic (ksə=) 'out' *ksi.../ksa...* and may well have the same historical origin, but it cannot be identified with it synchronically. It also differs from the homophonous noun-forming prefix (ksə-) 'fresh ...' *ksi.../ksa...*, 7.1.B.2.b.3.d.

7.1.B.2.a.2.b. (sə-) *si.../sa...* 'to make, cause ... [a process]'

This is the same prefix as above (7.1.B.2.a.1.a.2.), but here it is used with adjectives and intransitive verbs, so it seems preferable to place this use in a

different category.

(1) with adjective: 'to make s. ... (-er, more) ...'

sə-láy̓	'to enlarge s.t.'
...-large [in capacity]	*silay̓*
sə-ʔá:m	'to improve s.t.'
...-good	*si'aam/sa'aam*
sə-sáq	'to sharpen s.t.'
...-sharp	*sisaƛ*

(2) with intransitive verb: this use is not productive:

sə-m̓ás/sə-límqsT	'to raise, grow s. (children, animals,
...-grow/...-grow.PL	plants)' *sim̓as/silimƛs(t)*
sə-t̓á:	'to start s.t.'
...-exist, stay, sit	*sit'aa*

7.1.B.2.a.2.c. (tu:x̱-) *duux̱...* 'to go all the way to the ... [noun] of s.'

tu:x̱-hak̓ó?	'to go all the way to the back of s.t.'
...-back	*duux̱hak'yo'o*
tu:x̱-q̓áp	'to go through to the end [of a line] of s.'
...-end, piece, butt	*duux̱q̓'ap*

7.1.B.2.b.1.a. Prefixes forming nouns: There are a number of these, with apparently varied origins. Some seem to be 'cranberry-type' morphemes, others can be related to existing forms, yet others have no other associations. The classification below is based on broad categories for convenience.

7.1.B.2.b.1. Nouns designating persons:

7.1.B.2.b.1.a. (kit-) *git-* 'people of ...' (reduced form of kát 'man, person, people' *gat*): may be prefixed to locational adverbs or nouns, including place-names.

kit-ʔaɣ́áns	'the people of Aiyansh'
...-Aiyansh	*Git-Aɣ́ans*
kit-ƛikéːnix	'the upriver people (= of Aiyansh)'
...-upriver [loc.]	*Gitgigeenix*
kit-ʔantóːstaʔ	'the opposition (e.g. the other team,
...-on.the.opp.side	etc.)' *git-andoosda'a*

This prefix enters into a number of place-names and may designate both the customary occupants of a place and the place itself:

kit-wil/win-ksíɬkᵂ	'[the people of] Canyon City'
...-where/LOC-salamander	*Gitwinksihlkw*

This prefix also enters into a frame, 7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.c.9.

7.1.B.2.b.1.b. (ksim-) *ksim-* 'person [esp. woman] originating from ... [a group]' (probably from the former custom of taking foreign women as captives):

(1) 'person from ... [a group]'

ksim-níƛin	'black person'
...-black.person	*ksimnigin*

(2) 'woman from ... [a group]'

ksim-laẋ-kipú:	'woman of the Wolf tribe'
...-on-wolf	***ksim** Laxgibuu*
ksim-háy̓taẋ	'Haida woman'
...-Haida	***ksim** Hay̓dax*
ksim-ʔaẋ-qa-qó:t-ət	'loose woman' (lit. 'woman from the
...-not-DIST-heart-REL	Irresponsibles') ***ksim** axgagoodit*
ksim-qá:kɬ	'Mouse Woman (a mythical character)'
...-mouse	***Ksim** Gaakhl*

(compare **hanàq̓-m qá:kɬ** 'female mouse' *hanak'am gaakhl*).

7.1.B.2.b.2. Measures:

Some nouns designating measures are formed by prefixing a numeral to a noun. If the numeral ends in a glottalized consonant, preconsonantal deglottalization applies (**10**.1.B.1.b.2.b.)

7.1.B.2.b.2.a. Fathoms: measures up to nine fathoms are built on the noun **q̓á:x** 'armspan' *k'aax* (see 7.1.B.2.c.2. for 'ten fathoms').

kíl̓-q̓á:x > kilq̓á:x	'one fathom'
one-...	***k'ilk'aax***
kʷilál̓-q̓á:x > kʷilalq̓á:x	'three fathoms'
three-...	***gwilalk'aax***

When measuring cloth, one fathom is equivalent to two yards.

7.1.B.2.b.2.b. Handspans: built on the noun **sáq̓ans** 'handspan' *sak'aas* (only used in this context). The (originally plural) suffix **{-ti:}** *...dii* (7.2.A.1.b.) may

be added (cf. suffix (-ta) ...*da* in 7.1.B.2.b.2.d.); it is not clear at this point what the difference is between suffixed and unsuffixed forms.

ƙíɬ-sáq̓ans-(ti:) > ƙilsáq̓ans(ti:)	'one handspan'
one-...	*k'ilsaq̓'ans(dii)*
ƙílp̓iɬ-sáq̓ans-(ti:)	'two handspans'
two-...	*gilp'ilsaq̓'ans(dii)*

This set comprises measures from one to three hanspans; four handspans correspond to half a fathom, or a yard.

7.1.B.2.b.2.c. Another set of measures is formed on the stem *ʔún 'hand, arm,' *un* (the current word is the originally plural ʔanʔún 'hand(s), arm(s)' *an'un*). This stem is also used in the transitive verb ʔún-Ɬ 'to portion/measure out s.t.' *un(t)-di*.

Boas (1911) gives this set as meaning 'fathoms', and many older men use it in preference to, or interchangeably with, the ...q̓á:x ...*k'aax* set (7.1.B.2.b.2.a.); but women use it to mean 'handfuls' and especially to translate the English measure 'cup,' for instance when measuring flour for breadmaking. Many people appear to be unaware that the other sex uses this set of measure words with a different meaning, for different activities.

ƙíɬ-ʔún> ƙilʔún	'(M) one fathom; (W) one cup'
one-...	*k'il'un*
kʷilálɬ-ʔún > kʷilalʔún	'(M) three fathoms; (W) three cups'
three-...	*gwilal'un*

7.1.B.2.b.2.d. Periods of days: In this category there seem to be only words for 'four days' and 'ten days.' The stem for these words appears to be an older form of the word Sá 'day' *sa*. The long vowel recalls an earlier final /ħ/ which is

also pronounced in formal speech (see 2.1.B.3.b.3.a.). The frozen plural suffix (-ta) *...da* recalls the suffix (-tī:) *...dii* on the 'handspan' set (7.1.B.2.b.2.b) (Both suffixes are dicussed in 7.2.A.1.).

tx̲alpx̲-*sáh-ta	'four-day period' (important for ritual
four-...-PL	purposes) ***tx̲alpx̲saada***

(see 7.1.B.2.c.2. for 'ten-day period').

7.1.B.2.b.2.e. Travellers: or rather, 'persons in a canoe, boat or vehicle.' For these words, numerals are prefixed to the base tá:t *daat* which is used by itself with the meaning 'crew member' and which occurs also in ǩʷitá:t 'to be in a canoe, boat, etc. by oneself' *kw'idaat* (it is not clear what the derivation of this word is). Only the word for 'to be four in a canoe, etc.' seems to be in use, as *four* was the normal crew of a canoe in the old days.

tx̲alpx̲-tá:t	'to be four in a canoe, boat, vehicle'
four-crew	***tx̲alpx̲daat***

7.1.B.2.b.3. Nouns designating objects with salient characteristics:

7.1.B.2.b.3.a. (ʔam-) *am...* This prefix seems to be derived from the adjective ʔá:m 'good' *aam*.

(1) 's.t. [only] good for ...'

a. with noun:

ʔam-m̓á:l	'cottonwood' (formerly used for small
...-canoe	river canoes) ***aam̓aal***
ʔam-haláyt	'carved ceremonial headdress'
...-shaman, shaman's dance	***aamhalayt***

ʔam-ć̓áẇaqs 'old mountain goat' (too tough to eat)
...-shoes *am-ts'aẇaqs*

(b) with verb:

ʔam-míːlukʷ 'mask'
...-dancing *am-miilukw*

ʔam-*ʔú-kit 'clothes'
...-*cover.s.-*people *am-'ugit*

The noun ʔamí 'voice' *ami* is from ʔam-hí(hí 'saying' *hi*), recorded in Boas. The transitive verbs ʔamqóːt] 'to remember s.' *amgoo(t)* seems to contain this prefix too. The stem is probably qóːt 'heart' *goot*. The adjective ʔamqóːkit 'pretty, beautiful (us. not persons)' *amgoogit* must have been originally an unmediated compound (9.2.A.1.).

(2) 'old ... [too old to be useful]' (= ksə- 'fresh' *ksi-/ksa-*, 7.1.B.2.b.3.d.):

It is difficult to tell whether this is an entirely different although homophonous prefix, or rather the same prefix with an extension of the meaning in a peculiar direction: '*formerly* good for ...'. Several words where the prefix has this meaning also occur without the prefix, apparently with the same meaning:

ʔam-háyχkʷ 'old rotten tree'
...-[wood] rotten *(am-)hayχkw*

ʔam-ć̓éːẇ 'fish guts'
...-insides, entrails *am-ts'eeẇ*

7.1.B.2.b.3.b. (ʔantə-) *andi-/anda-*: this prefix forms nouns designating relatively small, portable, closable containers (= (qaltim-) *galdim-*, 7.1.B.2.b.3.f.). The semantic range includes both older and more recent forms.

(1) with noun: (most productive):

ʔantə-hawíl	'quiver'	
...-arrow		***andahawil***
ʔantə-ksə-hó:n	'jar of fish'	
...-fresh-fish		***andiksihoon***
ʔantə-cá:m	'jar or can of jam'	
...-jam		***andijaam***
ʔantə-tá:la	'purse, wallet'	
...-money (< dollar)		***andidaala***
ʔantə-ʔí:s/ʔantə-ʔís	'bladder'	
...-urine/...-*stink?		***anda'iis/anda'is***

(For the last word, both pronunciations are current).

(b) with intransitive verb: (not productive):

ʔantə-wó:t̓	'pocket'	
...-trading		***andiwoot'***

7.1.B.2.b.3.c. (haṅi:-) *haṅii...*

This prefix, now often pronounced /aṅi/, derives from the combination of the instrumental prefix (ha-) *ha...* (7.1.B.1.b.1.b.) with the locational proclitic (ṅi:-) 'down on...' *ṅii...* (7.1.A.1.b.9.). This combination, receiving many applications in the modern period, has also acquired specialized meanings, warranting treating it as a single prefix.

(1) Basic meaning, combining those of (ha-) *ha...* 'instrumental' and

(ɬ̓ni:-) 'down on...' *áii...*:

a. with intransitive verb: 's.t. for ...ing on': applies mostly to words designating various pieces of post-contact household equipment, the useful parts of which are horizontal. The intransitive stem may be an intransitive verb, including a compound verb:

haɬ̓i:-ɬ̓á:	'chair'
...-sit	***haɬ̓iit'aa***
haɬ̓i:-ʔí:c̓aʔ	'ironing board'
...-ironing	***haɬ̓ii'iits'a'a***
haɬ̓i:-ɣ̓àq+á:t	'net-drying rack'
...-hang+net	***haɬ̓iiɣ̓aƛ̓-aat***
haɬ̓i:-pàʔansk^{w}-m+ʔáks	'eavestrough'
...-run.AP-ATT+water	***haɬ̓iiba'ansgum-aks***

b. with noun: 'place for ...': the use of the prefix with a noun is probably modern, derived from its use with a verb:

haɬ̓i:-ɬé:tx̣	'baby's bib'
...-saliva, drool	***haɬ̓iihleetx̣***
haɬ̓i:-ẃé:n	'gum(s)'
...-teeth	***haɬ̓iiẃeen***

(2) specialized meanings: these probably derive from translations of English expressions including the preposition 'on':

a. 's.t. written: document, book':

haṅi:-k̓íṫaq̓ask^{W} 'bill'
...-ask.AP *haṅiik'it'aḵ'askw*

haṅi:-maqò:ṅisk^{W}-m+álkaẋ 'dictionary'
...-get.explanation-ATT+word, talk *haṅiimagooṅisgum-algaẋ*

(This word was coined in 1985 by the Rev. Hubert McMillan).

b. 'day of ...': The use of the prefix for naming days dates from the missionary period. It probably started with those days characterized by the specific activities prescribed by the missionaries:

haṅi:-sk^{W}á:ẏtk^{W} 'Sunday'
...-rest *haṅiisgwaaẏtkw*

haṅi:-yé:q 'Saturday'
...-contribute [money to the church] *haṅiiyeeḵ*

The use of the prefix has been extended to the names of the other days (except Monday), which include a numeral phrase (cf. 5.4.B.1.):

haṅi:-k̓ílp̓il-[t]=ɬsà 'Tuesday'
...-two-[3]=NC day *Haṅiigilp'ilhl sa*

haṅi:-k^{W}stìns-[t]=ɬsà 'Friday'
...-five-[3]=NC day *Haṅiikwsdinshl sa*

as well as to:

haṅi:-skát 'birthday'
...-be.born *haṅiisgat*

7.1.B.2.b.3.c. (ksə-) *ksi.../ksa...*

There seem to be two separate prefixes here, both identical in shape to the proclitic meaning 'out' (7.1.A.1.b.3.) and the verb-forming prefix meaning 'to remove ...' (7.1.B.2.a.2.a.).

(1) 'fresh ... [noun]' (probably: 'freshly removed' ? cf. the verb-forming prefix):

ksə-smáx	'fresh meat'
...-meat	***ksismax***
ksə-lú:x	'green alderwood'
...-alder	***ksiluux***

(2) 'water, fluid, juice, sap, etc. of ...': the prefix is included in the names of some streams as well as in words for various fluids. It seems to be a truncated form of ʔáks-a: ... 'water of ...' *aksa.../aksi...* (Boas 1911; see also compound nouns, 9.1.B.1.):

ksə-lísims	'Nass River water'
...-Nass.River	***ksiLisims***
ksə-m̓ó:c̓iks	'mother's milk'
...-breast	***ksim̓oots'iks***
ksə-c̓áɬ	'fluid oozing from the eyes'
...-eye(s)	***ksits'aɬ***

7.1.B.2.b.3.e. (kʷi:s-) *gwiis* 'large piece of cloth or skin, garment, outfit, for/of/with ...' (probably related to kʷilá 'blanket' *gwila*). Used quite productively.

(1) <u>with noun</u>:

kʷi:s-haláyt	'Chilkat blanket'
...-shaman	*gwiishalayt*
kʷi:s-qanm̓ála?	'button blanket'
...-button	*gwiisganm̓ala'a*
kʷi:s-miksɬ́ɬ	'ermineskin blanket'
...-ermine/weasel	*gwiismiksihl*
kʷi:s-múxʷ	'rug'
...-ears (??)	*gwiismuxw*

(2) with verb:

kʷi:s-líp̓isT	'traditional warm blanket or sleeping
...-sew.AP	robe, made of sewn rabbitskins'
	gwiislip'is
kʷi:s-haɬál̓sT	'work clothes'
...-working	*gwiishahlal̓s*
kʷi:s-hátiks	'[woman's] bathing suit'
...-swimming	*gwiishadiks*

(3) with adjective:

kʷi:s-ńa:=likskikát	'patchwork quilt'
...-in spots=different.PL	*gwiisn̓aaliksgigat*

7.1.B.2.b.3.f. (qaltim-) *galdim...*: This prefix forms nouns designating large, open containers (= (ʔantə-) *andi.../anda...*, 7.1.B.2.b.3.b.). Most instances involve relatively new items, and new words are freely made up.

(1) with noun:

qaltim-lákʷ	'fireplace'
...-firewood	*galdimlakw*
qaltim-c̓ilím	'lunchbox'
...-packed.lunch, snack	*galdimts'ilim*
qaltim-ʔan-ʔíːs	'toilet bowl'
...-PLACE-urine	*galdim'an'iis*
qaltim-hápax̌	'bowl, etc. used for keeping jar lids in hot water while canning'
...-lid	*galdimhabaɣ*

(2) with intransitive verb: (including compound verbs):

qaltim-láqs	'bathtub'
...-bathing	*galdimlaqs*
qaltim-wóːt̓	'store'
...-trading	*galdimwoot'*
qaltim-sitáːẃiskʷ	'freezer'
...-freeze.AP	*galdimsidaaẃiskw*
qaltim-[cam+hóːn]	'canning-pot'
...-[boil.s.+fish]	*galdimjamhoon*
qaltim-[sikʷàlk̓ʷaʔ-m+ʔamʔúkit]	'clothes dryer'
...-dry.DETR-ATTR+clothes	*galdimsigwalkw'a'am-am'ugit*

It is possible that (qaitim-) *galdim...* should be treated as a separate noun with

Attributive suffix (-m) ...*m* (7.2.B.1.), rather than as a prefix. This would make the word a compound rather than a prefixed form. However, no noun *qalt **galt* occurs in present-day Nisgha, and the distribution is the same as that of a prefix, hence the classification adopted here.

7.1.B.2.b.3.g. (saxs-) *sagas...* 'boat, ship of/for...'

saxs-ʔá:t	'fishing-boat, gillnetter, seiner'
...-fishnet	*saxs'aat*
saxs-qán	'raft'
...-log, wood	*saxsgan*
saxs-ẇiltíkitkʷ	'man-of-war'
...-war	*saxsẇildigitkw*

The prefix might be related to the verb sáx 'to pull s.t.' *sax*.

7.1.B.2.b.3.h. (sq̓an-) *sk'an...* 'support bearing ...': this prefix is used only with nouns.

(1)'... bush, tree, plant' (probably original meaning) :

sq̓an-má:ẏ̓	'berry-bush'
...-berries	*sk'anmaaẏ̓*
sq̓an-mílksT	'crabapple-tree'
...-crabapple(s)	*sk'anmilks(t)*
sq̓an-mi:kúnt	'strawberry plant'
...-strawberries	*sk'anmiigunt*

sq̓an-má:wilx 'horsetail [plant]'
...-file [for wood] *sx̱'anmaawilx*

(2) '... support, shaft, post, pole, etc.' (probably derived meaning):

sq̓an-y̓úx^{W} '[fishing-]rod'
...-[fishing]-line *sx̱'any̓ux^{w}*

sq̓an-haɬó? 'mast'
...-sail *sx̱'anhahlo'o*

sq̓an-lá:k^{W}s 'lamp-post'
...-lamp *sx̱'anlaakws*

7.1.B.2.b.4. Prefixes with locational meaning:

7.1.B.2.b.4.a. (č̓im-) *ts'im*... '[the] inside of ..., in ... ,into ...,'

This morpheme can be prefixed to so many nouns, wherever pragmatically possible, that it often seems to be a kind of preposition, corresponding to English 'in', and it seems to be moving towards prepositional use in the speech of some younger speakers (see Remark below). However, in many words it is definitely a prefix, used especially of body cavities, insides of objects, and place-names designating the approaches to a place.

(1) body cavities:

č̓im-ʔá:q > č̓imá:q '[inside of the] mouth'
...-mouth, lips *ts'imaax̱* (from *ts'im'aax̱*)
(see **10**.2.A.2.b.2.b.1.(b)) for loss of the glottal stop)

č̓im-múx^{W} > č̓imúx^{W} '[inside of the] ear'
...-mouth, lips *ts'imuxw* (from *ts'immuxw*)

(see **10**.2.B.1.a.1.a. for degemination)

čim-*xsńé:qs	'underside of foot arch'
...-foot.arch	*ts'imxsńeeks*

(2) insides of other objects:

čim-wílp	'[interior of a] house'
...-house	*ts'imwilp*

(3) in place-names: 'entrance or approach to...':

čim-sán	'Tsimshian' (people living at the
...-Skeena.River	entrance of the Skeena River)
	Ts'imsan

čim-ks-q̓alá:ń	'Observatory Inlet'
...-most-back.end	*Ts'imksk'alaa*

Most place-names prefixed with (čim-) *ts'im...* are paired with similar names prefixed with (lax̲-) 'on' *lax̲...* (7.1.B.2.b.4.d.).

Remark: Under the influence of English, this prefix is increasingly being used as a preposition by some younger speakers. Compare sentences (a) and (b): in (a), the morpheme is used as a prefix, and the prefixed noun is the argument of the predicate, as indicated by the connective =ɬ *...hl* between verb and noun:

(a) lu:=kámk=ɬ čim-wìlp	It's warm in the house/The house is
in=warm=NC ...-house	warm. *Luugamkhl ts'imwilp.*

In (b), the morpheme is used as a preposition, with no connective: the sentence is an almost literal translation of the English equivalent:

(a) lu:=kámkčim t ḳùn
in=warm ... DC this

It's warm in here.
Luugamk ts'im tgun.

7.1.B.2.b.4.b. (ḳin-) *Gin...* 'place of ... [unusual feature]' (used only in place-names):

ḳin-qúlx
...-skull

'Kincolith' (site of a war episode in which enemy heads were displayed as a warning to raiders) ***Gingolx***

ḳin-lú:laq̓
...-corpse

'Ginlulak' (a Naas tributary in which a quantity of bones were found)
Ginluulak'

7.1.B.2.b.4.c. (kʷin-) *Gwin...* 'place of ... [resource or typical activity]' (used only in place-names; homophonous with the Jussive prefix, 7.1.B.1.a.2.b.):

kʷin-haḿó:q
...-cow.parsnip

'Kwinamuck' (Nass tributary)
Gwinhamook

kʷin-ʔahá:
...-Beautiful!

'Gwinaha' (a bend in the Nass River near Canyon City, from which one can admire a beautiful view) ***Gwin'ahaa***

kʷin-wóq
...-sleeping

'Gwinwawq' (a place)
Gwinwok

7.1.B.2.b.4.d. (laχ-) *lax...* 'top surface of ..., site of..., on ...':

(1) Like 'in' *ts'im...* (7.1.B.2.b.4.a.), this prefix is susceptible of such wide application that it often seems to be a preposition corresponding to English 'on'. It enters into the formation of a number of nouns with locational meaning and a large number of place-names, referring especially to flat, open spaces,

whether on land or water.

a. body surfaces:

laẋ-*ẋsɬ́é:qs>laẋsɬ́é:qs	'top of foot, vamp'
...-foot.arch?	*laẋsɬeeq̓s*
laẋ-nó?oɬ	'shoulder(s)'
...-shell, dish (=shoulderblades?)	*laẋno'oh̓l*

b. other flat surfaces and open places:

laẋ-há	'sky, weather, heaven'
...-air	*laẋha*
laẋ-*?ú	'top, upper surface [of ...]; on [...],
...-covering?	over [...]' *laẋ'u ...*
laẋ-?úmɬkʷ	'swamp'
...-sphagnum.moss	*laẋ'umhlkw*
laẋ-?an-si:líńskʷ	'hunting-ground'
...-place-hunting	*laẋ'ansiilińskw*
laẋ-qal-čáp	'Greenville, Lakalzap' (a village which
...-empty-group	was unoccupied at various times in the
	past) *Laẋgalts'ap*

(2) The sequence /laẋ/also begins three names of 'tribes' or clans including the names of animals:

laẋkipú:	'Wolf "tribe"' *Laẋgibuu*
	(kipú: 'wolf' *gibuu*)

laχčimílx	'Beaver clan' ***Laxts'imilx*** (čimílx 'beaver' *ts'imilx*)
laχskí:k	'Eagle "tribe"' ***Laxsgiik*** (cf. χskí:k , the CT equivalent of N χská:k 'eagle' *xsgaak*)

It is likely that the last form should be analyzed as a former prefixed plural (3.2.C.2.a.1.c., 7.1.B.1.a.1.a.) lə-χskí:k (*la-xsgiik*), which was later reinterpreted as laχ-χskí:k 'on the eagle' (*lax-xsgiik*), hence a new pattern 'on-tribal animal' giving rise to the other two names.

7.1.B.2.b.4.e. (spə-) *sbi.../sba...* 'den, abode, dwelling-place of ... [non-human]' (homophonous with the proclitic meaning 'off horizontally', 7.1.A.1.b.3.b.):

spə-smáx	'bear's den'
...-bear	***sbismax***
spə-qín	'skunk's den'
...-skunk	***sbagen***
spə-naχnóq	'abode of a supernatural being'
...-sup.being	***sbinaxnok***

7.1.B.2.b.4.f. (spa[qa]yt-)*sbagayt.../sbaayt.../sbayt...* 'among ...'

Like čim- 'in...' *ts'im...* (7.1.B.2.b.4.a.) and laχ- 'on ...' *lax...* (7.1.B.2.b.4.d.), this prefix is so productive that it almost seems to be a preposition, especially since the resulting prefixed nouns are often used as complements rather than arguments in a clause.

spa[qa]ytsqaƛisT	'[place] among the mountains'
...-mountain	***sbayt sgaƛist***

spa[qa]y t̓sq̓é:xk^{W} 'in the darkness'
...-dark[ness] ***sbayt sk̲'eex̲kw***

spa[qa]y t̓qan)qán '[in the] forest'
...-PL)tree ***sbayt gangan***

7.1.B.2.b.4.h. (sq̓a-) *sk̲'a...* 'among ...'

This non-productive prefix is found especially in place-names.

x-sq̓a-sk̓inísT>ksq̓ask̓inísT 'Ishkheenickh (a Nass River tributary)'
?-...-pine ***Ksk̲'asginist***

k̓it-sq̓a-há:sT>k̓isq̓a(h)á:sT 'the Killerwhale "tribe"' (lit. people of
people-...-fireweed the fireweeds) *Gisk̲'ahaast, Gisk̲'aast*
(from *Git-sk̲'ahaast*)

sq̓a-*ptí '[in] the midst of ... [a group]'
-...-? (prob. related to *ptéq* ***sk̲'apdi...***
'exogamic clan, "tribe" *pdeek̲*)

The following verb, now considered old, is formed by suffixation on the same pattern sq̓a-Noun:

sq̓a-kát-tk^{W} 'to be among people, to participate in
...-people-MED social activities' ***sk̲'agatkw***

7.1.B.2.b.4.i. (t̓im-) *t'im...* 'place [not geographical] characterized by ... ' (= homophonous proclitic, 7.1.A.1.b.44.; unproductive).

(1) body parts: (= (c̓im-) *ts'im...* 7.1.B.2.b.4.a.)

ƛ̓im-qís	'head'
...-hair	*t'imges*
ƛ̓im-[ha-ḵó?]	'spine [visible on a person's back]'
...-[having-backbone]	*t'imhak'yo'o*
ƛ̓im-*ɬáːm̓	'shin'
...-?	*t'imhlaam̓*

(2) other:

ƛ̓im-*láːn-ət	'steersman'
...-stern/rear-REL	*t'imlaanit*

It is likely that this prefix derives from the attributive form ƛ̓áːm *t'aam* of the verb ƛ̓áː 'to exist, stay, sit' *t'aa*. It is sometimes preceded by the prefix (ʔan-) *an*... which often has locative meaning (7.1.B.1.b.1.a.1.a.(1)), as in:

ʔan-ƛ̓im-ʔanísT	'knothole'
place-...-branch	*ant'im'anis(t)*
ʔan-ƛ̓im-číːḵ^{W}aʔ	'place in a canoe where the bailer sits'
place-...-leak.DETR	*ant'imts'iikw'a'a*

7.1.B.2.b.4.j. (x-/k-) *x.../k...* 'place ... ??'
This prefix is not productive. It is used only in some place-names. The alternant (k-) k... is used before /s/.

x-n̓úk^{W}	'Iknouk (Nass River tributary)'
...-trad.halibut.hook (?)	*Xnúkw*
x-čim-ʔínq	'Chemainuk (Nass River tributary)'
...-in-storage.box	*Xts'im'inḵ*

laẋ-**x**-ʔá:t	'Portland Canal'
on-...-fish.w.net	*Laẋx'aat*
kit-**x**-sán > kit**k**san	'Gitksan [people]'
people-...-Skeena.river	*Gitksan*
k-sq̓a-skinísT	'Ishkheenickh (Nass River tributary)'
...-among-pine	*Ksk̲'asginist*

7.1.B.2.b.4. Color prefixes: These were probably formerly free forms (modifiers, cf. 5.15), but now occur only bound in a few forms.

7.1.B.2.b.4.a. (mis-) *mis...* 'red' ; probably a reduced form of *más *mas*, the root or base of más**k**^{W} 'reddish-brown' *maskw* :

mis-ʔáwsT	'red ochre'
...-sand	*mis'aws(t)*

7.1.B.2.b.4.b. (m̓a:s-) *m̓aas...* 'white, shining, radiant':

m̓a:s-ʔúl	'white bear'
...-bear	*m̓aas'ul*
m̓a:s-č̓inɬíḱ	'white squirrel'
...-bear	*m̓aasts'inhlik'*

This prefix probably occurs also in

m̓a:sáx^{W}	'grey/white [hair]'
	m̓aasaxw

but the rest of the word is not identifiable.

7.1.B.2.b.4.c. Remark: In CT, processes of deglottalization and vowel-reduction in unstressed initial syllable have led to homophony of the equivalent prefixes, thus both the meanings 'red' and 'white' are represented by *mis*

7.1.B.2.c. Numeral prefixes: Frozen prefixes for 'one' and 'ten': (= numerals used as prefixes, see 7.1.B.2.b.2.)

Two series of words sharing the meanings 'one ...' and 'ten ...' respectively, start with distinctive consonantal shapes which can be considered as frozen prefixes or compounding elements.

7.1.B.2.c.1. (ƛ̓ə-) *ƛ'...* 'one ...'

This prefix is recognizable at the beginning of three of the four numerals for 'one (5.4.) as well as in a number of other words sharing the meaning 'one' or at least singular usage. In most cases the rest of the word is not identifiable, but the few cases where it is lend credence to the prefixing or compounding interpretation.

ƛ̓íɬ	'one [object]'
...-? (shared with 'ten [objects]')	*ƛ'íɬ*
ƛ̓óːl	'one [person]'
...-? (shared with 'ten [persons])	*ƛ'yool*
ƛ̓éːkʷ	'one [animal, skin]'
...-?	*ƛ'eekw*
ƛ̓ə-kɪt-tkʷ	'twenty (=one man['s fingers and toes])'
...-man-MED	(obsolete) *ƛ'igitkw*
ƛ̓ə-*ʔáɬ > ƛ̓áːɬ	'one-eyed'
...-eye	*ƛ'aaɬ*

k̓é:x̣kʷ	'(one) to flee'
...-?	*k'eex̱kw*
k̓a:ɬ=	'pulling to one side (proclitic,
...-?	7.1.A.1.b.21)' *k'aahl...*
k̂i:	'ahead of others (modifier, 5.15.B.47.)'
...-?	*k'ii ...*

7.1.B.2.c.2. (xpə-) *xbi.../xba...* 'ten ...'

This prefix is recognizable at the beginning of two of the four words for 'ten' (5.4.), where the rest of the word, though unanalyzable, is shared with words for 'one':

xpíl	'ten [objects]'
...-? (shared with 'one [object])	*xbil*
xpó:l	'ten [persons]'
...-? (shared with 'one [person])	*xbool*

as well as in two words for measures (cf. 7.1.B.2.b.2.c./d.):

xpə-*ʔún-ti:	'ten fathoms'
...-hand/arm/fathom-PL?	*xba'undii*
xpə-*sáh-ta	'ten-day period'
...-day-PL?	*xbisaada*

7.1.B.3. Other parts of speech used as prefixes: A few modifiers (5.15.) and subordinators (5.16) can also be used as prefixes, with widely varying rates of productivity. That they are used as prefixes is shown by the impossibility of replacing the modifier or subordinator with another in this context. The

semantics of some of these formations shows that they developed in the post-contact period; others are definitely older.

7.1.B.3.a. Modifiers used as prefixes: They do not define class membership, but are usually lexically restricted. Productivity varies considerably between modifiers. Only a few common ones are mentioned in this section.

7.1.B.3.a.1. (ʔaχ-) *aχ-* 'no ..., non-..., un...' (cf. 5.15.B.15.); very productive in creating negative adjectives:

ʔaχ-*húkaχ	'incorrect, unjust, unrighteous'
...-correct, just	*aχhugaχ*
ʔaχ-múx^{W}	'[s.o.] who does not listen'
...-ears	*aχmuxw*
ʔaχ-ʔanʔúńsT	'sleeveless'
...-sleeve	*aχ'an'uńs(t)*

This prefix also enters into abstract nouns:

ʔan-ʔaχ-kú	's.t. one does not care about'
CAUSE-...-s.t.	*an'aχgu*
ʔan-ʔaχ-*ʔáqɬ	's.t. one cannot afford'
CAUSE-...-can?	*an'aχ'aqhl*

The last form seems to be a back-formation from ʔáqɬk^{W} *aqhlkw* 'to [finally] succeed, be able to ...', itself from the negative verb ʔáq *aq* (5.4.D.) and the suffix -ɬk^{W} *-hlkw* which indicates temporariness (7.2.C.2.b.2.) (to be temporarily unable = to finally succeed). The verb seems to have been re-analyzed as ʔáqɬ-[t]k^{W} *aqhl-kw*, hence a new stem ʔáqɬ *aqhl* used here.

7.1.B.3.a.2. (ksax̣-) *ksax̣...* 'only ...' (5.15.B.17.)

ksax̣-kiɬám	'to give s.t. as a gift'
...-give.s.	***ksax̣giɬam***
ksax̣-kiɬáma?	'to give gifts; a gift'
...-give	***ksax̣giɬama'a***

These two words refer mostly to the imported custom of giving personal gifts, for instance at Christmas, as opposed to the complex system of mutual obligations within traditional Nisgha society. Similarly,

ksax̣-k^{W}iɬá	'to beg for s.t.'
...-ask.for.s.	***ksax̣gwiɬa***
ksax̣-k^{W}iɬé?esk^{W}	'to beg'
...-ask.for.things	***ksax̣gwiɬe'eskw***

refer to begging on the street, from people from whom one has no reciprocal obligations, rather than asking for contributions one is entitled to from the appropriate person.

7.1.B.3.a.3. (lip-) *lip...* 'self- ..., acting on one's own' (5.15.B.9.; usually with prefix (?a-) *a...* 'only ...' see 7.1.B.1.b.5.a.)

lip-kát	'to be free'
...-to be, fare? (here, not 'man')	***lipgat***

7.1.B.3.a.4. (qam-) *gam...* 'waste/refuse from ...' (5.15.B.41.): added productively to intransitives, but also sometimes to transitives and nouns, it forms nouns:

(a) with intransitive verb: 'waste resulting from ...ing'

qam-k̓ʷásƛ̓ 'broken pieces (of glass, etc.)'
...-shattered *ɣamkw'as(t)*

qam-xpé:qskʷ 'sawdust'
...-sawing *ɣamɣbeeɣskw*

qam-x̣-č̓áq̓ 'clamshells'
...-eat-clams *ɣamɣts'aɣ'*

qam-x̣-ʔaná:x 'bread crumbs'
...-eat-bread *ɣamɣ'anaax*

(b) with transitive verb:

qam-kíp 'inedible scraps left from a meal'
...-food/eat.s. *ɣamgip*

qam-táḿ '[coffee] grounds, [wine, etc.] dregs'
...-press.s. *ɣamdaḿ*

qam-póx̣ 'inedible parts: seeds, etc. expelled from the mouth while eating berries, etc.'
...-blow.s.out *ɣambox̣*

(c) with noun:

qam-č̓ú:c̓ 'soot'
...-charcoal *ɣamts'uuts'*

7.1.B.3.a.5. (ɬku-) *hlgu...* 'little (sg.) ...' (see 5.15.B.36 about the recent evolution from modifier to prefix):

ɬḵu-c̓ú:sk 'to be small, little'
...-little *hlguts'uusk*

ɬḵu-tílpkʷ 'to be short'
...-close *hlgudilpkw*

ɬḵu-tk̓íɬkʷ 'child (young person)'
...-child *hlgutk'ihlkw*

7.1.B.3.a.6. (k̓upa:-) *k'uba...* 'little (pl.)' (5.15.B.37.)

k̓upa:-tk̓íɬkʷ 'children (young persons)'
...-child *k'ubatk'ihlkw*

k̓upa:-si)sú:s 'to be small, little (pl.)'
...-little(pl.) *k'ubasisuus*

7.1.B.3.a.7. (kʷi:x-/ḵuxʷ-) 'habitually, keenly' *gwiix-/guxw-* (5.15.B.50.) This modifier is used as a prefix to form adjectives, both from other adjectives and from verbs. (The two alternate forms for the prefix coexist in Aiyansh, but the first form seems to be more prevalent in the downriver villages):

kʷi:x-ʔaláys 'to be lazy'
...-reluctant, unwilling *gwiix-alays*

kʷi:x-ɬít̓ 'to be a ballplayer'
...-[play] ball *gwiixhlit'*

ḵuxʷ-ɬó:q 'to be an early riser'
...-rise.early *guxwhlook̲*

ḵuxʷ-cáp 'to be good with one's hands'
...-make.s. *guxwjap*

That these formations are adjectives, not nouns or intransitive verbs, is shown by their use with the modifier ƙa: 'most' *k'aa* (5.15.B.16.) in sentences such as:

- Péter=ɬ ƙa: kux^{W}cáp-ətlò:-ti:t
  P.=NC most handy-REL IND-3P
  Of all of them, Peter is the best at working with his hands.
  Peterhl k'aa gurwjabit loodiit.

To form the plural of these words, the Distributive plural prefix (qa-) *ga-* (7.1.B.1.a.1.b.) is inserted between the prefix and the main word, as in

- k^{W}i:x-qa-ɬíƛ̓ ńìti:t
  ...-PL-[play] ball them
  They are always playing ball, they are ballplayers. ***Gwiix-gahlit' ńidiit.***

7.1.B.3.b. Subordinators used as prefixes: The subordinators qan '[reason] why' *gan* (5.16.B.1.), q̓ay 'still' *k'ay* (5.16.B.9), and wil 'as, because, where, when' *wil* (5.16.B.7.) are also used as prefixes. The most prolific such use is that of qan '[reason] why' *gan*, which seems to have known considerable productivity during the missionization period. The use of wil 'as, because, where, when' *wil* as a prefix is obviously older. q̓ay 'still' *k'ay* is only used as a prefix in three or four forms. With few exceptions the basic words are intransitive verbs.

7.1.B.3.b.1. (qan-) *gan...* 'cause, means of ...' (cf. 5.16.B.1.). The range of meanings of this prefix, both concrete and abstract, is roughly similar to that of (ʔan-) *an...* (7.1.B.1.b.1.a.1.a.), except that (qan-) *gan...* never has locational meaning. Most instances deal with post-contact objects and concepts, including a large number of Christian religious and moral concepts.

(a) concrete meaning: 'means of ..., reason why ...'

qan-ƛ̓imísT
...-writing
'pencil'
gant'imis(t)

qan-ɬi)kó:ks	'lifejacket'
...-ASP)float	***gangigyooks***
qan-ɬu:=qúyʔax	'window'
...-in=bright	***ganluugoyp'ax***
qan-wálx	'packsaddle'
...-carry.s.on.back	***ganwalx***

(b) <u>abstract meaning</u>: 'cause of ..., reason why ...': the numerous abstract words formed with this prefix designate general concepts, as opposed to the abstract meaning of (ʔan-) *an...* (7.1.B.1.b.1.a.1.a.) which designates specific causes or sources of a feeling or idea.

qan-tiɬílsT	'life'
...-live	***gandidils(t)***
qan-xpəčáxʷ	'fear'
...-afraid	***ganxbits'axw***
qan-wilá:ɬkils	'education'
...-knowledgeable	***ganwilaak'ils***
qan-[kʷilks=ʔítkʷ-s]	'repentance'
...-[...=blame.s.-...]$_{REFL}$	***gangwilks'itkws***

7.1.B.3.b.2. **wil** *wil...* 'as, because, where, when' (5.16.B.7.): forms new nominals:

wil-ɬa:=ɬáɬ	'smaller organized group: clan (division within a "tribe"), family, team, etc.'
...-in.spot=be.in.group	***wilɬaat'ahl***

wil-paẋ=haɬ=hítk^{w}	'slope, rollercoaster'
...-uphill=parallel=stand	*wilbaxhahlhitkw*
wil-ksə=ẇítk^{w}	'paternal relative'
...-out-come.from	*wilksiẇitkw*
wil-kát	'[to be a certain] color'
...-be, fare? [here, not 'person']	*wilgat*
wilhílkit prob. from *__wil__-hílt-kit	'multitude'
...-many-people	*wilhilgit*

Such a noun equivalent can be used in a noun-incorporating verb (9.2.):

čàǩa?-m+**wil**-míɬ	'to put out fires; firefighting'
put.out.s.DETR-ATTR+...-burn	*ts'ak'a'am-wil-mihl*
lìl̓kit-m+**wil**-náks	'[to hold a] wedding feast'
feast-ATTR+...-married	*lil̓gidim-wil-naks*

7.1.B.3.b.3. **q̓ay** *k'ay*... 'still...' (5.16.B.9.): the prefixed use seems to be restricted to three forms:

q̓ay-ḿás	'teen-aged, young (sg.)'
...-grow	*k'aymas*
q̓ay-límqsT/**q̓ay**-*máqs	'teen-aged, young (pl.)'
...-grow	*k'aylimks/k'aymaks*

But the word **q̓ayúk^{w}s** 'smoke-dried salmon fillets' *k'ayukws* probably belongs here as well as it must be derived from earlier **q̓ay**-**húk^{w}s** *k'ay-hukws*, cf. Gitksan *hurws* 'id.'

7.1.B.3.b.4. **wila:** *wilaa* ... 'how' (5.16.B.8.): is used as a prefix to form the intransitive or adjective **wila:-cáp-T** 'to look like' *wilaa jap-di*.

- ntá=ɬ **wila:**-cáp-T-[t]=ɬlaχ̣hà — What is the weather like?
  which.way=NC ...-make.s.-DEF-[3]=NC sky — *Ndahl **wilaa** jabihl laχ̣ha?*

- sim húkaχ̣-ə-n=ɬ **wila:**-cáp-T-[t]=s[t]nóχ̣-n
  really be.like.s.-CTL-2S ...-make.s.-DEF-[3]=DC [DM] mother-2S
  You look a lot like your mother.
  *Sim hugaχ̣anhl **wilaa** jabis noon.*

- ni: nə ti: ʔanó:q-[t]=ɬ **wila:**-cáp-T-ỷkù:n̓
  not 1S.E INTS like.s.-[3]=NC ...-make.s.-DEF-1S now
  I don't like the way I look now.
  *Nindii anookhl **wilaa** japdiỷ guun̓.*

7.2. Suffixes:

Suffixes are divided into Inflectional suffixes (a small, closed class, 7.2.A.). Mediating suffixes (a very small class, 7.2.B.), Predicative suffixes (a fairly large class, with some productive elements, 7.2.C.), and Lexical suffixes (a very small class, 7.2.D.).

7.2.A. Inflectional suffixes:

7.2.A.1. Personal suffixes: Definite personal suffixes indicate person an number. For the 1st and 2nd persons, singular and plural are clearly differentiated. For the 3rd person, the single suffix (-t) is used not only for the singular, but also for the plural under certain conditions. Another suffix, the indefinite (-ti:) *-dii*, has restricted distribution by itseld but combines with the 3rd person (-t) to form a 3rd person plural suffix (-ti:t) *-diit*, also with restricted distribution.

7.2.A.1.a. Definite personal suffixes: The personal suffixes are used in a variety of syntactic roles, but they are not case-markers. They are used:

- with nouns, to indicate the possessor;
- with other P_a's (intransitive verbs, adjectives and numerals) in regular clauses, to indicate the A argument (Subject or Attribute; see below 7.2.A.1.a.2.b. for restrictions on the occurrence of the 3P suffix);
- with P_{EA}'s (transitive verbs) in regular clauses, to indicate the A argument (Object); in predicate-focused clauses, to indicate the E argument (Agent).

The personal suffixes are also used in the formation of the Independent personal pronouns, built on the base ṅi- *ái...* (5.8.), and the Indirect personal pronouns, built on the base lo:- *loo...* (5.9.).

7.2.A.1.a.1. Forms and rules:

	SG	PL
1	-y̰ *-ý*	-m̰ *-ḿ*
2	-n *-n*	-sim̰ *-sím*
3	-t *-t*	-t/-ti:t *-t/-diit*

The rule of VOWEL EPENTHESIS (10.1.A.1.a.2.d.2.(a)) inserts a vowel between a consonant-final stem and a suffix beginning in a syllabic resonant. It applies before (-y̰) '1S', (-n) '2S' and (-m̰) '1P'. The vowel quality is determined by the VOWEL SPECIFICATION rule (10.1.A.1.a.), hence for instance:

nixtá:-ỷ > nixtá:ỷ	'my aunt'	
aunt-1S		*nixdaaỷ*
ʔá:t-ỷ > ʔá:tiỷ	'my net'	
net-1S		*aadiỷ*
c̓imá:q-ỷ > c̓imá:qaỷ	'my mouth'	
mouth-1S		*ts'imaagaỷ*

7.2.A.1.a.2. Use of 3rd person suffixes:

7.2.A.1.a.2.a. The 3rd person suffix pronoun -t: The suffix pronoun -t is glossed as '3' rather than '3S' as it is not restricted to singular use (see below 7.2.A.1.a.2.b.). Except in predicate-focused P_A clauses, it is always present on the predicate, whether or not a noun is also present (4.3.B.). However, it does not always occur as a recognizable phonological element, since its phonological shape causes it to be subject to the morphophonosyntactic CONSONANT-/DELETION rule (10.2.A.2.b.1.c.) which deletes it before a non-Velar fricative, such as the determinate connective =S *...s* or the non-determinate connective =ɬ *...hl* (6.2.B.) under most conditions). But its presence is recoverable from its overt occurrence when not immediately followed by a connective, as when postclitics intervene (6.3.).

7.2.A.1.a.2.a.1. Suffix refers to E in predicate-focused transitive clause, to A (Subject) in regular intransitive clause: In the following examples, the two types of clauses are linked in a single example for convenience, but the structures are independent of each other.

(a) pronoun phonologically present in the absence of a noun (hence, in the absence of a pre-nominal connective):

- without postclitic after the verb:

- ká?-ə-t wil páx̣-t — S/he saw it/him/her run.
  see.s.-CTL-3 SUB run-3 — *Ga'at wil bagt.*

- with postclitic after the verb:

- ká?-ə-t==qat wil páx̣-t==a? — I hear s/he saw it/him/her actually run!
  see.s.-CTL-3 SUB run-3 — *Ga'at-gat wil bagda'a!*

(b) pronoun not phonologically present when immediately followed by a (pre-nominal) connective:

- ká?-ə-[t]=s [t] Pèter wil páx̣-[t]=s [t] Màry
  see.s.-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] P. SUB run-[3]=DC [DM] M.
  Peter saw Mary run.
  Ga'as Peter wil bags Mary.
- ká?-ə-[t]=ɬ kàt wil páx̣-[t]=ɬ hanàq̓
  see.s.-CTL-[3]=NC man SUB run-[3]=NC woman
  The man saw the woman run.
  Ga'ahl gat wil baghl hanag̓.

(c) pronoun phonologically present when a postclitic intervenes between it and a pre-nominal connective:

- ká?-ə-t==qa[t]=s[t] Pèter wil páx̣-t==a?=s [t] Màry
  see.s.-CTL-3==REP=DC [DM] P. SUB run-3==ASST=DC [DM] M.
  I hear Peter saw Mary actually run!
  Ga'at-gas Peter wil bagda'as Mary!

- ká?-ə-t==qa[t]=ɬ kàt wil páx̣-t==a?=ɬ hanàq̓
  see.s.-CTL-3-REP=NC man SUB run-3-ASST=NC woman
  I hear the man saw the woman actually run!
  Ga'at-ga(t)hl gat wil bagda'ahl hanag̓!

7.2.A.1.a.2.a.2. Suffix refers to A (Object) in regular transitive clause:

Note that the single noun following the Object pronoun may corefer either with the Agent or with the Object; the difference is indicated by the stress pattern (4.3.B.2.).

(a) suffix pronoun not phonologically present on the surface when followed by a connective:

- the following noun has secondary stress and does not corefers with the suffix pronoun (but with the 3ERG clitic pronoun preceding the verb):

- ká?-ə-ɬ wil-t tə-páx̣-[t]=ɬ ɬku-tx̌ìɬkʷ
  see.s.-CTL-3 SUB-3E DOM-run[3]=NC little-*child
  S/he saw the child run, carrying it/him/her.
  Ga'at wil t dibaɣhl hlgutk'ihlkw.

- ká?-ə-ɬ wil-t tə-páx̣-[t]=s [t] Chrìs
  see.s.-CTL-3 SUB-3E DOM-run[3]=DC [DM] C.
  S/he saw Chris run, carrying it/ him/her.
  Ga'at wil t dibaɣs Chris.

- the following noun has primary stress and corefers with the suffix pronoun:

- ká?-ə-ɬ wil-t tə-páx̣-[t]=ɬ ɬku-tx̌íɬkʷ
  see.s.-CTL-3 SUB-3E DOM-run[3]=NC little-*child
  S/he saw him/her run, carrying a/the child.
  Ga'at wil t dibaɣhl hlgutk'ihlkw.

- ká?-ə-ɬ wil-t tə-páx̣-[t]=s [t] Chrís
  see.s.-CTL-3 SUB-3E DOM-run[3]=DC [DM] C.

S/he saw him/her run, carrying Chris.
Ga'at wil t dibagɣs Chris.

(b) pronoun phonologically present on the surface when a postclitic ooccurs after the verb:

- ká?-ə-twil-ttə-páx̱-t==a?=ɬ ɬku-tx̌íɬkʷ
  see.s.-CTL-3SUB-3EDOM-run-3==ASST=NClittle-*child
  S/he saw it/him/her actually run,carrying a/the child.
  Ga'at wilt dibagɣda'ahl hlgutk'ihlkw.

- ká?-ə-twil-ttə-páx̱-t==a?=s[t]Chrìs
  see.s.-CTL-3SUB-3EDOM-run-3==ASST=DC[DM]C.
  S/he saw Chris actually run, carrying him/her.
  Ga'at wilt dibagɣda'as Chris.

7.2.A.1.a.2.b. The 3rd person plural suffix pronoun (-tì:t) *-diit*: The 3rd person plural suffix (-tì:t) *-diit* is peculiar both in its formation and its distribution.

- It is not a single suffix, but consists of the Indefinite personal suffix (-tì:) *dii* (7.2.A.1.b.) followed by the 3rd person suffix -t.

- When added to a clause predicate, it is used consistently only to refer to a plural Agent (E argument). When referring to a plural Object or Possessor (A argument), it is used only for humans (or animals and other characters given human characteristics in stories), and cannot corefer with a noun as -t does (7.2.A.1.a.2.b.2.(b)). For other referents, such as ordinary objects and animals, -t is used for both singular and plural. This distinction between humans and non-humans is characteristic of YFS speech, but in Boas and with some very old speakers, -t alone is often used to refer to groups of humans as well. This suggests that the present use of the compound suffix is fairly recent.

7.2.A.1.a.2.b.1. Use in transitive clause:

7.2.A.1.a.2.b.1.a. In predicate-focused transitive clauses:

- ká?-ti:t — They saw it/him/her/them.
  see.s.-3P — *Ga'adiit*
- ká?-ti:t=ɬ ɬku-tx̌íɬkʷ — They saw the child.
  see.s.-3P=NC little-*child — *Ga'adiitɬ hlgutk'ihlkw.*
- ká?-ti:t [t] Chrís — They saw Chris.
  see.s.-3P [DM] C. — *Ga'adiit (t) Chris*

The CTL suffix (-ə-) is never added to the verb stem before the suffix (-ti:t) *-diit.* (See 7.2.A.3.b. for an explanation).

7.2.A.1.a.2.b.1.b. In regular transitive clause:

In a regular transitive clause, the plural suffix can be used as Agent coreferent or as Object pronoun. The difference is usually clear from the context, but the preferred interpretation is that of Agent coreferent.

(1) referring to plural Agent: the plural suffix corefers with the 3E clitic which precedes the verb:

- wil-t ká?-ti:t — ... as/when/where they saw it/him/her.
  SUB-3E see.s.-3P — ... *wilt ga'adiit*
- wil-t ká?-ti:t=ɬ ɬku-tx̌íɬkʷ — ... as/when/where they saw the child.
  SUB-3E see.s.-3P=NC little-*child — ... *wilt ga'adiitɬ hlgutk'ihlkw.*
- wil-t ká?-ti:t [t] Chrís — ... as/when/where they saw Chris.
  SUB-3E see.s.-3P=DC [DM] C. — ... *wilt ga'adiit (t) Chris*

(2) referring to Plural human Object: when an Object noun is not present in the clause:

- wil-t ká?-[t]=ɬ ɬ̓kupa:-tɬ̓íɬkʷ
  SUB-3E see.s.-3P=NC little.PL-*child
  ... as/when/where s/he saw the children.
  ... *wilt ga'ahl ɬ'ubatɬ'ihɬkw.*

- wil-t ká?-[t]=s tip Chríṣ
  SUB-3E see.s.-3P=DC DM.PL C.
  ... as/when/where s/he saw Chris "and them".
  ... *wilt ga'as dip Chris*

- wil-t ká?-ti:t — ... as/when/where s/he saw them.
  SUB-3E see.s.-3P — ... *wilt ga'adiit*

- nə wil ká?-ti:t — ... as/when/where I saw them.
  1S.E SUB see.s.-3P — ... *n:' wil ga'adiit*

Compare with a non-human Object:

- wil-t ká?-[t]=ɬ ɬ̓kupa: smáx
  SUB-3E see.s.-3P=NC little.PL bear
  ... as/when/where s/he saw the bear cubs.
  ... *wilt ga'ahl ɬ'uba smax.*

- wil-t ká?-t — ... as/when/where s/he saw it/them.
  SUB-3E see.s.-3 — ... *wilt ga'at*

7.2.A.1.a.2.b.2. Use in possessive noun-phrase: (see 3.2.A.2.a.).

The plural suffix is used when referring to two or more human possessors, not normally to non-human ones.

(a) single object, several possessors (human):

- wìlp-[t]=ɬ **kát tip kùs[t]** 'those people's house'
  house-[3]=NC people DM.PL that ***wilphl gat dip gus***

- wìlp-[t]=s **tip Péter** 'Peter "and them"'s house'
  house-[3]=DC DM.PLP. ***wilps dip Peter***

- wìlp-**ti:t** 'their house'
  house-3P ***wilpdiit***

(b) individually distributed possessions:

- human possessors:

- qa-ʔasisàỷ-**t**]=ɬ **x̌upa:-tx̌íɬkʷ** 'the children's feet'
  DIST-feet-[3]=NC little.PL-*child ***ga'asisaýhl k'uc̓atk'ihlkw***

- qa-ʔasisàỷ **ti:t** 'their feet'
  DIST-feet-3P ***ga'asisaýdiit***

- non-human possessors:

- qa-ʔasisàỷ-**t**]=ɬ **č̓ú:č̓** 'the birds' feet'
  DIST-feet-[3]=NC bird ***ga'asisaýhl ts'uuts'***

- qa-ʔasisàỷ **t** 'their feet'
  DIST-feet-3 ***ga'asisaýt***

7.2.A.1.b. Indefinite personal suffix (-ti:) *-dii*:

The indefinite personal sugffix is used only with P_A's, never with P_{EA}'s. Unlike the other personal suffixes, it can be used both in regular and predicate-focused

clauses, although the former is more common:

Reg. •cəkaxḳú=ɬtim mí:luk^{w}-ti: When is the dance going to be?
IRR when?=NC FUT dance-... *Ji gaxguhl dim miilukwdii?*

• naxn̓á-(y)ə-ỷ willoq̓ali:=yé:-ti:qalá:n-ỷ
hear.s.-CTL-1S SUB following=walk-... behind-1S
I heard [someone] walking behind me.
Naxn̓ayiỷ wil lok̲'aliiyeedii galaaniỷ.

• ʔaḳú==y)əmaʔ=ɬhu)wíl-ti: I wonder what's going on?
what==DUB=NC ASP)be/act-... *Aguyima'ahl huwildii?*

P.-Foc. •timmí:luk^{w}-ti:t̓á:yuw̓in Tonight there is a dance.
FUT dance-... tonight *Dim miilukwdii t'aayuw̓in.*

Some occurrences of this suffix with nouns parallel those of the frozen suffix (-ta) *-da* (7.2.A.1.c.) and hint to a former plural meaning (see also 7.1.B.2.b.2, Numerals used as suffixes).

7.2.A.1.c. The frozen suffix (-ta) *-da*:

This suffix was probably originally a variant of the impersonal suffix (-ti:) *-dii*. It occurs only in a few words with mass or plural meaning, where it is felt to be part of the word itself, although some peculiarities of use show its original meaning.

7.2.A.1.c.1. qó:-ta '(mass, group) to be gone'
*all.gone *gooda*

This word never takes the 3P suffix (-ti:t) *-diit*, only the 3 suffix, as in:

- ɬa: qó:-**ta**-t — They're/It's all gone.
  now *all.gone-...-3 — *Hlaa goodat.*

- ɬa: qó:-**ta**-t==a?=ɬwinè:x-m̓ — (Believe it or not) our food is all gone!
  now *all.gone-...-3==ASST=NC food-1P — *Hlaa goodada'ahl wineeyim̓!*

- ɬa:ỷaqa=qó:-**ta**-[t]=ɬkàt
  now downhill=*all.gone-...-[3]=NC people
  The people have all gone down to the waterfront.
  Hlaa ỷagagoodahl gat.

The sequence -**ta**-t *-da-t* is exactly parallel to the compound structure -ti:-t *-dii-t* of the 3P suffix (7.2.A.1.a.2.b.).

7.2.A.1.c.2. ... *hí:-**ta** — '(pl) to say "..."
say.PL-... — ... *hiida*

This word, the singular form of which is **yá** 'to say "..."' *ya*, is a single exception to all Nisgha verbs, in that it never takes a personal suffix. It is always used with a preceding E clitic, which is phonologically bound to it, and which, in the plural form, corefers with the suffix (-ta) *-da*:

... nə yá — '"...", I said/say'
1S.E say — ... *ni ya*

.. t yá > təyá — '"...", s/he said/says'
3E say — ... *diya*

.. t hí:-**ta** > təhí:ta — '"...", they said'
3E say.PL-... — ... *dihiida*

.. mə sim hí:-**ta** — '[you (pl.)] Say "..."'
2E 2E say.PL-... — ... *mi sim hiida*

Unlike the case in other verbs, the plural suffix is still used here when followed by a coreferring nominal:

.. t hí:-**ta** > təhí:ta-[t]=ɬ kàt	'"...", the people said/say'
3E say.PL-...-[3]=NC people	... *dihiidahl gat*

7.2.A.1.c.3.	há-**ta**	'there is a breeze'
	air-...	***hada***

This word is used as an ambient predicate, usually in the expression:

čù:sk-mhá-**ta**	There is a light breeze.
little-ATT air-...	*Ts'uusgim **hada**.*

If the word is analyzed into stem and suffix instead of considered a single ambient predicate, the sentence above shows the suffix used in a predicate-focused clause, paralleling the use of {-ti:} *-dii* (but not of other personal suffixes) in such clauses (7.2.A.1.b.).

7.2.A.1.c.4.	*ʔó:-**ta**	'protective covers, (esp. now) diapers'
	*protect.s.ʔ-...	***ooda***

In the modern meaning ('diapers') of this word, the suffix is fully integrated semantically and the resulting noun can occur with all personal suffixes, including the 3rd plural suffix:

- timsix)sitxé:x^{W}-T-ə-n=ɬ ɬə qa-**ʔó:ta**-ti:t
  FUT PL)change.s.-DEF-CTL-2S=NC the DIST-diapers-3P
  [I want you to] change their diapers!
  Dim sixsityeexwdinhl hla ga'oodadiit.

7.2.A.2. <u>The Relative suffix {-(ə)t}</u>:

The Relative suffix {-(ə)t} *-t/-it/-at* has the shape /t/ after vowel and /ət/ *-it/-at* after consonant. It can be added to all P_A's (see Focusing, 4.7.A.).

(a) With a noun: in a question, it relativizes the possessor.

- nà:=ɬ pó:t-ət ʔa=s[t]kùsti — Whose boat is that?
  who=NC boat-... PREP=DC [DM] that.Q — *Naahl boodit as gusdi?*

(b) With an intransitive verb or adjective: it relativizes the Subject:

- nà:=ɬ ʔax̱húksk^{W}-ət — Who isn't here/didn't come?
  who=NC not be.present-... — *Naahl ax̱ huksgwit?*

- ʔak̓ù=ɬ ǩa:ẇi:n̓ák^{W}-ət — Which is the longest?
  who=NC most long-... — *Aguhl k'aa ẇiin̓agwit?*

- k^{W}iná:ti:=ɬ wílp luk^{W}ɬi=hìtk^{W}-ɔt ɬàx^{W}-[t]=ɬháp̓isk^{W}
  surprise!=NC house under=stand-... underside-[3]=NC grass
  To his surprise, there was a house standing right underneath the grass.
  (127.13-14) *Gwinaadiihl wilp lukwhlihitgwit hlaxwhl hap'iskw.*

(c) Some relativized P_A's can be used as nouns:

qa-simútk^{W}s-ət — 'believers', hence 'Christians'
DISTR-believe-... — *gasimutkwsit*

t̓imć́é:q-ət — 'bowman [in canoe]'
bow-... — *t'imts'eegat*

7.2.A.3. The Control suffix {-ə-}:

The suffix {-ə-} (-y̓ə- after vowel) *-yi-/-i-/-a-* is not part of the citation form of a transitive verb, but is added to it in predicate-focused clauses (4.4.)

before the personal suffix which indicates the Agent, with the exception of the 3P suffix (-ti:t) *-diit* (7.2.A.3.b.). (Note that the 3 suffix (-t) often does not occur phonologically before a connective, because of the rule of Consonant-deletion, 10.2.A.2.b.1.c.). The suffix (-ə-) seems to indicate that the following personal suffix is the Agent, therefore that the verb is understood as having an Object. For this reason the term Control (CTL) has been chosen here to identify this suffix.

7.2.A.3.a. Conditions of occurrence:

Because of the rules of vowel-insertion before resonant (10.1.A.1.a.2.d.2.(a)) and after /ʔ/ (2.1.B.3.b.3.b.) and Vowel-deletion after resonant (except /ʔ/), the suffix (-ə-) is not always phonologically present on the surface, and it may also be confused with an epenthetic vowel, especially before a personal suffix consisting of a resonant, such as (-y̓) '1S', (-n) '2S', (-m̓) '1P' (7.2.A.1.a.). It does not occur at all before the 3P suffix (-ti:t) *-diit* (7.2.A.3.b.).

The presence of the CTL suffix before the suffixes (-t) '3' and (-sim̓) '2P' differentiates a transitive verb from a possessed noun used as clause predicate:

- transitive verb:

ʔanó:q-ə-t	S/he likes/liked it.
like.s.-...-3	*Anoogat.*
ʔanó:q-ə-sim̓==a:	Do/Did you (pl.) like it?
like.s.-...-2P==Q	*Anoogasima?*

- noun:

hasáq-t	S/he wants it (lit. [it's] h. want).
desire-3	*Hasaqt.*

haséq-sim̓==a:	Do you (pl.) want it ([is it] your want?).
desire-2P==Q	*Hasɛ̓ksima?*

Noun and transitive verb forms are identical before the other personal suffixes which trigger vowel insertion since they consist of resonants:

ʔanó:q-ə-ỷ > ʔanó:qaỷ	I like/liked it.
like.s.-...-3	*Anoogaỷ.*
haséq-ỷ > haséqaỷ	I want it (lit. [it's] my want).
desire-3	*Hasagaỷ.*

and before the 3P suffix, where the CTL suffix does not occur:

ʔanó:q-ti:t	They like/liked it.
like.s.-3P	*Anoogdiit.*
haséq-ti:t	They want it ([it's] their want)
desire-3P	*Hasagdiit.*

7.2.A.3.a.1. Phonological realization:

7.2.A.3.a.1.a. After vowel: the suffix has the shape /yə/ (*-yi-*) as the rule of epenthesis generally inserts /y/ between two vowels.

• kipá-yə-t ńí:ỷ	S/he waited for me.
wait.for.s.-...-3 me	*Gibayit ńiiỷ.*
• ẇá-yə-ỷ	I found it.
find.s.-...-1S	*Ẇayiỷ.*

7.2.A.3.a.1.b. After most consonants: (see 7.2.A.3.a.1.c. for Velar fricatives): the suffix has the shape /ə/ (*-i-/-a-*):

- kíp-ə-t=ɬ hó:n — S/he ate the fish.
  eat.s.-...-3=NC fish — *Gibithl hoon.*

  kíp-ə-t — S/he ate it.
  eat.s.-...-3 — *Gibit.*

  kíp-ə-ỷ — I ate it.
  eat.s.-...-1S — *Gibiý*

  timkíp-ə-siṁ — You (pl.) are going to eat it!
  FUT eat.s.-...-2P — *Dim gibisiṁ!*

- tóq-ə-t — S/he took them.
  take.s.PL-...-3 — *Dogat.*

  cətóq-ə-siṁ — Take them [if you like]!
  IRR take.s.PL-...-2P — *Ji dogasiṁ!*

The suffix occurs phonologically after stem-final non-glottalized resonants placed immediately after stress (for other cases see 7.2.A.2.a.2.b.):

- cám-ə-t=ɬ hó:n — S/he boiled/cooked the fish.
  boil.s.-...-3=NC fish — *Jamithl hoon.*

- kín-ə-t ʔa=ɬ hó:n — S/he gave h. the fish [to eat].
  give[food]to..s.-...-3 PREP=NC fish — *Ginit ahl hoon.*

7.2.A.3.a.1.c. Stem-final Velar fricatives: Since the suffix consists of a vowel, its presence causes the stem-final Velar fricatives /x/ and /x^w/ to become the corresponding glides /y/ and /w/ through the rule of Glide-formation (10.1.B.1.b.3.b.):

- wilá:x-ə-t > wilá:yit — S/he knows it/him/her.
  know.s.-...-3 — *Wilaayit.*

- hó:x-ə-ỷ > hó:yiỷ — I used/wore it.
  use.s.-...-1S — *Hooyiỷ.*

- kúx^{W}-ə-t > kúwit — S/he shot it/him/her.
  know.s.-...-3 — *Guwit.*

The glide corresponding to the third Velar fricative /x̣/, which is /h/, does not occur intervocalically after stress, but under certain conditions, an underlying sequence /Vh/ is realized phonologically as a long vowel /V:/ (**10**.1.B.1.b.3.b.1.b.). In modern Nisgha, the stems of most transitive verbs ending in /x̣/ remain unchanged before the suffix, as in

- tə-páx̣-ə-t — S/he ran, carrying it/him/her.
  DOM-run-...-3 — *Dibaxat.*

but this lack of change seems to be the result of a modern tendency to keep the verb stem intact with Velar-final stems as with other stems. Even with YFS, a few verbs have a long vowel before adding the personal suffix, suggesting that an original sequence /Vx̣ə/ must have gone through a stage /Vhə/ before deletion of intervocalic /h/ (**10**.1.B.1.b.3.b.1.b.).

- timsqa=sáx̣-ə-n=ɬ ptó? > ... sqasá:nɬ ...
  FUT barring=pull.s.-...-2S=NC door
  You'll close the door (pull it close).
  Dim sgasaanhl pdo'o.

- qé:x̣-ə-t> qé:t — S/he sharpened it (e.g. axe-blade).
  grind.s.-...-3 — *Geet* (not *Geexat*)

In Boas a few verbs ending in Velars have a long vowel and also insert /y/

before the suffix (cf. 7.2.A.3.a.1.a. and 10.1.B.1.b.3.b.1.b.):

- kúx^{w}-ə-t > kú:yit — S/he shot it.
  shoot.s.-...-3 — *Guuyit* (modern: *Guwit*)

- ksə=tə-páx-ə-[t]=s[t]txè:msim > ksitipá:yistxè:msim ...
  out=DOM-run-...-[3]=DC[DM]T.
  Txeemsim ran out with [it] ... (23.3.)
  Ksidibaayis Txeemsim ...
  (modern: *Ksidibaas Txeemsim* ...)

There are not enough data available at this point to tell whether this was a general rule at an earlier time, or whether it results from a confusion of the two rules of glide-formation and /y/ -insertion.

7.2.A.3.a.2. Surface deletion of the Control suffix:

7.2.A.3.a.2.a. After a glottalized resonant: There are very few instances of this, as most stems ending in such resonants take the Definite Medial suffix (-T) (7.2.C.1.a.) before the CTL suffix.

- pc̓áy̓-[ə]-t=ɬqís-t — S/he combed h. hair.
  comb.s.-[...]-3=NC hair-3 — *Pts'ayɬ1gest.*

7.2.A.3.a.2.b. After a syllabic resonant occurring after an unstressed vowel: (the unstressed vowel is usually the result of the Vowel-insertion rule.)

- sé:win-[ə]-t=ɬlúk^{w}-t — S/he packed h. bags.
  fill.s.-[...]-3=NC belongings-3 — *Seewinthl lukwt.*

- k̓^{w}ó:t̓in-[ə]-t=ɬtá:la-t — S/he lost h. money.
  lose.s.-[...]-3=NC money-3 — *Kw'oot'inthl daalat.*

7.2.A.3.b. Non-occurrence before the 3P suffix (-tiːt) *-diit*:

The Control suffix never occurs before the 3P suffix (-tiːt) and the verb always keeps the shape of its citation form, as in:

- kíp-tiːt — They ate it.
  eat.s.-3P — *Gipdiit.*
- kʷóʔtin-tiːt — They lost it.
  lose.s.-3P — *Kw'oot'indiit.*
- kipá-tiːt — They waited for him/her.
  wait.for.s.-3P — *Gibadiit.*
- kúxʷ-tiːt — They shot it.
  shoot.s.-3P — *Guxwdiit.*
- qéːx̣-tiːt — They sharpened it.
  grind.s.-3P — *Geex̣diit.*

The vowel that occurs in a form like

- káʔ-tiːt > káʔatiːt — They saw it/him/her.
  see.s.-3P — *Ga'adiit.*

is epenthetic, caused by the release of the glottal stop before a following consonant (2.1.B.3.b.3.b.).

However, since the 3P suffix (-tiːt) is actually composed of two suffixes, the indefinite personal suffix (-tiː) and the 3rd person suffix (-t), it is possible that the non-occurrence of the CTL suffix *before* the plural suffix may be due--at least historically--to its occurrence *between* the two components of the plural suffix, thus -tiː-ə-t (see also Tarpent 1983b):

** kíp-ti:-ə-t > kíptì:t — They ate it.
eat.s.-IMPS-...-3 — *Gipdiit.*

In this position, following an unstressed vowel, the {-ə-} suffix would be unlikely to preserve a distinct phonological identity. Since this interpretation is only speculative, is it not used in the morphological analysis presented here, in order not to burden the description further.

7.2.B. Mediating suffixes: These occur between two words or morphemes which are part of the same phrase or compound. They are attached to the first word.

7.2.B.1. The Attributive suffix {-m}: This is the only productive mediating suffix. It can be added to P_A's under various circumstances.

7.2.B.1.a. In noun-phrases: it occurs between an adjective or stative intransitive, and the noun it modifies:

ḿìtk^{W}-mʔaná:x — 'flour'
powdered-... bread — *ḿitgum anaax*

ʔuk^{W}s=ć̀àq̓asT-mqáyt — 'baseball cap'
outward=protrude-... hat — *ukwsts'aƛ'asim gayt*

7.2.B.1.b. In mediated compounds: (9.)

7.2.B.1.b.1. In mediated compound nouns: (9.1.B.2.) between a head noun and ...

(a) ... a noun:

hò:pix-mqán — 'wooden spoon'
spoon-... wood — *hoobixim gan*

(b) an intransitive verb:

qàyt-m ʔukʷs=c̓áq̓asT 'baseball cap'
hat-... outward=protrude *gaydim ukwsts'ak̲'as*

(c) a circumstantial complement:

tìkit-mlax̲-sq̓an-ló:c̓ 'sun-dried oolichans'
dried.oolichans-... on-bush-elderberries *digidim lax̲ sk̲'anloots'*

7.2.B.1.b.2. In mediated compound intransitive verbs: (9.2.A.2.)

between the verb and ...

(a) an Object noun:

kùw̓sT-msmáx 'to shoot/kill bears'
kill.game-... bear *guw̓sim-smax*

(b) a circumstantial complement:

c̓àk̓aʔ-m wil-míɬ 'to put out fires'
put.out-... where-burn *ts'ak'a'am-wil-mihl*

7.2.B.1.b.3. Between an adjective and a verb: it gives the adjective adverbial force, turning it into a modifier (5.15.B.50.):

ʔàciks-m yé: 'to walk proudly'
proud-... walk *ajiksim yee*

7.2.B.2. The suffix {-a:} ...*aa*: This suffix is widely used but not productive. As it occurs in unstressed position, it is frequently reduced, losing its length (hence /a/), and even its quality (hence /i/). It occurs:

(a) in compound nouns (9.1.B.1.): between the head noun and the modifying

noun:

ʔanàːs-a:ċimílx	'beaverskin'
skin-... beaver	*anaasa ts'imilx*
ṁàqs-a:likímtx	'[long] woollen underwear'
pants-... wool	*maqsa/maqsi ligimtx*

(b) between an adjective and a verb: this gives the adjective dverbial value: the suffixed adjective is a proclitic or modifier. Most of the morphemes the suffix is attached to are readily identifiable; however, with some proclitics ending in this suffix, the morpheme is not recognizable at present:

ʔaːm-a: wóq	'to sleep well'
good-... sleep	*amaa woq*
ʔaːm-a: híːɬukʷ	'Good morning!' (translation from
good-... morning	English) *Amaa hiihlukw!*
ṅàkʷ-a: wóq	'to sleep for a long time'
long-... sleep	*nagwaa woq*
ḵinaː/kana: wóq	'to sleep late'
left.behind-... sleep	*ginaa/ganaa woq*
ḵinaː<kana: <*kaːn-a:	'... left behind ...' (proclitic) < ??
	ginaa/ganaa

7.2.B.3. The suffix (-u:) *...uu*:. This unproductive suffix forms a small number of pre-predicate morphemes, prefixes, proclitics or modifiers (see Proclitics, 7.1.A., and Modifiers, 5.15.). Several of the morphemes it is attached to cannot be identified.

k̓o:l-u: ti)t̓á:	'to be home alone'
one[person]-...	*k'yooluu dit'aa*
ta:t-u: ʔá:t	'to go fishing with one or more persons
fish.w.s.o.-... to.fish	[on a boat], to crew on a fishboat'
	daaduu'aat
k̓ʷit-u: ʔá:t	'to go fishing alone, by oneself'
??-... to.fish	*kw'iduu'aat*

(k̓ʷit- perhaps from k̓ʷó:t 'missing, lost' *kw'oot-*)

ʔan-u:ḳiké:nix	'towards the North, further upriver'
prefix ʔan- ??-...	*anuu gigeenix*

7.2.C. Predicative suffixes:

A characteristic of Nisgha is the abundance of predicative suffixes, most of which consist of consonants, singly or in clusters. Several of these consonantal suffixes occur frequently or even exclusively in combination with each other, so that the endings of many words are heavily consonantal. However, careful comparison of the recurring components of similar cluster suffixes shows that the latter must have been originally combinations of suffixes, which have acquired a life of their own as single suffixes, although some meaning can often still be attached to the indibvidual components. In the following presentation, frequent combinations which can be glossed independently are treated as single suffixes, but where possible attention is drawn to further analytical possibilities.

7.2.C.1. The Medial suffixes (-T) and (-[t]kʷ):

These two suffixes have a variety of functions, especially (-[t]kʷ). These functions include both P_A and P_{EA} formation: depending on the particular stem it is attached to, (-[t]kʷ) can be glossed superficially as both Passive and

Transitive, among others; (-T) is less versatile, but occurs as Resultative Passive as well as Transitive. Hence the term MEDIAL used for both suffixes. Both can be attached to other predicative suffixes to form compound suffixes. Both enter in the formation of word-frames (7.3.A.).

These various meanings could be considered as independent from each other, even as belonging to separate though homophonous suffixes. But they can be reconciled with each other under the broader, more general meanings of Definite and Indefinite for (-T) and (-[t]k^w) respectively.

The suffix (-[t]k^w) was probably originally composed of the two suffixes (-T) and (-k^w), since there is evidence for the latter as well (7.2.C.2.b.3.), but in the present state of the language it functions as a single suffix. Conversely, in predicate-focused transitive clauses the combination of (-T) with the Control suffix (-ə-) (used only in that type of clause) may appear superficially to be a single transitivizing suffix (-tə-) (*-di*) but careful analysis shows that the two must be kept separate.

7.2.C.1.a. <u>The Definite Medial (DEF) suffix (-T)</u>:

The suffix (-T) can be attached to a variety of predicates and has different functions. Definite Medial seems to be the best overall gloss for this suffix. However, it is not always easy to identify, as it occurs under different shapes depending on its phonological environment, which itself is linked to syntactic conditions. In fact, unravelling the conditions of its occurrence and the guises under which it occurs is probably the thorniest problem of Nisgha morphological analysis (see chart p. 636).

The suffix occurs with both P_A's (intransitives) and P_{EA}'s (transitives) when in the predicative role, in both regular and predicate-focused clauses. It also occurs in noun-phrases, including generic possessive phrases and nominalizations of transitive verbs. The presence of the suffix is most easily recognizable in absolute final position (which occurs with P_A's) and in

predicate-focused P_{EA} clauses, where the combination of the suffix (-T) and the Control suffix (-ə) which occurs in those clauses create a syllable /tə/*di* which may appear at first sight to be a single suffix. With stems ending in vowels or resonants, the suffix is reinforced by an epenthetic /t/ which then acts as the stem-final consonant.

In regular clauses, phonological conditions create an environment in which the suffix is vocalized as /ə/, after stem-final consonant or epenthetic /t/. This happens before the personal suffixes starting with consonants (except the 3P suffix (-tɨ:t), which consists of an entire syllable before which (-T) is deleted, 7.2.C.1.a.1.a.2.d..

7.2.C.1.a.1.b.1.c.). In particular, The suffix (-T) appears as /ə/ before the 3 suffix (-t), whether the latter actually appears phonologically on the surface or is deleted before a connective (4.3., 10.2.A.2.b.1.c.). (This means that the rule vocalizing the (-T) suffix is posterior to the one deleting the 3 suffix). This causes surface similarities between forms occurring in the two types of clauses, as the phonological realization of (-T) in regular clause is identical to that of (-ə) in predicate-focused clause. The chart on p. 633 summarizes the behavior of the two suffixes according to stem and clause types.

7.2.C.1.a.1.a.1. Occurrence of the suffix (-T):

7.2.C.1.a.1.a.1.a. With intransitive verb (or stem): The suffix (-T) forms Resultative Passives (participial meaning). The meaning is definite: the action *has* happened.

kʼʷás-T	'to be broken [into pieces], shattered'
shatter-...	*kw'ast*
hiɬáq-T	'[long object] to be broken'
break-...	*hihlaqt*

OCCURRENCE OF THE SUFFIXES (-T) AND (-ə) BEFORE CONSONANT

Clause type		Pred-focused (except 3P)		Regular (except 3P)		(3P)((-ti:t))	
P_A:	/C_	-T	*-t*	-T-	*-ə-*	-T-	--
	/V, R_	-**t**T	*-t*	-**t**T-	*-tə-*	-**t**T-	--
P_{EA}:	/C_	-ə-	*-ə-*	--	--	--	--
	/V_	-ə-	*-yə-*	--	--	--	--
	/R_	-ə-	--	--	--	--	--
	/C_	-T-ə-	*-tə-*	-T-	*-ə-*	-T-	--
	/V, R_	-**t**T-ə-	*-ttə-*	-**t**T-	*-tə-*	-**t**T-	*-t -*

Morphemes are given in bold type, phonological realizations in standard italics. **t** represents the epenthetic consonant, which acts as stem-final consonant to stems ending in a vowel or resonant. (-T) is realized as the consonant /t/ before vowel; it is vocalized as /ə/ between a stem-final consonant (including the epenthetic consonant) and a syllable-final consonant. It is often deleted in absolute final position.

pís-T	'to be torn'
tear.s.-...	*bist*
má:x-T	'[boat] to be loaded'
*load.s.-...	*maaxt*

- ɬa: k̓ʷás-T-[t]=ɬ tkʷà — Now the glass is broken.
  now shatter-...-[3]=NC glass — *Hlaa kw'asihl tgwa.*

ɬa: k̓ʷás-T-t	Now it is broken.
now shatter-...-3	*Hlaa kw'asit.*

- ɬa: hiɬáq-T-[t]=ɬ?asày̓-t — Now h. leg is broken.
  now break-...-[3]=NC leg-3 — *Hlaa hlihlagahl asay't.*

ɬa: hiɬàq-T-t	Now it is broken.
now break-...-3	*Hlaa hihlagat.*

- ɬa: má:x-T-[t]=ɬ bò:t — Now the boat is loaded.
  now load.s.-...-[3]=NC boat — *Hlaa maayihl boot.*

ɬa: má:x-T-t	Now it is loaded.
now load-...-3	*Hlaa maayit.*

7.2.C.1.a.1.a.1.b. <u>With noun</u>: it forms adjectives (cf. the English participial ending *-ed/-en* used with nouns as well).

?á:ks-T	'wet'
water-...	*akst*
c̓é:c̓iks-T	'dirty'
dirt-...	*ts'eets'ikst*

ƛ̓ó:k̓-T 'muddy'
mud-... *tl'ook't*

- ɬa:ʔax)ʔáks-T-[t]=ɬ ta:ɬìsk-ỷ Now my socks are wet
now PL)water-...-[3]=NC socks-1S *Hlaa ax'aksihl daahliisgiy̓.*

ɬa:ʔax)ʔáks-T-t Now they are wet.
now PL)water-...-3 *Hlaa ax'aksit*

7.2.C.1.a.1.a.1.c. With intransitive frames: The suffix (-T) also occurs as the suffixed component of a number of intransitive frames (7.3.A.1.a.1.), as in:

- nə-ɬimxtí-T 'to be brother and sister'
[...-opp.sex.sib.-...]$_{RECIP.}$ ***niwakt***

- min-páq-T 'to have a fight'
[...-try/feel.s.-...]$_{RECIP.}$ ***minbakt***

wilmin-páq-T-[t]=s tip Pèterqan=s[t]Màx
SUB [...-try/feel.s.-...]$_{RECIP.ACT}$-[3]=DC DM.PL P. and=DC [DM] M.
...as/when/where Peter and Max had a fight.
...wil minbagas dip Peter gans Max.

- m̓ax̓-ỷímq-T 'to be bearded/to have a moustache'
[...-whiskers-...]$_{EXCESS}$ ***max̓ỷimkt***

wilm̓ax̓-ỷímq-T-[t]=s[t]Màx ...as/when Max has/had a beard.
SUB [...-whiskers-...]$_{EXCESS}$-[3]=DC [DM] M. *...wil max̓ỷimgas Max.*

- m̓ax̓-móʔon-T 'to be very/too salty'
[...-salt-...]$_{EXCESS}$ ***max̓mo'ont***

wilm̓aχ-móʔon-tT-t
SUB [...-salt-...]$_{EXCESS}$ -3

...as it is very/too salty.
...wil m̓axmo'ondit.

- m̓aχ-súkʷa-T
[...-sugar-...]$_{EXCESS}$

'to be very/too sweet'
m̓axsugwat

wilm̓aχ-súkʷa-tT-t
SUB [...-sugar-...]$_{EXCESS}$ -3

...as it is very/too sweet.
...wil m̓axsugwadit.

These frames include the pluralizing (lə-...-T) *li.../la...t* (7.3.A.1.a.1.a.), as in:

lə-t̓éq-T
[...-eat.fast-...]$_{PL}$

'to eat [too] much and [too] fast (pl.)'
lit'eek(t)

lə-sk̓ʷá.y̓-T
[...-act.in.vain-...]$_{PL}$

'to rest (pl.)'
lisgwaay't

- kilòcələ-t̓éq-T-sim̓
don't IRR [...-eat.fast-...]$_{PL}$-2P

Don't make pigs of yourselves!
Gilo ji lit'eegasim̓!

- kilòcələ-*χpi č́i xʷ-T-sim̓
don't IRR [...-afraid.PL-...]$_{PL}$-2P

Don't be afraid (pl.)!
Gilo ji laχbiits'i'wsim̓!
(modern: ... *laχbiits'iixwsim̓*, see remark below)

The older plural límqsT 'to grow (pl.)' *limks(t)* (a plural of the basic type but with irregularities, see **10**.3.B.2.1.a.) which suppletes the singular m̓ás 'to grow (sg.)' *m̓as* belongs in this category as well:

- ɬa límqs-T-[t]=ɬ macaqalè
now [grow.PL-...]-[3]=NC flower

Now the flowers are growing.
Hlaa limksih̓ majagalee.

Remark: The examples in this section show the OFS pronunciation; many YFS do

not use the suffix at all in these cases, see 7.2.C.1.a.1.a.2.(d) below.

7.2.C.1.a.1.a.2. /t/-deletion: As a phonological element, is subject to deletion rules (10.2.A.2.b.1.c.):

(a) before another /t/ separated by a word-boundary: If the suffix (-T), occurring word-finally as /t/, comes in contact with another /t/, such as that in the determinate markers t (sg.) and tip (pl.) *dip* (as happens in predicate-focused intransitive clauses, 4.4.), the two /t/'s tend to merge phonologically, especially after a cluster:

- simm̓ax-y̓ímq-T t Màx
  really [...-whiskers-...]$_{EXCESS}$ DM M.
  Max has a big beard.
  Sim m̓agy̓imq(t) t Max

- nə-sip)sí:p̓in-T tip Pèterqan=s [t] Màry
  [...-PL)love.s.-...]$_{RECIP.STAT}$. DM.PL P. and=DC [DM] M.
  Peter and Mary love each other.
  Nisipsiip'in(t) dip Peter gans Mary.

- min-tóq-T tip Pèterqan=ɬ wàk-t
  [...-take.s.PL-...]$_{RECIP.ACT}$ DM.PL P. and=NC M's brother-3
  Peter and his brother had a fight.
  Mindoq(t) dip Peter ganhl wakt.

(b) between consonants in a cluster: when occurring word-finally the suffix is often deleted when placed immediarely before the non-determinate connective =ɬ ...*hl* as happens in predicate-focused clauses (4.4.). This is most likely to occur after /s/, especially at the end of a cluster, and where there is no corresponding unsuffixed form.

- hiɬáq-(T)=ɬ ʔasáy̓-y̓
  break-...=NC leg-1S
  My leg is broken.
  Hihlaq(t)hl asa'ay̓.

- ṅa:=pís-(T)=ɬ kslàẇisk^{W}-ẏ
  in.spot-tear-...=NC shirt-1S
  My shirt is torn.
  Ṅaabis(t)hl kslaẇisgwiẏ.

- ʔax)áks-(T)=ɬ ʔta:ɬì sk-ẏ
  PL)water-...=NC socks-1S
  My socks are wet.
  Ax'aks(t)hl daahliisgiẏ.

- límqs-(T)=ɬ macaqalè:
  grow.PL-...=NC flower
  Flowers grow.
  Limḵs(t)hl majagalee.

(c) before the 3P suffix (-ti:t): the suffix (-T) is deleted after stem-final consonant (cf. 7.2.C.1.a.1.b.(c)):

- wilmin-páq-[T]-ti:t
  SUB[...-try/feel.s.-[...]]-3P
  ... as/when/where they had a fight.
  ... wil minbaḵdiit.

- ʔá:m cəʔax lə-ẗéq-[T]-ti:t
  good IRR not [...-eat.much/fast-[...]]$_{PL}$-3P
  Let's hope they don't make pigs of themselves!
  Aam ji aẋ lit'eeḵdiit!

(d) in absolute final position: since most predicates are used in sentences together with other words, or at least with suffixes, some words are rarely heard in absolute final position in their citation form. As there are many cases where the suffix either is deleted, or appears under the shape /t/ which is subject to deletion rules, it is being lost from the citation form of many words, especially when it occurs at the end of a cluster. This is most common with intransitive frames, where the prefix alone is enough to carry the meaning and a post-consonantal /t/ is most likely to be lost. Hence some differences in the speech of YFS and OFS, the latter being more likely to preserve the suffix, or at least some of the alternations which show the underlying presence of the suffix (see for instance 7.3.A.1.a.1., Intransitive frames ending in (-T)).

7.2.C.1.a.1.b. With P_A's: The suffix (-T) either forms transitive verbs from

intransitive ones, or adds extra precision and definiteness to an already transitive stem, whether a bare stem or one included in a transitivizing frame (7.3.A.2.a.). In predicate-focused clauses, (-T) is always followed by the Control suffix (-ə-), causing the phonological sequence /tə/ *...di...* In regular clauses, it is vocalized to /ə/before consonantal suffix, as it is in a cluster. After vowel or resonant, epenthetic /t/ is added and acts as stem-final consonant. (See chart p. 633). The suffix occurs on the surface before resonantal suffix.

7.2.C.1.a.1.b.1. Use as transitivizer: Many stems which occurr as P_A's when bare become transitive verbs with the addition of (-T) (perhaps the meaning is causative: 'causes ... to be ...ed'). Some transitive verbs only occur with the suffix attached.

(a) Examples with consonant-final stems: In predicate-focused clause, the combination (-T) + (-ə-) occurs phonologically as the sequence /tə/ *...di...*. In regular clause, where (-ə-) does not occur, (-T) vocalizes to /ə/ before consonantal suffix. Before a suffix consisting of a resonant, the normal rule of vowel-insertion applies and there is no vocalization. The examples below show both types of clause:

- qác-T-ə-t
  spilled-...-CTL-3
  S/he poured/spilled it.
  Gatsdit.

  yùk^{W}-t qác-T-t
  PROG-3E spilled-...-3
  S/he is pouring it.
  Yukwt gajit.

  lu:=qác-T-ỷ
  in=spilled-...-1S
  Pour me some! [into my cup]
  Luugatsdiỷ!

- háć-T-ə-[t]=ɬ smàx
  *bite-...-CTL-[3]=NC bear
  A bear bit it/him/her.
  Hats'dihl smax.

wil-t háć-T-[t]=ɬ smàx
SUB-3E *bite-...-[3]=NC bear

... as/when/where a bear bit it/him/her.
... *wilt hats'ihl smax.*

wil-t háć-T-ẏ=ɬ smàx
SUB-3E *bite-...-1S=NC bear

... as/when/where a bear bit me.
... *wilt hats'diẏhl smax.*

- ksə=wóq-T-ə-t
  [out=sleep]$_{dream}$-...-CTL-3

S/he dreamed of it/him/her.
Ksiwoḵdit.

wil-tksə=wóq-T-t
SUB-3E[out=sleep]$_{dream}$-...-3

... as/when/where *s*/he dreamed of it/him/her.
... *wilt ksiwoḵat.*

wil-tksə=wóq-T-ẏ
SUB-3E[out=sleep]$_{dream}$-...-1S

... as/when/where s/he dreamed of me.
... *wilt ksiwoḵdiẏ.*

- q̓áq-T-ə-t
  open-...-CTL-3

S/he opened it.
K'aḵdit.

yùk^{W}-t q̓áq-T-t
PROG-3E open-...-3

S/he is opening it.
Yukwt ḵ'aḵat.

- páɬ-T-ə-t
  spread.s.open-...-CTL-3

S/he spread it open [e.g. a sheet].
Bahldit.

yùk^{W}-t páɬ-T-t
PROG-3E spread.s.open-...-3

S/he is spreading it open.
Yukwt bahlit.

- sáx^{W}-T-ə-t=ɬ ʔanʔún-t
  flutter-...-CTL-3=NC hand-3

S/he waved h. hand.
Saxwdithl an 'unt.

wil-t sáx^{W}-T-[t]=ɬ ʔanʔún-t
SUB-3E flutter-...-[3]=NC hand-3

... as/when/where s/he waved h. hand.
... *wilt sawihl an 'unt.*

- ɬáɬ-T-ə-t — S/he put/threw them away.
  be.put.PL-...-CTL-3 — *T'ahldit.*

- yúkʷ-T-ə-t — S/he held it.
  hold.-...-CTL-3 — *Yukwdit.*

- ʔatá:waq-T-ə-t — S/he told the story of it.
  story-...-CTL-3 — *Adaawakdit.*

- sim-ʔálkaχ-T-ə-t — S/he translated it into Nisgha.
  [really-speak]$_{speak.Nisgha}$-...-CTL-3 — *Sim'algaxdit.*

(b) Examples with stems ending in a vowel or non-glottalized resonant (including /ʔ/): An epenthetic /t/ is added before the suffix. This new consonant acts as the stem-final consonant. With glottalized resonants (excluding /ʔ/), there seems to be some fluctuation between speakers as to whether the epenthetic /t/ is added or not.

- siwá-tT-ə-m̓ ʔa=ɬ tíkit — ... what we call *digit* [smoked oolichans].
  name.s.-...-CTL-1P PREP=NC sm.ool. — ... *siwatditm̓ ahl "digit."*

  tíkit tip siwá-tT-t — We call it [smoked oolichans] *digit*..
  sm.ool. 1P.E name.s.-...-3 — *"Digit" dip siwadit.*

  Máry t siwá-tT-ẏ̓ — S/he named me Mary.
  M. 1P.E name.s.-...-1S — *Mary t siwatdiẏ̓.*

- ɬóʔ-tT-ə-t — S/he honored her/him/them.
  push.s.-...-CTL-3 — *Hlo'otdit.*

  wil-t ɬóʔ-tT-t — ...as/when/where s/he honored h.
  SUB-3E push.s.-...-3 — ... *wilt hlo'odit.*

wil-t ɬóʔ-**tT**-m̓
SUB-3E push.s.-...-1P

...as/when/where s/he honored us.
... *wilt ɬlo'otdim̓*.

- lu:=tám̓-**(t)T**-ə-t
in=press.s.-...-CTL-3

S/he hugged him/her.
Luudam̓(t)dit.

wil-tlu:=tám̓-**(t)T**-t
SUB-3E in=press.s.-...-3

...as/when/where s/he hugged h.
... *wilt luudam̓dit*.

wil-tlu:=tám̓-**(t)T**-ỷ
SUB-3E in=press.s.-...-1S

...as/when/where s/he hugged h.
... *wilt luudam̓diỷ*.

- t̓ám-**tT**-ə-t
write-...-CTL-3

S/he wrote it.
T'amtdit.

wil-t t̓ám-**tT**-t
SUB-3E write-...-3

...as/when/where s/he wrote it.
... *wilt t'amdit*.

- wán-**tT**-ə-t
sit.PL-...-CTL-3

S/he set/planted them.
Wantdit.

wil-t wán-**tT**-t
SUB-3E sit.PL-...-3

...as/when/where s/he set/planted them.
... *wilt wandit*.

- líp̓il-**tT**-ə-t
mend.s-...-CTL-3

S/he mended it.
Lip'iltdit.

wil-t líp̓il-**tT**-t
SUB-3E mend.s.-...-3

...as/when/where s/he mended it.
... *wilt lip'iltdit*.

- yé:-**tT**-ə-t
*sing-...-CTL-3

S/he sang it.
Yeetdit.

wil-t yé:-tT-t
SUB-3E *sing-...-3

...as/when/where s/he sang it.
... *wilt yeedit.*

(c) Before the 3P suffix (-ti:t): Since the CTL suffix (-ə-) never occurs before the 3P suffix, in either predicate-focused or regular clause, there is no difference between the 3P forms in the two types of clause, with or without (-T).

- With consonant-final stem: (-T) is always deleted, as it is in a cluster (cf. 7.2.A.1.a.1.a.2.(d)), hence:

- q̓áq-[T]-ti:t
  open-...-3P

  They opened it.
  K'akdiit.

  yùkʷ-tq̓áq-[T]-ti:t
  PROG-3E open-...-3P

  They are opening it.
  Yukwt k'akdiit.

- sáxʷ-[T]-ti:t=ɬ qa-ʔanʔún-ti:t
  flutter-...-3P=NC DISTR-hand-ɔ[D]

  They waved their hands.
  Sarwdiithl ga'an 'undiit.

  wil-tsáxʷ-[T]-ti:t=ɬ qa-ʔanʔún-ti:t
  SUB-3E flutter-...-3P=NC DISTR-hand-3P

  ... as/when/where they waved their hands.
  ... *wilt sarwdiithl ga'an 'undiit.*

- With stems ending in vowels or non-glottalized consonants: epenthesis takes place before the suffix; epenthetic *t* behaves as the stem-final consonant:

- yé:-t[T]-ti:t
  *sing-...-3P

  They sang it.
  Yeetdiit.

  wil-t yé:-t[T]-ti:t
  SUB-3E *sing-...-3P

  ...as/when/where they sang it.
  ... *wilt yeetdiit.*

- ʔtám-**t**[T]-ti:t — They wrote it.
  write-...-3P — *T'amtdiit.*

  wil-tʔtám-**t**[T]-ti:t — ...as/when/where they wrote it.
  SUB-3E write-...-3P — ... *wilt t'amtdiit.*

- lu:=simóʔon-**t**[T]-ti:t — They put salt in it.
  in=salt.s.-...-3P — *Luusimo'ontdiit.*

  wil-tlu:=simóʔon-**t**[T]-ti:t — ...as/when/where they put salt in it.
  SUB-3E in=salt.s.-...-3P — ... *wilt simo'ontdiit.*

- líʔil-**t**[T]-ti:t — They mended it.
  mend.s-...-3P — *Lip'iltdiit.*

  wil-t líʔil-**t**[T]-ti:t — ...as/when/where they mended it.
  SUB-3E mend.s.-...-3P — ... *wilt lip'iltdiit.*

(d) Remark: The suffix is very productive in this transitivizing role; in particular, it provides a way to adapt English verbs to the Nisgha language, as in:

- tim kúk^{W}-T-ə-ỷ — I am going to cook it.
  FUT cook-...-CTL-1S — *Dim kukwdiỷ.*

  ntá mə tim wila: kúk^{W}-T-t — How are you going to cook it?
  which.way 2E FUT how cook-...-3 — *Nda mi dim wilaa kugwit?*

- tim fó:n-(**t**)T-ə-ỷ ńì:n — I'll phone you.
  FUT phone-...-CTL-1S you — *Dim foon(t)diỷ ńiin.*

  ʔá:m mə tim fó:n-**t**T-ỷ — You better phone me.
  good 2E FUT phone-...-1S — *Aam mi dim foondiỷ.*

7.2.C.1.a.1.b.2. Definite use with transitive verb: some transitive verbs can occur both with and without the suffix, with a meaning difference: the meaning is more definite or specific with the suffix:

- ḳíp-T-ə-[t]=ɬ kipù:=ɬ mú:s — The wolf ate the moose.
  eat.s.-...-CTL-[3]=NC wolf=NC moose — *Gipdihl gibuuhl muus.*

  ḳíp-ə-[t]=ɬ kipù:=ɬ mú:s — Wolves eat moose.
  eat.s.-...-[3]=NC wolf=NC moose — *Gibihl gibuuhl muus.*

- P.-Foc: ʔúx-T-ə-[t]=ɬ ɬku-tḳ̓ìɬkʷ=ɬ lòʔop — The child threw the rock.
  hit..s.-...-CTL-[3]=NC child=NC rock — *Uxdihl hlgutk'ihlkwhl lo'op.*

  ʔúx-ə-[t]=ɬ lòʔop=ɬ qanlu:qúyp̓aẋ — The rock hit the window.
  hit..s.-CTL-[3]=NC rock=NC window — *Uyihl lo'ophl ganluugoyp'aẋ.*

- Reg: wil-tʔúx-T-[t]=ɬ ɬku-tḳ̓ìɬkʷ=ɬ lòʔop
  SUB-3 hit..s.-...-[3]=NC child=NC rock
  ...as/when/where the child threw the rock.
  ...wilt uyihl hlgutk'ihlkwhl lo'op.

  wil-t ʔúx-[t]=ɬ lòʔop=ɬ qanlu:qúyp̓aẋ
  SUB-3 hit..s.-[3]=NC rock=NC window
  ...as/when/where the rock hit the window.
  ...wilt uxhl lo'ophl ganluugoyp'aẋ.

7.2.C.1.a.1.b.3. Use in transitive frames: The suffix is also used in a number of transitive frames (7.3.A.2.a.), where a transitive verb stem which does not normally take the suffix adds it when preceded by a prefix or proclitic with circumstantial meaning. Again, these elements add more precision to the predicate. Compare:

• P-Foc: cáp-ə-t
make.s.-CTL-3

S/he made it.
Jabit.

[ʔa ma:-cáp-T]-ə-t
[well-make.s.-...]-CTL-3

S/he fixed it.
Amaajapdit.

Reg: yuk^{W}-tcáp-t
PROG-3 make.s.-3

S/he is making it.
Yukwt japt.

yuk^{W}-t[ʔa:ma:-cáp-T]-t
PROG-3 [well-make.s.-...]-3

S/he is fixing it.
Yukwt amaajabit.

• P-Foc: timtóq-ə-t
FUT take.s.PL-CTL-3

S/he is going to take them [objects].
Dim dogat.

tim[tχa:-tóq-T]-ə-t
FUT [all-take.s.PL-...]-CTL-3

S/he is going to take them along.
Dim tχaadokdit.

Reg: yuk^{W} tim-ttóq-t
PROG-3 take.s.PL-3

S/he is about to take them [objects].
Yukw dimt dokt.

yuk^{W} tim-t[tχa:-tóq-T]-t
PROG-3 [all-take.s.PL-...]-3

S/he is about to take them along..
Yukw dimt tχaadogat.

• P-Foc: ẇá-(y)ə-t
find.s.-CTL-3

S/he reached/found/obtained it.
Ẇayit.

[tɋal-ẇá-tT]-ə-t
[against-find.s.-...]-CTL-3

S/he met him/her.
Tɬ'alẇatdit.

Reg: wil-tẇá-t
SUB-3 find.s.-3

...as/when/where s/he reached/ found/ obtained it. ... *wilt ẇat.*

wil-t[tq̓al-w̓á-tT]-t	... as/when/where s/he met him/her.
PROG-3 [against-find.s.-...]-3	... *wilt tk̲alẇadit.*
• P-Foc: káʔ-ə-t	S/he saw it/him/her.
see.s.-CTL-3	*Ga'at.*
[ʔa:ma:-káʔ-tT]-ə-t	S/he looked after it/him/her.
[well-see.s.-...]-CTL-3	*Amaaga'atdit.*
Reg: ʔá:mmətim[ʔa:ma:-káʔ-tT-t	(You should) look after it/him/her!
good 2E FUT [well-see.s.-...]-3	*(Aam mi dim) amaaga'adit!*
• P-Foc: c̓í:p-ə-t	S/he tied it.
tie.s.-CTL-3	*Ts'iibit.*
[tq̓al-c̓í:p-T]-ə-t	S/he tied it to it.
[against-tie.s.-...]-CTL-3	*Tk̲'alts'iipdit.*
Reg: [tq̓al-c̓í:p-T]-[t]=ɬ	Tie it to it! (imperative)
[against-tie.s.-...]-[3]=NC	*Tk̲'alts'iibihl!*
• P-Foc: t̓ák-ə-t	S/he forgot it.
forget.s.-CTL-3	*T'agit.*
[tx̣ap̓ax̣-t̓ákT]-ə-t	S/he completely forgot it.
[altogether-forget.s.-...]-CTL-3	*Tx̲ap'ax̲t'akdit.*
• P-Foc: hax)hó:x-ə-t=ɬ púc-t	S/he put on h. boots.
PL)use.s.-CTL-3=NC boots-3	*Haxhooyithl butst.*
[nikiɬ=hax)hó:x-T]-ə-t	S/he put them on the wrong feet.
[back.to.back-PL)use.s.-...]-CTL-3	*Nigihlhaxhooxdit.*

7.2.C.1.a.1.b.4. With Indirect Object or circumstantial complement: (-T) is also commonly used in cases where there is an Indirect Object or a circumstantial complement of a certain type present in a clause. The presence of the suffix seems to indicate that extra precision is being added to the meaning of the predicate. This happens especially after the subordinator **wila**: 'how' *wilaa* (5.16.B.8.), which introduces Manner complements, and sometimes after the subordinator **wil** *wil* (which has a more general meaning, (5.16.B.7.), when introducing an Indirect Object or a Goal complement. Compare the following examples (all of which have regular clauses, as the verbs in question follow a subordinator, 4.3.):

- ni-ki:tip wilá:x-t
  not-INTS 1P.E know.s.-3
  We don't know h./didn't recognize h.
  Nigii dip wilaaxt.

  nta tim tip **wila**: wilá:x-T-t
  which.way FUT 1P.E how know.s-...-3
  How are we going to recognize h.?
  *Nda dim dip **wilaa** wilaayit?*

- nà:tim-t?an hó:x-t
  who FUT-3E REL.E use.s.-3
  Who is going to use/wear it?
  Naa dimt an hooxt?

  nta mə tim **wila**: hó:x-T-t
  which.way 2E FUT how use.s-...-3
  How are you going to use it?
  *Nda mi dim **wilaa** hooyit?*

  ?akù mə tim **wil** hó:x-T-t
  what 2E FUT SUB use.s-...-3
  What are you going to use it for?
  *Agu mi dim **wil** hooyit?*

A similar use obtains with Jussive verbs built on transitive stems (7.1.B.1.a.1.b., 7.3.A.2.a.1.), which can be used with or without an Indirect Object corresponding to the actual performer of the action (as opposed to the person ordering it done). If this Indirect Object is mentioned in the sentence, the (-T) suffix is used (7.3.A.2.a.1.), but not if it is left unmentioned, as in the following pairs of sentences:

• P-Foc: kʷin-q̓úc-ə-ɬ[t]=s[t]Màry=ɬ qís-t Mary had her hair cut.
JUSS-cut.s.-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] M.=NC hair-3 *Gwin-k'ojis Maryhl gest.*

kʷin-q̓úc-T-ə-[t]=s[t]Màry=ɬ qís-t ʔa=s[t]Lúcy
JUSS-cut.s.-...-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] M.=NC hair-3 PREP=DC [DM] L.
Mary had her hair cut by Lucy/
Mary had Lucy cut her hair.
Gwin-k'otsdis Maryhl gest as Lucy.

• Reg: ntá wil-t kʷin-q̓úc-[t]=[s][t]Màry=ɬ qís-t
which.way SUB-3E JUSS-cut.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M.=NC hair-3
Where did Mary have her hair cut?
Nda wilt gwin-k'ots Maryhl gest?

ná: wil-t kʷin-q̓úc-T-[t]=[s][t]Màry=ɬ qís-t
JUSS-cut.s.-...-[3]=DC [DM] M.=NC hair-3 PREP=DC [DM] L.
By whom did Mary have her hair cut?
Who did Mary get to cut her hair?
Naa wilt gwin-k'ojis Maryhl gest?

In this case also, the clause which includes the suffix gives more definite information than the one without.

7.2.C.1.a.1.c. Use in noun-phrase: The suffix can also occur in a noun-phrase, after the Restrictive particle ɬə *hli/hla* (6.1.B.2.), with the meaning 'the ... (of the ..),' where the first noun is either a possessed noun, or a nominalized transitive verb. The morphosyntactic frame (7.3.B.1.b.) is:

ɬə [...]-T-t (=S/ɬ Noun) 'the ... of the ...'
the [N/P_{EA}]-DEF-3 ...(DC/NC N) *hli/hla [...]/(d)is.../(d)ihl ...*

When framing a noun, this frame results in a noun-phrase expressive of generic possession; with a transitive verb, it results in a nominalization.

7.2.C.1.a.1.c.1. Framing a noun:

With a noun as its first component, this frame differs from a possessive noun-phrase preceded by ɬə *hli/hla* expressing alienated possession (3.2.A.2.b.1.), in that the first noun takes the suffix (-T). The meaning os this frame is 'the [particular type of] ... of a/the ....' Compare:

- ẇá-(y)ə-ỷ=ɬ ɬə ỷàns-[t]=ɬq̓ó:qst
find.s.-CTL-1S=NC the leaf-[3]=NC maple

I found a maple leaf (the leaf of a maple).
Ẇayiýhl hli ýanshl k̲'ook̲st.

ẇi:t̓ís=ɬ ɬə ỷàns-T-[t]=ɬ q̓ó:qst
big=NC the leaf-...-[3]=NC maple

The leaf of the maple is large/
Maple leaves are large.
Ẇiit'ishl hli ýansihl k̲'ook̲st.

The forms of the suffix in the nominalizing frame have the same morphophonemic distribution as in other P_A's in regular clause (7.2.C.1.a.1.a.1.):

(a) After stem-final consonant: surface realization is vocalic:

- ɬə ỷàns-T-[t]=ɬ q̓ó:qst
the leaf-...-[3]=NC maple

'the leaf of the maple, the maple leaf'
hli ýansihl k̲'ookst

ɬə ỷàns-T-t
the leaf-...-3

'the leaf [of the maple]'
hli ýansit

- ɬə x̣hé:q-T-[t]=ɬsq̓an-ló:c̓
the blossoms-...-[3]=NC bush-elderberries

'the blossoms of the elderberry bush'
hla x̲heegahl sk̲'anloots'

ɬə x̣hé:q-T-t
the blossoms-...-3

'the blossoms [of the elderberry bush]'
hla x̲heegat

(b) <u>After vowel or resonant</u>: epenthetic /t/ followed by vocalic realization:

- ɬə wà-tT-[t]=s[t]ʔan-m̓ò:q-m+há:t 'the name of "Gutsucker"'
  the name-...-[3]=DC [DM] CAUS-suck-ATTR+guts *hli wadis Anm̓oogam-Haat*

  ɬə wà-tT-t 'the name he had ["Gutsucker"]'
  the name-...-3 *hli wadit*

- ɬə qàn-tT-[t]=ɬ q̓ó:qst 'the trunk of the maple tree'
  the tree-...-[3]=NC maple *hla gandihl k̲'ookst*

  ɬə qàn-tT-t 'the trunk [of the tree]'
  the tree-...-3 *hla gandit*

- ɬə mòʔon-tT-[t]=ɬ x̣-súp-ỷ 'the salt in my soup [that I am eating]'
  the salt-...-[3]=NC eat-<u>soup</u>-1S *hli mo'ondihl x̲subiý*

  ɬə mòʔon-tT-t 'the salt in it'
  the salt-...-3 *hli mo'ondit*

- ɬət̓imlàn[x]-tT-[t]=ɬksláẇisk^{w} 'the collar of the shirt'
  the neck-...-[3]=NC shirt *hli t'imlandihl kslaẇiskw*

  ɬət̓imlàn[x]-tT-t 'the collar [of the shirt]'
  the neck-...-3 *hli t'imlandit*

(see **10**.2.A.2.b.2.b.2.(b) for /X/-deletion)

- ɬəqa-q̓ìsaʔ-tT-[t]=ɬ m̓áqs 'the knees of the pants'
  the DISTR-knee-...-[3]=NC pants *hla gak̲'esa'adihl m̓ak̲s*

  ɬəqa-q̓ìsaʔ-tT-t 'the knees [of the pants]'
  the DISTR-knee-...-3 *hla gak̲'esa'adit*

7.2.C.1.a.1.c.2. Nominalizations of P_{EA}: P_{EA}'s can be nominalized for use as Adjuncts (4.5.) by using the particle ɬə *hli/hla* (6.1.B.2.) before the verb instead of the E clitic pronoun, and the suffix (-T) before the A suffix pronoun, whether the verb in its predicative role normally takes the suffix or not. This structure is exactly the same as that of the nominalizing morphosyntactic frame used for generic possession of nouns (7.2.C.1.a.1.c.1.). As with a verb occurring in a regular clause, (-T) appears as /ə/ after consonant, with epenthetic /t/ followed by /ə/ after vowel or resonant.

(a) consonant-final stem:

- verb without (-T):

- yùkʷ-tlípkʷ-[t]=ɬ náq̓ — She is sewing the dress.
  PROG-3E sew.s.-[3]=NC dress — *Yukwt lipkʷhl nak̓'.*

- yùkʷ-tlíc̓x-[t]=ɬ ʔanɬù:t̓ukʷs-mt̓imísT
  PROG-3E read.s.-[3]=NC valuable-ATTR writing
  S/he is reading the Bible.
  Yukwt litsɣhl Anhluut'ukwsim T'imis.

- verb with (-T):

- yùkʷ-t[tq̓al=lip)lípkʷ-T]-[t]=ɬqanm̓ála?
  PROG-3E [against=PL)sew.s.-...-][3]=NC dress
  She is sewing on the buttons.
  Yukwt tɬ'alliplipgwihl ganm̓ala'a.

- Nominalization:

- ɬə lípkʷ-T-[t]=ɬ náq̓ — 'the seam of the dress, [the] sewing [of]
  the sew.s.-...-[3]=NC dress — a/the dress' *hli lipgwihl nak̓'.*

- ɬə líc̓x-T-[t]=ɬ ʔanɬù t̓uk^{w}s-m t̓imísT 'the] reading [of] the Bible'
  the read.s.-[3]=NC valuable-ATTR writing *ɬli litspaɬ Anɬluut'ukwsim T'imis*

(b) vowel-final stem:

- verb without (-T):

- wɪl-t naχn̓á-[t]=ɬ wɪl limx-tɪ ... as/when s/he heard someone singing.
  SUB-3E hear.s.-[3]=NC SUB sing-IMPS ... *wilt naχn̓aɬ wil limxdii.*

- Nominalization:

- ʔá:m=ɬ ɬə naχn̓á-tT-t It sounded nice.
  good-NC the hear.s.-...-3 (lit. the hearing of it was good)
  Aamɬ ɬli naχn̓adit.

(c) resonant-final stem:

- verb with (-T):

- yùk^{w}-tn̓i:=t̓ám-tT-[t]=ɬ límx S/he is writing down the song.
  PROG-3E down=write.s.-...-[3]=NC sing *Yukwt n̓iit'amdiɬ limx.*

- Nominalization:

- ɬə n̓i:=t̓ám-tT-[t]=ɬ límx '[the] writing down [of] a song'
  the down-write.s.-...-[3]=NC sing *ɬli n̓iit'amdiɬ limx*

7.2.C.1.b. The Indefinite Medial suffix (-[t]k^{w}):

This suffix probably consisted originally of a combination (-T-k^{w}), but it has acquired an independent life as (-[t]k^{w}). Like its Definite counterpart (-T), Indefinite (-[t]k^{w}) occurs on a wide variety of stems. Its uses are more

varied than those of (-T); in several uses, it alternates with (-s), which is used after Velars. It is probably that (-[t]k^{W}) and (-s) were distinct at an earlier period, rather than alternants, but had similar meanings which made it easy for them to merge into a single morpheme, hence the present alternation, which however is no longer productive: only (-[t]k^{W}) is used for new formations, some of them replacements for older forms in (-s).

7.2.C.1.b.1. Shapes and morphophonemic conditions of occurrence:

The suffix (-[t]k^{W}) occurs as /tk^{W}/ after vowel or resonant, as /k^{W}/ after consonant. The /t/ here cannot be epenthetic, for two reasons:

(a) There are instances of /k^{W}/ alone occurring after vowel or resonant, showing that there was an earlier suffix (-k^{W}) (7.2.C.2.b.3.). In most cases the stem is not recognizable alone:

wilá:-k^{W} (stem cf. wila: 'how' *wilaa*)	'to treat/handle/manipulate s. [in a certain way]'	*wilaakʷ*
ǩé:-k^{W} (*ǩ- 'one', 7.1.B.2.c.1.)	'one [animal]'	*k'eekʷ*
kí:-k^{W} ?-...	'to buy s.t.'	*giikʷ*
yán-k^{W} ?-...	'to be mouldy'	*yankʷ*

(Compare with

hin)*yán-tk^{W} PL)*tickle?-MED.I	'[body part] to give a tickling sensation'	*hinyantkʷ*)

where the suffix is {-[t]kʷ}.

(b) There is a general (though no longer productive) rule of Velar fricativization before adding the suffix (10.1.B.1.b.3.a.1.(b)), contrasting with modern examples which do not fricativize. We can interpret this contrast thus: the older suffix was {-kʷ}, so the rule K > X / C_ applied to the stem-final Velar before the suffix, but the modern suffix is {-[t]kʷ}: instead of fricativization, /t/-deletion occurs between consonants.

- older examples:

yúq-kʷ > yúχkʷ — 'to eat (< to be provided with a string of oolichans??)' *yuuχkʷ*
string.of.oolichans-...

qan-sáq-kʷ > qansáχkʷ — 'skin-stretching frame' *qansaaχkʷ*
means-stretch.s.-...

- modern example (in frame):

[ksə=ỷímq-[t]kʷ] > ksiỷímqkʷ — 'to shave' *ksiỷimχkʷ*
[...-whiskers-...]remove.from.self

The old and new rules are responsible for doublets such as

Old: máq-kʷ > máχkʷ — 'to ride (in a canoe, boat, car, etc.)' *maχkʷ*
put.s.-...

Mod: máq-[t]kʷ > máqkʷ — 'to be put away' *maχkʷ*
put.s.away-...

7.2.C.1.b.2. Uses:

7.2.C.1.b.2.a. Cases where {-[t]kʷ} alternates with {-s}:

In general, there is complementary distribution: (-s) after Velars, (-[t]k^w) after non-Velars, but (-[t]k^w) also occurs after Velars as well. In such cases, if the Velar is a non-glottalized stop, fricativization occurs, except in the most recent formations (7.2.C.1.b.1.(b)). This complementary distribution is valid for all meanings of the Indefinite Medial suffix, except for the adjectival meanings (resembling ..., having ...) where (-s) is not used (7.2.C.1.b.2.b.). However, there are also cases where (-s) alone occurs, not (-[t]k^w), without a definable meaning.

It is likely that there were originally two separate suffixes, with distinct though similar meanings, and with a distribution conditioned by other factors (e.g. (-s) may have been used mostly after suffixes, now augments (3.1.A.) which happened to be Velar). Those two suffixes later coalesced in meaning and were then restri[illegible]d distributionally. Later, the extension of (-k^w) as a result of its association with other suffixes ((-T), (-ʔs), etc.) encroached on the domain of (-s), and (-[t]k^w) now occurs after Velars as well.

7.2.C.1.b.2.a.1. Forms P_A's:

7.2.C.1.b.2.a.1.a. P_A's built on intransitive stems:

(1) Single stems: There are very few instances where a stem occurs intransitively both by itself and also with the suffix (with different meanings), as in:

ptál-**tk^w**	'to climb'	
[water] rising-...		*pdaltk'*
kúk^{w}s-[t]**k^w**	'to wake up'	
[fish] jumping-...		*gyukwsk'*

Many stems with occur with the suffix do not occur by themselves, but are otherwise found with transitive suffixes, especially the productive Causative

suffix (-ʔn) (7.2.C.2.b.1.a.1.). This suggests that the stems themselves were originally neutral, as in many pairs such as:

- *hít-[t]kʷ — 'to stand'
  standing-... — *hitkw*

  hít-ʔn > hít̓in — 'to stand s.t. up, to erect s.t.'
  standing-CAUS — *hit'in*

- *k̓ʷóːt-[t]kʷ — 'to be missing, lost'
  missing-... — *kw'ootkw*

  *k̓ʷóːt-ʔn > k̓ʷóːt̓in — 'to lose s.t.'
  missing-CAUS — *kw'oot'in*

- *k̓éːq-[t]kʷ > k̓éːχkʷ — 'to flee/escape (sg.)'
  *isolated?-... — *k'eexkw*

  k̓éːq-ʔn > k̓éːq̓an — 'to put s. to flight'
  *isolated?-CAUS — *k'eek'an*

- *qísq-[t]kʷ > qísχkʷ — 'to shut up (sg.)'
  *silent?-... — *gesxkw*

  qísq-ʔn > qísq̓an — 'to make s. shut up'
  *silent?-CAUS — *gesk'an*

- *tílp-[t]kʷ — 'to be close, at a short distance'
  *close?-... — *dilpkw*

  hakʷin=*tílp-ʔn > ...=tílp̓in — 'to bring s.t. closer'
  closer-*close?-CAUS — *hagwindilp'in*

There is no mutual implication about these two suffixes, since there are also examples in (-[t]k^{w}) contrasting with transitive verbs in (-T), most of which also have neutral stems, for instance:

*ɬán-[t]k^{w}	'to move, sway (e.g. tree in the wind)'
*sway-...	*hlantk*ʷ
*ɬán-tT-ə-t	S/he made it sway, moved it (e.g. a fan).
*sway-MED.D-CTL-3	*Hlantdit.*

These examples suggest that the original meaning of the suffix is Medial (self-directed, though not reflexive, action), but not Definite.

(2) Compound stems: To this category belong more modern examples of compound verbs (9.2.A.1.b.) with reflexive meaning, such as:

yò?oks+ćáɬ-[t]k^{w}	'to wash one's face'
wash.s.+tface-...	*yo'oksts'altk*ʷ

7.2.C.1.b.2.a.1.b. P_A's built on nouns:

(1) Possessives: This is a productive formation with any suitable noun. The suffixed forms can be used as verbs: 'to have ...' or as nouns: 's.t. one has' (see Non-intimate or Collective possession, 3.2.A.2.b.2.):

ʔús-[t]k^{w}	'to have a dog; a dog one has'
dog-...	*usk*ʷ
hó:n-tk^{w}	'fish one has, one's [supplies of] fish'
fish-...	*hoontk*ʷ
winé:x-s > winé:ks	'food one has, one's [supplies of] food'
food-...	*wineeks*

It is likely that the word **yú:x̣kʷ** 'to eat' *yuux̱kw*, formed on the stem **yú:q** 'string of oolichans' *yuuk̲*, was originally a word of this type: 'to have a string of oolichans' (something to eat after the winter shortages).

(2) Intransitives: 'to be caught/surprised by ... [time word]'. This formation is no longer productive. It is equivalent to the more modern frame **(x̣-...-[t]kw)** (7.3.A.1.a.2.b.5.).

yúkʷ̓sa-**tkʷ** evening-...	'to be caught in the bush by nightfall' *yukwsatkw*
lu:=m̓isá:x-**s** > lu:m̓isá:ks in=daybreak-...	'[boy] to be discovered in a girl's house in the morning after spending the night with her' *luum̓isaaks*

7.2.C.1.b.2.a.1.c. P_A's built on P_{EA}'s: Older derivatives express a general Medial or intransitive meaning. More recent words have a more definitely Passive or Reflxive meaning.

7.2.C.1.b.2.a.1.c.1. Older meaning: Medial or general intransitive:

lícx̣-**[t]kʷ** count/read.s.-...	'to count/read' *litsx̱kw*
pc̓áy̓-**tkʷ** comb.s.-...	'to comb one's hair' *pts'ay̓kw*
ʔá:cax̣-**[t]kʷ** reach.goal-...	'to be enough [for a purpose]' *aajax̱kw*
líɬk-**s** watch/guard.s.-...	'to keep watch' *lihlks*

7.2.C.1.b.2.a.1.c.2. More modern meaning: Passive or Reflexive: formation of Passives is productive with (-[t]kw), not with (-s).

(a) (-s) after Velar (no longer productive):

sə-kámk-s	'to warm oneself'
make-hot-...	*sigamks*
cák^{w}-s	'to be killed'
kill.s.-...	*jakws*
hó:x-s > hó:ks	'to be used/worn'
use..s.-...	*hooks*
sitxé:x^{w}-s > sitxé:k^{w}s	'to be changed, to change'
change.s.-...	*sityeekws*
wóq̓-s	'to be buried'
dig.s.-...	*wok̲'s*

(b) (-[t]k^{w}) after non-Velars (and productively even after Velars):

cáp-[t]k^{w}	'to be made'
make.s.-...	*japk▼*
qác-[t]k^{w}	'to be spilled/poured'
[liquid] be-...	*gatsk▼*
kiṅám-tk^{w}	'to be given'
give.s.-...	*giṅamtk▼*
lu:=tám̓-tk^{w}	'to be hugged'
in=press.s.-...	*luudam̓tk▼*

ká?-**tk^{w}**	'to be seen'
see.s.-...	*ga'atk▼*

(c) Passives are formed on a great variety of stems, including those with transitivizing suffixes (especially Causative and Completive).

- on stems that take (-T) to become transitive: this is a modern development (cf. end of 7.2.C.1.b.2.a.1.a. above):

• máq-**[t]k^{w}**	'to be put away'
put.away-...	*maƛk▽*
(cf. máq-T-ə-t	S/he put it away.
put.away-DEF-CTL-3	*Maƛdit*)
• t̓ám-**tk^{w}**	'to be written'
write-...	*t'amtk▼*
(cf. t̓ám-tT-ə-t	S/he wrote it.
write-DEF-CTL-3	*T'amtdit*)
• qác-**[t]k^{w}**	'to be poured/spilled'
[liquid] be-...	*gatsk▼*
(cf. qác-T-ə-t	S/he poured/spilled it.
[liquid] be-DEF-CTL-3	*Gatsdit*)
• lu:=t̓á:-**tk^{w}**	'to have been put in [s.t.]'
in=sit-...	*luut'aatk▼*
(cf. lu:=t̓á:-tT-ə-t	S/he put it in.
in=sit-DEF-CTL-3	*Luut'aatdit*)

- on stems with transitivizing suffixes (7.2.C.2.b.1.a.): the resulting combinations have a Resultative meaning: 'to have been ...'

CAUSATIVE suffix (-ʔn): (a productive pattern):

*hít-ʔn-**tk**^{W} >hít̓intk^{W} 'to have been erected'
standing-CAUS-... ***hit'intk**^{w}*

*támq-ʔn-**tk**^{W} >támq̓antk^{W} 'to have been pulled tight'
hold.tight-CAUS-... ***damq̓'antk**^{w}*

*láqs-ʔn-**tk**^{W} >láqsaʔantk^{W} 'to have been bathed'
bathe-CAUS-... ***laqsa'antk**^{w}*

ks-laχhá-[t]ʔn**tk**^{W} >kslaχhát̓intk^{W} 'to have been exalted [religious sense]'
most-sky-CAUS-... ***kslaχhat'intk**^{w}*

COMPLETIVE suffix (-ʔl):

*t̓ák̓-ʔl-**tk**^{W} >t̓ák̓iltk^{W} 'to have been folded, wrinkled'
*folding-COMPL-... ***t'ak'iltk**^{w}*

t̓ák^{W}-ʔl-**tk**^{W} >t̓ák̓^{W}iltk^{W} 'to have been wrung'
twist.s.-COMPL-... ***t'akw'iltk**^{w}*

*ɬwá:x-ʔl-**tk**^{W} >hlwá:y̓iltk^{W} '[food] to have been mixed, stirred'
*mixing-COMPL-... ***hlwaay̓iltk**^{w}*

*húk^{W}-ʔl-**tk**^{W} >húk̓^{W}iltk^{W} '[flat object] to have been rolled up'
*rolled?-COMPL-... ***hukw'iltk**^{w}*

7.2.C.1.b.2.a.2. Forms P_{EA}'s: Most of the examples of this use all end in

consonants, thus there is no unambiguous evidence that they are instances of the suffix {-[t]k^{W}} rather than {-k^{W}} (7.2.C.2.b.3.). However, as the latter is attached to less identifiable stems, and does not seem to alternate with {-s} as {-[t]k^{W}} does, it is likely that the instances in this section are indeed of {-[t]k^{W}}. The transitive meaning is probably related to the Resultative one: 'to have/get s.t. (done)'.

*líp-[t]k^{W} 'to sew s.t.'
sewn?-... *lipkw*

náks-[t]k^{W} 'to marry s.o.'
spouse-... *naksk'w*

*ká4-[t]k^{W} 'to pierce s.t.'
pierce(d)-... *gahlkw*

*x^{W}-*stáq-s > k^{W}stáqs 'to abandon s.'
?-aside-... *kwsdaqs*

*háp-[t]k^{W} 'to jump on s.t., to catch s.t. in a trap'
hold.down?-... *hapkw*

*q̓amk^{W}i:-tk^{W} 'to bless/baptize s.t.'
bless(ed)-... *k'amgwiitk'w*

*4óq̓-[t]k^{W} 'to swallow s.t.'
swallow(ed)-... *hlok'k'w*

qús-[t]k^{W} 'to jump for s.t.'
jump-... *goskw*

*tq̓ís-[t]k^{W} 'to attack s.'
attack(ed)-... *tk'eskw*

*yóx̣/*yóq-[t]k^{w} 'to follow s. (esp. a route), to use a means
pierce(d)-... of transportation' *yoxtw*

7.2.C.1.b.2.b. Cases where (-[t]k^{w}) does not alternate with (-s): forms P$_{A}$'s built on nouns:

(1) older meaning: forms adjectives: 'to be like ...' (cf. modern frame (xs-...-[t]k^{w}), 7.3.A.1.a.2.b.6.):

číp-[t]k^{w} 'to be hard'
bone-... *ts'ipkw*

qís-[t]k^{w} 'to be narrow, thin [not flat]'
hair-... *geskw*

lálṭ-tk^{w} 'to be slow'
worm-... *laltkw*

ṭú:č-[t]k^{w} 'to be black; [black] metal'
coal-... *t'uuts'kw*

miɬá-tk^{w} 'to be green'
bile-... *mihlatkw*

ʔiɬéːʔ-tk^{w} 'to be red'
blood-... *ihlee'etkw*

(2) productive meaning: '...ed, having ...', esp. with names of clothing and similar belongings (cf. (-T) with nouns, 7.2.C.1.a.1.a.1.b., and frame (-yu:-...-[t]k^{w}), 7.3.A.1.a.2.b.4.).

ʔamʔúkit-[t]k^{w} 'to have one's clothes on'
clothes-... *am'ugitkw*

púc-[t]k^{w} 'to have one's boots on'
boots-... *butsk'*

pilá:n-[t]k^{w} 'to have one's belt on'
belt-... *bilaantk'*

k^{w}ilá-tk^{w} 'to have one's [ceremonial] blanket on'
blanket-... *gwilatk'*

q̓íč̓-[t]k^{w} '[woman] to have character; (lit. to have
chin, labret-... a labret on)' *k'ets'k'*

7.2.C.1.b.3. The Indefinite Passive suffix (-[t]k^{w}s):

The Indefinite medial suffix (-[t]k^{w}) , which can have Passive meaning (7.2.C.1.b.2.a.1.c.2.), can be followed by its normal alternant (-s) in what appears to be a pleonastic (doubly-marked) formation. The combination has an Indefinite Passive (PAS.I) meaning (cf. French reflexives with Passive meaning). Compare the following pairs:

- ḵíp-[t]k^{w} 'to [have] be[en] eaten' (Fr. être mangé)
eat.s.-... *gipk'*

ḵíp-[t]k^{w}s 'to be eaten [in general], to be edible'
eat.s.-... (Fr. se manger) *gipk's*

- cáp-[t]k^{w} 'to [have] be[en] made' (Fr. être fait)
make.s.-... *japk'*

cáp-[t]k^{w}s 'to be /get made [somewhere, in a
make.s.-... certain way, etc.]' (Fr. se faire)
japk's

Sentence examples:

- haẃìn-tikíp-**[t]k^{W}**-[t]=ɬ ʔanà:x The bread hasn't been eaten yet.
  not.yet-INTS eat.s.-PAS-[3]=NC bread (Fr. Le pain n'a pas encore été mangé.)
  Haẃindii gipkwhl anaax.

  ni:-ti:kíp-**[t]k^{W}s**-[t]=ɬ čimà:ỷ Barnacles are not eaten.
  not-INTS eat.s.-PAS.I-[3]=NC bread (Fr. Les balanes ne se mangent pas).
  Nidii gipkwshl ts'imaaỷ.

  haẃìn-ti:húkax̣-[t]=ɬ timliki:kíp-**[t]k^{W}s**-t
  not.yet-INTS correct-[3]=NC FUT about eat.s.-PAS.I-t
  It is not ready to eat (lit. to be eaten) yet.
  Haẃindii hugaxhl dim ligii gipkwst.

- ʔawà?-[t]=ɬ wil?a:ma:-cáp-**[t]k^{W}**-[t]=ɬ?anhò:ya?-ỷ
  proximity-[3]=NC where well-make.s.-PAS-[3]=NC vehicle-1S
  ... where my car was fixed.
  ... awa'ahl wil amaajapkwhl anhooya'aỷ.

- ʔawà?-[t]=ɬ wil?a:ma:-cáp-**[t]k^{W}s**-[t]=ɬ?anhò:ya?
  proximity-[3]=NC where well-make.s.-PAS.I-[3]=NC vehicle
  ... at the garage (= where cars are fixed).
  ... awa'ahl wil amaajapkwshl anhooya'a.

7.2.C.2. <u>Other predicative suffixes</u>:

In addition to the Medial suffixes, there are a number of other predicative suffixes, covering a wide range of modalities. Some are productive, others seem quite old. Many occur as clusters, and only the cluster has a recognizable meaning. The classification below is by no means the only one possible.

7.2.C.2.a. Suffixes beginning with vowels: Detransitive suffixes:

A Detransitive concentrates on the act or the potentiality of the act, without any consideration of a particular object (unlike an Antipassive, 7.2.C.2.b.1.b.). Many Detransitives occur mostly in derivatives or mediated Object-incorporating compounds (which have an indefinite meaning, 9.2.A.2.b.). Formally the Detransitives all include a vowel, whether stressed or unstressed.

7.2.C.2.a.1. Unstressed suffixes: The three detransitive suffixes {-a?} (very widespread), {-aẋ} and {-iX} (both non-productive) are attached mostly to transitive stems. The unstressed vowel is inherent in the suffixes, not introduced to break a cluster, and it could perhaps represent the Control suffix {-ə-} (7.2.A.3.). Although it is possible up to a point to assign a separate meaning to the consonantal elements, the combinations function as single suffixes in present-day Nisgha. These three suffixes seem to indicate the potentiality rather than the realization of the action indicated: {-a?} seems to have a more active meaning, {-aẋ} and {-iX} a more stative or passive meaning.

7.2.C.2.a.1.a. {-a?} *...s'a* occurs frequently in derivatives with instrumental meaning, and in the verbal component of Object-incorporating compound verbs. Words formed with this suffix alone are sometimes used as nouns rather than verbs.

(1) After stop: the suffix glottalizes a preceding stop or affricate, through the rule of Anticipatory Glottalization, 10..1.A.2.a.1.)

čí:p-a? >čí:p̓a?	'to tie w. knot'	sqa=čí:p̓a?	'necktie'
tie.s.-...	*ts'iip'a'a*	barring=...	*sgats'iip'a'a*

ha-tq̓al=čì:p̓a?-m+kiwatán .
INSTR-against=tie-ATTR+horse
'bridle and bit' *hatq̓'alts'iip'a'am-gyuwadan*

ʔíc-**a?** >ʔíc̓a?	'to fry/iron'	ha-ʔíc̓a?	'(an) iron'
fry.s.-...	*iits'a'a*	INSTR-...	*ha iits'a'a*
lák-**a?** >lák̓a?	'[fish] to pour out	ʔan-lák̓a?	'end of oolichan net'
occur.as.mass-...	of a net' *lak'a'a*	place-...	*anlak'a'a*
silákʷ-**a?** >silák̓ʷa?	'to burn things'	silàk̓ʷa?-m+ʔamʔúkit	
burn.s.-...	*silakw'a'a*	...-ATTR+clothes	
			'to burn old clothes'
			(traditional custom)
			silakw'a'am-am'ugit
qílkʷ-**a?** >qílk̓ʷa?	'headscarf, kerchief'		
wind.around.s.-...	*gelkwa'a*		
q̓áq-**a?** > q̓áq̓a?	'to open things'	ha-q̓áq̓a?	'key'
open.s.-...	*k'aq'a'a*	INSTR-...	*haq'aq'a'a*

Consonants which are already glottalized remain so:

háć-**a?** >háć̓a?	'to bite; a bite'	qan-háć̓a?	'clothespin'
bite-...	*hats'a'a*	means-...	*ganhats'a'a*

(2) <u>After post-vocalic Velar fricative</u>: the rule of Glide-formation (**10**.1.B.1.b.3.b.1.a.) occurs when a stem-final Velar fricative is in intervocalic position:

ʔúx-**a?** >ʔúya?	'to hit [against s.]'	qan-ʔúya?	'boat bumpers'
hit.s.-...	*uya'a*	place-...	*gan'uya'a*
kúxʷ-**a?** >kúwa?	'*to shoot'	kùwa?-m+ná·ɬq	'[whale] to blow'
shoot.s.-...	*guwa'a*	...-ATTR+breath	*guwa'am-naahlq*

(3) After other consonants: non-Velar fricatives are not affected, neither are resonants:

má:ks-a?	'to put s. [a net]	mà:ksa?-m+?á:t	'to put the net(s)'
put.s.in.water-...	in the water'	...-ATTR+net	in the water'
	maaksa'a		*maaksa'am-aat*
hák^{W}ɬ-a?	'to hook things'	ha-m̓in=hák^{W}ɬa?	'L-shaped hook for
hook.s.-...	*hakwhla'a*	INSTR-up=...	lifting oolichan net'
			ham̓inhakwhla'a
ksax̣-kiǹáma?	'[to give] gift[s]'		
only-give.s.-...	*ksaxgiǹama'a*		
*yál-a?	'*to turn things'	ha-yála?	'auger, drill'
turn.s.-...	*yala'a*	INSTR-...	*hayala'a*
		ha-yàla?-m+ɬkimát	'eggbeater'
		INSTR-...-ATTR+egg	*hayala'am-hlgimat*
wán-a?	'to plant things'	wàna?-m+sku:sí:t	'to plant potatoes'
set.s.PL-...	*wana'a*	...-ATTR+potatoes	*wana'am-sguusiit*

Already glottalized resonants remain so:

qé:l̓-a?	'to knead'	qaltim-qè:l̓a?	'kneading-bowl'
knead.s.-...	*geel̓a'a*	container-...	*galdimgeel̓a'a*

This suffix occasionally occurs after other, older suffixes, e.g.

sit̓á:-m-a?	'to start, begin' ({-m} 7.2.C.2.b.4.)	
start-TEMP?-...		*sit'aama'a*

qác-iks-a?
spilled-?-...

'[rain] to pour' ((-iks) 7.2.C.2.a.1.c.)
gajiksa'a

7.2.C.2.a.1.b. (-aX) *-aX* This suffix is not productive. It forms nouns, adjectives or intransitives. The /X/ component occurs in other suffixes as well, where it seems to have an instrumental meaning (7.2.C.2.b.5.a.):

(1) forms nouns:

háp-aX
knead.s.-...

'lid'
habaX

(2) forms adjectives or intransitives.

cáp-aX
make.s.-...

'active?'
jabaX

lu=cápaX...=ɬ qò·t ... 'to be thinking'
in=...=NC heart *luujabaXhl goot* ...

kʷálkʷ-aX
dry-...

'thirsty'
gwalgwaX

ɬáɬ̓-aX
blubber?-...

'flabby, rubbery' (cf. ɬíɬ̓ 'ball' (orig. made of blubber))
hlat'aX *hlit'*

(3) This suffix is also found followed by other suffixes, for instance by (-T) (7.2.C.1.a.):

q̓úc-aX-T
cut.s-...

'to be tired, exhausted; to collapse'
k'ojaX(t)

by (-s) (7.2.C.1.b.2.a.1.c.2.), which causes Stop-formation, (10.1.A.1.b.2.a.1.):

*m̓ít-aX-s>m̓ítaqs
scatter(ed)-...-TR

'to scatter s.t.'
midaXs

and also by the Antipassive {-ʔsk^{W}} (7.2.C.2.b.1.b.2.), as in:

mák̓-**aẋ**-ʔsk^{W} > mák̓aq̓ask^{W} 'step'
fall.individually-...-AP.I *mak'aq'askw*

where the combination /ẋ-ʔ/ gives rise to glottalized /q̓/ (**10**.A.1.b.2.a.2.), as also in the following example with Causative suffix (7.2.C.2.b.1.a.1.):

*pás-**aẋ**-ʔn > pásaq̓an 'to divide s.t.'
divide(ed)-...-CAUS *basak̲'an*

7.2.C.2.a.1.c. {-**ix**} ...*ix* This suffix is not productive. The /X/ component seems to indicate uncontrolled action, which may continue indefinitely once started (7.2.C.b.6.c.). This suffix is found before a suffix {-s} similar to that in the Antipassive suffixes (7.2.C.2.b.1.b.), but without the /ʔ/ component which seems to indicate deliberate action (7.2.C.2.b.1.). Stop-formation occurs before /s/ (**10**.1.A.1.b.2.a.1.).

(1) before {-s-T}: (with Definite Medial suffix {-T}): forms transitives or intransitives. The action seems to continue until exhaustion of its possibilities:

qác-**ix**-s-T > qáciksT 'to pour water on s.'
[liquid] be-...-MED-DEF *gajiks*

tám̓-**ix**-s-T > tám̓iksT 'to press/squeeze s. (e.g. s.o.'s hand)'
press.s-...-MED-DEF *dam̓iks*

m̓íc̓-**ix**-s-T > m̓íc̓iksT 'to pinch/squeeze s. (between two things)'
pinch.s-...-MED-DEF *m̓its'iks*

qa)*qít-**ix**-s-T > qaqítiksT 'to be difficult, dangerous' (old word)
ASP)painful?-...-MED-DEF *gagediks*
(cf. qaqítk^{W} 'difficult, expensive')

(2) before {-s-[t]k^{w}}: (with Indefinite Medial suffix {-[t]k^{w}}, 7.2.C.1.b.): the action continues indefinitely:

*k̓^{w}ót-**ix**-s-[t]k^{w} > k̓^{w}ótiksk^{w}	'to feel lost, disoriented'	
lost-...-MED-INDEF		*kw'oodiksk̓w*
ʔan-tk̓u=*lílp**ix**-s-[t]k^{w} > antk̓ulílpiksk^{w}	'whirlpool'	
place-around-roll.round-...-MED-INDEF		*antk'ulilbiksk̓w*
*tálp-**ix**-s-[t]k^{w} > tálpiksk^{w}	'to shrink, crouch'	
short?-...-MED-INDEF		*dalbiksk̓w*

(cf. tílpk^{w} 'to be clos, neare' *dilpkw*)

7.2.C.2.a.2. Stressed suffixes:

These suffixes are not productive. As the suffix is stressed, the stem is unstressed and the stem vowel is reduced. Alternately, the stem vowel is lost, then a neutral epenthetic vowel is inserted (and adjusted to its consonantal environment), except where there has been fusion of the two consonants of the stem, as in /t̓ + ɬ > x̌/.

Compared to the other detransitive suffixes, which seem to denote potentiality, the stressed suffixes seem to indicate that the action continues over a period of time.

7.2.C.2.a.2.a. {-é:ʔ} *-ee'e*: The use of this suffix is similar to that of {-aʔ} (7.2.C.2.a.1.a.): it forms intransitive verbs, sometimes nouns, and is frequently used in object-incorporating compounds. It may or may not be significant that the great majority of the words it is attached to are built on stems ending in anterior consonants.

páɬ-é:ʔ > piɬé:ʔ	'to spread s.flat'	sqa=piɬé:ʔ	'curtain'
spread.s.flat-...	*bihlee'e*	barring=...	*sgabihlee'e*

*kát-é:ʔ > kiɬé:ʔ	'to embroider'	kiɬè:ʔ-m+tá:la	'to carve silver'
pierce.s.-...	(orig. with porcupine quills)	...-ATTR+silver	*gihlee'em-daala*
	gihlee'e		
ɬát-é:ʔ > ɬé:ʔ	'to remove things'	sa:=ɬé:ʔ	'to undress'
spread.s.flat-...	*tl'ee'e*	off=...	*saatl'ee'e*
		ɬè:ʔ-m+nóʔoɬ	'to clear the table'
		...-ATTR+dishes	after a meal'
			tl'ee'em-no'ohl
mán-é:ʔ > miné:ʔ	'to apply s.t. to	ha-miné:ʔ	'skin cream or lotion'
smear.s.-...	the skin'	INSTR-...	*hamінee'e*
	minee'e		
*(t)qát-é:ʔ > (t)qaté:ʔ	'to patch'	ʔan-tqaté:ʔ	's.t. used for a patch'
patch.s.-...	*ɬ'adee'e*	INSTR-...	*antɬ'adee'e*
(cf. (t)qatx 'to patch s.' *ɬ'atɣ*)			

It is likely that the same suffix is present also in

la:x=ʔayé?	'to throw a ball back and forth'
back.&.forth=...	*laaɣ'aye'e*

built on the stem ʔúx 'to hit s.' *ux* (cf. above ʔúya? 'to hit against s.' *uya'a*, 7.2.C.2.a.1.a.), but it is not clear why the vowel should be short in this case (cf. also the short vowel of kipéʔesk^{w} 'to wait' *gibe'eskw*, Antipassive of kipá 'to wait for s.' *gibɑ*, 7.2.C.2.b.1.b.2.a.).

Remark: It is likely that this suffix was originally composed of two suffixes, older **-éh (now represented by stems ending in stressed á), and the Detransitive (-aʔ), thus the sequence **-éh-aʔ resulting in the present

suffix after loss of the unstressed vowel and vocalization of the /h/ (Tarpent 1983b).

7.2.C.2.a.2.b. (-ísT)/(-ísk^{W}): The suffix , found only in a few words, seems to occur only accompanied by the more ubiquitous Medial suffixes (-T), (7.2.C.1.a.) and (-[t]k^{W}) (7.2.C.1.b.), so these combinations are treated here as single suffixes. Their meanings seem close to those of the Antipassive suffixes (7.2.C.2.b.1.b.), which also include an /s/ component.

7.2.C.2.a.2.b.1. (-ísT): as in many other cases, post-consonantal (-T) is being lost from the speech of many YFS and its presence can be inferred from other alternations.

skán-ísT > skinísT	'pine-tree'	
pitch, gum-...		*sginist*
ƛ̓ám-ísT > ƛ̓imísT	'to write, writing'	
write.s.-...		*t'imis(t)*
	qan-ƛ̓imísT	'pencil'
	means-...	*gant'imis(t)*
• yuk^{W}=ɬ ƛ̓imísT-t	S/he is writing.	
PROG=NC writing-3	*Yukwhl t'imis(i)t.*	

7.2.C.2.a.2.b.2. (-ísk^{W}):

ƛ̓ál-ísk^{W} > ƛ̓ilísk^{W}	'to make shakes'	ha-ƛ̓ilísk^{W}	'froe'
split.s.[wood]-...	*t'ilisk^{w}*	INSTR-...	*hat'ilisk^{w}*
wóq̓-ísk^{W} > waq̓ísk^{W}	'to dig., esp. to dig a grave'	ʔan-waq̓ísk^{W}	'gravesite'
split.s.[wood]-...	*wak'esk^{w}*	INSTR-...	*anwak'esk^{w}*

In the following form:

naχ̓ná-ísk^{w} >naχ̓nísk^{w}	'to hear'	ha-naχ̓nísk^{w}	'hearing aid'
hear.s.-...	*naχ̓nísk^{w}*	INSTR-...	*hanaχ̓nísk^{w}*

the suffix vowel has cancelled the stem-final vowel, by a rule which does not seem to be currently productive.

7.2.C.2.b. Consonantal suffixes:

7.2.C.2.b.1. Suffixes beginning with /ʔ/: A number of predicative suffixes consist of a glottal stop followed by another consonant. Although they vary greatly in productivity, all seem to have in common the meaning 'deliberate action.' They include Transitive suffixes which require an Object to be mentioned in the context, Antipassive suffixes which only imply an Object, as well as other suffixes more difficult to categorize. Some of these formations are obviously older than others, and suggest different origins for the present meanings. A few forms suggest that the glottal stop which is a component of most of these suffixes must have been a separate suffix itself in an older period (7.2.C.2.b.1.d.).

Suffixes beginning with /ʔ/ cause glottalization in the preceding segment(s). The following is a summary of Glottalization rules (see 10.2.B.1.b.) for details):

- stems ending in stops and affricates glottalize the post-stress consonant(s) (10.2.B.1.b.1.);
- stems ending in non-Velar fricatives add the epenthetic vowel /a/ before the suffix (10.1.A.1.a.2.a.(2));
- with stems ending in Velar fricatives, the merging of the fricative with the glottal stop usually causes a glottalized resonant (10.2.B.1.b.1.b.2.a);
- stems ending in vowels or resonants add epenthetic /t/ before the suffix (10.2.A.1.b.1.);
- with suffix combinations, glottalization rules function as if only the first

suffix began with /ʔ/.

7.2.C.2.b.1.a. Transitivizing suffixes:

7.2.C.2.b.1.a.1. The Causative suffix {-ʔn}: This suffix is very widespread and productive.

(a) With an intransitive verb: it expresses direct causation, by the will or direct physical control of the Agent over the Object:

lák-ʔn	> lák̓in	to wreck s.t.'	
be.in.heap-...			*lak'in*
xháykʷ-ʔn	>xháyk̓ʷin	'to capsize s.t.'	
capsize-...			*xhaykw'in*
hiɬáq-ʔn	> hiɬáq̓an	'to break s.t. (stick, bone, etc.)'	
break-...			*hihlak'an*
m̓íc̓-ʔn	>m̓íc̓in	'to pinch, squeeze s.t. (between two things)'	*mits'in*
pinched-...			
k̓ʷás-ʔn	>k̓ʷásaʔan	'to shatter s.t.'	
shatter-...			*kw'asa'an*
ké:ɬ-ʔn	>ké:ɬaʔan	'to lay s. down, put s. to bed'	
lie-...			*geehla'an*
ksáxʷ-ʔn	>ksaẇin	'to cause s. to go outside (e.g. to put a dog out)'	*(ksaxw) ksaẇin*
go.out-...			
páx-ʔn	>páʔan	'to run/drive/play, etc. s.t.'	
run-...			*(bax) ba'an*

wíl-ʔn	> wílt̓in	'to cause s. to be, to obey s.o.'s will or	
act-...		words'	*wilt'in*
čín-ʔn	> čínt̓in	'to let s. in'	
enter-...			*ts'int'in*
háẇ-ʔn	> háẇt̓in	'to put a stop to s.t.'	
stop-...			*haẇt'in*
lím[x]-ʔn	> límn̓in	'to play s.t. (a musical instrument)'	
sing-...			*limin*

(for deletion of /X/ here, see **10**..2.A.2.b.2.b.2.(b))

The suffix is almost certainly present in the following form ending in /n̓/, although the root is not fully recoverable:

qín̓	'to chew (on) (s.t.)'	
		gen

(cf. qé:x̱ 'to grind s.t.' *geex*, ha-qéʔesT 'grinding tool' *hage'es*; cf. also Completive forms ending in /l̓/, 7.2.C.2.b.1.a.2.a.).

(b) With an adjective: the Causative means 'to find s. ..., to experience s. as ..., to notice that s. is ...' (in these formations the element of deliberateness or active will is missing, but that of conscious mental activity is still present):

likskát-ʔn	>likskát̓in	'to notice a difference in s., to notice	
different-...		that s. is different'	*liksgat'in*
qásq-ʔn	> qásq̓an	'to hate the taste of s.t. (to find it bitter)'	
bitter-...			*gask'an*
x̱ɬíl-ʔn	> x̱ɬíl̓t̓in	'to like the taste of s.t. (to find it tasty)'	
delicious-...			*xlil̓t'in*

ʔaskí-ʔn	>ʔaskít̓in	'to find s.t. strange/funny/ugly'
delicious-...		*(asgi)* *asgit'in*

It is likely that the following forms, where the base is not used in isolation, are also instances of this formation:

*sí:p-ʔn	>sí:p̓in	'to love s.o. (to experience pain, not to cause it)'
painful?-...		*siip'in*
*k̓ʷó:t-ʔn	>k̓ʷ̓ó:t̓in	'to lose s.o. (to experience it as missing)'
missing-...		*kw'oot'in*

(c) With a transitive verb: the Causative has the meaning 'to cause s.o. to [verb] s.t.' (the semantic Object may vary depending on the verb):

hó:x-ʔn	>hó:y̓in	'to put a garment on s.o.'
use/wear.s.-...		*(hoox)* *hooy̓in*
wilá:x-ʔn	>wilá:y̓in	'to let s.o. know s.t.'
know.s.-...		*(wilaax)* *wilaay̓in*
sə-wilá:x-ʔn	>siwilá:y̓in	'to teach s.o. s.t., or [less often] s.t. to s.o.'
make-know.s.-...		*(wilaax)* *siwilaay̓in*

(d) Many of the bases the suffix is attached to also occur followed by the Indefinite Medial suffix {-[t]kʷ}, so that there are contrastive word-pairs, but there is no mutual implication between the two suffixes (see also 7.2.C.1.b.). Some examples of pairs are:

* sí:p-ʔn > sí:p̓in	'to love s.o.'	* sí:p-[t]kʷ	'to be sick/hurt'
painful?-...	*siip'in*	painful?-MED.I	*siipkw*

* hít-ʔn > hítin	'to erect s.t.'	* hít-[t]k^{W}	'to stand up'
stand-...	*hit'in*	stand-MED.I	*hitkw*
* sáks-ʔn > sáksaʔan	'to clean s.t.'	* sáks-[t]k^{W}	'to be clean'
clean?-...	*saksa'an*	clean?-MED.I	*saksk'w*
lu:=yál-ʔn > lu:yáltin	'to return s.t.'	lu:=yál-[t]k^{W}	'to return'
in=turn-...	*luuyalt'in*	in=turn-MED.I	*luuyaltk'w*

Some Causatives formed on nouns designating clothes seem to be back-formations from words ending in the MED.I suffix and meaning 'to be ...ed, to have one's ... on' (7.2.C.1.b.2.b.(2)):

ʔamʔúkit-ʔn	>ʔamʔúkitin	'to dress, clothe s.o.'
clothes-...		*(am'ugit) am'uk'it'in*

(cf. ʔamʔúkit-[t]k^{W} 'to have one's clothes on' *am'ugitk'w*)

kutáć-ʔn	>ʔkutáća?an	'to put a coat on s.o.'
coat-...		*k'udats'a'an*

(cf. kutáć-[t]k^{W} 'to have one's coat on' *k'udats'k'w*)

(e) In some recent formations, the Causative suffix is often followed by the Indefinite Medial suffix (-[t]k^{W}), here with the productive Passive meaning (7.2.C.1.b.2.a.1.c.2.), or by one of the Antipassive suffixes, usually the Indefinite (-ʔsk^{W}) (7.2.C.2.b.1.b.2.b.), hence new pairs such as:

wíl-ʔn-[t]k^{W}	>wíltintk^{W}	'(will, words, intentions, etc.) to be obeyed, manifested' *wilt'intk'w*
act-...-MED.I		
wíl-ʔn-ʔsk^{W}	>wíltinsk^{W}	'to obey, to be obedient'
act-...-AP.I		*wilt'insk'w*

There are also isolated instances of other suffixes, as in the older form:

* čí:x^{w}/čí:k^{w}-ʔn-x̱ > čí:ǩ^{w}inx̱ '(net) to be tangled up'
?-...-INSTR? *ts'iikw'inx̱*
(see 7.2.C.2.b.4.a.for (-x̱) -x̱).

7.2.C.2.b.1.a.2. The Completive suffix (-ʔl): This suffix is less widespread than the Causative suffix (-ʔn). Its meaning indicates that the action is carried to its conclusion, somewhat like the English particle *up*.

7.2.C.2.b.1.a.2.a. Used alone: Like the Causative suffix, the Completive is often added to stems which only occur with other suffixe, especially the Indefinite Medial (-[t]k^{w}) (see 7.2.C.2.b.1.a.1.(d), (e)).

*líp-ʔl > líp̓il 'to mend s.t.'
sewn?-... *lip'il*

*ǩ^{w}ó:t-ʔl > ǩ^{w}ó:t̓il 'to lose track of s.t.'
missing?-... *kw'oot'il*

*líc-ʔl > líč̓il 'to keep count of s.t.'
count?-... *lits'il*

*t̓ák-ʔl > t̓ák̓il 'to fold s.t. up'
folded/wrinkled?-... *t'ak'il*

*t̓ák^{w}-ʔl > t̓ák̓^{w}il 'to twist/wring s.t. up'
twist?-... *t'akw'il*

*ɬwá:x-ʔl > ɬwá:ɣ̓il 'to mix/stir s.t. up'
mixed?-... *hlwaaɣ̓il*

Unlike the Causative suffix, which is used exclusively to form verbs, the Completive suffix also occurs in a number of other parts of speech, as in:

ɬúːc̓-ʔl	> ɬúːc̓il	'pupil of the eye'	
coal-...			*t'uuts'il*
*ƛ́ilp-ʔl	> ƛ́ilp̓il	'two [objects]'	
two-...			*gilp'il*
(cf. *ƛ́ilp-a: 'twice' *gilbaa*)			
*sé:q-ʔl	> sé:q̓al	'rough-textured'	
rough?-...			*seek'al*
(cf. *sé:qs 'spruce' *seeks* ?)			
*ɬƛ́ú:-ʔl	> ɬƛ́úːl̓	'narrow'	
small-...			*hlguul'*
(cf. ɬƛ́u 'little' *hlgu*)			
*luk^{w}-ʔl	> luk̓^{w}il	'very'	
?-...			*lukw'il*

This suffix is almost certainly present in a number of forms (not all) ending in /l̓/ after a stressed vowel, where the rest of the word is only partly analyzable:

k̓íl̓	'one [object]'	
(cf. k̓ə- 'one' *k'i-.../k'a-...*, 7.1.B.2.c.1.)	*k'il'*	
xpíl̓	'ten [objects]'	
(cf. xpə- 'ten' *xbi-.../xba-...*, 7.1.B.2.c.2.)	*xpil'*	
ƛ́íl̓	'to pick/dig for s.t. [a food]'	
(cf. ƛ́úːɬ- 'to take s.' *guu-di*)	*gil'*	

7.2.C.2.b.1.a.2.b. Used with other suffixes: Like the Causative suffix (-ʔn), the Completive suffix (-ʔl) is often followed by Antipassive or Medial/Passive suffixes. In either case, the use of the Definite variant seems to be older, that of

the Indefinite seems to be more recent.

(1) With Definite suffixes: with Definite suffixes, the Completive suffix seems fo form a unit, as there are no corresponding forms without the extra suffix:

- followed by the Definite Antipassive (-ʔsT) (7.2.C.2.b.1.b.1.): it forms the adjective:

wilá:x-ʔl-ʔsT	> wilá:x̣ilsT	'to be knowledgeable, educated'
know.s.-...-AP.D	*(wilaax)*	*wilaak'ils(t)*

- followed by the Definite Medial suffix (-T) (7.2.C.1.a.): it forms a number of nouns and adjectives (in this case, the /t/ occurring after /l/ is always clearly audible):

ks-ɬáx^{W}-ʔl-T	>kslá:wilT	'to be undermost'
most-underside-...-DEF	*(kslaxw)*	*kslawilt*
ỷáns-ʔl-T	>ỷánsaʔalT	'May (lit. 'fully-leafed')'
leaf-...-DEF		*Ỷansa'alt*
sq̣úks-ʔl-T	>sq̣úksaʔalT	'to run short [of supplies]'
not.reach.s.-...-DEF		*sg̱'oksa'alt*
*ɬá:x^{W}-ʔl-T	> ɬá:wilT	'small fish-hook (for angling)'
?-...-DEF		*t'aawilt*
ʔa-*yá:x^{W}-ʔl-T	> ʔayá:wilT	'to be capable, competent'
spontaneous-?-...-DEF		*ayaawilt*

This suffixe combinations probably occurs also in words where the root is not entirely recognizable, for instance

ʔtíɬT	'to be/occur early'
?-...	*t'iłt*

(cf. ʔtíɬ 'hurry!' *t'ihł*, 5.11., and ʔté:tkʷ 'to walk fast' *t'eetkw*)

ʔcíɬT	'mittens, gloves'
?-...	*ts'iłt*

and the following numbers:

ʔqó:ɬT	'six (objects or animals)'
?-...	*k'oołt*

ʔtípxodɬT	'seven (objects or animals)'
?-...	*t'ipxoołt*

(2) With Indefinite suffixes: Indefinite Antipassive or Passive/Medial suffixes are often added to existing words ending in the Completive suffix:

- followed by the Indefinite Antipassive (-ʔskʷ) (7.2.C.2.b.1.b.2.)

*ʔkʷó:t-ɬ-ʔskʷ > ʔkʷó:tilskʷ	'to lose consciousness'	
lost-...-AP.I	*(kw'oot'ił)*	*kw'oot'ilskw*

*líc-ɬ-ʔskʷ > líčilskʷ	'to keep count, do the accounts'	
count-...-AP.I	*(lits'ił)*	*lits'ilskw*

*ɬwá:x-ɬ-ʔskʷ > ɬwáɣilskʷ	'to mix, stir (e.g. while cooking)'	
mixed?-...-AP.I	*(hlwaaɣił)*	*hlwaaɣilskw*

- followed by the Indefinite Medial (here Passive) suffix (-[t]kʷ) (7.2.C.1.b.):

*t̓ák̓-ʔl-tkʷ > t̓ák̓iltkʷ 'to be folded up'
folded?-...-MED.I *(t'ak'il)* ***t'ak'iltkw***

- There are also instances of other suffixes, as in

tq̓al=*qé:p-ʔl-x̌ > tq̓alqé:p̓ilx̌ 'to rub s.t. with s.t. else'
against=?-...-INSTR ***tk'algeep'ilx***
(cf. qé:x̌ 'to grind.s.' ***geex***)

7.2.C.2.b.1.b. Antipassive suffixes:

The Antipassive (AP) emphasizes the action being performed, leaving its Object indefinite. However, unlike the Detransitive (7.2.C.2.A.), the Antipassive implies that the action does have an Object, which is left unmentioned but may be reintegrated into the sentence after the preposition ʔa *a*. The time required to perform the action is also left indefinite, and performance may take place at intervals, as needed. Many Antipassives have specialized meaning, and some are used as nouns.

The Antipassive suffix (-ʔS) always occurs followed by a Medial suffix, either the Definite (-T) or the Indefinite (-[t]kʷ); here the two combinations are treated as single suffixes (cf. the stressed Detransitives (-ísT) and (-ískʷ), 7.2.C.2.a.2.b.).

The Definite Antipassive (AP.D) (-ʔsT) implies that there is a single Object of the action, and/or that the action is performed in a single period of time. Relatively few verbs include this suffix, and some of them can be used as nouns. The suffix is also added to a number of nouns to form new nouns.

The Indefinite Antipassive (AP.I) (-ʔskʷ) implies that there is an indefinite number of Objects of the action, and/or that the action may be performed at intervals. Most of the words with this suffix are verbs, often with specialized meaning, a few are nouns. In most cases of verbal usage, the unmentioned

Object of the action may be included in the clause as a prepositional Object (4.2.A.4.a.).

With both Definite and Indefinite suffixes, the use as, or with, both noun and verb recalls the English suffix *-ing* as in *covering, roofing*. Other derivatives may be built on words formed with the Antipassive suffixes. As with the Detransitives (7.2.C.2.a.), Instrumental nouns and Object-incorporating verbs are especially common.

7.2.C.2.b.1.b.1. The Definite Antipassive suffix (-ʔsT):

7.2.C.2.b.1.b.1.a Forms Antipassive verbs from verbal stems: The suffix is frequently added to stems with occur with other verbal suffixes, e.g. Causative or Medial.

(1) Use as single verb:

*k̓ʷóːt-ʔsT	> k̓ʷóːtisT	'to miss something (= not to see it/h.)'	
missing-...			*kw'oot'is(t)*
páːɬ-ʔsT	> páːɬaʔasT	'to butcher game'	
cut.s.open-...			*baahła'as(t)*

*líp-ʔsT	> líp̓isT	'to sew'	ha-líp̓isT	'sewing-machine'
sewn?-...		*lip'is(t)*	INSTR-...	*halip'is(t)*
síl-ʔsT	> síl̓sT	'to spin [yarn]'	ha-síl̓sT	'spinning-wheel'
dizzy-...		*sil̓s(t)*		*hasil̓s(t)*

The recent productivity of this suffix is shown by its use with an English borrowing in:

*pé:n-ʔsT > pé:n̓isT 'to paint'
paint-... *pée̓n̓is(t)*

The stem of the word **ha-q̓éʔesT** 'sharpening tool' *hage'es(t)* is an Antipassive of this type, but the root or base cannot be established with certainty (cf. **qé:x** 'to grind, sharpen s.t.' *geex*).

Sentence examples:

yùk^{W}=ɬ líp̓isT-t S/he is sewing.
now PERF=NC paint-3 *Yukwhl lip'isit.*

ɬa: ɬìsk^{W}=ɬ pé:n̓isT-t S/he has finished painting.
now PERF=NC paint-3 *Hlaa hliskwhl pée̓n̓isit.*

(2) Some Definite Antipassives can be used as both verb and noun:

kúx^{W}-ʔsT >kúẇsT 'to shoot and kill game; game killed'
shoot.s.-... *guẇs(t)*

*húk^{W}-ʔsT > húk̓^{W}isT 'to snare an animal; a snare'
snare.s.?-... *hukw'is(t)*

ʔuk^{W}s=ć̓áq-ʔsT > ʔuk^{W}s=ć̓áq̓asT 'to stick out; porch, awning, visor'
outward=nose, protrusion-... *ukwsts'ak̲'as(t)*

or as noun alone:

lílk^{W}-ʔsT > lílk̓^{W}isT 'shoelaces (lit. lacing)'
lace.s.-... *lilkw'is(t)*

The noun **kím̓isT** 'soft shredded bark, formerly used as kindling, diapers, etc.' *gim̓is(t)* also has the form of an Antipassive (*kím-ʔsT , cf. Eng. *kindling*

from *to kindle*). The root *kím *gim* recalls **kámk** 'hot' *gamk*, which has the root *kám *gam* (for root-vowel alternations, see 3.1.A.).

(3) Use as compound verb: Definite Antipassives can participate in mediated Object-incorporating compounds; the Object is a single item (9.2.A.2.a.(1)). Some of these compounds can also be used as nouns.

pè:ɬisT-m+wílp	'to paint a house'
paint-ATTR‹house	*péeɬisim-wilp*
kùẃsT-m+smáx	'to kill a bear; bear one killed'
kill.game-ATTR+bear	*guẃsim-smax*
hùk̓ʷisT-m+qáx̣	'to snare a rabbit; rabbit one snared'
snare-ATTR+rabbit	*hukw'isim-gax̣*

- ni:-ti:-tɬa:=tə-ʔákɬkʷ-[t]=ɬ **kùẃsT-m+smáxt**
  not-INTS-3E out.of.woods=DOM-able-[3]=NC kill.game-ATTR+bear
  He wasn't able to get the bear he had killed, from the forest to the village.
  Nidiit ɬaadi'ax̣hikwhl guẃsim-smaxt.

(4) Use with other suffixes: In a few instances, the Definite Antipaassive suffix is associated with a transitivizing suffix, especially Causative or Completive (cf the much more common use of the Indefinite Antipassive after those suffixes, 7.2.C.2.b.1.b.2.b.).

- after Causative **(-ʔn)** (7.2.C.2.b.1.a.1.)

tuxʷ)táxʷ-ʔn-ʔsT >t̓uxʷt̓áẃinsT	'to be sluggish, lethargic'
PL)dead?-CAUS-...	*duxwdaẃins(t)*

- after Completive **(-ʔl)** (7.2.C.2.b.1.a.1.):

wilá:x-ʔl-ʔsT > wilá:ɬ̓ilsT 'to be knowledgeable, educated'
lace.s.-... *wilaak'ils(t)*

7.2.C.2.b.1.b.1.b. Forms nouns from other nouns: The new noun means 'part [of an object] resembling ..., having the function of ...' (lit. 'noun-*ing*'; this use recalls that of the frozen suffix (-ʔ), 7.2.C.2.b.1.d.).

ʔanʔún-ʔsT > ʔanʔúɬ̓sT 'sleeve'
hand(s)/arm(s)-... *an'uus(t)*

qán-ʔsT > qáɬ̓sT '[straight] handle [of an axe, etc.]'
stick-... *gaas(t)*

ɬ̓imlán[x]ʔsT > ɬ̓imláɬ̓sT 'collar'
neck-... *t'imlaas(t)*

(for /x/-deletion see 10.2.A.2.b.2.b.2.(b))

• ni:-ti:ɬ̓imláɬ̓sT-[t]=ɬcàkit-ɣ̓ My blouse doesn't have a collar.
not-INTS collar-[3]=NC blouse (< jacket)-1S *Nidii t'imlaasihl jagidiɣ̓.*

7.2.C.2.b.1.b.2. The Indefinite Antipassive suffix (-ʔsk^{W}): This suffix is usually added to transitive stems, whether plain or already suffixed, where it is very productive. Indefinite Antipassives often have a specialized meaning, especially those which are only used as nouns. Object-incorporation is also extremely frequent (9.2.A.2.a.(2)).

7.2.C.2.b.1.b.2.a. Added to plain stems: most of these stems occur as transitive verbs without other suffixes.

(1) Use as verb: in many cases these verbs can also be used nominally:

kíp-ʔsk^{W} >kíɬ̓isk^{W} 'to eat berries while picking'
eat.s.-... *gip'iskw*

háć-ʔsk^{W}	>háćisk^{W}	'to bite' (as in: 'that dog will bite')
bite.s.-...		*hats'isk̓*
yú:ɬimq-ʔsk^{W}	>yú:ɬimq̓ask^{W}	'to give advice; to tell s.o. how to behave'
advise/admonish.s.-...		*yuuhlimḵ'ask̓*
ʔa-páq-ʔsk^{W}	>ʔapáq̓ask^{W}	'to be excited, anxious, eager [to do s.t.]; (older meaning) to be upset'
spontaneous-feel.s.-...		*abaḵ'ask̓*
tás-ʔsk^{W}	>tásaʔask^{W}	'[disease] to be contagious'
touch.s.-...		*dasa'ask̓*
máɬ-ʔsk^{W}	>máɬaʔask^{W}	'to preach, make an announcement, tell on s.o.' *mahla'ask̓*
tell.s.-...		
à:m-(ə)t=ɬ máɬaʔask^{W}		'the Gospel' (lit. Good News)
good-REL=NC announcement		*Aamithl Mahla'ask̓*
t̓áx^{W}-ʔsk^{W}	>t̓áẇisk^{W}	'to sweep'
sweep.s.-...		*t'aẇisk̓*
lúx^{W}-ʔsk^{W}	>lúẇsk^{W}	'to be "stingy", possessive, to refuse to share with others' *luẇsk̓*
not.let.others.have..s.-...		
x̱-ʔálkax̱-ʔsk^{W}	>x̱ʔálk̓aq̓ask^{W}	'to govern/reign; reign, kingdom'
claim-talk-...		*g'alḵ'uḵ'ask̓*
ɬimó:m-ʔsk^{W}	>ɬimó:m̓isk^{W}	'to help out [with money and donations as required by traditional obligations]'
help.s.-...		*hlimoom̓isk̓*

si:lín-**ʔsk^{W}**	>si:líńsk^{W}	'to hunt'
chase.s.-...		***siilińskʷ***
swán-**ʔsk^{W}**	>swáńsk^{W}	'[shaman] to blow on s.o. [to cure h.]'
blow.s.-...		***swańskʷ***
sə-tá:w-**ʔsk^{W}**	>sitá:ẃisk^{W}	'to freeze food'
make-freeze-...		***sidəaẃiskʷ***
ká?-**ʔsk^{W}**	>ká?ask^{W}	'to look [around, etc.]'
see.s.-...		***ga'askʷ***
ć́ó?-**ʔsk^{W}**	>ć́ó?osk^{W}	'to skin animals'
pull.s.apart.-...		***ts'o'oskʷ***

A few such Antipassives are built on transitive stems consisting of a verb-forming prefix plus a noun, e.g.

sə-ńáx̣-**ʔsk^{W}**	>siń́á?ask^{W}	'to bait one's traps'
make-bait-...		***siń́a'askʷ***
ksə-k^{W}ó:m-**ʔsk^{W}**	> ksik^{W}ó:m̓isk^{W}	'to take out the ashes [from a stove]'
remove-ashes-...		***ksigwoom̓iskʷ***

and the following ambient predicate is formally an Antipassive, built on an intransitive stem:

páx̣-**ʔsk^{W}**	>pá?ask^{W}	'wind; to be windy'
run-...	tell on s.o.'	***ba'askʷ***

The productivity of this suffix is shown by its use with English words, e.g.

can-ʔsk^{W} > ká:n̓isk^{W} 'to can food, do some canning'
can.s.-... *(kaan̓isk̓)*

bottle-ʔsk^{W} > pó:tilsk^{W} 'to jar food'
bottle.s.-... *(bootilsk̓)*

The Nisgha versions of these words are written between brackets, as they are by no means acceptable to all speakers. (See below 7.2.C.2.b.1.b.2.b.(3) for non-glottalization of the post-stress consonant).

An older form is the following, corresponding to transitive kìpá 'to wait for s.' *giba*; the vowel-alternation indicates that there was a different vowel in the original stem, which was most likely **kipéh *(*gibeh)* (cf. remarks on Detransitive (-é:ʔ) above, 7.2.C.2.a.b.1.):

**kipéh-ʔsk^{W} >kipéʔesk^{W} 'to wait'
wait.for.s.-... *gibe'esk̓*

(2) Use as noun: some Indefinite Antipassives are used only as nouns:

háp-ʔsk^{W} >háp̓isk^{W} 'grass' (lit. '[ground] covering')
cover.s.-... *hap'isk̓*

yác-ʔsk^{W} >yáč̓isk^{W} 'animals' (lit. 'killings')
strike.s./kill.s.PL-... *yats'isk̓*

x̱-málk^{W}-ʔsk^{W} > x̱málk^{W}isk^{W} 'deceased person's belongings given away [instead of being burnt]
receive-burn.s.-... *x̱malkw'isk̓*

wilá:x-ʔsk^{W} >wilá:y̓isk^{W} '[a] relative' (lit. 'knowing')
cover.s.-... *(wilaax)* *wilaay̓isk̓*

(3) Some are used as nouns when by themselves, as verbs in Object-incorporating compounds (see below 7.2.C.2.b.1.b.2.c.):

sə-miy̓é:n-ʔsk^{w}	>simiy̓é:ńisk^{w}	'smoked spring salmon'
make-smoke-...		*simiy̓eeńiskw*
simiy̓è:ńisk^{w}-m+hó:n		'to smoke fish'
smoking-ATTR+fish		*simiy̓eeńisgum-hoon*

In the following example, the Antipassive is used as a noun:

cák^{w}-ʔsk^{w}	>cáḵ^{w}isk^{w}	'animal' (lit. 'killing')
kill.s.-...		*jakw'iskw*

but it also enters into an Object-incorporating verb as its verbal component; this verb can in turn be used as a noun:

càḵ^{w}isk^{w}-m+qáx	'to kill rabbits; rabbit killed (lit.
killing-ATTR+rabbit	'rabbit-killing')
	jakw'isgum-gax

- ni:-ti:-t kíp-[t]=ɬ **càḵ^{w}isk^{w}-m+qáx**-t
  not-INTS-3E eat.s.-[3]=NC killing-ATTR+rabbit-3
  He did not eat the rabbit he had killed.
  Nidiit gipḥl jakw'isgum-gaxt.

7.2.C.2.b.1.b.2.b. Added to stems ending in transitive suffixes: The AP.I suffix (-ʔsk^{w}) is often added to verbs which end in a transitivizing suffix, especially the Causative (-ʔn) and to a lesser extent the Completive (-ʔl). With these suffix combinations, glottalization occurs only once, with the stem-final consonant; the suffix resonant is not glottalized (10.1.B.2.).

(1) <u>After Causative (-ʔn)</u> (7.2.C.2.b.1.a.1.): most of the Antipassives formed on Causatives are verbs, a few are also used as nouns. sometimes there seems to be no independent Causative form, and the combination (-ʔn-ʔsk^{w}), which is productive, is added directly to a stem. In the examples below, the two suffixes are indicated separately when this is the case. The combination often has the meaning 'self-actuated, acting independently.'

likskáẗin-ʔsk^{w} >likskáẗinsk^{w} 'to notice [a difference, that s. is different-... different]' *liksgat'insk▼*

kipáyk̓^{w}in-ʔsk^{w} >kipáyk̓^{w}insk^{w} 'airplane'
fly.s.-... *gibaykw'insk▼*

xstámq-ʔn-ʔsk^{w} >xstámq̇ansk^{w} 'to make noise [deliberately]'
noise-...-... *xsdamk̲'ansk▼*

sáksaʔanʔsk^{w} >sáksaʔansk^{w} 'to clean up'
clean.s.-... *saksa'ansk▼*

qúsaʔanʔsk^{w} >qúsaʔansk^{w} 'firecracker'
explode.s.-... *gosa'ansk▼*

k̓utáċaʔanʔsk^{w} >k̓utáċaʔansk^{w} 'to put the coat on the bride [as part of the traditional wedding ceremony]'
put.coat.on.s.-... *k'udats'a'ansk▼*

páʔanʔsk^{w} >páʔansk^{w} 'to drive'
run.s.-... *ba'ansk▼*

səwilá:y̓in-ʔsk^{w} >siwilá:y̓insk^{w} 'to teach'
teach.s.-... *siwilaay̓insk▼*

líḿin-**ʔsk^{w}**	>líḿinsk^{w}	'to play music; music'
play.s.-...		*liḿinsk^{w}*
ʔaẋ-wílt̓in-**ʔsk^{w}**	>ʔaẋwílt̓insk^{w}	'to be disobedient'
not-manifest.s.-...		*aẋwilt'insk^{w}*
ńít̓in-**ʔsk^{w}**	>ńít̓insk^{w}	'to bear witness, to confess'
bear.witness.to.s.-...		*ńit'insk^{w}*
*téʔ-ʔn-**ʔsk^{w}**	>téʔet̓insk^{w}	'to beat time, conduct a band'
lead?-...-...		*de'et'insk^{w}*

The combination is also used in more complex formations, such as:

ha-ńi:-ẋs-pát̓-ʔn-**ʔsk^{w}**	>hańi:ẋspát̓insk^{w}	'matting of cedar boughs'
INSTR-on-like-spread.flat-...-...		*hańiiẋsbatl'insk^{w}*
qan-sə-xpiċáẋ^{w}-ʔn-**ʔsk^{w}**	>qansaxpiċáẇinsk^{w}	'scarecrow, s.t. intended to frighten'
means-make-afraid-...-...		*gansaẋbits'aẇinsk^{w}*

(2) After Completive {-ʔl} (7.2.C.2.b.1.a.2.): there are a number of Antipassive forms built on existing Completive verbs.

líṕil-**ʔsk^{w}**	>líṕilsk^{w}	'to mend things (esp. nets)'
mend.s.-...		*lip'ilsk^{w}*
ḵ^{w}óːt̓il-**ʔsk^{w}**	>ḵ^{w}óːt̓ilsk^{w}	'to lose consciousness'
lose.track.of.s.-...-...		*kw'oot'ilsk^{w}*
líċil-**ʔsk^{w}**	>líċilsk^{w}	'to keep count of things, to calculate'
count.s.-...		*lits'ilsk^{w}*

ɬwá:y̓il-ʔsk^{w} > ɬwá:y̓ilsk^{w} 'to stir/mix [when cooking, making bread, etc. *ɬ'waay̓ilskʷ*
stir.s.-...

kíl̓-ʔsk^{w} > kíl̓sk^{w} 'to pick/gather [berries, clams, etc.]' *gil̓skʷ*
pick.s.-...

(for kíl̓ 'to pick/gather s.t.' *gil̓*, see 7.2.C.2.b.1.a.2.a.)

(3) Non-glottalization of some resonant-final stems: Glottalization occurs only once in suffix clusters such as those where the Indefinite Antipassive (-ʔsk^{w}) is added to the Causative (-ʔn) or the Completive (-ʔl) (10.1.B.2.). As the resonant which ends Causatives and Completives is not glottalized in this process, so the Antipassive suffix appears superficially to be only (-sk^{w}). This explains the occurrence of some otherwise irregular Antipassive forms where the stem-final resonant is not glottalized:

sə-móʔon-ʔsk^{w} > simóʔonsk^{w} 'to salt food' (used in compounds)
make-salt-... *simo'onskʷ*

(note the similarity of the surface shape of the post-stress half of this word with that of, for instance, sáksaʔansk^{w} 'to clean up' *saksa'anskʷ* , where the AP.I suffix is added to a stem containing the Causative suffix).

yím-ʔsk^{w} > yimsk^{w} 'to sniff'
smell.s.-... *yimskʷ*

(compare forms with the predicative suffix (-m), 7.2.C.2.b.4.)

7.2.B.2.b.1.b.2.c. Use in Object-incorporating compounds: Indefinite Antipassives are very commonly involved in the formation of mediated Objeec-incorporating compound verbs designating actions habitually done on an indefinite number of objects. Note that these compounds can also be used as nouns designating the result of the action: the English translation includes a past participle, which gives the impression of a Passive construction, but the

meaning of the Nisgha compound is Active, not Passive.

simò?onsk^{W}-m+hó:n	'to salt fish; fish salted' (lit. fish-
salting-ATTR+fish	salting) *simo'onsgum-hoon*
kìl̓sk^{W}-m+ć̓áq̓	'to dig for clams, [to go] clam-digging;
gathering-ATTR+clams	clams dug' *gil̓sgum-ts'aḵ'*
ɬwà:y̓isk^{W}-m+?aná:x	'to mix dough; dough mixed'
salting-ATTR+fish	*ɬ'waay̓isgum-anaax*
sitá:ẇisk^{W}-m+smáx	'to freeze meat; meat frozen (lit. meat-
salting-ATTR+fish	freezing)' *sidaaẇisgum-smax*
ć̓ò?osk^{W}-m+ć̓imílx	'to skin beavers; beaver skinned' (lit.
pulling.apart-ATTR+beaver	beaver-skinning)' *ts'o'osgum-ts'imilx*
si:lìn̓sk^{W}-m+mú:s	'to hunt moose, [to go] moose-hunting'
hunting-ATTR+moose	*siilin̓sgum-muus*
lìp̓ilsk^{W}-m+?á:t	'to mend nets; net-mending'
mending-ATTR+net	*lip'ilsgum-aat*
lìć̓ilsk^{W}-m+tá:la	'to keep track of money, do the
counting-ATTR+money (‹dollar)	accounts' *lits'ilsgum-daala*

The productivity of this formation is shown by the following recent coinages:

kipày$\overset{?}{k}^{W}$insk^{W}-m+?álkax̣	'to broadcast, bradcasting'
self.flying-ATTR+talk	*gibaykw'insgum-algax̣*

(coined for the Northern Native Broadcasting Corporation in Terrace, B.C.)

haṅi-maqòṅisKʷ-m+ʔálkax 'dictionary'
book.of-explaining-ATTR+talk *haṅiimagooṅisgum-algax*

(coined by Rev. Hubert McMillan of Aiyansh for the Nisgha Phrase Dictionary published by School District 92 (Nisgha)).

7.2.C.2.b.1.c. Suffixes consisting of /ʔ/ + Velar: These suffixes are not procutive (cf. the Detransitives in /ə/ + Velar, 7.2.C.2.a.1.). They often form complex suffixes with other predicative suffies, especially Antipassives (7.2.C.2.b.1.b.), and with what appears to be an augment /C/ (3.1.A.). With Antipassive suffixes, which include a component (-ʔS), the suffix Velar is not glottalized (cf. 7.2.C.2.b.1.b.2.b.(3)), but contact with /S/ causes Stop- formation (10.1.A.1.b.2.a.1.).

7.2.C.2.b.1.c.1. (-ʔX/-ʔkST/-ʔksKʷ) : The suffix (-ʔX) occurs mostly followed by an Antipassive suffix, In most cases the stems are not identifiable with certainty. The meaning is also undetermined, but seems to be 'incompletive, recurrent, meant to occur whenever the opportunity arises.'

(a) plain suffix (-ʔX): forms various parts of speech:

ʔá:t-ʔX >ʔá:ṯix 'to touch, come into contact with s.; to
ʔ (here, not 'net')-... sense s.o.'s feelings, to hit upon a truth'
aat'ix

ʔan-láyt-ʔX >ʔanláyṯix 'sign, landmark, beacon, indicator
cause-sign?-... (thermostat, etc.)' *anlayt'ix*

hó:n-ʔX >hó:ṅix 'calf of the leg'
fish?-... *hooṅix*

When the suffix (-ʔX) is added to a word ending in a Uvular, the epenthetic vowel is /a/, not /i/ as with other consonants (10.1.A.1.a.1.b.(2)). In addition,

the /X/ is weakened to /y/ (**10**.1.B.1.b.3.b.3.).

maẋ)máq-**ʔx** >maẋmáq̓**ay** 'rainbow'
PL)place.s.?-... *maẋmaḵ'ay*

mə-ʔóːq-**ʔx** >məʔóːq̓**ay** 'slimy film covering oolichans'
like-??-... *mi'ooḵ'ay/ma'ooḵ'ay*

(b) followed by Antipassive suffixes (7.2.C.2.b.1.b.):

yáɬ-**ʔx**-ʔsk^{W} >yáx̌iksk^{W} 'to slip and fall'
slime-...-AP.I *(yahl)* *yatl'iksk*

hiɬ)*yéːɬ- **ʔx**-ʔsk^{W} > hiɬyéːx̌iksk^{W} 'to slide against each other [said of bones in a joint]' *hihlyeetl'iksk*

*p̓áɬ-**ʔx**-ʔsT >p̓áx̌iksT 'to be drenched, soaked [by rain, etc.]'
?-...-AP.D *p'atl'iks(t)*

The following doublets appear to have the same meaning, but the shorter one seems more formal:

*ʔáːt-**ʔx**-ʔsT >ʔáːt̓iksT 'to arrive' (< touch [shore]?)
? (not 'net')-...-AP.D *aat'iks(t)*

*ʔáːt-**ʔx**-ʔsk^{W} >ʔáːt̓iksk^{W} 'to arrive' (< touch [shore]?)
? (not 'net')-...-AP.I *aat'iksk*

(c) The suffix also occurs following the augment /C/ and followed by (-S) (the post-Velar alternant of the Indefinite Medial suffix, 7.2.C.1.b.), resulting in the complex suffix (-c̓iks) from (-C-ʔx-S):

hin)*yán-c̓iks 'to tickle s.o.'
PL)shiver?-... *hinyants'iks*

*m̓ó:-c̓iks 'breast; [baby] to nurse'
suck?-... *m̓oots'iks*
(cf. m̓ó:q 'to suck through a tube' *m̓ook*)

This compound suffix also occurs unglottalized, as in

*ʔúm-ciks 'to be lonesome for s.o.'
uneasy?-... *umjiks*
(cf. ʔúmx̣k^{w} 'to be unable to stand s.' *umx̣kw*)

where the element of deliberateness conveyed by the glottal stop is absent.

7.2.C.2.b.1.c.2. Suffix (-ʔX): The meaning of this suffix seems to be similar to that of (-ʔX) (7.2.C.2.b.1.c.1.), with perhaps more of a resultative element. Like (-ʔX), it usually appears in combination with other suffixes.

(a) plain suffix: can be intransitive or transitive:

*hák^{w}-ʔX̣ >hák̓^{w}ax̣ 'to snap shut, to tighten; to fit s.t. tight?-... tightly' *hakw'ax̣*

(2) with other suffixes: the result is transitive or intransitive, depending on the following suffix:

c̓áx^{w}-ʔX̣-s >c̓áw̓aqs 'shoes' (lit. 'hardened [soles]'??)
considerable-...-MED *ts'aw̓aq̣s*

*t̓áx-ʔX̣-s >t̓áy̓aqs 'to choke on food or drink'
?-...-MED *t'ay̓aq̣s*
(cf. t̓é:q 'to eat too much, too fast' *t'eeq̣*)

k̓íl̓-ʔx̱-T 'to kill s. with one blow;
one-...-DEF *k'il̓ax̱-di*

haɬ)*húɬ-ʔx̱-ɬkʷ > haɬ(h)úƛ̓aqɬkʷ 'to boil' (orig. prob.
PL)rumble?-...-TEMP 'to make a rumbling noise')
hahl(h)utl'ak̲hlkw

(c) occurs following the augment /C/: the result is the complex suffix (-c̓ax̱), which is usually transitive:

*húm-c̓ax̱ 'to kiss s.o.'
joined?-... *humts'ax̱*
(cf. ham)húm 'joints' *hamhum*)

qúl-c̓ax̱ 'to carry, "pack" s. on one's shoulders'
roll?-... *golts'ax̱*

*ním-c̓ax̱ 'to sniff in/inhale s.t.'
sniff?-... *nimts'ax̱*

This suffix sometimes also occurs unglottalized, e.g.

*á:-cax̱ 'to be ... enough to reach s.' (e.g. to be
?-... tall enough, to have enough money,
etc.) *aajax̱*

*lám-cax̱/*lám-c̓ax̱ 'to come in, enter (pl.)'
PL.enter??-... *lamjax̱/lamts'ax̱*

The last word, where the suffix occurs under both forms, is intransitive.

7.2.C.b.1.d. The frozen suffix (-ʔ): The element /ʔ/ which is a component of so many predicative suffixes also occurs as a (non-productive) suffix in its own

right. Its presence is recognizable in a few frozen forms, by the glottalization of the final consonant in a word which contrasts with another of otherwise identical shape and with related meaning. The meaning of this old suffix, which occurs with nouns, seems to be 'specific case of ...', or 'functioning as ...' (cf. one use of the Definite Antipassive (-ʔsT), 7.2.C.2.b.1.b.1.b.).

sy̓é**n**-ʔ > sy̓é:n̓ in ɬə sy̓é:n̓-t 'saucer' (lit. 'the bottom of it' [the
bottom (of boat, etc.)-.. the ...-3 cup]) ***hli sy̓een̓t***

c̓iw̓í**n**-ʔ > c̓iw̓ín̓ in qa-c̓iw̓ín̓-t 'fingers' (lit. 'their [the hands'] tips)
tip-... DISTR-...-3 ***gats'iw̓in̓t***

7.2.C.2.b.2. <u>Suffix (-(ʔ)ɬk^{W})</u>: This compound suffix seems to mean 'temporary, occurring at intervals, not continuously.' The component /ʔ/ occurs rarely, mostly when the suffix follows the predicative (-m) (7.2.C.2.b.4.), so this suffix is not classified with those normally beginning with a glottal stop. The component /ɬ/ sometimes occurs in isolated other cases.

(a) ʔan-támqɬk^{W} 'close friend' (Boas 1902)
cause-embrace.s.-... ***andamk̲hlkw***

ʔáq-ɬk^{W} 'to be able, to succeed' (lit. 'to be unable
not/impossible-... temporarily', hence 'to finally succeed')
(cf. the neg. verb ʔáq ***ak̲***, 5.13.D.) ***ak̲hlkw***

haɬ)*húɬ-ʔx̣-ɬk^{W} > haɬ(h)úx̓aqɬk^{W} 'to boil' (prob. orig.
PL)rumble?-SUFF-... 'to rumble temporarily')
hahl(h)utl'ak̲hlkw

sə-*ʔó:-ɬk^{W} 'to gather firewood' (prob. orig. 'to set
make-protect.s.-... up camp, make a temporary shelter')
si'oohlkw

(b) In the following form, the suffix is preceded by /ʔ/. This does not seem to be an occurrence of the frozen suffix (-ʔ) (7.2.C.2.b.1.d.), but a calque of other compound suffixes beginning with /ʔ/ and ending in /k^W/, all of them expressing deliberate action but leaving the object unmentioned:

čí:p-ʔ-ɬk^W	> čí:p̓iɬk^W	'to tie up for the night'
tie.s.-...-...		*ts'iip'ihlkw*

(c) This suffix is often found after predicative (-m), 7.2.C.2.b.4.

7.2.C.2.b.3. Suffix (-k^W):

This non-productive suffix should not be confused with the very common Indefinite Medial suffix (-[t]k^W) (7.2.C.1.b.), although it is likely that there is a historical connection between the two. It forms both intransitives and transitives. Often the stems affected do not occur in isolation, but only with other suffixes. Some do not occur otherwise and their meaning is tentative.

(a) Forms P_A's:

k̓é:-k^W	'one [animal, skin, garment]'
(* k̓ə- 'one', 7.1.B.2.c.1.)	*k'eekw*
síl-k^W	'middle, waist; to be awful'
?-...	*silkw*
yán-ɬk^W	'to be mouldy'
?-...	*yankw*
mál-k^W-T	'to throw s.t. into a fire'
?-...	*malkw-di*

(In the last example, the transitive meaning is given by the Definite Medial

suffix (-T) (7.2.C.1.a.), not by the suffix (-k^{W})).

(b) Forms P$_{EA}$'s:

wilá:-k^{W}		'to treat/handle s. [in a certain way]'
how ?-...		*wilaakw*
kí:-k^{W}		'to buy s.t.'
?-...		*giikw*

7.2.C.2.b.4. Suffixes beginning with /m/: There are only a few instances of a suffix (-m) alone. Most often it is a component of other complex suffixes, the general meaning of which seems to be 'recurring on/relative to a specific purpose or occasion.'

7.2.C.2.b.4.a. The frozen suffix (-m): it seems to occur only in two seasonal words:

má:-t-m	>má:tim	'snow falling; winter'
snow? -?-...		*maadim*

(cf. má:k^{W}s 'snow [on ground]' *maakws*)

*k^{W}ó:x-m	>k^{W}ó:yim	'Spring'
?-...		*gwooyim*

7.2.C.2.b.4.b. Suffix (-(?)mɬk^{W}): The suffix (-m) is most often associated with the Temporary suffix (-(?)ɬk^{W}) (7.2.C.2.b.2.). The compound suffix does not usually include the glottal stop component /?/. the meaning seems to be 'temporarily but for a relatively predictable duration.'

?an-skí-mɬk^{W}	'womb'
place-lie-...	*ansgimhlkw*

ʔóːta-**mɬkʷ** > ʔóːtimɬkʷ 'diapers'
covers/diapers-... *oodimhlkw*

tq̓al=wíl-**mɬkʷ** 'attendant, companion, servant [of a noble youth]' hence 'servant of God: angle, disciple, priest'
against=be/act-... *tk'alwilimhlkw*

*ʔú-**mɬkʷ** 'sphagnum moss' [formerly used for diapers, etc.] *umhlkw*
cover.s.-...

*ʔít-**mɬkʷ** 'to "call out" a person's new name at a settlement feast' *idimhlkw*
pronounce, utter-...

[*ʔít-m+wá]-**mɬkʷ** 'to "call out" a person's new name at a settlement feast' *idimwamhlkw*
pronounce, utter-ATTR+name-...

(here the compound suffix is attached to a mediated compound verb *ʔít-m+wá **idim-wa* which does not seem to occur unsuffixed).

In the following examples, the component /ʔ/ which belongs to the second part of the compound suffix flottalizes the stem-final consonant: in effect, glottalization 'skips over' the /m/ component of the combination (cf. with AP.I suffix, **7**.2.C.2.b.4.c., and **10**.1.B.2.).

wóq-[**m**-ʔ**ɬkʷ**] > wóq-ʔmɬkʷ > wóʔomɬkʷ 'cradle'
sleep-... *(wok) wo'omhlkw*

*k̓ʷóːt-[**m**-ʔ**ɬkʷ**] > k̓ʷóːt-ʔmɬkʷ > k̓ʷóːtimɬkʷ
missing-...

'to miss menstrual periods because of pregnancy' *kw'oot'imhlkw*

The following example does not show whether the /ʔ/ is included or not in the suffix, as the stem-final consonant is already glottalized:

ṅúẇ-**mɬk**^{W} / ṅúẇ-m-ʔɬk^{W} 'to be bereaved'
die-... ***ṅuẇimhlkw***

7.2.C.2.b.4.c. <u>With Antipassive suffixes</u>: Two alternate processes of glottalization occur with the combination of (-m) with the Indefinite Antipassive suffix (-ʔsk^{W}). In one process, glottalization skips over' the /m/ and affects the stem-final consonant, as with (-m-(ʔ)ɬk^{W}) (7.2.C.2.b.4.b.). The opposite process, which glottalizes the /m/ component alone, results in a sequence /m̓isk^{W}/ which seems to have acquired a specialized meaning.

(1) (-m-ʔsk^{W}) › (-ʔmsk^{W}): The meaning seems to be: 'on/for a particular occasion':

wán-**m-ʔsk**^{W} >wán-ʔmsk^{W} > wáṅimsk^{W} 'to show people to their seats at a public function'
sit/set.s.PL-...-... ***waṅimskw***

x̣k̓áyɬ-**m-ʔsk**^{W} >x̣k̓áyɬ-ʔmsk^{W} >x̣k̓áyɬaʔamsk^{W}
repay/reward-...-... 'to repay/repayment to one's paternal relatives for traditional services rendered (done at settlement feast)'
x̱k'ayhla'amskw

*ḳil-xtá:-**m-ʔsk**^{W} >ḳilxtá:-ʔmsk^{W} >ḳilxtá:ʔamsk^{W}
give-mattress-...-... 'to give a mattress to a widowed brother- or sister-in-law [after the funeral]'
gilxdaa'amskw

(see (2) below for alternate form)

(2) (-m-ʔsk^{w}) › (-m̓isk^{w}): Words with this suffix all seem to have to do with clothing and similar objects. This could be an extension of the 'special occasion' meaning, since in most cases these words have to do with the ceremonial use or giving of these objects:

**k^{w}iléh-m-ʔsk^{w} > k^{w}ilé:-m̓sk^{w} > k^{w}ilé:m̓isk^{w}
blanket-...-... 'to put a blanket around the bride's shoulders' (as part of the traditional wedding ceremony) *gwileem̓iskw*

(**k^{w}iléh › mod. **k^{w}ilá** 'blanket' *gwila*; cf. **kipá** 'to wait for s.' *giba* from earlier **kipéh, 7.2.C.2.b.1.b.2.a.(1))

*kil-xtá:-m-ʔsk^{w} >kilxtá:-m̓isk^{w} 'to give a mattress to a widowed brother- or sister-in-law [after the funeral]' *gilxdaam̓iskw*
give-mattress-...-...

(see (1) above for alternate form)

The following verb shows the extension of this suffix to a transitive stem:

sitxé:x^{w}-m-ʔsk^{w} >sitxé:-m̓sk^{w} >sitxé:m̓isk^{w}
change.s.-...-... 'to change one's clothes' *sityeem̓iskw*

In the following noun, the suffix (-m) is followed by the Definite Antipassive (-ʔsT), not the Indefinite (compare 7.2.C.2.b.1.b.2.a.(2) for the use of the AP.D suffix to form nouns):

*ʔó:-m-ʔsT > ʔó:m̓isT 'pillowcase'
protect.s.-...-... *oom̓is(t)*

7.2.C.2.b.4.d. (-mks) ((-m-x-s)): 'relatively, comparatively': This suffix is attached mostly to words designating natural states. Epenthesis inserts a vowel

before /m/, unless the stem has a long vowel, in which case epenthesis occurs between /m/ and the following consonant (**10**.2.A.1.a.1.):

kámk-**mks** > kámḳimks 'relatively warm, warmer'
hot-... *gamgimks*

*kʷiné:q-**mks** > kʷiné:qamks 'relatively cold, colder'
cold-... *gwineegamks*

ƛ̓u:=x̣-č̓ák-**mks** > lu:=x̣č̓áḳimks 'there is shade'
in=get.s.-extinguished-... *luux̱ts'agimks*

This suffix can also be followed by another, as in:

*sqé:-**mks**-[t]kʷ >sqé:miksk^{W} 'to be caught outside by darkness'
dark?-...-MED *sḵ'eemikskw*
(cf. sqé:x̣kʷ 'dark [at night]' *sḵ'eex̱kw*)

7.2.C.2.b.4.d. (-mqs) ((-m-q-s) or (-m-x-s)): the meaning is undetermined at the moment:

lə-*ḳiṅít-**mqsT** >> li:ṅítimqs(t) 'to get up (pl.)'
PL-get.up-... *liiṅidimḵs(t)*
(pl. of *ḳiṅít-[t]kʷ 'to get up' *giṅitkw*)

The sequences /mq/and /mx̣/also occur with the suffix (-mq/-mx̣) (7.2.D.1.c.), the meaning of which is so different from those of the suffixes in this section that it probably does not consist of the same morphemic components.

7.2.C.2.b.4.f. (-ms) ((-m-s)):

stíl-**ms**	> stílims	'attendant at wedding: bridesmaid,
PL-get.up-...		usher' *sdilims*

7.2.C.2.b.5. Suffixes beginning with /X/: It is often difficult to decide whether the Velar consonant in these suffixes is originally a stop or a fricative, especially with stems that do not occur independently. The analysis of the forms quoted below seems fairly straightforward, but there are many other cases which are more doubtful in the present state of our knowledge (see discussion of (-Xn), 7.2.C.2.b.5.b.).

7.2.C.2.b.5.a. Suffix (-X): This suffix occurs at the end of a fairly large number of words as well as being a component in several other suffixes. A stem-final /X/ occurring with P_A's is better treated as an augment (3.1.A.), but with P_{EA}'s it seems to be a true suffix, though unproductive, occurring with bases which recur with other predicative suffixes. Its meaning may have to do with the use of an instrument or accessory to perform the action (Bruce Rigsby, p.c.).

(1) occurring singly:

*[t]ɋát-**X**	'to patch s.t.'	(cf. *[t]ɋat-é?	'to patch things')
applied?-...	*ɬ'atɣ*		*ɬ'adee'e*
*líc-**X**	'to count/read s.t.'	(cf. *líc-?l	'to keep count of s.t.')
applied?-...	*ɬ'atɣ*		*lits'il*
*qé:-**X**	'to grind s.t.'	(cf. *ha-qé?esT	'grinding-tool')
applied?-...	*ɬ'atɣ*		*hage'es(t)*

(2) following other suffixes:

In the following transitive verb, the suffix follows the Completive suffix (-?l):

tq̓al=*qé:p-ʔl-x̱	'to rub s.t.' with s.t. else' (e.g. wood with
against=rub?-CPL-...	sandpaper) *tk̲'algeep'ilx̱*

The suffix also occurs after a Causative suffix:

*c̓í:kʷ-ʔn-x̱	'[net] to be all tangled up'
?-CAUS-...	*ts'iikw'inx̱*

The word **túk̓ʷɬinx̱** 'to suffocate, to drown' *dukw'hlinx̱* probably also ends in this combination, but it is not possible to analyze it further at the present time.

(3) followed by the Indefinite Medial suffix (-[t]kʷ/-s) (7.2.C.1.b.), hence P_A's:

*líc-x̱-[t]kʷ	'to count, read'
count-...-MED	*litsxkw*
qa)*qé:-x̱-s	'tracks, footprints'
PL)grind?-...-MED	*gageek̲s*

7.2.C.2.b.5.b. Suffix (-xn): This suffix has a Causative meaning, recalling that of (-ʔn) (7.2.C.2.b.1.a.1.) with which it shares the final consonant /n/ (see (-n) , 7.2.C.2.b.6.a.), but the Uvular component instead of the Glottal stop indicates the use of an instrument (7.2.C.2.b.5.a.). It forms transitive verbs from intransitives or more commonly from other transitives:

(1) single use:

qá:p-x̱n	>qá:px̱an	'to scratch s.t. [lightly], to rake s.t. (with
scratch.s.-...		s.t. else)' *gaapx̱an*

t̓á:p-**x̣n** > t̓á:px̣an 'to nail s.t.'
pound/tap.s.-... *t'aapx̱an*

t̓ál-**x̣n** > t̓álx̣an 'to split s.t. [a tree]'
split.s.-... *t'alx̱an*

kʷálkʷ-**x̣n** > kʷálkʷx̣an 'to dry s.t.' (e.g. on a rack)
dry-... *gwalkwx̱an*

In the following forms, it is not possible to determine the base or root with certainty:

*qé:-**x̣n** > qé:x̣an 'to crush/mash s.t.'
grind?-... *geex̱an*
(cf. qé:x̣ 'to grind.s.' *geex̱*, haqéʔesT 'grinding tool' *hage'es(t)*)

sə-*té:-**x̣n** > sité:x̣an 'to make a handle for s.t.'
make-lead?-... *sideex̱an*
(cf. ɬə *té:-tT-[t]=ɬ ... 'the handle(s) of the ...' *hli deedihl* ...)

Forms of similar meaning ending in the sequence /qan/, which seems to be a variant of (-**x̣n**) (cf. /q/x̣/ alternation after /m/, 7.2.D.1.c.), are more likely to be instances of the suffix (-**n**) attached to a stem ending in /q/ (7.2.C.2.b.6.a.). The occurrence of the two sequences /qan/ and /x̣an/ after vowel prevents considering /q/ as a variant of the morpheme (-**x̣**), at least synchronically.

(2) Followed by Antipassive suffix: this is especially so with instrumental derivatives. Usually the /ʔ/ component of the AP.I suffix is not included (cf. lack of glottalization in some forms, 7.2.C.2.b.1.a.2.):

ha-qá:p-**x̣n**-ʔskʷ > haqá:px̣anskʷ 'rake'
INSTR-scratch.s.-...-AP.I *hagaapx̱anskw*

ha-*qè:-χn-ʔsk^{w}-m+sku:sí:t>haqè:χansk^{w}-... 'potato-masher'
INSTR-grind?.s.-...-AP.I-ATTR+potatoes *hageexansgum-sguusiit*

A difference can sometimes be made between the two variants (glottalized and unglottalized) of the AP.I suffix:

ƛ̓á:p-χn-(ʔ)sk^{w} > ƛ̓á:pχansk^{w} 'nail [for wood]'
tap/pound.s.-...-AP.I *t'aapxansk*

ƛ̓á:p-χn-ʔsk^{w} > ƛ̓á:pχaƛ̓sk^{w} 'to nail things; nailing'
tap/pound.s.-...-AP.I *t'aapxaƛ̓sk*

7.2.C.2 b.6. Miscellaneous suffixes consisting of a single consonant: These are rarely used single, but inter as components in more productive suffixes. That they can be identified suffests that most if not all of the present 'augments' following some roots (3.1.A.) were at a time suffixes.

7.2.C.2.b.6.a. (-n): This suffix seems to have a Causative meaning (cf. its role as a component of Causative (-ʔn) (7.2.C.2.b.1.a.1.) and Instrumental (-χn) (7.2.C.2.b.5.b.), but it occurs by itself in only a few forms:

- transitives:

*sé:x^{w}-n 'to fill/pack s.t.pl.'
?-... *seewin*

This category includes a series ending in the sequence /qan/, where the /q/ component which is part of the stem recalls the Velar in the Instrumental suffix (-χn) (7.2.C.2.b.5.b.). This suggests that this /q/ may itself be a former suffix, now considered an augment (3.1.A.) (and that (-χ) may derived historically from an earlier (-*q)).

*ʔkéːq-n >ʔkéːqan 'to drill one hole in s.t.'
one?-... *k'eegan*

*qíɬ.q-n >qíɬqan 'to poke s.t. (a fire)'
pierce?-... *gehlgan*
(cf. qáɬkʷ 'to pierce s.t. thru' *gahlkw*)

*qímq-n >qímqan 'to pry s.t. up'
pry?-... *gemgan*

The same suffix (-n) also occurs followed by the Instrumental suffix in:

q̓as)q̓úc-n-x̌-T >q̓asq̓úcinx̌T 'ant(s)' (lit. 'all cut up')
PL)cut.s.-...-INSTR-DEF *k'ask'ojinx(t)*

- intransitives:

káp-n >kápin '[water mammal, diver] to surface'
dip.for.s.-... *gabin*

7.2.C.2.b.6.b. (-l): This element seems to have Continuative meaning (cf. Completive (-ʔl), 7.2.C.2.b.1.a.2.). It does not seem to occur by itself, but forms compound suffixes when followed by (-x) (7.2.C.2.b.6.c.), which can itself be followed by others. The meaning of these compound suffixes seems to have to do with continuing and uncontrollable action (cf. the meaning of suffixes including (-ʔx), 7.2.C.2.b.1.c.1.).

(1) (-lx) ((-l-x)): forms nouns:

*típ-lx >típilx 'back of the neck'
?-... *dibilx*

*má:x^{W}-lx	> má:wilx	'horsetail, [formerly used as] file [for
?-...		sanding]' *maawilx*

(2) (-lks) ((-l-x-s)): forms intransitives:

cí:p-lks	> cí:pilks	'to burn down to the ground'
disappear-...		*jiibilks*

(3) $(-lksk^{W})$ ($(-l-x-s-[t]k^{W})$): forms intransitives:

mú$\check{k}^{W}$-lksk^{W}	> mú$\check{k}^{W}$ilksk^{W}	'[water] to be roiled, full of sediment'
bruised-...		*mukw'ilkstw*

*cá:p-lksk^{W}	>cá:pilksk^{W}	'to work one's way toward something, to
?-...		make little headway in spite of effort,
		to exert oneself in vain' (e.g. trying to
		walk through deep water or snow)
		jaabilkstw

7.2.C.2.b.6.c. (-x): This element occurs as an augment in many stems and as a component of several suffixes which seem to have the common meaning 'uncontrolled action'. See 7.2.C.2.b.1.c.1. for its association with the Glottal stop in some Detransitive suffixes and 7.2.C.2.b.6.b. for its use after (-l).

7.2.D. Lexical suffixes.

Lexical suffixes, which are a very important element in the morphology of most Northwest languages, are very few in Nisgha. They fall into two categories: true suffixes and pseudo-suffixes. The latter are actually weakened forms of existing words in unstressed position, and the words in which they appear to be suffixes can be identified as older compounds (cf. lexical prefixes, which behave like the verbal components of compounds, 7.2.B.2.).

7.2.D.1. True suffixes:

7.2.D.1.a. The numeral suffix {-[t]o:l} *-(d)ool*: This stressed suffix forms numerals in the category 'persons'.

It is likely that an original sequence /ó:l/ (of whatever origin) occurring after the now frozen prefixes {ƛ̓ə-} 'one' and {xpə-} 'ten' (7.1.B.2.c.) was understood as a suffix and extended to other number words. The sequence /tó:l/ resulting from the addition of the new suffix to numbers ending in /t/ was again interpreted as a suffix and added to another number word (Tarpent 1983a). Three stages can be recognized.

- stage 1: added to numeral prefixes:

ƛ̓ə-**ó:l**	'one [person]'	
one-...		***ƛ'yool***
xpə-**ó:l**	'ten [persons]'	
ten-...		***xbool***

- stage 2: added to some number words and extended to most of them:

k^{w}stíns-**ó:l**	'five [persons]'	
five-...		***kwsdinsool***
q̓ó:ƛ̓T-**ó:l**	'six [persons]'	
six-...		***ƛ'ooldool***
ƛ̓tipx̣ó:ƛ̓T-**ó:l**	'seven [persons]'	
seven-...		***ƛ'ipɣoolʼdool***
y̓ux^{w}tá:ƛ̓T-**ó:l**	'eight [persons]'	
eight-...		***y̓uxwdaaʼldool***

kʷstimó:s-ó:l 'nine [persons]'
nine-... *kwsdimoosool*

- stage 3: reinterpretation of the sequence /tó:l/ as a suffix:

tx̣álpx̣-tó:l 'four [persons]'
four-... *tx̣alpx̣dool*

In the number for 'three [persons]' kʷiló:n *gwiloon*, the final /n/ seems to be the result of dissimilation, caused by the preceding /l/.

7.2.D.1.b. {-kʷs} ({-x̣ʷ-s}): mass of ...': this noun-forming suffix should not be confused with the Indefinite Passive suffix (7.2.C.1.b.3.).

qán-kʷs 'pile of sticks, formerly used as a toilet'
stick-... *gankws*

*má:-kʷs 'snow [on the ground]'
snow?-... *maakws*
(cf. má:tim 'snow [falling], winter' *maadim*)

*lú:-kʷs 'bundle of 40 dried fish'
?-... *luukws*

It is likely that this suffix should be interpreted as {-x̣ʷ-s}, with stop-formation before /s/(10.1.A.1.b.2.a.1.). Lending credence to this interpretation is the following word:

qan-sə-míɬukʷs 'kindling'
means-make-...? *gansimihlukws*

where the vowel intervening between /ɬ/ and /kʷ/ is only explainable it it was originally followed by a fricative: /ɬkʷ/ is an allowable cluster, but

/ɬx^{w}/ is not, hence the insertion of the vowel before the occurrence of stop-formation: the word can be interpreted as:

qan-[sə-míɬ]-x^{w}-s 'kindling'
means-[make-burn]$_{light.s.}$-...-... *gansimihlukws*

There is no identifiable suffix (-x^{w}) in present-day Nisgha, but there are a number of words ending in what could be an augment , e.g. lá:x^{w} 'trout' *laaxw*, ká:x^{w} 'to twist/spin s.t. [twine, etc.], by the traditional method' *gaaxw*, sitxéx^{w} 'to (ex)change s.t.' *sityeexw*, hú:x^{w} 'saw-whet owl' *huuxw*, and others.

7.2.D.1.c. (-mq/mx): These two suffixes occur on a number of words, all habing to do with using the mouth, either to speak or to eat. The components of this suffix recur in others (7.2.C.2.b.4.a., 7.2.C.2.b.5.a., 7.2.C.2.b.6.a.), but the meanings that can be attributed to them are grammatical, not lexical as in this case.

7.2.D.1.c.1. (-mq):

(a) with nouns designating people: the suffix forms nouns with the meaning 'language/speech of ...':

čimsán-mq>čimsánimq 'Tsimshian language'
Tsimshian-... *Ts'imsanimk*

q̓amksi:wá:-mq x̌q̓amksi:wá:maq 'English language'
white.person-... *K'amksiiwaamk*

nisqá?-mq>nisqá?amq 'Nisgha language' [formal term]
Nisgha-... *Nisga'amk*

(2) older meaning: forms transitive verbs all having to do with vocal

activity: it is added to non-occurring bases, although some elements may be recognizable:

*stú:-**mq**>stú:maq 'to sing or play music along with s.'
?-... ***sduumaq***

(cf. stíl 'to accompany s.o.' *sdil*, staẋ= 'on one side' *sdaẋ*...)

*yú:ɬ-**mq** 'to advise, admonish, lecture s.o.'
?-... ***yuuhlimq***

*yá:-**mq** 'to cheat/betray s.o.'
?-... ***yaamaq***

*ṫú:-**mq** 'to order s.t. (from a craftsperson, hence also from a catalogue)
?-... ***t'uumaq***

The suffix can also be followed by an Indefinite Medial suffix:

*tíl-**mq**-[t]k^{W} >tílimxk^{W} 'to answer'
?-...-MED ***dilimxkw***

or by an Antipassive suffix:

*yá:-**mq**-ʔsk^{W} >yá:maq̓ask^{W} 'to cheat/betray people, to be a traitor'
?-...-AP.I ***yaamaq'askw***

*ṫú:-**mq**-ʔsk^{W} >ṫú:maq̓ask^{W} 'to order things, to place an order'
?-...-AP.I ***t'uumaq'askw***

7.2.D.1.c.2. Suffix **{-mx}**: added to existing verbs, it builds other verbs:

híc-**mx̣**	'to tell/order s.o. to do s.t.' (from 'to send
send.s.-...	word to s.o.?) *hijim̓x̣*
t̓é:q-**mx̣**	'to speak too fast'
eat.too.fast.-...	*t'eegam̓x̣*

In the following word, the suffix is probably intransitive, since the two alternate forms both use transitivizing suffixes:

*k̓é:q-**mx̣**-[t]k^{w}/*k̓é:q-**mx̣**-T	'to eat a whole s.t.'
act.on.one?-...MED/.....-DEF	*k'eegam̓x̣kw/k'eegam̓x̣-di*

2.2. Pseudo-suffixes:

A number of words end in a full but unstressed syllable identical (at least in its consonantal structure) to an existing word. Some of these also bear a lexical similarity to this word, as in:

ʔantápsa	'a traditional time-telling device'
(sá 'day' *sa*)	*andapsa*
ʔamʔúkit	'clothing'
(kit = kát 'man, people' *git/gat*)	*am'ugit*

A few such words can be fully analyzed, for instance:

ʔan-táp-sa	'a traditional time-telling device'	
CAUS-measure.s.-day	*(an-dap-sa)*	*andapsa*
ʔam-*ʔú-kit	'clothing'	
good.for-cover.s.-people	*(am-'u-git)*	*am'ugit*

ʔamqó:-**ḳit** 'pretty [sight] (< 'memorable' ?)
remember.s.-people *(amgoo-git)* ***amgoogit***

haltá:x^{W}-**ḳit** >haltá:wḳit 'sorcerer'
anoint.s.-people *(haldaaxw-git)* ***haldaawgit***

Taking away the prefix, and ignoring the stress on the penultimate syllable, these words are identical in structure to unmediated Object-incorporating compound verbs (**9**.2.A.1.). The apparent 'suffixes,' then, are actually full words whose phonological structure has been altered by their being unstressed. The words in which they appear are compounds, even though present compounding rules place the stress on the last element (cf. the penultimate stress rule in one category of plurals, evidencing an older stress pattern, **10**.3.B.2.).

The same structure must be recognized in other words even where the first part may not be readily identifiable (note that the incorporated word does not have to be a Direct Object as with modern compounds):

a. -**ḳit** 'people' ...*git* (from kát 'man, person, people' *gat*)

ẇi:-wil-hílt-**ḳit** >ẇi:wilhílḳit 'multitude'
great-SUB-many-... ***ẇiiwilhilgit***

líl̓-**ḳit** 'feast; to give a feast'
?-... ***lil̓git***

tx̣ú**ḳit** 'hostage; to take hostages'
?-... ***tx̱ogit***
(*tx̣ú- cf. tx̣ó:ʔ 'earnings' *tx̱oo'o* , orig. 'booty'?)

ní**ḳit** 'spook; to have a spooky experience'
?-... ***nigit***

ʔíy̓ḳit 'to be clumsy'
?-... *lil̓git*

tíḳit 'smooked oolichans'
?-... *digit*

tipóḳit 'shrew'
?-... *diboogit*

b. -c̓ip ...*ts'ip* (from c̓áp '[one's] people, tribe, domain' *ts'ap*)

tə-*ʔó:-c̓ip >təʔó:c̓ip 'fortress'
DOM-protect.s.-... *da'oots'ip*

c. -ks 'water' ...*ks* (from ʔáks 'water' *aks*)

kó:-ks 'to float'
[boat]motionless-... *gyooks*

ptál-ks '[it's] high tide'
[water]rise-... *pdalks*

má:ks 'to place s.t. in water'
?-... *maaks*
(cf. máq 'to put s.t' *maḵ-di*)

d. -sa 'day' ...*sa*

yúkʷ-sa 'evening'
move?-... *yukwsa*

7.3. FRAMES:

A frame is defined as a combination of co-occurring elements enclosing an existing word, and used for inflection, derivation or phrase-formation.

Nisgha has two kinds of frames:

- Word-frames (morphological frames): these frames enclose a word, and the result can be said in isolation. In most cases a word-frame consists of a proclitic or prefix co-occurring with a Medial suffix, either Definite $\{-T\}$ (7.2.C.1.a.) or Indefinite $\{-[t]k^W/-s\}$ (7.2.C.1.b.).

- Phrasal frames (morphosyntactic frames): these enclose a word when embedded in a clause. Phrasal frames can be divided into nominalizing frames and focusing frames.

7.3.A. Word-frames: Word-frames must be distinguished from fortuitous combinations of prefix/proclitic and suffix. In a word-frame, the combination of prefix and suffix recurs in a number of words. It is usually associated with a particular grammatical category. Even if both prefix and suffix occur separately in other words, the combination of the two in a frame has a definite meaning not reducible to the sum of the meanings of the isolated affixes, either from the lexical or the grammatical points of view.

Surface analogy plays an inportant role in framing. For instance, $\{-[t]k^W\}$ is normally replaced by $\{-s\}$ if the verb ends in a Velar, including $/k^W/$ (7.2.C.1.b.1.). If most of the forms affected by the frame pattern take $\{-s\}$ after $/k^W/$ (hence a final sequence $/k^Ws/$), others which would normally end only in $\{-[t]k^W\}$ take $\{-s\}$ as well. Conversely, if the stem already ends in $/k^W/$, and most of the other forms take $\{-[t]k^W$ he suffix may not be added.

These properties are displayed in the following contrasting utterances involving the sequence /ńi:hítk^W/ *ńiihitkw*.

a. PROC + Intr: Proclitic ṅi: 'on' *ṅii...*, intr. verb hítk^{W} 'to stand' *hitkw*:

ṅi:=hítk^{W} ṅì:ỷ laẋ haṅi:t̓á:	I stood on a/the chair.
on=stand me on chair	*Ṅiihitkw ṅiiỷ laẋ haṅiit'aa.*

b. Transitivizing frame [ṅi:-...-[t]k^{W}] : 'to ... on s.t.' *ṅii...(t)kw* (framing an intransitive verb): in this case, since the framed verb hítk^{W} 'to stand' *hitkw* already ends in the sequence /tk^{W}/, which is identical to the suffix, this sequence is not repeated:

ṅi:=hítk^{W}-[tk^{W}]-ə-ỷ=ɬ haṅi:t̓á:	I stepped on a/the chair.
[on=stand-[SUFF]]$_{\text{to...on.s.}}$-CTL-1S=NC chair	*Ṅiihitgwiỷhl haṅiit'aa.*

Some of these word-frames are more productive than others, and some have a more definitely grammatical meaning. The presentation below divides the word-frames into P_A's and P_{EA}'s. Within each category, some frames are closer to the inflectional, some to the derivational pole. However, as with most other Nisgha processes of word-formation, it is not always possible to make a clear differentiation between the two processes. The presentation follows the suffixes.

7.3.A.1. Frames forming P_A's:

7.3.A.1.a. Intransitive verbs and adjectives:

7.3.A.1.a.1. Frames ending in the Definite Medial suffix {-T}: In most cases the prefixes used with this suffix are not used for any other purpose. The resulting frames have grammatical meaning: all express a variation on plurality. As with other instances of {-T}, surface occurrence is relatively rare and the suffix seems on its way to extinction (see 7.2.C.1.a.2. for distribution of the consonantal and vocalic allomorphs of this suffix).

7.3.A.1.a.1.a. The Plural frame [lə-...-T]: This frame is no longer procducive

and applies only to a small number of stems, all verbs or adjectives (3.2.C.2.). Compared to other types of plural formation, this one seems to emphasize identical actions or states by separate individuals, thus to have distributive meaning (cf. the more modern use of the Distributive prefix (qa-) *ga-* for some plurals, 3.2.C.2.a.1.c.).

7.3.a.1.a.1.a.1. Corresponds to singular in (-[t]k^{w}): It is not clear why the two medial suffixes should be in complementary distribution in this case.

SINGULAR		PLURAL
ptál-**tk^{w}**	'to climb'	lə-ptál-**t**T
rise-...	*pdaltk^{w}*	*lipdalt*
sk^{w}á:ɣ̓-**tk^{w}**	'to rest'	lə-sk^{w}á:ɣ̓-**t**T
give.up-...	*sgwaaɣ̓tk^{w}*	*lisgwaaɣ̓t*
χs-tál-**tk^{w}**	'to respond'	lə-χs-tál-**t**T
imitate-sound-...	*χsdaltk^{w}*	*laχsdalt*

7.3.A.1.a.1.a.2. Corresponds fo unsuffixed singular:

(a) stems prefixed with (ʔa-): (7.1.B.1.b.5.a.)

ʔa-yé:	'to go fast'	ʔa-lə-yé:-**t**T
spontaneous-go	*ayee*	*aliyeet*
ʔa-skí	'to be abnormal,	ʔa-lə-skí-**t**T
spontaneous-go	ugly, comical'	*alisgit*
	asgi	

ʔa-*yín	'[trees] to be in bud'	ʔa-lə-yín-tT
spontaneous-?	(sg. not in use)	*aliyint*

(2) unprefixed stems:

ć̓é:x̲	'to be satiated'	lə-ć̓é:x̲-T
	ts'eex̲	*lits'eex̲(t)*
t̓é:q	'to eat too much,	lə-t̓é:q-T
	too fast' *t'eek̲*	*lit'eek̲(t)*
x̲pić̓áx̲^{w}	'to be afraid'	lə-x̲pi:ć̓í:x̲^{w}-T
	x̲bits'arw	...-*afraid.PL-... *lax̲biits'iirw(t)*

7.3.A.1.a.1.b. Reciprocal frames: These are productive. Reciprocity applies to two or more individuals who are related by the action or state described by the reciprocal word. The difference in meaning between the two reciprocal frames is not quite clear. It seems that [nə-...-T] insists on the antagonistic or perhaps Dual character of the relationship, while [min-...-T] rather emphasizes a more diffuse togetherness, or perhaps general Plurality.

7.3.A.1.a.1.b.1. The Reciprocal frame [nə-...-T] forms intransitive verbs.

(a) from verbs (plural stem if different from the singular):

- from transitive stems: 'to ... each other' (in general):

nə-sip)sí:p̓in-T	'to love each other'
...-PL)love.s.o.-...	*nisipsiip'int*
nə-ɬimó:m-T	'to help each other'
...-PL)help.s.o.-...	*nihlimoomt*

nə-x̣sínq-T 'not to believe each other'
...-PL)disbelieve.s.o.-... ***nəx̣sinx̣t***
- from intransitive stems: 'to ... to each other'

nə-ʔal)ʔálkax̣-T 'to talk to each other'
...-PL)talk-... ***nə'al'algax̣t***

- hi)yùkʷ=ɬ k̓ax̣ nə-ʔal)ʔálkax̣-T-ti:t
ASP)PROG=NC for.a.while [...-PL)talk-...]$_{RECIP}$-3P
While they were talking to each other ... (19.8)
Hiyukwhl k'ax̣ nə'al'algax̣diit ...

(b) from nouns (singular stem): 'to be ...s': (seems restricted to a few kinship terms)

nə-wák-T 'to be brothers'
...-M's brother-... ***niwakt***

nə-ɬkí:kʷ-T 'to be sisters'
...-W's sister-... ***nihlgiikwt***

7.3.A.1.a.1.b.2. The Reciprocal frame [min-...-T] 'to ... each other [actively?]': forms intransitive verbs from (usually plural) transitive stems:

min-tóq-T 'to take each other on [in a fight]'
...-take.s.PL-... ***minidox̣t***

min-qúxʷ-T '[group] to shoot each other'
...-shoot.s.-... ***minguxwt***

min-ɬú:t̓uxʷ-T 'to cherish each other'
...-cherish.s.-... ***minhluut'uxwt***

7.3.A.1.b.3. Remark: The two prefixes (nə-) and (min-) of these frames are sometimes used together, as in

nə-min-wiláax-T	'[members of a group] to know each
...-...-know.s.-...	other' ***nimin**wilaaxt*

7.3.A.1.a.1.b.4. The Competitive frame [min-qa-ƙa:-...-T] 'to ... against each other or others, in competition with each other or others' *mingak'as...(t)*. This frame incorporates the DISTR prefix (qa-) *ga...* and the modifier ƙa: 'most' *k'aa* (5.15.B.16.). It can be added to intransitive verbs of suitable meaning.

min-qa-ƙa:-qúl-ɬ	'to race [against] each other, to be in
...-...-...-run.PL-...	a race' ***mingak'asgol(t)***
min-qa-ƙa:-hat)hátiks-T	'to race each other swimming, to be
...-...-...-PL)swim-...	in a swimming meet'
	mingak'aahathadiks(t)

7.3.A.1.a.1.c. The adjective-forming frame [ṁax-...-T] 'to be all .../nothing but .../altogether .../excessively ... ; to have a lot of ...[a characteristic]' *max...(t)*

The prefix (ṁax-) also occurs as a modifier (5.15.B.18.), which is probably its original usage, since both the phonological structure and the semantic range of this prefix are more in keeping with those of modifiers than of the prefixes described above. This prefix forms adjectives from nouns.

ṁax-híx-T	'[meat] to be too fat, to have a lot of fat'
...-fat, blubber-...	***maxhix(t)***
ṁax-súkʷa-tT	'to be too sweet'
...-sugar-...	***maxsugwa(t)***

ṁaẋ-ỷímq-T	'to have a hairy face, a big moustache
...-whiskers-...	or beard' ***ṁaẋỷimḳ(t)***

The suffix tends to be lost with YFS, thus differences such as the following (cf. also 7.2.C.1.a.1.a.2.):

• OFS: wil ṁaẋ-ỷímq-T-t	... as he has a big moustache/beard.
SUB[...-whiskers-...]-3	... ***wil ṁaẋỷimgat.***
YFS: wil ṁaẋ-ỷímq-t	... as he has a big moustache/beard.
SUB[...-whiskers]-3	... ***wil ṁaẋỷimḳt.***
• OFS: wil ṁaẋ-móʔon-tT-t	... as it's too salty
SUB[...-salt-...]-3	... ***wil ṁaẋmo'ondit.***
YFS: wil ṁaẋ-móʔon-t	... as it's too salty.
SUB[...-salt]-3	... ***wil ṁaẋmo'ont.***

7.3.A.1.a.2. P_A frames ending in the Indefinite Medial suffix [-[t]k^w/-s]:

7.3.A.1.a.2.a. Intransitive frames built on verb stems:

7.3.A.1.a.2.a.1. Reflexive frames:

7.3.A.1.a.2.a.1.a. The Animate Reflexive frame [k^{w}ilks-...-[t]k^w/-s]: 'to ... oneself' ***gwilks...tkw/...s***. The proclitic k^{w}ilks= 'back' ***gwilks...*** (7.1.A.1.b.35.) is used with Reflexive meaning in this frame.

k^{w}ilks-ɬimóːl-tk^w	'to wrap oneself up'
[...-wrap.s.-...]	***gwilkshlimoolɬkw***
k^{w}ilks-ʔítk^w-s	'to blame/accuse oneself, to repent'
[...-accuse.s.-...]	***gwilks'itkws***

kʷilks-haltim=kú-tkʷ	'to "pick oneself up": esp. to redeem
[...-wrap.s.-...]	oneself after being disgraced'
	gwilkshaldimguutkw
kʷilks-tə-tálq-s	'to talk to oneself'
[...-DOMIN-talk.to.s.-...]	*gwilksdidalḵs*

7.3.A.1.a.2.a.1.b. The Inanimate Reflexive frame [ʔa-...-[t]kʷ/-s]: 'to ... by/of itself' *a...tkw/...s*. The prefix (ʔa-) 'spontaneously' is used with reflexive meaning in this frame. In modern usage the frame is usually preceded by the modifier lip 'self' *lip* (5.15.B.3.). (The English equivalent is not always Reflexive, but the French or German equivalent would usually be).

ʔa-q̓áq-s	'to open by itself' (older form)
[...-open-...]	(Fr. s'ouvrir) *aḵ'aḵs*
lip ʔa-q̓áq-[t]kʷ	'to open by itself' (newer form)
self [...-open-...]	(Fr. s'ouvrir) *lip-aḵ'aḵkw*

(note the lack of fricativization of the stem-final Velar, characteristic of newer formations)

ʔa-ló:-[t]kʷ	'[school of fish] to start moving' (Boas)
[...-motionless.PL-...]	*alootkw*
lip ʔa-qínx̣-[t]kʷ	'[tree] to fall by itself' (newer form)
self [...-[tree]falling-...]	*lip-agenx̣kw*
lip ʔa-qús-[t]kʷ	'[gun] to go off by itself' (newer form)
self [...-open-...]	*lip-agoskw*

7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2. Passives of transitive-forming frames: (see 7.3.A.2.): Many transitive-forming frames have Passive equivalents: the prefix is the same for

both forms, but the suffix differs.

7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.a. The Passive/Reflexive Jussive [kʷin-...-[t]kʷ/-s]: 'to make oneself ...ed' (Fr. se faire + infinitive) *gwin...tkw/...s* (see Active counterpart, 7.3.A.2.a.1.):

kʷin-naxn̓á-[t]kʷ [...-hear.s.-...]	'to make oneself heard' (Fr. se faire entendre) ***gwin-naxniatkw***
kʷin-kúkʷsa?an-[t]kʷ [...-wake.up.s.-...]	'to have oneself waked up, to arrange for a wake-up call' (Fr. se faire réveiller) ***gwin-gyukwsa'antkw***

7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.b. Passives of modal transitives: (see 7.3.A.2.a.3.): these are the Passive counterparts of transitive verbs starting with ʔa:ma: 'well' *amaa...*, txa: 'all' *txaa...*, and others. Only a couple of examples are given here.

ʔa:ma:-cáp-[t]kʷ [well-make.s.-...]	'to be fixed' ***amaajapkw***
txa:-sáxʷ-s [all-shake.s.-...]	'to shiver all over' (lit. to be all shaken) *(saxw)* ***txaasakws***

7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.c. Other intransitive frames built on verb stems:

7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.c.1. [si:x-...-[t]kʷ/-s] 'to ... intently, with intense concentration; to focus all one's attention to ...ing' *siix...tkw/...s*. The prefix is also used in a transitive-forming frame, 7.3.A.2.a.4.b.

si:x-yú.xkʷ-s [...-eat-...]	'to eat with concentration' ***siixyuuxkws***

si:x-ƛ̓é:q-s	'to eat voraciously, to concentrate on eating' *siixt'eeqs*
[...-eat.much.fast-...]	
si:x-[ʔa]múkʷs-[s]	'to listen intently' *siixmukws*
[...-listen-...]	
si:x-ká?askʷ-[[t]kʷ]	'to look intently' *siixga'askw*
[...-look-...]	

7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.c.2. [txa:-...-[t]kʷ/-s] 'to (be) all, completely, ... ' *txaa...tkw/...s*.

This frame can be used as the Passive counterpart of a modal transitive (7.3.A.2.a.4.c.), but it can also be used with other intransitive stems:

txa:-ƛ̓i)kó:ks-[t]kʷ	'to be immersed, covered in liquid' *txaagigyooksk*
[...-ASP)float-...]	
txa:-ƛ̓íɬ-tkʷ	'to be all in one piece' (48.9) *txaak'iɬtk*
[...-one-...]	
txa:-míməq̓-[t]kʷ	'[face] to be all smiles' *txaamimq'k*
[...-smile-...]	

7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.c.3. [txaƛ̓apaχ-...-[t]kʷ(-s)] 'to (be) completely, totally ... ' *txaƛ'apχ...tkw/...s* (see also 7.3.A.2.a.4.d.).

txaƛ̓apaχ-tá:w-[t]kʷs	'to be frozen through' *txaƛ'apχdaawtkws*
[...-ice, frozen-...]	
txaƛ̓apaχ-má:n-tkʷ	'to be all left [the whole of s.t.]' *txaƛ'apχmaantk*
[...-leftover-...]	

7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.c.4. [tu:la:-...-[t]k^{w}/-s] 'not to ... properly, to ... funny' *duulaa...tkw/...s*

The prefix appears to be composed of an element tu:- *duu...* which recurs in [tu:wil-...-[t]k^{w}/-s] *duuwil...tkw/...s* (7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.c.5.) and of the proclitic la:= *laa...* (7.1.A.1.c.8.) which expresses negative emotion. (The first element tu:- *duu...* seems to be different from the homonymous verb-forming prefix, 7.1.B.2.a.1.a.4).

tu:la:-nú:tk^{w}-s	'to dress up in a funny costume'
[...-adorn.self-...]	***duulaanuutkws***
tu:la:-páx̣-[t]k^{w}	'(machine, engine) not to run properly'
[...-run-...]	***duulaapax̣tkw***
tu:la:-kát-[t]k^{w}	'(person) to be abnormal (deformed,
[...-man-...]	retarded, etc. [Boas]) ***duulaagatkw***

7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.c.5. [tu:wil-...-[t]k^{w}/-s] 'to ... aggressively' *duuwil...tkw/...s*.

The first element tu:- *duu...* recurs in [tu:la:-...-[t]k^{w}/-s] *duulaa...tkw/...s* (7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.c.4.) and the second is probably the subordinator wil *wil*.

tu:wil-hí-[t]k^{w}	'to jeer, heckle'
[...-speak-...]	***duulaahitkw***
tu:wil-wíl-[t]k^{w}	'to lunge at s.o.'
[...-be/act-...]	***duulaawiltkw***

7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.c.6. [x̣la:-...-[t]k^{w}(-s)] 'to ... unlawfully, without being competent or entitled to do so' *x̣laa...tkw(s)*

The initial part seems to be composed of the prefix (x̣-) 'to lawfully claim or

receive ...' *x̲...* (7.1.B.2.a.1.a.6.) and of the proclitic la:= *laa...* expressing negative emotion (7.1.A.1.c.8., cf. [tu:la:-...-[t]k^{w}(-s)] 7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.c.4.).

x̲la:=hí-[t]k^{w}	'to speak without having the authority
[...-speak-...]	to do so' ***x̲laahitkw***
x̲la:-wíl-[t]k^{w}(s)	'to act without having the authority to
[...-be/act-...]	do so' ***x̲laawiltkw(s)***

7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.c.7. [x̲ɬn̓a:-...-[t]k^{w}(-s)] 'to ..., trying to be inconspicuous' *x̲ɬn̓aa...tkw(s)*.

The prefix seems to include the proclitic n̓a:= 'in places, conspicuously against a background' *n̓aa...* (7.1.A.1.b.22.), and the preceding sequence /x̲ɬ/ may be derived from ʔáq=ɬ ... 'there isn't ..., impossible to ..., etc.' *a̲ɬ...* (5.13.D.).

x̲ɬn̓a:=skí-tk^{w}	'to prostrate oneself'
[...-[object]lie-...]	***x̲ɬn̓aasgitkw***
lu:=x̲ɬn̓a:=t̓á:-tk^{w}s	'to stay home, shunning company'
in=[...-sit/stay-...]	***x̲ɬn̓aat'aatkws***

7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.c.8. [ʔaɬax̲-...-[t]k^{w}(-s)] 'to be unable to ... (from being crippled)' *ahlax̲...tkw(s)*.

The frame indicates that a normal activity cannot be done. The prefixed part is very unusual and cannot be identified with certainty at this point. The initial sequence /ʔaɬ/, which also occurs in ʔaɬisqó:t 'to wonder about s.' *ahlisgoot*, cannot be identified with certainty, but it could be a negative prefix (cf. the Tsimshian negative prefix (waɬ-), Dunn 1979). The remainder /ax̲/ of the prefix probably includes an epenthetic vowel /a/ since the sequence /ɬx̲/ is not allowable in Nisgha. The /x̲/ could be the prefix (x̲-) meaning 'to lawfully claim or receive ...' *x̲...* (7.1.B.2.a.1.a.6.).

ʔaɬax̣-wíl-[t]kʷ(s) 'to be unable to do anything'
[...-be/act-...] ***ahlax̣wiltkw(s)***

ʔaɬax̣-yé-[t]kʷ(s) 'to be unable to walk'
[...-walk-...] ***ahlax̣yeetkw(s)***

7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.c.9. [kit-ʔan-...-[t]kʷ(-s)] 'to go elsewhere for the temporary purpose of ...ing' *git-an...tkw/...s*.

The initial element of the frame is probably not the prefix (kit-) 'people of ...' *git...* (7.1.B.2.b.1.a.), which forms nouns (cf. 7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.c.10.). The homophonous prefix here is followed by the prefix (ʔan-) *an...* (7.1.B.1.b.1.a.1.). As the latter has more than one meaning, it is difficult to tell whether a particular one is involved here. This definitely verbal frame is used most often in reference to a group, but can also apply to a single person.

kit-ʔan-ɬíʔt-[t]kʷ 'to go elsewhere to play ball (e.g. team going to a tournament)'
[...-...-[play]ball-...] ***git-anhlit'kw***

kit-ʔan-haɬáɬsT-[t]kʷ 'to go elsewhere to find work (esp. to leave the village for summer work in the canneries)' ***git-anhahlaɬskw***
[...-...-[work-...]

kit-ʔan-ɬáʔ-[t]kʷ 'to spend the night at s.o. else's house'
[...-...-stay-...] ***git-anɬ'aatkw***

kit-ʔan-x̣sán-[t]kʷ 'to go elsewhere to participate in stick-gambling' (28.9)
[...-...-stick.gambling-...] ***git-anx̣santkw***

7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.c.10. [kis-...-[t]kʷ/-s] 'to ... to another place' *gis...tkw/...s*.

It is likely that the initial element (kis-) *gis...* is composed of (kit-) *git...* (cf. 7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.c.9.) and a prefix (s-), and that the single /s/ is due to the Deaffrication rule (10.1.B.2.1.a.). However, there is no prefix (s-) identifiable in present-day Nisgha (there is an augment /s/, but augments do not have grammatical value, 3.1.A.), so (kis-) is here treated as a single morpheme.

kis-kó:-tk^{w}	'to move [in a boat] to another moorage'
[...-moored-...]	***gisgyootkw***
kis-lúk^{w}-s	'to move [house], go live elsewhere'
[...-move.house-...]	***gislukws***

7.3.A.1.a.2.b. Frames built mostly on nouns stems: Most of these have unsuffixed counterparts with related but different meanings.

7.3.A.1.a.2.b.1. [his-...-[t]k^{w}/-s] 'to do ... for fun, not in earnest' *his...tkw/...s*

The prefix or proclitic his= *his...* is rarely used outside of this frame.

- with noun stems:

his-ʔá:q-s	'to laugh' (< to open one's mouth in
[...-mouth-...]	fun?) ***his'aaks***
his-m̓á:l-tk^{w}	'to go canoeing'
[...-canoe-...]	***hism̓aaltkw***

For the plural, the DISTR prefix (qa-) *ga...* is inserted between his= and the noun stem:

his-qa-ʔá:q-s	'to laugh (pl.)'
[...-DISTR-mouth-...]	***hisga'aaks***

- with intransitive verb stem:

his-cóq-s	'to go camping, to have a picnic'
[...-camp, stay-...]	***hisjoḵs***
his-k^{w}iski-tk^{w}-s	'to rejoice (religious term)'
[...-??-MED-...]	***hisgwisgitkws***

7.3.A.1.a.2.b.2. [ksə-...-[t]k^{w}] 'to remove ... from oneself' *ksi...(t)kw* (For the prefix alone, see 7.1.B.2.a.2.a.). This frame seems to be a recent formation since the addition of the suffix does not cause fricativization of the stem-final Velar, and there is no (-s) alternant.

ksə-ná:ɬq-[t]k^{w}	'to breathe out'	
[...-breath-...]	*(naahlḵ)*	***ksinaahlḵtkw***
ksə-núċ-[t]k^{w}	'to blow one's nose'	
[...-snot-...]		***ksinuts'tkw***
ksə-ỷímq-[t]k^{w}	'to shave'	
[...-whiskers-...]		***ksiỷimḵtkw***

7.3.A.1.a.2.b.2. [sə-...-[t]k^{w}/-s] *si...(t)kw* (For the prefix alone, see 7.1.B.2.a.2.b.).

(a) 'to be in the process of making .... to be working on ...' (similar words without the suffix refer to the complete process and product):

sə-k^{w}ilá-tk^{w}	'to work on [making] a blanket'
[...-blanket-...]	***sigwilatkw***
sə-ʔá:t-[t]k^{w}	'to work on [making] a net'
[...-net-...]	***siaatkw***

sə-pčá:n-**tk^{w}**	'to work on [making] a totem-pole'
[...-totem.pole-...]	***sipts'aantkw***

(b) 'to make, set up, prepare ...' (no unsuffixed counterpart):

sə-qínx̣-**[t]k^{w}**	'to build a road'
[...-road-...-...]	***sqenxkw***
sə-sá-**tk^{w}**	'to perform the traditional four-day
[...-day-...]	purification ritual' ***sisatkw***
sə-lák^{w}-s	'to build a fire'
[...-fuel-...]	***silakws***
sə-haʔi:txó:x̣k^{w}-s	'to set the tables for a feast'
[...-blanket-...]	***sihaʔiitgoox̣kws***
sə-winé:x-s > siwinéːks	'to process and preserve food'
[...-blanket-...]	*(wineex)* ***siwineeks***
sə-ʔanláyʔtix-s>saʔanláyʔtiks	'to set up a sign or beacon'
[...-sign/beacon-...] *(anlayt'ix)*	***sa'anlayt'iks***

For some more ambitious undertakings, the suffix is **(-[t]k^{w}-s)**, not just **(-[t]k^{w})** or **(-s)**, as in:

sə-wílp-**[t]k^{w}**-s	'to build a house'
[...-house-...-...]	***siwilpkws***
sə-pó:t-**[t]k^{w}**-s	'to build a boat'
[...-boat-...-...]	***sibootkws***

7.3.A.1.a.2.b.4. **[yu:-...-[t]k^{w}/-s]** 'to be in charge of ..., to carry/have

a/one's ... [on one's person]' *yuu...(t)kw/...s* (for the prefix alone, see 7.1.B.2.a.1.a.7.).

This frame is used most often, and productively, with noun stems:

yu:-tá:la-**tk^{w}**	'to have one's money (e.g. in one's
[...-money-...]	pocket)' ***yuudaalatk^{w}***
yu:-q̓ap̓a:lú-**tk^{w}**	'to have one's gun, to carry a gun'
[...-gun-...]	***yuuƛ'ap'aaluutk^{w}***
yu:-ʔayú:q-**s**	'[to be] the police (to be in charge of the
[...-law-...]	law)' ***yuu'ayuuƛs***
yu:-t̓imísT-**[t]k^{w}**	'to be in charge of the paperwork, to be
[...-writing-...]	the secretary' ***yuut'imisk^{w}***
yu:-t̓is)t̓ís-**[t]k^{w}**	'to be in charge of the elders (e.g. escort
[...-PL)old-...]	them on a trip)' ***yuut'ist'isk^{w}***

(In the last example, the nominal which corresponds to the stem would be the Relative form **t̓is)t̓ís-ət**, lit. '[those] who are old' *t'ist'isit*, used nominally, see 7.2.A.2.(c)).

7.3.A.1.a.2.b.5. **[x̣-...-[t]k^{w}/-s]** 'to be caught in/by ..., to be personally affected by ...' *ɣ...(t)kw/...s* (for the prefix *ɣ...* alone, see 7.1.B.2.a.1.a.6.; for the suffix alone with a similar meaning, see 7.2.C.1.b.2.a.1.b.(2)).

x̣-yé:n-**tk^{w}**	'to be caught in the fog'
[...-fog-...]	***ɣyeentk^{w}***
x̣-qó:p-**[t]k^{w}**	'to be seasick'
[...-wave-...]	***ɣgoopk^{w}***

x̱-hat̓àq-m+háyk̓ʷ-s 'to be possessed by demons'
[...-evil-ATTR+spirit-...] *x̱hat'agam-haykws*

7.3.A.1.a.2.b.6. [x̱s-...-[t]kʷ/-s] 'to imitate a ..., to be like a ...' *x̱s...(t)kw/...s*

x̱s-kʷí:kʷ-s 'to whistle [like a marmot]'
[...-marmot-...] *x̱sgwiikws*

ṅi:=x̱s-yé:n-tkʷ '(moon) to be hazy'
on=[...-fog-...] *ṅiix̱syeentkw*

A few color words are formed with this frame. (For the suffix alone with this meaning, see 7.2.C.1.b.2.b.(1)).

x̱s-má:ỷ-tkʷ 'to be purple (like berries)'
[...-berries-...] *x̱smaaỷtkw*

x̱s-[lòq-a:+lóʔop]-[t]kʷ 'to be dark brown (like rotted stone)'
[...-rotten-SUFF+stone-...] *x̱slogalo'opkw*

7.3.A.1.b.2. Noun-forming frame: [ʔan-x̱s-...-[t]kʷ/-s] 's. in lieu of ...' *anx̱s...(t)kw/...s*

The first element of this frame is the prefix {ʔan-} *an...* (7.1.B.1.b.1.a.1.), preceding the frame [x̱s-...-[t]kʷ/-s] 'to be like ..., to imitate ...' *x̱s...(t)kw/...s* (7.3.A.1.a.2.b.6.). It forms a few nouns from other nouns:

ʔan-x̱s-nikʷó:t-[t]kʷ 'adoptive father'
place-[...-father-...]$_{LIKE}$ *anx̱snigwootkw*

ʔan-x̱s-nóx̱-[t]kʷ 'adoptive mother'
place-[...-mother-...]$_{LIKE}$ *anx̱snox̱kw*

or from intransitive verbs:

ʔan-xs-ksíːsk^{w}-[[t]k^{w}]	's.t. given as restitution for a crime'
place-[...-restituting-...]$_{LIKE}$	***anxsksiisk**w*

7.3.A.2. P_{EA}'s:

7.3.A.2.a. Frames ending in the Definite Medial suffix {-T}: (7.2.C.1.a)
These frames are built on transitive verbs. A number of transitive verbs which do not normally take the suffix add it when preceded by certain prefixes or proclitic. An epenthetic is inserted between the suffix and a stem-final vowel or resonant. Many of these framed transitive verbs have Passive counterparts in {-[t]k^{w}/-s} (see above 7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.).

7.3.A.2.a.1. The Definite Jussive frame [k^{w}in-...-[t]k^{w}/-s] 'to cause s.o. to do s.t., to have s.o. do s.t., to have s.t. done by s.o.' *gwin-...-di* (Fr. faire faire qqch à qqn). (For the prefix alone, see 7.1.B.1.a.1.b.). Transitive verbs prefixed with *gwin-* take the {-T} suffix when accompanied by an Indirect object with designates the person actually performing the action.

k^{w}in-cáp-T	'to have s.o. make s.t., to have s.t. made
[...-make.s.-...]	by s.o.' ***gwin-jap-di***
k^{w}in-q̓úc-T	'to have s.o. cut s.t., to have s.t. cut
[...-cut.s.-...]	by s.o.' ***gwin-g'ots-di***
k^{w}in-ká?-T	'to show s.t. to s.o.' (Fr. faire voir qqch
[...-see.s.-...]	à qqn) ***gwin-ga'a(t)-di***

- kilò mə cə k^{w}in-ká?-tT-t ʔa=ɬ ẇák-n
  don't 2E IRR [...-see.s.-...]-3 PREP=NC M's.brother-2
  Don't show it to your brother!
  *Gwilo mi ji **gwin-ga'adit ahl wagin!***

7.3.A.2.a.2. The Reciprocal frame [nə-...-T] 'to ... s. to/against each other' *ni...t*: this frame, usually intransitive (7.3.A.1.a.1.b.1.), can also be used to form transitive verbs from other transitive verbs.

nə-lúx^{W}-T	'to fight over [who should have] s.t.; lit.
[...-not.let.s.o.have.s.-...]	to deny s.t. to each other' ***niluxw(t)***

• [nə-lúx^{W}-T]-ti:t=ɬ wílp	They fought over [who should have] the
[...-not.let.s.o.have.s.-...]-3P=NC house	house. ***Niluxwdiithl wilp.***

• tim [nə-tóq-T]-ə-m̓=ɬ ksán qan=ɬ lísims
FUT [...-take.s.PL-...]-CTL-1P=NC Skeena and=NC Nass
We'll bet each other the Skeena against the Nass (19.3).
*Dim **nidoɬdimhl** Ksan ganhl Lisims.*

7.3.A.2.a.3. The frame [ni)ntə-...-T] 'to ... [things] together [into one]' *nindi/ninda...-di*. The current prefix is probably a partially reduplicated form: Boas 1902 has several instances where the prefix is simply (ntə-) *ndi/nda...*, obviously related to the indefinite pronoun ntá 'which way, where' *nda* (5.6.A.1.b.2.). In general, the verb stem is plural.

ni)ntə-tix)ták^{ɬ}-T	'to tie things together into a bundle'
[...-PL)tie.s.-...]	***nindidixdakhl-di***

ni)ntə-hix)qanc̓ó?-T	'to pin things together'
[...-PL)tie.s.-...]	***nindahixgant'o'o(t)-di***

• k̓i:-t ɬú:[t]=ɬ k^{W}i:s-qá:q-t ?a-t ntə-c̓íp)c̓í:p-T-t
and-3E take.s.=ND garment-raven-3 PREP-3E [...-PL)tie.s.-...]-3
He took his raven blanket [that he had torn apart] in order to tie it together again (39.2.). *K'iit guuhl gwiisgaaɬt at **ndits'ipts'iibit**.*

7.3.A.2.a.4. Modal frames: These frames add modal/adverbial meanings to the verb. Many of these transitive frames have Passive counterparts ending in (-[t]kʷ/-s) (7.3.A.1.a.2.a.2.).

7.3.A.2.a.4.a. [sik̓ił-...-T] 'to try to ... s.' *sik'ihl-...-di*.

sik̓ił-q̓úc-T 'to try to cut s.t.'
[...-cut.s.-...] ***sik̓'ihl-k̓'ots-di***

7.3.A.2.a.4.b. [si:x-...-T] 'to try intently to ... s., to concentrate on ... s.' *siix-...-di*:

si:x-ẇá-tT 'to try to find s.t., to search for s.t.'
[...-find.s.-...] ***siix-ẇa(t)-di***

si:x-ká?-tT 'to try to see s.t., to watch for s.t.'
[...-see.s.-...] ***siix-ga'a(t)-di***

7.3.A.2.a.4.c. [tx̣a:-...-T] 'to ... s.t. completely, to ... all over s.t.' *tx̣aa-...-di*

tx̣a:-t̓ák-T 'to forget s.t. completely'
[...-forget.s.-...] ***tx̣aat'ak-di***

7.3.A.2.a.4.d. [tx̣ap̓ax̣-...-T] 'to ... s. completely, altogether; to ... the whole of s.t.' *tx̣ap'ax̣-...-di*. The prefix is probably compounded of (tx̣a:-) 'altogether' *tx̣aa-...* and (m̓ax̣-) 'nothing but ...' *max̣-...*, which are found singly in other frames ((7.3.A.1.a.1.c.).

tx̣ap̓ax̣-t̓ák-T 'to forget the whole s.t.'
[...-forget.s.-...] ***tx̣ap'ax̣t'ak-di***

tx̣ap̓ax̣-t̓áɬ-T 'to throw the whole s.t. away'
[...-put.away.s.PL-...] ***tx̱ap'ax̱t'ahl-di***

tx̣ap̓ax̣-kí:s-T 'to [try to hit s.t. and] miss it completely'
[...-miss.s.-...] ***tx̱ap'ax̱giis-di***

7.3.A.2.a.4.e. [ʔa:ma:-...-T] 'to ... s. well, properly' *amaa...-di*: The prefix is a suffixed form of the word ʔá:m 'good' *aam*.

ʔa:ma:-cáp-T 'to fix s.t.'
[...-make.s.-...] ***amaajap-di***

ʔa:ma:-káʔ-tT 'to look after s.'
[...-see.s.-...] ***amaaga'a(t)-di***

ʔa:ma:-hó:x-T 'to straighten, rearrange s.t. (a piece of clothing) ***amaahoox-di***
[...-use/wear.s.-...]

7.3.A.2.a.5. Transitive frames in (-T) starting with proclitics: Some proclitics cause a transitive verb to add the Definite Medial suffix. Only a few instances are given here.

7.3.A.2.a.5. a. [n̓a:-...-T] 'to ... s. in one or more spots' *n̓aa...-di* (cf. 7.1.A.1.b.22.)

n̓a:=t̓is)t̓ís-T 'to knock at s.t.'
[...-PL)hit.s.-...] ***n̓aat'ist'is-di***

7.3.A.2.a.5.b. [tq̓al-...-T] 'to ... s. to/with s.o. else' *tk̲'al...-di* (7.1.A.1.b.33.)

tq̓al=c̓í:p-T 'to tie s.t. to s.t. else'
[...-tie.s.-...] ***tk̲'alts'iip-di***

tq̓al=ʔáks-T 'to drink s.t. with s.t. else'
[...-drink.s.-...] *tɬ'al'aks-di*

tq̓al=ƛíp-T 'to eat s.t. with s.t. else'
[...-eat.s.-...] *tɬ'algip-di*

7.3.A.2.a.6. Transitive frames in [-T] starting with lexical verb-forming prefixes: (7.1.B.2.): these verbs are formed on nouns.

7.3.A.2.a.6.a. [sə-...-T] 'to make s.t. into ..., to make ... with s.t., to add ... to s.t. [a food]' *si/sa...di*. This productive frame forms transitive verbs from nouns (cf. also intransitive frame 7.3.A.1.a.2.b.3.). The prefix alone means 'to pick, prepare, make ...' (7.1.B.2.a.1.a.2..).

sə-lákʷ-T 'to burn s.t. (lit. to make s.t. into fuel)'
[...-fuel-...] *silakw-di*

sə-súp-T 'to make s.t. into soup, to make soup with s.t.' *sisup-di*
[...-soup-...]

sə-cá:m-tT 'to make s.t. into jam, to make jam with s.t.' *sijaam(t)-di*
[...-jam-...]

lu:=[sə-ʔáks-tT] 'to add water to [a pot of] s.t.'
in=[...-water-...] *luusi'aks-di*

lu:=[sə-mó?on-tT] 'to salt s.t. [a food in a pot], to add salt to [a pot of] s.t.' *luusimo'on(t)-di*
in=[...-salt-...]

7.3.A.2.a.6.b. [x̌-...-T] 'to serve ... [a food] to s.o.' *x̌...-di*
The currently productive meaning of the prefix *x̌...* alone is 'to eat/drink/consume ...' (7.1.B.2.a.1.a.6.).

x̲-tíkit-T
[...-smoked.ool.-...]
'to serve s.o. smoked oolichans'
xdigit-di

x̲-kó:fi:-tT
[...-coffee-...]
'to serve s.o. coffee'
xkoofii(t)-di

- tim [x̲-kó:fi:-tT]-ə-ỷ ɲì:n-a
  FUT [...-coffee-...]-CTL-1S you-Q
  Shall I give you a cup of coffee?
  Dim xkoofiitdiỷ ɲiina?

- [x̲-ʔamálk^{w}-ax̲-tT]-ə-[t]=ɬ wò:saʔhux^{w}tá:k̓in-ỷ
  [...-scab-?-...]-CTL--[3]=NC [a monster] grandchild-1S
  The *woosa'a* [a monster] has been feeding my grandchild scabs. (37.7.)
  X̲'amalgwaxdihl woosa'a(hl) huxwdaak'iniỷ.

7.3.A.2.b. Transitive frames ending in {-[t]k^{w}/--s}: (cf. transitive use of this suffix, 7.2.C.2.b.3.).

7.3.A.2.b.1.a. [sil-(qa)-...-[t]k^{w}/-s] 'to ... together with s.o.' *sil(ga)...tkw/...s* (For the prefix alone, see 7.1.B.1.b.5.d.)). This productive frame is used with intransitive verb stems.

sil-cóq-s
[...-stay-...]
'to live in the same house with s.o.'
siljoks

sil-ké:ɬ-[t]k^{w}
[...-lie-...]
'to share a bed with s.o.'
silgeehlkw

sil-wilkát-[t]k^{w}
[...-color-...]
'to be the same color as s.'
silwilgatkw

In some cases the DISTR plural prefix *ga...* is used to differentiate meaning:

sil-ʔtá-tk^{w}	'(one person) to sit with s.o. [one]'
[...-sit-...]	***silt'aatkw***
sil-wán-tk^{w}	'(one person) to sit with s.o. [plural]'
[...-sit.PL-...]	***silwantkw***
sil-qa-ʔtá:-tk^{w}	'(two, more) to sit with s.o. [one]'
[...-DISTR-sit-...]	***silgat'aatkw***
sil-qa-wán-tk^{w}	'(two, more) to sit with s.o. [plural]'
[...-DISTR-sit.PL-...]	***silgawantkw***

In many cases however the Distributive prefix is part of the productive version of the frame and does not have a distinctive meaning:

sil-qa-hátiks-[t]k^{w}	'to go swimming with s.o. [one or more]'
[...-DISTR-swim-...]	***silgahadiksktw***
sil-qa-txó:χk^{w}-[[t]k^{w}]	'to eat with s.o. [one or more]'
[...-DISTR-eat.PL-...]	***silgatxoo̲xktw***

7.3.A.2.b.1.b. [lipilt-...-[t]k^{w}] 'to ... in rebellion or hostility against s.' *libilt ...tkw*. The prefix does not seem to occur except in this frame, which does not appear to be productive.

lipilt-hí-tk^{w}	'to speak against s.'
[...-say-...]	***libilthitkw***
lipilt-wíl-tk^{w}	'to rebel against s.'
[...-be/act-...]	***libiltwiltkw***

7.3.A.2.b.2. Transitive frames ending in (-[t]k^{w}/-s) starting with proclitic: These frames are built on intransitive stems. The alternant suffix (-s) is rarely

used in the context of these frames. Instead, if the stem used with the frame already ends in /kʷ/, no suffix is added, so that most of the words in this category tend to end in the same phonological element. Examples are given with the most common proclitics entering in this type of frame. Compared to intransitive verbs with the proclitic but without the suffix, these transitive verbs imply an action which affects the Object, rather than the latter being just the location of the action (see beginning of the section on Frames, 7.3.A.).

7.3.A.2.b.2.a. lu:= 'in' *luu...*

lu:=tá:w̓i:ɬ-[t]kʷ
[...=go.away/disappear-...]

'[foreign object] to go into s.t. [a body part], hence: [illness] to affect s.t.'
luudaaw̓ihlkw

7.3.A.2.b.2.b. n̓i:= 'on' *n̓ii...*

(1) used singly:

n̓i:=t̓á:-tkʷ
[...=sit-...]

'to sit or ride on s.t., to straddle s.t.'
n̓iit'aatkw

n̓i:=laχ)láq-[t]kʷ
[...=[snow]to.fall-...]

'to fall on s.t. [like snow], to shower s.t.'
n̓iilaχlaḵkw

n̓i:=hítkʷ-[[t]kʷ]
[...=stand-...]

to step on s.t.'
n̓iihitkw

In the following example, the framed word ends in /S/, so that the alternant (-S) is not repeated. This word is itself originally a Passive (of the transitive verb ʔúx 'to throw/fling s.t.' *ux*), ending in the alternant suffix (-S) because of the stem-final Velar.

ṅi:=ʔúkʂ-[-s] '[object] to fall on s., hitting it'
[...=hit-...] *ṅii'uks*

(2) associated with other proclitics: these combinations only seem to occur in the following frames:

(a) [ṅi:=ṁin=...-[t]kʷ/-s] 'to ... to the top of s.t.' *ṅiiṁin...tkw/...s* (ṅi:= 'on' *ṅii...*; ṁin='upward' *ṁin...*):

ṅi:=ṁin=kipáykʷ-[tkʷ] 'to fly to the top of s.t.'
[...=...=fly-...] *ṅiiṁingibaykw*

(b) [ṅi:=[t]q̓an=...-[t]kʷ/-s] 'to ... over [the top of] s.t.' *ṅii(t)k̓'an...tkw/...s* (ṅi:= 'on' *ṅii...*; [t]q̓an='level with the top (?)' *(t)k̓'an...*):

ṅi:=[t]q̓an=kipáykʷ-[tkʷ] 'to fly over s.t.'
[...=...=fly-...] *ṅii(t)k̓'angibaykw*

ṅi:=[t]q̓an=hítkʷ-[tkʷ] 'to stand over s.t.'
[...=...=stand-...] *ṅii(t)k̓'anhitkw*

ṅi:=[t]q̓an=yú·χkʷ-s 'to eat while holding s. on one's lap'
[...=...=eat-...] *ṅii(t)k̓'anyuuχkws*

7.3.B. Morphosyntactic (phrasal) frames: Phrasal frames can be divided into nominalizing frames and focusing frames. Nominalizing frames make an adjective, locational adverb, transitive verb, and even noun, into the head of a possessive noun-phrase: 'the ... [of the ...].' There are too kinds of focusing frames: those which only focus nouns and those which focus any predicates. In both cases, these frames add special meaning to the focused element.

7.3.B.1. Nominalizing frames: There are two nominalizing frames, one which nominalizes adjectives and locational adverbs , the other which nominalizes

transitive verbs and other nouns.

7.3.B.1.a. The Abstract nominalizing frame [qa-...-ə] *ga...i/a...*: This frame can be used to nominalize adjectives and locational adverbs. It is not clear whether the prefix can be identified with the Distributive plural prefix (qa-) *ga...* (7.1.B.1.a.1.b.) (it could mean 'each and every instance of ...') or with the other prefix of the same shape (7.1.B.1.b.1.b.3.), which has a less definable meaning. The suffix (-ə-) should probably not be identified with the Control suffix (7.2.A.3.), but considered as a homophonous morpheme, since it occurs under quite different conditions. No specific gloss seems appropriate at the present time.

7.3.B.1.a.1. Framing Adjectives: With an adjective, this frame is usually translated locally by 'how ... [long, thick, etc.] s. is', but many times the best English translation is by an abstract noun, e.g. 'the length, thickness, etc. of s.' However, the Nisgha framed word is not an abstract noun, like those nouns formed with the prefixes ʔan- *an...* (7.1.B.1.b.1.a.1.) or qan- *gan...* (7.1.B.3.b.1.), but a downshifted adjectival predicate (4.5.A.1.c.2.) used in a nominalizing frame: the downshifted adjective is always accompanied by its argument and agrees with it in number. The resulting noun-phrase can be used either predicatively, or as an Adjunct, especially after an evaluative predicate.

qa-sàq-ə-[t]=ɬlaχhá
[...-sharp-...]-{3}=NC sky

'how cold the weather is (!). The weather is so cold!; the coldness of the weather, the low temperature'

gasagahl laxha (!)

qa-nn̓ì:l̓uk^{W}-ə-[t]=ɬqan)qán
[...-long.PL-...]-{3}=NC PL)tree

'how long the logs are (!). The logs are so long!; the length of the logs'

gann̓iil̓ugwihl gangan (!)

- ć̓áx^{W}=ɬ qa-sàq-ə-[t]=ɬlaχhá==sa
  considerable=NC[...-sharp-...]-{3}-NC sky==PROX

This weather is so/very cold!
Ts'axwhl gasagahl laxha-sa!

- k̓ax̣ páq-[t]=ɬ qa-kàmk-ə-[t]=ɬhúpx̣-t==sa
  considerable=NC [...-hot-...]-[3]=NC forehead==PROX
  Just feel how hot h. forehead is!
  K̲'ax̲ bak̲hl gagamgihl hupx̲t-sa!

- ɬa ʔá:m-[t]=ɬ qa-n̓àkʷ-ə-t ʔi: ... After a while ... (lit. now its length
  now good-[3]=NC [...-long-...]-3 and ... [of time] was right and ...)
  Hlaa aamhl gan̓agwit ii ...

A few stems are used only with the frame and do not occur by themselves. They all end in vowels, a fact which causes deletion of the vowel suffix.

qa-*sqò:-ə-[t]=s[t]Máry 'how big Mary is, Mary's size'
[...-*big?-...]-[3]=DC [DM] M. *gasgoos Mary*

qa-*tiptì:-ə-[t]=ɬk̓upa:-tk̓íɬkʷ 'how big the children are,
[...-*big.PL?-...]-[3]=NC [DM] M. the children's sizes'
gadipdiihl k'ubatk'ihlkw

qa-*pì:-ə-[t]=ɬ ɬk̓í-y̓ 'how many children I have,
[...-?-...]-[3]=NC offspring-1S the number of my children'
gabiihl hlgiy̓

qa-*pì:-ə-[t]=ɬ tá:la-y̓ 'how much money I have,
[...-?-...]-[3]=NC money-1S the amount of money I ha[illegible]
gabiihl daalay̓

- qa-*pì:-ə-[t]=ɬ hí-y̓ That's all I have to say (lit. 'the amount
  [...-?-...]-[3]=NC saying-1S of my saying' - traditional ending to a
  speech) *Gabiihl hiy̓.*

- qa-*pì:-ə-t==əma?=ɬ tá:la-t — That's probably all the money s/he has!
  [...-?-...]-3==PROB=NC money-3 — *Gabiidima'ahl daalat!*

- ntá=ɬ qa-*tiptì:-ə-[t]=ɬčáẇaqs=ɬhax)hóx-ə-n
  which.way=NC [...-*big.PL?-...]-[3]=NC shoes=NC PL)use.s.-CTL-2S
  What size shoes do you wear? (lit. what is the size of the shoes you wear)
  Ndahl gadipdiihl ts'awaqshl haxhooyin?

If the adjective includes a proclitic or modifier, that morpheme precedes the prefix (qa-) *ga-*.

- ǩax ká?-[t]=ɬ ẇi:-qa-ńàkʷ-ə-[t]=s[t] Máry
  just see.s.-[3]=NC great-[...-long-...]-[3]=DC [DM] M.
  See how tall Mary is!
  K'ax ga'ahl wiiganagwis Mary!

- čáxʷ==a?=ɬ lu:=qa-?ó:ks-ə-t — My, it's really wide inside!
  considerable==ASST=NC in=[...-wide-...]-3 — *Ts'axwa'ahl luuga'ooksit!*

However, some YFS prefix it to the proclitic:

- čáxʷ==a?=ɬ qa-lu:=kámk-ə-t==sa — My, it's really hot in here!
  considerable==ASST=NC [... -in=hot-...]-3==ASST — *Ts'axwa'ahl galuugamgit-sa!*

7.3.B.1.a.2. Framing locational Adverb:

(a) plain frame:

qa-kè:č-ə-[t]=ɬ ?aẏáns — 'downriver from Aiyansh'
[...-dowriver-...]-[3]=NC Aiyansh — *gageets'ihl Aẏans*

qa-kikè:ni[x]-ə-[t]=ɬ laxqalc̓áp 'upriver from Greenville'
[...-upriver-...]-[3]=NC Aiyansh ***gagigeenihl Laxgalts'ap***

(b) The frame itself can be prefixed with (ʔan-) *aa...*, which has both abstract and locational meanings ((7.1.B.1.b.1.a.1.). The result is a noun with locational meaning, which must be used in a possessive noun-phrase:

ʔan-qa-tù ẃ-[ə]-[t]=ɬ sqaṅísT '[on] the far side of the mountain'
[...-over.there-...]-[3]=NC mountain ***angaduuẃhl sgaṅist***

ʔan-qa-kì ks-ə-[t]=ɬ hu)wílp '[on] the river side of the houses'
[...-on.water.side-...]-[3]=NC PL)house ***angagiiksihl huwilp***

7.3.B.1.b. Nominalizing frame [ɬə ...-T-[t]=CON Noun]: 'the ... of the ...' *hli/hla ... (d)i ...(...)*: this frame nominalizes transitive verbs or nouns. With nouns, the result is a generic rather than simply possessive noun-phrase. More details (especially morphophonemic) and examples are given under the suffix (7.2.C.1.a.1.c.).

7.3.B.1.b.1. With transitive verbs: '[the act of] ...ing [the] ...'

ɬətq̓al=lip)lìpk^{W}-T-[t]=ɬ qanm̓ála? '[the act of] sewing on buttons'
the against=PL)sew.s.-DEF-[3]=NC button ***hli tl'alliplipgwihl ganm̓ala'a***

ɬə ṅi:=yè:-tT-[t]=ɬ lax-míɬ '[the act of] walking on the lava'
the on-walk-DEF-[3]=NC on-fire ***hli ńiiyeedihl laxmihl***

7.3.B.1.b.2. With nouns: 'the [type of] ... of [the] ...'

ɬə qàn-tT-[t]=ɬ haɬikó:tk^{W} 'the [type of] handle of the/an axe'
the stick-DEF-[3]=NC axe ***hla gandihl hahligyootkw***

ɬə sqàns-T-[t]=ɬksláẃisk^{W} 'the [type of] elbow of the/a shirt'
the elbow-DEF-[3]=NC shirt ***ɬli sganisihl kslaẃiskw***

ɬə q̓ìsaʔ-tT-[t]=ɬ m̓áqs-t 'the [type of] knee of h. pants, h. pant knee'
the knee-DEF-[3]=NC pants ***ɬla k'esa'adihl maqst***

7.3.B.2. Focusing frames: Focusing frames emphasize a particular element of the clause, as well as adding a particular meaning (unlike regular focusing, 4.7., which does not add such meaning). There are two kinds of focusing frames: two are a means of focusing a noun, and use the Relative pronoun (ə)t- ...*it/...at/...t* which is normally used in focusing P_A's. The third frame uses a morpheme peculiar to itself.

7.3.B.2.a. Noun-focusing frames:

(1) [ʔakù=ɬ wilas ...-(ə)t] 'What kind of ...?' *Aguhl wilas ...it?*
(2) [liki:-lip-wilas ...-(ə)t] 'any/whatever kind/all kinds of ...'
ligii-lip-wilas ...it

ʔakù 'what' *agu* is an Indefinite pronoun. The combination of modifiers liki:-lip *ligii-lip* is used before Indefinite pronouns to reinforce the indefinite meaning (5.6.B.). The following segment *Wilas wilas* appears to include a shorter form of the subordinator *Wila* 'how' *wilas* (5.16.B.9.). It is not clear what the following represents, but it could be a special use of the determinate connective =S. In the frames discussed here, these morphemes precede a noun suffixed with the Relative suffix (-(ə)t) ...*it/...at/...t* (see other examples under Nouns, 5.5.F.).

These two frames are always used with a noun in focused position.

- [ʔakù=ɬ wilas púc-(ə)t]=ɬ tim ti: tóq-ə-n
  [...-boots-...] FUT=NC INTS take.s.PL-CTL-2S

What kind of boots are you going to buy?
Aguhí wilas bujithí dim dii dogan?

[likí: lip wilas púc-(ə)t]=ɬ tóx-(ə)t lò:-ti:t
[...-boots-...]=NC PL.lie/be-REL=NC IND-3P
- Whatever kind [of boots] they have.
- ***Ligii-lip wilas bujithí doxat loodiit.***

- [ʔakù=ɬ wilas ʔá:t-(ə)t]=ɬ ti: hó:x-ə-t
  [...-net-...]=NC INTS use.s.-CTL-3
  What kind of fi... does he fish for? (lit. what kind of net does he use?)
  Aguhí wilas aadithí dii hooyit?

[likí: lip wilas ʔá:t-(ə)t] -All kinds. /Any kind he finds.
[...-net-...] (lit. whatever kind of net)
- ***Ligii-lip wilas aadit.***

7.3.B.2.b. Comparative frame: [wìt (likí:) ...-í:] 'seeming/looking/sounding/etc. like ...' *wit (ligii) ...ii*

This frame can be used with most types of predicatives. It frames a focused or at least a clause-initial constituent, including not only clause predicates, but auxiliaries, the latter especially before P_{EA}'s (which cannot themselves be focused in this frame). Note that a focused predicate (in a predicate-focused clause) embedded in this frame is no longer focused in the grammatical sense of this expression (4.4.), although it is still emphasized.

It is not clear what type of form wít *wit* is. When it is separated from a following P_A by the no-determinate connective =ɬ *...hí*, the final /t/ usually disappears before the connective, because of the consonant-deletion rule (10.2.A.2.b.1.c.). The modifier likí: 'about, maybe, etc.' *ligii* (5.15.B.42.) is not used with nouns.

7.3.B.2.b.1. With nouns: (see also examples in Nouns, 5.5.G.)

(a) Noun as focused predicate (in predicate-focused clause, cf. 4.4.):

- huxʷ kìl̓-[t]=ɬ lóʔop - [wì[t]=ɬ kʷiskʷó:s-i:
  again one-[3]=NC rock - [...=NC bluejay-...]

  There was one more stone, a blue one
  (lit. ..., it was like a Steller's jay)(139.9-10).
  Huxw k'il̓hl lo'op - wihl gwisgwoosii.

- [wì[t]=ɬ má:kʷs-i:]=ɬ ɬipɬàn-t
  [...=NC snow-...]=NC body-3

  Her body was as white as snow.
  (lit. ... was like snow) (211.7.)
  Wihl maakwsiihl hliphlant.

(b) Noun as focused constituent of second clause (pivot between two clauses): in this case, the verb following the noun is relativized, and it too takes the ending (-i:) ...*ii* (cf. the double use of the REL suffix in some cases, 4.7..A.2.b.1.b.):

- naxn̓á-(y)ə-y̓=ɬ[wì[t]=ɬ liḳi:c̓ú:c̓-i:]=ɬ lím[x]-(ə)t-i:
  hear.s.-CTL-1S=NC [...=NC about bird-...]=NC sing-REL-...

  I heard what sounded like a bird singing.
  Naxn̓ayiýhl wihl ligii ts'uts'iihl limidii.

7.3.B.2.b.2. With intransitive verb: This verb takes a personal suffix. If that suffix is the 3 suffix (-t), it appears on the surface before the frame suffix (-i:) ...*ii*.

(a) With main verb: In the following example from Boas 1902, the intensive modifier ti: *dii* is used, not the indefinite liḳi: *ligii* which is more common in present-day Nisgha.

- [**wì[t]**=ɬ **ti**: wiyítk^{W}-t-i:]=ɬ hì-t
  [...=NC INTS cry-3-...]=NC saying-3
  ʔa-tʔítk^{W}-[t]=ɬ ʔa:m-a: wák-t==ḳi:
  PREP-3 call.s.-[3]=NC good-SUFF M.'s brother-3==DISTAL
  He sounded as if he were crying as he called his good brother (17.6.-7)
  (lit. his words sounded like his crying ...)
  ***Wihl dii** wiyitkwdiihl hit at itkwhl amaa wakt-gi.*

(b) With auxiliary verb: in this case, there may or may not be a connective between **wit** and the auxiliary (it seems that YFS use the connective more than OFS):

- OFS: [**wìt** liḳi: **yùk^{W}**-i:]=ɬ wiyítk^{W}-t — It seems/seemed like s/he is/was crying.
  [... about PROG-...]=NC cry-3
  ***Wit** ligii **yugwiihl** wiyitkwt.*

YFS: [**wì[t]**=ɬ liḳi: **yùk^{W}**-i:]=ɬ wiyítk^{W}-t — It seems/seemed like s/he is/was crying.
[...=NC about PROG-...]=NC cry-3
***Wihl** ligii **yugwiihl** wiyitkwt.*

- [**wì[t]**=ɬ liḳi: **yùk^{W}**-i:]=ɬ wiyítk^{W}-ti: — It sounded like[someone was] crying.
  [...=NC about PROG-...]=NC cry-IMPS
  ***Wihl** ligii **yugwiihl** wiyitkwdii.*

- [**wì[t]**=ɬ liḳi: **yùk^{W}**-i:]=ɬ tim wiyítk^{W}-ỷ nə wila: páq-T-t
  [...=NC about PROG-...]=NC FUT cry-1S 1S.E how feel.s.-DEF-3
  I feel like I am about to cry.
  (local: It's like I am going to cry, how I feel.)
  ***Wihl** ligii **yugwiihl** dim wiyitgwiỷ, ni wilaa bagat.*

7.3.B.2.b.3. With transitive verb: The frame only seems to be used with the Progressive auxiliary **yuk^{W}** *yukw*. Usually there is no connective after **wit**

wit.

- [**wìt** liki: **yùk**^{W}-i:]=ɬ tim-t kíp-t
  [...=NC about PROG-...]=NC FUT-3E eat.s.-3

S/he/it looked like s/he was about to eat it.

***Wit ligii** yugwiihl dimt gipt.*

CHAPTER 8: REDUPLICATION

Reduplication occurs in Nisgha under two basic forms: partial and full. Partial reduplication is a fairly simple process; full reduplication occurs under a variety of forms bearing evidence of a very long history of morphophonemic and morphological evolution.

8.1. Partial reduplication (C-): Partial reduplication involves only the initial consonant. The resulting contact between two consonants is prevented by the insertion of a vowel, unless the consonants are syllabic resonants.

8.1.A. Aspectual use: Partial reduplication is used with all suitable verbs to indicate the progressive/ imperfective aspect, as in:

p)páx̣ >	pipáx̣	'to be running'	
ASP)run			***bibax̣***
t̓)t̓á: > tt̓á: >	tit̓á:	'to be sitting'	
ASP)sit			***dit'aa***
c)cám >	cicám	'to be cooking s.t.'	
ASP)cook.s.			***jijam***
y)yé: > hyé: >	hiyé:	'to go, walk'	
ASP)go, walk			***hiyee***

as in:

ʔakú=ɬ ci)cám-ə-n==əst	(Hey) what are you cooking?
what=NCASP)cook.s.-CTL-2S==AFF	*Aguhl jijaminis?*
q̓ay ki)ké:ɬ-t	S/he is still in bed.
still ASP)lie.down-3	*K'ay gigeehlt.*

ti)ɬá: t Màry==a	Is Mary home?
ASP)sit DM M.==Q	*Dit'aa t Marya?*

Partial reduplication usually involves the entire word, including prefixes and proclitics, as in:

- ɬa: t)tɫalyé:-[t]=ɬqaʔàkʷə-[t]=ɬ sá — The days are getting longer.
  now ASP)increase-[3]=NC length-[3]=NC day *Hlaa ditɬ'alyeehl gaʔagwihl sa.*

- ɫay ci)caqam=yúkʷ-[t]=ɬ ɬà:l
  still ASP)shoreward=move-[3]-NC canoe
  While the canoe was still moving towards the shore ...(185:10-11)
  K'ay jijagamyukwhl ɬaal ...

8.1.B. Plural use: Partial reduplication also indicates the plural of a few words, mostly nouns: most of these nouns designate items which occur (or are noticed in the plural) as groups or sets, including pairs, as in:

p)pá? > pipá?	'thighs'	
PL)thigh		*biba'a*
t)tó? > titó?	'cheeks'	
PL)cheek		*dido'o*
ɬ)ɬáx̣ > tɬáx̣ > tiɬáx̣	'lakes'	
PL)lake		*dit'aɣ*
č)čáǩ > cčáǩ > cičáǩ	'dishes'	
PL)dish		*jits'ak'*
q̓)q̓á:x > q̓q̓á:x > qaq̓á:x	'feather(s)' (old word)[1]	
PL)wing		*gaɣ'aax*

ʔa-s)sáy̓ >	ʔasisáy̓	'legs, feet'	
PL.feet			*asisay̓*
ɬ)ɬínkit >	ɬiɬínkit	'slaves' (<Tlingit))[2]	
PL)Tlingit			*ɬiɬlingit*
ʔa-n)ná:s >	ʔanná:s	'skins, pelts'	
PL.skins			*annaas*
w)wá:x > hwá:x > huwá:x		'paddles'	
PL)paddle			*huwaax*

Partial reduplication then seems to be associated with extensive or extended meaning.

There are no very recent plurals using partial reduplication; however, the form

p)bó:t >	pipó:t	'boats'	
PL)boat			*biboot*

shows that the formula was still productive at the time of European contact.

Only exceptionally does partial reduplication occur as an extra plural morpheme on an already plural form; this occurs however in:

ɲ̓)ńí:ɬuk^{w} >	nńí:ɬuk^{w}	'to be long (pl.)'	
PL)PL.long			*nɲ̓iiɬukw*

the plural of **ɲ̓ák^{w}** 'to be long (time), far' *ɲ̓akw* (original reduplicative type CV́:CvK (archaic) with irregularities, see below).

8.1.C. Morphophonemic rules associated with partial reduplication: (These rules apply regardless of the morphological structure of the word, i.e. whether

the initial consonant belongs to the stem or base or to an affix).

8.1.C.1. Deglottalization: (10.1.B.1.b.2.):

c̓)c̓íp > cc̓íp >	cic̓íp	'bones'
PL)bone		*jits'ip*
m̓)m̓á:l >	mm̓á:l	'canoes'
PL)canoe		*mm̓aal*
n̓)n̓í:l̓uk^{W} >	nn̓í:l̓uk^{W}	'to be long (pl.)'
PL)PL.long		*nn̓iil̓ukw*
y̓)y̓áq > yy̓áq > hy̓áq > hiy̓áq		'to be hanging'
ASP)hang		*hiy̓aq*
w̓)w̓ó? > ww̓ó? > hw̓ó? > huw̓ó?		'to call, invite s.o.(pl.);
ASP/PL)call, invite.s.		to be calling, inviting s.o.'
		huw̓o'o

8.1.C.2. Vowel Insertion: (10.2.1.a.1.): except when the consonant is a syllabic resonant (glottalized or not): the following examples show non-insertion; see examples of vowel-insertion in other sections of this chapter.

m)mí4k^{W}	mmí4k^{W}	'to be shiny'
ASP)burn-MED		*mmih4kw*
m̓)m̓á:l >	mm̓á:l	'canoes'
PL)canoe		*mm̓aal*
?a-n)nó:l̓T	?annó:l̓T	'to let s.o. [do s.t.]'
PL.let.s.		*annool̓-di*

n̓)ńí[t]	>	nn̓í[t]	'that's (precisely) ...'
ASP)that's...			*nn̓i...*
l)láy̓	>	lláy̓	'(pl.) to be large'
PL)large			*llay̓*

8.1.C.3. Glide-reduction to the default value /h/ (10.1.B.1.b.5.b.1.):

y)yé:	> **h**yé:	> hiyé:	'to be walking'
ASP)walk			*hiyee*
y̓)y̓áq	> **y**y̓áq > **h**y̓áq	> hiy̓áq	'to be hanging'
ASP)hang			*hiy̓aq*
w)wílp	> **h**wílp	> huwílp	'houses'
PL)house			*huwilp*
w)wilá:k^{w}T	> **h**wilá:k^{w}T	> huwilá:k^{w}T	'to be doing s.t. to s.' (esp. sthg harmful)
PL)treat, handle.s.			*huwilaakw-di*
ẇ)ẇó?	> **w**)ẇó?	> **h**ẇó? > huẇó?	'to call, invite s.o.(pl.); to be calling, inviting s.o.'
ASP/PL)call, invite.s.			*huẇo'o*
?)?í:cT	> **h**?í:cT	> hi?í:cT	'to be frying, ironing s.t.'
ASP)fry, iron.s.			*hi'iits-di*
?)?an-hé:	> **h**?anhé:	> ha?anhé:	'sayings'
PL)cause-saying			*ha'anhee*

8.2. Full reduplication: in its basic form, full reduplication affects the CVC root, which is prefixed to itself (usually with accompanying morphophonemic changes in the vowel and stem-final consonant, hence the notation Cvc-). It is

used to form the plural (3.2.C.) of a large number of words, mostly verbs, and their derivatives, as in:

cám	**cim**)cám	'to cook s.pl.'	
cook.s.	PL)...		*jam/jimjam*
ʔan-cám >	ʔan-**cim**)cám	'cooking-pots'	
means- cook.s.	PL) cook.s.		*anjam/anjimjam*

8.2.A. Uses: Full reduplication is associated with repetitive meaning: the plural stem of a transitive verb may be used to indicate either a plurality of Objects, especially separate ones, as in:

ɂúc-ə-t=ɬ qíɜ-t	S/he cut h. hair.
cut.s.-CTL-3=NChair-3	*K'ojithl gest.*
ɂas)ɂúc-ə-t=ɬ ɬáqs-t	S/he cut h. nails,
PL)cut.s.-CTL-3=NC nail-3	*K'askʼojithl hlakst.*

or repetitive actions performed on a single Object, as in

ɂas)ɂúc-ə-t=ɬʔaná:x	S/he sliced the bread.
PL)cut.s.-CTL-3=NC bread	*K'askʼojithl anaax.*
qap)qa:p-ə-t=ɬɂtimqis-t	S/he scratched h. head.
PL)scratch.s.-CTL-3=NChead-3	*Gapgaabithl t'imgest.*
ɲa:=**ɬis**)ɂís-T-ə-t=ɬ ɂíɬq-t	S/he beat h. breast
in.spot=PL)hit.s.-DETR PREP =NC chest-3	(gave several knocks)
	Ɂaat'ist'isdithl kʼehlkt.

Similarly, in an intransitive verb with a plural Subject, the singular stem indicates an action performed by the whole group, the plural stem indicates

actions performed separately by different individuals or groups:

ɬa:ʔkáckʷ-ti:t	They have arrived (in one boat, car, etc.).
now arrive-3P	*Hlaa k'atskwdiit.*
ɬa: ʔkis)ʔkáckʷ-ti:t	They have arrived (in different boats, cars, etc.).
now PL)arrive-3P	*Hlaa k'isk'atskwdiit.*

This explains why some plural forms are very rarely used (e.g. that of **ká?** 'to see s.' *ga'a*), and why some proclitics are used mostly with the plural, e.g. **(kʷɬi:-)** 'all over, randomly, messily' *kwhlii-*, as in:

kʷɬi:=ʔtim)ʔtám	'to write all over s.t.'
all.over--PL)write.s.	*kwhliit'imt'am*
kʷɬi:=ɬix)ɬá:k	'(skin, furniture, etc.) to be all
all.over--PL).scratched	scratched up' *kwhliihlixhlaak*

8.2.B. Types of full reduplication: Full reduplication occurs under three sub-types, which can be shown to correspond to three historical stages (3.2.C.; see Tarpent 1983b for more details): Type 1 (archaic) affects the root, Type 2 (regular) affects the stem, Type 3 (modern) affects the whole word. Here Type 2 is described first as it shows the most typical features of reduplication and of its historical development.

8.2.B.1. Regular full reduplication: (Type 2): this method applies to a very large number of stems but is not currently productive.

8.2.B.1.a. C_1VC_2 stems: (with long or short vowel):

At the earliest stage the entire syllable CVC must have been prefixed to the stem, and the vowel of the prefixed unstressed syllable became despecified and later respecified according to its environment (for a synchronic description it is

enough to specify the consonants since the vowel is predictable).

3.2.B.1.a.1. Formula for stage 1: stem = C_1VC_2 root: (may also have affixes attached, not involved in reduplication)[3]

$$C_1VC_2) C_1VC_2 \rightarrow C_1əC_2) C_1VC_2$$

This stage is represented by forms such as:

ƛ̓ám	'to write s.t.' *t'am*	ƛ̓im)ƛ̓ám	'to write s.t.(pl.)' *t'imt'am*
qá:p	'to scratch s.t.' *gaap*	qap)qá:p	'to scratch s.t. (repeatedly)' *gapgaap*
tálpiksk^{w}	'to shrink; to crouch, double over' *dalbikskw*	til)tálpiksk^{w}	'(pl.) to shrink; to crouch, double over' *dildalbikskw*

including formations on older plurals, such as (forms prefixed with (lə–), *li…/la…/lu…* 7.1.B.1.a.1.a.):

kámk	'hot, warm' *gamk*		
*lə-kámk>*lámk PL-…		lim)lámk	'(pl.) to be hot, warm' *limlamk*
ʔas-ká:paχ ʔʔ-ʔʔ	'to chatter all the time' *asgaabaχ*		

ʔas-*lə-ká:paχ>ʔas-*lá:paχ ʔas-lip)lá:paχ ...-PL...		'(pl.) to chatter all the time' *asliplaabaχ*

Affixes remain outside of the reduplicative formula, e.g.

t̓ám	'to write s.t.' *t'am*	**k**^{W}**ɬi**:=t̓im)t̓ám all.over=...	'to write all over s.t.' *kwhliit'imt'am*
t̓ám-**tk**^{W} ...-PAS	'to be written' *t'amtkw*	t̓im)t̓ám-**tk**^{W} ...-PAS	'(pl.)to be written' *t'imt'amtkw*

8.2.B.1.a.2. Morphophonemic rules affecting the reduplicated syllable:

8.2.B.1.a.2.a. Vowel-specification: according to the new environment, see **10**.1.A.1.a.1, **10**.1.A.1.a.2.

8.2.B.1.a.2.b. Rules affecting C_1:

Most of the time, the initial consonant is not affected, with one exception. In stems beginning with the sequence /ya/, the initial consonant reduplicates as /h/, which is the default value of glides (**10**.1.B.1.b.5.b.1.); this does not occur when initial /h/ is followed by another vowel:

yáɬk^{W} in-turn	'to be slippery' *yahlkw*	hiɬ)**y**áɬk^{W}	'(pl.) to be slippery' *hihlyahlkw*
lu:=**y**áltk^{W} in-turn	'to return' *luuyaltkw*	lu:=hil)**y**áltk^{W}	'(pl.) to return' *luuhilyaltkw*

but:

yím	'to sniff s.t.' *yim*	yim)yím	'to sniff s.t.(pl)' *yimyim*
ksə=ỷéːnwaʔ	'to be reluctant to go out esp. into foul weather' *ksiỷeenwa'a*	ksə=ỷin)ỷéːnwaʔ	'(pl.) to be reluctant to go out esp. into foul weather' *ksiỷinỷeenwa'a*

8.2.B.1.a.2.c. Rules affecting C_2. In its new preconsonantal position, C_2 is subject to the rules of Deaffrication, Deglottalization and Velar Fricativization.

8.2.B.1.a.2.c.1. Deaffrication (**10**.1.B.2.1.a.):

q̓úc	'to cut s.t.' *k'ots*	q̓as)q̓úc	'to cut s.t.(pl.), to slice, cut up s.t.' *k'ask'ots*
yác	'to chop s.t.; to kill s.o.(pl.)' *yats*	his)yác	'to chop s.t.(pl.)' *hisyats*

8.2.B.1.a.2.c.2. Deglottalization (**10**.1.B.1.b.2.):

c̓áƛ̓	'face, eyes' *ts'aƛ'*	c̓il)c̓áƛ̓	'faces, (pairs of) eyes' *ts'ilts'aƛ'*
hít̓	'to stick' *hit'*	hat)hít̓	' (pl.) to stick' *hathit'*

8.2.B.1.a.2.c.3. Velar fricativization (**10**.1.B.1.b.3.):

ɬáːk	'to be scratched' *hlaak*	ɬiX)ɬáːk	'(pl.) to be scratched; to have many scratches' *hlixhlaak*
ɬákʷ	'to twist s.t.' *takw*	ɬuXʷ)ɬákʷ	'to twist s.t.(pl.)' *t'uxwt'akw*
páq	'to feel s.t.' *baƛ*	paX)páq	'to feel s.t.(pl.); to feel around for s.t.' *baxbaƛ*

8.2.B.1.b. Formulas for stems larger than C_1VC_2: These represent a later stage of the same regular formula $C_1əC_2)C_1VC_2$, with an extension of the definition of the reduplicative C_2, thus the different types:

8.2.B.1.b.1. Stage 2.a.: stem = base including initial non-Velar fricative augments: this formula is restricted fo a small number of stems of the shapes SKVC and ɬKVC: the augment is taken as C_1, the following K as C_2 (causing fricativization K > X) :

$$C_1əC_2)\,C_1VC_2 \rightarrow C_1əC_2)\,C_1C_2VC_3$$

sqíksk^{w}	'to be injured' *sgekskw*	saX)sqíksk^{w}	'(pl.)to be injured' *saxsgekskw*
ɬƛíːk^{w}	'(W's) sister' *hlgiikw*	ɬiX)ɬƛíːk^{w}-s ...-MED	'(W's) sisters' *hlixhlgiikws*

8.2.B.1.b.2. Stage 2.b.: stems including final augments or suffixes that speakers no longer identify as such: the last consonant of the stem (or what appears to be the stem as the meaning of former suffixes is forgotten) is taken as C_2 of the reduplicative syllable:

$$C_1əC_2)\,C_1VC_2 \rightarrow C_1əC_3)\,C_1VC_2C_3$$

ksə=ná:ɬq-[t]k^{W} > ksə=ná:ɬχk^{W}	'to breathe out'		
[...-breath-...]$_{remove}$	*ksinaahlɣkw*		
		ksə=naχ)ná:ɬχk^{W}	
		[...-PL)breath-...]$_{remove}$	'(pl.) to breathe out'
			ksinaɣnaahlkw
ɬú:ɬuxʷ	'to value, treasure s.t.; to cherish s.o.'	ɬuxʷ)ɬú:ɬuxʷ	'to value, treasure s.t.(pl.); to cherish s.o.(pl.)'
	hluut'uxw		*hluxwhluut'uxw*
*qó:-ʔsT > qó:ʔosT	'to be cooled'	qas)qó:ʔosT	'(pl.) to be cooled'
?-AP.D	*goo'os(t)*		*gasgoo'os(t)*

including reformations on older plurals, such as (archaic reduplication CV:CvK, 8.2.B.3.):

sí:saq	'(blades, etc.) to be sharp'	saχ)sí:saq	'(blades, etc.) to be all sharp'
	siisak		*sasiisak*

(in this case, the two forms coexist).

8.2.b.1.b.3. Stage 2.c. : bisyllabic stems stressed on the second syllable:

$$C_1əC_2)\,C_1VC_2 \rightarrow C_1əC_2)\,C_1VC_2VC_3$$

wilá:x	'to know s.'	wil)wilá:x	'to know s.(pl.)'
	wilaax		*wilwilaax*

pi̓lísT	'star' *bi̓list*	pil)pi̓lísT	'stars' *bilbi̓list*
		qal)qalé:qs	'to be barefoot' *galgaleeqs*
q̓ayá:n	'to harpoon s.t.' *q̓'ayaan*	q̓ay)q̓ayá:n>q̓ax)q̓ayá:n	'to harpoon s.t.(pl.)' *q̓'axq̓'ayaan*

8.2.B.2. Modern: (Type 3.):

8.2.B.2.a. General: This currently productive method prefixes Cix- to the word, C being the initial consonant, regardless of the rest of the word.

maqó:n-tT	'to explain s.t.' *magoon(t)-di*	mix)maqó:n-tT	'to explain s.t.(pl.)' *mixmagoon(t)-di*
ha4á̓lsT	'to work' *hahlai̓s(t)*	hix)ha4á̓lsT	'(pl.) to work' *hixhahlai̓s(t)*

This method makes it possible to pluralize any type of stem, including borrowings:

swéta	'sweater' *sweta*	six)swéta	'sweaters' *sixsweta*

As a result, many words have Cix- plurals concurrently with other types of plurals: many times a Cix- syllable is attached to an already plural form:

pi̓lísT	'star' *bi̓list*	pix)pi:lísT PL)stars	'stars (each and every star)' *bixbii̓list*

lu:=**y**ó?oks	'to wash s.t. out'	lu:=**y**ó:?oks > lu:=**hix)y**ó:?oks	
in=wash.s.	*luuyo'oks*	in=wash.s.PL	'to wash out s.t.(pl)'
			luuhixyoo'oks

This method applies not just to the stem, but to the entire word, often including prefixes and proclitics:

sqa=pił**ɬ**é:?	'curtain'	**six)**sqapił**ɬ**é:?	'curtains'
across=spreading	*sgabihlee'e*		*sixsgabihlee'e*

This method appears to be an extension to all types of stems of a reduplicative syllable which originally occurred as part of the regular process, as in:

ťá**k**	'to forget s.'	**ťix)ť**á**k**	'to forget s.(pl)'
	t'ak		*t'ixt'ak*

The intermediate stage was probably the pluralization by full reduplication of bisyllabic stems, e.g.

ki)**k**íl	'to look for s.'	**kix)k**i**k**íl	'to look for s.(pl.)'
ASP)pick.s.	*gigil*		*gixgigil*

where the original aspectually reduplicated form **k**i)**k**íl *gigil* had acquired a separate meaning, necessitating a plural of its own. In this example, the Velar fricative /X/ occurs because of the C_2 /k/, but it bears no relation to the stem-final, post-stress consonant /l/. In the extension of this formula, then, only the C_1 plays a part in reduplication.

8.2.B.2.b. Initial consonant changes:

(1) Word-initial uvulars beginning an unstressed syllable deglottalize and are reduced to the default value for Velars, /k/ (10.1.B.1.b.5.a.) when in this position:

q̓)q̓ítk^{W} > qa)q̓ítk^{W} ASP)howl	'(wolf, dog) to howl' *gaƛ'etkw*	qix)qaq̓ítk^{W} > ƛix)qaq̓ítk^{W}	'(wolves, dogs) to howl' *gixgaƛ'etkw*
m̓in=qa-púx^{W} up=?-blow	'(water) to spout up (once) *m̓ingabuxw*	m̓in=qix)qapúx^{W} > m̓in=ƛix)qapúx^{W}	'(water) to spout/spray up (several times)' *m̓ingixgabuxw*

8.2.B.2.b.2. Similarly, glides are reduced to the default value /h/ (as in partial reduplication, see 8.1.C.3.):

yú:ɬimq	'to lecture, advise s.o.' *yuuhlimƛ*	hix)yú:ɬimq	'to lecture, advise, s.o.(pl.)' *hixyuuhlimƛ*
qam-wíl	'(thing) to be old, useless' *gamwil*	qam-hix)wíl	'(things) to be old, useless, garbage' *gamhixwil*
ʔamqó:kit	'to be pretty, beautiful' *amgoogit*	hix)ʔamqó:kit	'(pl.) to be pretty, beautiful' *hix'amgoogit*

8.2.B.3. Archaic (Type 1):

8.2.B.3.a. General: This type applies only to bases or roots of the shape CVK (where K may include glottals), with a short vowel; in this type, stress falls on the prefixed syllable, with consequent Velar Fricativization and Vocalization, resulting in a long stressed vowel, while that of the original syllable is despecified. The resulting plural shape is CV́:CvK (augments and suffixes can occur outside this shape), as in:

náx̱	'(pair of) snowshoes' *naɣ*	**náx̱)**nax̱ > **ná:**nax̱	'(pairs of) snowshoes' *naanax̱*
nóx̱	'mother' *noɣ*	**nóx̱)**nox̱-[t]k^{w} > **nó:**nax̱k^{w} ...-MED	'[one's] mothers (= mother & h. sisters)' *noonax̱kw*
c̓ó?	'to separate, split off (e.g. skin from body, rock from cliff) *ts'o'o*	**c̓ó?)** c̓o? > **c̓ó:**c̓a?	'(pl.) to separate, split off (...)' *tsoc'ts'a'a*

Some vowel changes are associated with this type of reduplication, making it irregular on a synchronic basis. Further irregularities often result from the addition of extra plural morphemes, reduplicative or affixal.

8.2.B.3.b. Comments: That this is an archaic type is evidenced by a number of features:

8.2.B.3.b.1. Involvement of the CVC root only (not augments, let alone affixes, which remain outside the scope of this form of reduplication):

m̓áqs	'(pair of) pants' *m̓aks*	**m̓áq)**m̓áq.s > **m̓á:**m̓aqs	'pairs of pants' *m̓aam̓aks*
ks-**ɬáq**.s > ksláqs most-claws?	'to kick s.' *kslaks*	ks-**ɬáq)**ɬaq.s > ks**lá:**ɬaqs	'to kick s.(pl.)' *kslaahlaks*

k^{W}-s.**táq**.s	'to leave,	k^{W}-s.**táq**)taq.s > k^{W}s**tá**:taqs	
?-aside?-MED	abandon s.'		'to leave, abandon
	kwsdaks		s.(pl.)'
			kwsdaadaks

8.2.B.3.b.2. Stress on the prefixed syllable (also found in other archaic formations, **10**.3.B.), with consequent weakening of the following unstressed vowel (see **8**.2.B.3.b.3.);

8.2.B.3.b.3. In the stressed vowel, pre-consonantal Velar weakening up to and including vocalization, a rule or series of rules which is archaizing with other forms (**10**.1.B.1.b.3.b.2.a.2.):

These two rules are examplified in

nó**x**)nox > nó**h**)nox > nó:nəx>nó:nax-[t]k^{W}		'mothers'
	...-MED	*noonag(kw)*

8.2.B.3.b.4. Numerous irregularities in comparison with other methods, especially:

8.2.B.3.b.4.a. Stressed vowel alternations not found with any other method:

náks	'spouse; to marry' *naks*	ní:niksk^{W}	'spouses; (animals) to mate' *niinikskw*

p.ɬáks-[t]k^{W} >> pláksk^{W}	'to be tired' *plakskw*	pɬí:ɬiksk^{W} > plí:ɬiksk^{W}	'(pl.) to be tired' *pliihlikskw*

qalksə=k^{W}.ɬák	'to be inside out'	qalksə=k^{W}.ɬí:ɬik	
through-?	*galksikwhlak*		'(pl.) to be inside out'
			galksikwhliihlik

sáq	'(cold, blade, etc.) to be sharp' *saḵ*	sí:saq	'(blades, arrows, etc.) to be sharp' *siisaḵ*
ɲákʷs	'to reach, stretch out a hand' *ɲaḵʷs*	ɲí:ɲukʷs	'(pl.) to reach, stretch out a hand' *ɲiiɲukʷs*

The vowel alternation /á/ in the singular, /í:/ in the plural, can be accounted for by postulating an earlier stage **/é/ for present /á/[5] and **/é:/ for present /í:/.[6]

Hence for instance:

**ɬék > ɬák 'to be bent'
ɬaḵ

**ɬék)ɬek > ɬé:ɬək > ɬí:ɬik
'(pl.) to be bent'
ɬiiɬiḵ

** séq > sáq 'to be sharp'
saḵ

** séq)seq > sé:səq > sí:saq
'(pl.) to be sharp'
siisaḵ

**ɲékʷs > ɲákʷs 'to reach, stretch out a hand'
ɲaḵʷs

** ɲé:kʷ)ɲekʷs > ɲé:ɲəkʷs > ɲí:ɲukʷs
'(pl.) to reach, etc.'
ɲiiɲukʷs

8.2.B.3.b.4.b. Other rules not found in other parts of the morphology:

(1) final fricativization after unstressed vowel:

t̓óq	'to claw at s.; to scratch s. deeply (once)' *t'ok̲*	t̓óq)t̓oq >> t̓ó:t̓aq > t̓ó:t̓ax̲	'to claw at s.(pl.); to scratch s. deeply (more than once)' *t'oot'ax̲*
x̣póq	'crease, pleat' *x̲bok̲*	xpóq)poq >> x̣pó:paq > x̣pó:pax̲	'creases, pleats' *x̲boobax̲*

(see other examples in (2) below)

(2) glottalized K̓ > /ʔ/ CV́:_vK

Because of /ʔ/ resulting from this rule, the unstressed vowel is a short copy of the stem vowel (2.1.B.3.b.3.b.).

q̓áq	'to be open' *k̲'ak̲*	q̓áq)q̓aq >> q̓á:q̓əq >> q̓á:ʔax̣	'(pl.) to be open' *k̲'aa'ax̲*
q̓óq	'to pull s.t. by the roots' *k̲'ok̲*	q̓óq)q̓oq >> q̓ó:q̓əq >> q̓ó:ʔox̣	'to pull s.t.(pl.) by the roots' *k̲'oo'ox̲*

(3) many other irregularities, e.g.[7]

yóʔoks	'to wash s.t. (by applying water to it) *yo'oks*	yó:ʔoks	'to wash s.t.(pl.) (by applying water to it) *yoo'oks*

8.2.B.3.b.5. Many cases of other pluralization morphemes added to forms using this reduplicative type, which is itself never superimposed over another method:

(a) regular full reduplication: (example of type 2, 8.2.B.1.)

* nóq)noq >> *nó:naq * nó:naq >> naχ)nó:naq
'supernatural beings'
naχnoonaƛ

(The current singular is the regularly reduplicated form naχ)nóq 'supernatural being' *naχnoƛ*, probably a back-formation from the regular plural naχ)nó:naq *naχnoonaƛ*).

** séq)seq >> sí:saq '(blades, etc.) to be sharp' *siisaƛ* sí:saq >> saχ)sí:saq '(blades, etc.) to be sharp' *saχsiisaƛ*

(b) partial reduplication: [8]

ƞ̓ákʷ 'to be long, far' *ƞ̓akw* n)ƞ̓í:l̓ukʷ '(things) to be long' *nƞ̓iil̓ukw*

(c) prefixation with {lə-}: (7.1.B.1.a.1.a.)

xʷ.táx 'to be hungry' *xwdax* lə-xʷ.tí:tix > luxʷtí:tix PL-... '(pl.) to be hungry' *luxwdiidix*

8.2.B.4. Remarks: Consistency of the fully reduplicating pattern:

Although the CV:CvK type bears many signs of being archaic, it is also consistent with the regular CvCCVC type: we can assume that the old formula was CVC)CVC, with exact reduplication of the entire CVC syllable, regardless of the nature of the consonants; only Velars were affected by preconsonantal weakening, ultimately causing the long vowel; initial stressed syllables ending in other consonants remained intact, and we can assume that vowel quality also remained intact in the unstressed syllable until a later date, since the stress

reversal (from first to second syllable) that is the main difference between the two formulas is not detectable (except by inference) in syllables ending in non-Velars (since the present regular formations preserve the stressed root vowel in all cases), thus the difference between, for instance:

ḳáq)ḳáq > **ḳáq**)ḳaq > ḳáx̣ḳaq (>> ḳá:ḳaq >> **ḳá**:ʔa**x̣**)		'(pl.) to be open'
		*ḵ'aa'a**x̣***
nóx̣)nóx̣ > **nóx̣**)nox̣ (>> **nó**:na**x̣**-[t]k^{w})	...-MED	'mothers'
		*noona**x̣**(kw)*

which have lost the C_2 of the initial reduplicated syllable, and

ḳáp)ḳáp > **ḳáp**)ḳap > ḳap)**ḳáp**	'pieces'
	*ḵ'ap**ḵ**'ap*
cám)cám> **cám**)cam > cam)**cám** (> cim)cám)	'to boil, cook s.t.(pl.)'
	jimjam

It may be objected that regular full reduplication also affects some CVK roots, for instance:

cóq	'to camp, stay, live (s.w.)'	**ca**x̣)cóq	'(pl.)to camp, stay, live (s.w.)'
	*jo**ḵ***		*ja**x̣**jo**ḵ***

But numerous cases of reformation on the new pattern must have taken place, as in the modern case of new **Cix-** plurals concurrent with older ones, such as:

sú:qsk^{w}	'to dive'	**sa**x̣)sú:qsk^{w}, **si**x)sú:qsk^{w}	'(pl.) to dive'
	*suu**ḵ**skw*		*sa**x̣**suu**ḵ**skw/*
			*sixsuu**ḵ**skw*

There are a number of cases of the same root being affected by both types of fully reduplicating formula, depending on what other morphemes are used with this root as in the case of the root **páq** 'to feel s.t.':

- archaic (type 1): (root with augment or non-productive prefix):

s.páq	'to taste [the taste of] s.t.' *sbaƛ*	s.**páq**)paq >> s**pá**:paq	'to taste [the taste of] s.t.(pl.)' *sbaabaƛ*
*?a-páq spontaneous-feel.s.		?a-**páq**)paq >> ?a-**pá**:paq	'to be excited, upset at s.t.' (Boas)' *abaabaƛ*

- regular (type 2): (reformation on plain root, and use of this plural stem with more recently productive suffix):

páq	'to feel s.t.' *baƛ*	**paq**)páq > **paχ**páq	'to feel s.t.(pl.); to feel around for s.t.' *baχbaƛ*
?a-páq-?sk^{W} >?apáq̓ask^{W}	'to be excited, upset' *abaƛ'askw*		
		?a-**paq**)páq-?sk^{W} >> ?a**paχ**páq̓ask^{W}	'(pl.) to be excited, upset' *abaχbaƛ'askw*

NOTES TO CHAPTER 8

1 a. In this word, the initial sequence /qa/ resulting from deglottalization could be confused with the DISTR plural prefix **(qa-)**. That a number of words beginning with uvulars have in their plural form (by partial reduplication) the syllable /qa/ may have contributed to the spread of the prefix to the plural (3.2.C.2.a.1.c.(2)).

b. The modern word for 'feather' is **làx-a:+c̓ú:c̓** *laya ts'uuts'*, lit. bird-fur.

2 Some speakers interpret this word as **łə łínḳit** 'the Tlingit' *hli hlingit*, equating the reduplicated syllable with the particle **lə** (6.1.B.2.) which can often be translated as *the*. However, the particle is never used in front of single nouns, but always in possessive noun-phrases.

3 The symbol -> as used in the formulas below indicates the evolution of the reduplicative formula, not the application of a morphophonemic rule.

4 There is a tendency for the sequence *hi* to become *yi*, so that the reverse tendency which occurs before *a* is checked before *i*).

5 cf. the alternation **ḳipá** 'to wait for s.' *giba* / **ḳipéʔesk^{w}** 'to wait' *gibe'eskw*, 10.2.B.1.b.1.c.2.(b)).

6 For more discussion and examples of these alternations both within and without reduplication, see T 1983b.

7 For an analysis of this and more irregular forms, see T 1983b.

8. Note the irregularity of the post-stress /l̓/ in the plural form; compare with **ṅák^{w}s / ṅi:ṅuk^{w}s** 'to reach, stretch one's hand' *ṅakws/ṅiiṅukws* above; cf. T 1983b.

CHAPTER 9: COMPOUNDS

Compounding is an extremely common and productive process in Nisgha (as in English). There are compound nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Compound nouns and verbs may be mediated or unmediated. In unmediated compounds the two components are next to each other, in mediated compounds, they are separated (or linked), by a mediating suffix (7.2.B.). The Attributive suffix -m may be used for all three categories. The suffix -a: *...a* is characteristic of nouns. All compounds bear primary stress on the second component and secondary stress on the first.

Compounds should not be confused with phrases, in spite of formal resemblances. In a compound, the head is first; in a phrase, the head is second (the head is defined as that element which can remain by itself in the clause without grammatical or (major) semantic change).

- Examples with nouns:

- compounds: the head is first:

HN-a:+N:	ʔanàːs-aː+ʔúl	'bear skin'
	skin-SUFF+bear	*anaasa ul*
HN-m+N	hòːpix-m+qán	'wooden spoon'
	spoon-ATTR+wood	*hoobixim gan*
HN+N/V	wìlp+k̲úkʷ	'kitchen'
	house/room+cook	*wilpkukw*

- noun-phrases: the head is second:

ADJ-m+N	ɪùkax-m+kát	'the just man'
	just,correct-ATTR+man	*hugaxam gat*

INTR-m +N (the intransitive verb is used with adjectival meaning; this is not a verb compound, = 9.2.A.2.). As shown by the semantic content, this is a recent type, often a translation of an English phrase of the type *V-ing N* (where the suffixed verb is attributive), or an analogical formation:

V-m +N	k̓ʷàciksk̓ʷ-m+hani:t̓á:	'rocking chair	
	rock,totter-ATTR+chair		*kw'ajiksgum haṅiit'aa*
	màɬaʔask̓ʷ-m+sáw̓insk	'newspaper'	
	spread.news-ATTR+paper		*mahla'asgum saẇinsk*

- Examples with verbs or adjectives:

- compounds:

V+N	xpè:qs+lák̓ʷ	'to saw wood'	
	saw.s.+wood		*xbeekslakw*
V-m +N	simiy̓è:ṅisk̓ʷ-m+hó:n	'to smoke fish'	
	smoke.food=ATTR+fish		*simiẏeeṅisgum-hoon*
ADJ-m +V	ʔìy̓kit-m+ʔálkax̣	'to make mistakes in speaking'	
	awkward,clumsy-ATTR+speak		*iẏgidim-algax̱*
	ʔalàysT-m+náks	'to be reluctant to get married'	
	reluctant-ATTR+married		*alaysim-naks*

9.1. NOUNS: In a compound noun, the head noun always comes first. The second component is usually a noun or an intransitive verb.

9.1.A. Unmediated nominal compounds: These are relatively few. It is likely that some of the noun-forming prefixes (7.1.B.2.b.), e.g. sq̓an- 'bush, support' *sk̲'an...* (7.1.B.2.b.3.h.), were originally independent nouns which are now used

exclusively in compounding. Probably the largest number of such compounds occur with the head **wílp** 'house' *wilp*. As their meanings show, most of them are modern in origin. Because of their diversity they provide good examples of unmediated nominal compounding.

9.1.A.1. **wílp** + N_2 :

a. 'building, room, or similar structure, used for N_2'

wìlp+qalċáp	'community hall'
... +village	*wilpgults'ap*

b. 'house, etc. made of N_2'

wìlp+qán	'log cabin'
...+wood	*wilpgan*

c. 'house, etc. having N_2'

wìlp+tá:q̓	'terraced house, with inside
...+platform	platforms, formerly used for
	public ceremonies'
	wilpdaak'

9.1.A.2. **wílp** + verb/adj: 'building, etc. used for V-ing'

The largest number of instances is in this group.

wìlp+sə-hó:n	'smokehouse'
...+prepare-fish	*wilpsihoon*

9.1.B. Mediated nominal compounds:

9.1.B.1. With mediating suffix {-a:} (7.2.B.1.): There is a large number of these compounds, especially with a noun as the second component. The suffix sometimes is reduced to *i* in a consonantal environment consisting of non-back consonants.

9.1.B.1.a. With noun:

(1) N_1 is a part of, or comes from, N_2:

This category contains by far the greatest number of examples, only a few of which appear to be recent. Among the semantic subcategories represented are:

- part of an animal or plant:

wàqɬ-a:+ć̓imílx	'beaver tail'
(beaver's) tail-SUFF+beaver	*waɬhla ts'imilx*

- substance or traces from, object made by, an animal or plant:

qè:qs-a:+kipú:	'wolf tracks'
tracks-SUFF+wolf	*geeɬsa gibuu*

- object or phenomenon belonging to or typical of N_2:

m̓àqs-a:-cáyn	'bluejeans'
pants-SUFF+Chinese	*maɬsijayn*

- metaphorical extensions of these meanings to other phenomena:

qàyt-a:+ć̓ú:ć̓	'mushroom'
hat-SUFF+bird	*gayda ts'uuts'*

(2) N_1 made of N_2:

ċàẇaqs-a:+tx̣á	'moccasins'
shoes-SUFF+leather	*ts'aẇaksa tx̣a*

(3) N_1 used for N_2:

làk^{w}-a:+wilpsihó:n	'firewood for the smokehouse'
firewood-SUFF+smokehouse	*lagwa wilpsihoon*

(4) N_1 resembling N_2: only a few examples:

ṁàqs-a:+qapó:q	'corduroy pants' (ridged like
pants-SUFF+cockles	cockles) *maḵsa gabook*

9.1.B.1.b. With verb or adjective: there are only a few examples in this category:

(1) with verb:

ṁàqs-a:+hátiks	'swimming trunks'
pants-SUFF+swim	*maḵsa hadiks*

(2) with adjective: in the lone example

ẇè:n-a:+k^{w}iné:x̣k^{w}	'icicles'
teeth-SUFF+cold	*ẇeena gwineex̣kw*

the adjective k^{w}iné:x̣k^{w} 'cold' *gwineex̣kw* seems to be used as a noun (or ambient predicate). The compound may actually be a reformation since the stem *k^{w}iné:q attested in this word and in x̣sk^{w}iné:qs 'to feel cold' *x̣sgwineeḵs* (both words consistent with formation from a noun) must have been formerly a noun, now no longer in use.

9.1.B.1.c. With complement:

(1) with ambient predicate: N_1 used when AMB:

c̓àw̓aqs-a:+sínt	'sandals'	
shoes-SUFF+summer		*ts'aw̓aḵsa sint*

b. with noun preceded by locational prefix: N_1 used at N_2:

c̓áw̓aqs-a:+c̓im-wilp	slippers	
shoes-SUFF+in-house		*ts'aw̓aḵsa ts'imwilp*

9.1.B.2. Nominal compounds mediated with Attributive suffix {-m} (7.2.B.1.) This is the most productive compounding pattern, and there is a huge number of such compounds, especially designating modern objects and phenomena. By and large the semantic categories represented are the same as for compounds in {-a:}, but compounding with {-m} is currently productive.

9.1.B.2.a. With noun:

(1) N_1 belonging to, coming from, or typical of N_2:

mò:s-m+ʔasáy̓	'big toe'	
thumb-ATTR+foot		*moosim asay̓*

(2) N_1 made or consisting of N_2:

c̓àl̓-m+tkʷá	'eyeglasses' (lit. eyes of glass)	
eyes-SUFF+glass		*ts'al̓im tgwa*

(3) N_1 used for or by N_2:

ʔà:t-m+ská	'herring net'	
net-SUFF+herring		*aadim sga*

(4) N_1 resembling N_2: many modern examples:

qàyt-m+c̓u:pé:q̓	'umbrella'
hat-SUFF+webbed.foot	*gaydim ts'uubeek'*

(5) other: influenced by English compounds and noun phrases:

nòx̣-m+ʔayú:q	'mother-in-law'[1]
mother-SUFF+law	*noom ayuuk*

9.1.B.2.b. With verb or adjective:

(1) N characterized by V-ing:

k̓utàc̓-m+sák̓	'cardigan, knitted jacket'
coat-SUFF+stretch	*k'udats'im sak'*

(2) N used for V-ing:

nàq̓-m+náks	'wedding dress'
dress-SUFF+marry/spouse	*nak'am naks*

9.1.B.2.c. With circumstantial element:

9.1.B.2.c.1. With ambient predicate:

(a) N characteristic of when AMB

làlt-m+haywís	'earthworm'
worm+ATTR+rain	*laldim haywis*

(b) N used when AMB

ƛ̓utàƛ̓-m+haywís	'raincoat'	
coat-ATTR+rain		*k'udats'im haywis*

9.1.B.2.c.2. with locational adverb or noun:

(a) N characteristic of LOC

kàt-m+qaltó:ʔ	'savage, uncouth person'	
man-ATTR+in the wilderness		*gadim galdoo'o*

(b) N used at LOC

là:kʷs-m+kálq	'lantern'	
torch-ATTR+outside		*laakwsim galɬ*

9.1.B.2.c.3. With noun preceded by locational prefix:

(a) N characteristic of LOC

màtx-m+laɣ-sqaʔníst	'Dall sheep'	
mountain.goat+on-mountain		*matxim laɣ sgaʔist*

(b) N used at LOC

là:kʷs-m+ƛ̓im-wílp	'kerosene lamp'	
torch-ATTR+in-house		*laakwsim ts'im wilp*

9.1.B.2.c.4. with clausal complement: (the verb of the clause is used as a P_0)

lìl̓kit-m+wil-náks	'wedding feast'	
feast-ATTR+SUB-marry		*lil̓gidim wil naks*

9.2. VERBAL COMPOUNDS: There are two basic kinds of noun-incorporating verbal compounds:

- the large majority incorporate a noun which is semantically the object of the action indicated by the verb, as in

yàc+lákʷ	'to chop wood'
to.chop.s.+firewood	*yatslakw*
simiẏéːniskʷ-m+hóːn	'to smoke fish'
[to.smoke-AP]-ATTR+fish	*simiẏeeńisgum-hoon*

- a few others have the meaning 'to V like a N', as in

hìtkʷ-m+s-kát-tkʷ	'to stand like a pe. son'
stand-ATTR-AFFIX+man-MED	*hitgumsgatkw*

in which the incorporated noun is the intransitive subject.

9.2.A. Object-incorporating compounds: There is a very large number of such compounds, and they can apparently be built quite freely.[2] They are all intransitive verbs and designate activities which are part of normal life, whether daily, seasonal or ceremonial, activities which apply to kinds of objects rather than to individual, specific objects. Compare with the analytical construction transitive verb + separate object noun:

ex. 1. a. Transitive + Object:

q̓úɬ-ə-ẏ=ɬ hóːn	I gutted a/the fish.
gut.s.-CTL-1S=NC fish	*K'ohliẏhl hoon.*

b. Unmediated Object-incorporation:

q̓ùɬ+hó:n ńì:y̓	I gutted fish.
gut.s.+fish me	*K'ohlhoon ńiiy̓.*

ex. 2. a. Transitive + Object:

silákʷ-T-ə-y̓=ɬqam?am?úkit-y̓	I burned my old clothes.
burn.s.-DEF-CTL-1S=NC old clothes-1S	*Silakwdiy̓hl gam am'ugidiy̓.*

b. Object-incorporation mediated with (-m):

silàk̓ʷa?-m+?am?úk̓it̓ì:y̓	I burned some old clothes.
burn-ATTR+clothes me	*Silakw'a'am-am'ugit ńiiy̓.*

As with nouns, a formal difference exists between unmediated compounds and those mediated with (-m), matched with a semantic difference in the verbs:

- unmediated compounds consist of a transitive verb followed by its object noun, as in:

yò?oks+nó?oɬ	'to wash the dishes'
wash.s.+dishes	*yo'oksno'ohl*

In general an unmediated compound indicates that the action is performed on a single occasion, and applies to all items available on that occasion: e.g. 'to wash the dishes' means washing all the dishes that need washing on the particular occasion, not a few plates only; it does not mean washing one or two objects at one time, then a few more ten minutes or a few hours later, and so on. The action then is circumscribed both in time and in the number of objects it applies to.

- mediated compounds consist of an intransitive verb (often a Detransitive or Antipassive derivative of a transitive verb), linked to the nominal element by the suffix (-m), as in:

màːks-aʔ-m+ʔáːt	'to set the net(s)'
put.s.in.water-DETR+ATTR-net	*maaksa'am-aat*

In general, a mediated compound indicates an action with no limit in time, that can be done as needed, at intervals, as a regular job, etc., and/or applies to an indefinite number of objects.[3]

These differences are evident in the fairly large number of compounds which describe activities necessary for the preservation of fish: those operations which must be done shortly after the fish is caught, e.g. washing, gutting, canning, are described by unmediated compounds; those which require mostly supervision, e.g. smoking, freezing, are described by mediated compounds.

There are very few minimal pairs where the same verb stem and noun form both mediated and unmediated compounds, but the following pair is typical of the difference:

Unmed:	wìlq+lákʷ	'to transport, unload, etc. the wood
	carry.s.pl.+firewood	(all the wood available on one occasion, e.g. a truckload)'
		wilklakw
Med:	wìlq̓aʔ-m+lákʷ	'to transport, carry wood, as needed
	carry.things-ATTR+firewood	(eg. from the shed to the house)'
		wilk'a'am-lakw

9.2.A.1. Unmediated verbal compounds: The transitive verb which is the first component of the compound is followed directly by its Object. Formally the following details apply:[4]

(a) Where the verb used transitively takes the Indefinite Medial suffix **(-(t)kʷ)**, the compounding verb is suffix-less, as in:

kàɬ-múxʷ	'to pierce s.o.'s ears'
pierce+ears	*gahlmuxw*

(cf. 'to pierce s.' = káɬkʷ)

(b) Normally, only the singular form of the verb is used in compounding, even if the noun is plural. Compare the use of the plural in the transitive sentence:

tim ɡiɬ)káɬkʷ-ə-ỷ=ɬ múxʷ-n	I am going to pierce your ears.
FUT pierce.s.pl.-CTL-1S=NC ear-2S	*Dim gihlgahlgwiỷhl muwin.*

(c) This is the general rule, but there are a few cases where a suppletive plural stem is more common for the meaning of the verb, so pluarl noun and verb stems may be used in these cases:

luː=lìtiks+kʷiːlá	'to wash (the) blankets'
in=wash.s.PL+blankets	*luulidiksgwiila*

9.2.A.1.a.. Transitive verb + noun:

yòʔoks+hóːn	'to wash fish (before preserving it)'
wash.s.+fish	*yo'okshoon*

Many such verbs are used in nominal derivatives, as in:

qàltim-cam+hóːn	'canning-pot'
container-boil.s.+fish	*galdimjamhoon*

REMARK 1: Words such as

tòq-a-qís	'to pull [s.o.'s] hair'
take.s.pl.-EP+hair	*dogages*

lìlkʷs-i-winé:x	'to steal food'
steal.s.-EP+food	*lilkwsiwineex*

appear superficially to be mediated with (-a:) (like nouns, 9.1.B.1.). But the vowel is probably epenthetic, separating consonants of similar articulation (stops, fricatives) or breaking up a cluster.[5]

REMARK 2: Some recent compounds also use intransitive verbs for unmediated compounds. In the following example, the intransitive verb ʔálq̓al *alk'al*, which translates English 'to watch', is used transitively in a calque of an English phrases:

ʔàlqal+c̓úːc̓	'bird-watching, to watch birds'
watch+bird	*alk'alts'uuts'*

9.2.A.1.b. Transitive verb with noun and Indefinite Medial suffix -[t]kʷ: These designate personal care verbs: the Medial suffix here has Reflexive meaning (7.2.C.1.b.2.a.1.c.2.):

[yòʔoks+ẇéːn]-tkʷ	'to brush one's teeth'
wash.s.+teeth-MED	*yo'oksẇeentkw*
[kìmk+c̓ál̓]-tkʷ	'to wipe one's face'
wipe.s.+face-MED	*gimkts'al̓tkw*

Such compounds can also enter into nominal derivatives:

ha-[yòʔoks+ẇéːn-tkʷ]	'toothbrush'
INSTR-...	*hayo'oksẇeentkw*

9.2.A.2. Mediated verbal compounds:

The (-m) mediated compounds do not normally differentiate between singular

and plural, but there are a few cases of differentiation, as will be noted. There are also a few cases of a modifying element used within the incorporated noun. The rules then are more flexible than those for unmediated verbal compounds.

9.2.A.2.a.. With Antipassive suffixes: (7.2.C.2.b.1.b.)

(1) The Definite Antipassive suffix (-ʔsT) (7.2.C.2.b.1.b.1.) indicates that the action applies to one object (ex. hunting a large animal): the suffix is fairly rare, and there are only a few examples of its use in compounding:

kùẃsT-m+mú:s	'to [shoot and] kill (a) moose'
shoot.AP.D-ATTR+moose	*guẃsim-muus*

(2) The Indefinite Antipassive suffix (-ʔsk^{w}) (7.2.C.2.b.1.b.2.) is very common and indicates an indefinite amount or number of objects:

simiy̓è:n̓isk^{w}-m+hó:n	'to smoke fish'
smoke.s.AP-ATTR+fish	*simiy̓een̓isgum-hoon*

9.2.A.2.b. With Detransitive suffix:

(1) With suffix (-aʔ) (7.2.C.2.a.1.a.): this suffix is extremely common, and there is a very large number of compounds:

- singular verb stem:

ʔì:c̓aʔ-m+hó:n	'to fry fish'
fry.s.DETR-ATTR+fish	*iits'a'am-hoon*

- plural verb stem: when that stem is more often used for the particular activity (cf. above 9.2.A.1.(c)):

lu:=lìtiks-a?-m+k^{W}i:lá 'to wash blankets'
in=wash.s.PL-DETR-ATTR+blankets *luulidiksa'am-gwiila*

There are many nominal derivatives of these verbs, e.g.:

?an-lu:=lìsa?-m+?am?úkit 'clothes closet'
place-in=hang.s.DETR-ATTR+clothes *anluulisa'am-am'ugit*

(2) suffix {-é:?} (7.2.C.2.a.2.a.): as this suffix is fairly rare, there are only a few examples of compounds:

kiɬè:?-m+qán 'to carve wood'
pierce.s.DETR-ATTR+wood *gihlee'em-gan*

9.2.A.2.c. Other intransitives: a variety of suffixed or unsuffixed intransitive verbs are also used in compounding:

lìcxk^{W}-m+hó:n 'to count fish (a job in a cannery)'
count-ATTR+fish *litsxgum-hoon*

lu:=taχ)tò:s-m+hó:n 'to fill cans with fish (a job in a
in=PL)put-ATTR+fish cannery) *luudaxdoosim-hoon*

lìɬks-m+haɬi:txó:χk^{W} 'to be a waitress'
watch-ATTR+table *lihlksim-haɬiitxoox̲kw*

They can also have nominal derivatives:

?an-[lu:=lò:-m+pi)pó:t] 'harbour'
place-in=moored.PL-ATTR+PL)boat *anluuloom-biboot*

(the compound verb component of this word is not used by itself).

9.2.B. Subject-incorporating compounds: A few intransitive verbs incorporate a Subject in the frame **[_(verb)_-m-s-_(noun)_-tkʷ]**, 'to ... like a ...', for instance

hìtkʷ-m-s-kát-tkʷ 'to stand up like a person'
stand-ATTR-??-man-MED *hitgumsgatkw*

ʔukʷs=[t]ʔkə=qùs-m-s-wán-tkʷ
outward=drop.in.level=jump-ATTR-??-deer-MED
'to dash away like a deer'
(= to act before thinking)
ukwsk'agosimswantkw

The status of **-s-** in this type of compound is unclear.

9.3. ADJECTIVAL COMPOUNDS.

Adjectives can incorporate either a Subject/Attribute, or a Complement.

9.3.A. Subject-incorporation:

9.3.A.1. With suffix **-m** *-m*: There are numerous examples of compounds where the nominal element is the word qó:t 'heart' *goot*: (cf. compounds like *good-hearted* in English)

haʔàq-m+qó:t 'to be selfish' (lit. bad-hearted)
bad-ATTR+heart *hat'agam-goot*

lu:=làyʔ-m+qó:t 'to be brave, courageous'
in=large-ATTR+heart *luulayim-goot*

9.3.A.1. With suffix **-a:** *-a*: This use seems to be less common:

nn̓ì:l̓uk^{W}-a:+qís	'to have long hair, to be
long-SUFF+hair	long-haired'

nn̓iilugwa-ges

9.3.B. Complement-incorporation: in the following example, a noun-phrase with locational meaning is the nominal component:

ʔàl̓aq-m+[laxc̓è:-[t]=ɬák^{W}]	'to be "brave by the fireside"'
determined-ATTR+edge-[3]=NC fire[6]	[but afraid to actually face danger]

al̓agam-laxts'eehl lakw

NOTES TO CHAPTER 9

1 The older Nisgha equivalent is **łàms-m hanáq̓** 'mother-in-law' *hlamsim hanaḵ'*, which can also mean 'daughter-in-law'. The potential ambiguity probably contributed to the adoption of similar loan-translations from English.

2 Although it is very easy to make up such compounds, competent speakers know what compounds already exist and which ones are being made up, cf. Mithun's observations of Mohawk speakers, Mithun 1984: 889.

3 cf. Tarpent 1982, quoted in Mithun 1984.

4 These details are similar to those of English compounding, as in *dishwasher* (not **disheswasher*).

5 cf. also **hałikó:tkʷ** 'axe' *hahligyootkw* (carpenter's axe, for squaring timber), probably from **hał-kó:tkʷ** 'to be held parallel'--originally applied to paddles, here refers to holding the axe almost parallel to the piece of wood.

6 The word **lákʷ** *lakw* which usually means 'firewood' often refers to wood that is actually burning, as is the case here.

CHAPTER 10: MORPHOPHONEMIC RULES

Morphophonemic rules add and delete individual phonological segments and merge others together under definite conditions. Concurrently with these rules, certain segments acquire or lose specific features depending on their environment. In this section, rules specifying or despecifying features are presented first, rules adding, deleting and merging segments are presented second.

The morphophonemic rules described here also include *morphophonosyntactic* rules ocurring in sandhi or in specific syntactic contexts.

10.1. Rules affecting features of phonological segments:

10.1.A. Rules specifying/adding features: (strengthening segments): It seems that the feature 'anterior' is a default feature for both V's and C's, hence /i/, /t/ are the default values for V and C unless the context imposes another specification.

10.1.A.1. Rules affecting one segment:

10.1.A.1.a. Vowels: An epenthetic vowel, an unspecified vowel inherent in a prefix or suffix, or a vowel in a position where it has lost its distinctive quality, adjust to the consonantal environment. Post-consonantal rules take precedence over pre-consonantal rules.

10.1.A.1.a.1. Post-consonantal:

10.1.A.1.a.1.a. After glottal consonant:

10.1.A.1.a.1.a.1. Pre-stress: the vowel is /a/ [ʌ] with prefixes and in full (type 2) reduplication (see below **10**.1.B.1.b.5.b.1.a. for partial reduplication after /h/). With Cə- prefixes starting with glottals, there is no vowel-alternation as

there is with non-back consonants; the vowel is always /a/ as in the prefixes (ʔa-) 'early, spontaneously' (7.1.B.1.b.1.a.1.) and (ha-) 'used for ...' (7.1.B.1.b.1.a.2.).

Reduplicative examples (type 2 full reduplication): (in this type of reduplication, only the two consonants need to be replicated, and the vowel is inserted by rule)(8.2.B.1.):

After /ʔ/:

ʔús	'dog' *us*	ʔ s)ʔús > ʔas)ús PL)...	'dogs' *as'us*

After /h/:

húḵʷil	'to roll s.t. up' *hukw'il*	h kʷ)húḵʷil >> haxʷ)húḵʷil	'to roll up s.t. (pl.)' *haxwhukw'il*

(This rule does not apply in partial reduplication, see 10.1.B.1.b.5.b.1.a).

10.1.A.1.a.1.a.2. post-stress, after /ʔ/: the vowel is a (short) copy of that preceding the glottal stop:

(a) before suffix:

tóʔ	'cheek' *do'o*	tóʔ-ẏ ...-1S	>	tóʔoẏ	'my cheek' *do'oẏ*
		tóʔ-n ...-2S	>	tóʔon	'your cheek' *do'on*

		tó?-t >	tó?ot	'h. cheek'
		...-3		*do'ot*
kwé?	'to be poor, pitiful, wretched' *gwee'e*	kwé:?-t >	kwé?et	'...s/he is poor, pitiful, wretched' *gwee'e*

(b) in type 1 (archaic) full reduplication (8.2.B.3.):

q̓óq	'to pull s.t.' (e.g. by the roots) *k'ok*	q̓ó:q)q̓oq >> q̓ó:?x > q̓ó:?ox		'to pull s.t. (pl.) (e.g. by the roots) *k'oo'ox*
		PL)...		

(c) if the unspecified vowel is part of a suffix:

ká?	'to see s.' *ga'a*	ká?-ə-n > ...-CTL-2S	ká?an	'you see/saw s.' *ga'an*

(d) This rule also applies in cases where the glottal stop results from the replacement of a /ỷ/ (1.B.1.b.5.a.2.), as in

?asáỷ	'foot, leg' *asaỷ*	?asáỷ-ỷ > ?asá?ỷ > ?asá?aỷ		'my foot' *asa'aỷ*
titíỷ	'to look after s.' *didiỷ*	titíỷ-ə-ỷ > titíỷỷ > titíʔỷ > titíʔiỷ		'I looked after him/her/it' *didi'iỷ*

(for loss of {-ə-} after post-stress resonant, see 10.2.A.2.a`.).

(e) Also included here are cases where the vowel to be copied has been added by rule before a suffix beginning with a glottal stop (10.1.A.1.a.2.a.2.), as in:

ẏáns	'leaf'	ẏáns-ʔl-T	> ẏánsaʔɬt	>ẏánsaʔalt
	ẏans		...-COMPL-DEF	
				'May' (lit. fully- leafed)
				Ẏansa'alt

máɬT	'to tell s.t.'	máɬ-ʔskʷ	> máɬaʔskʷ	> máɬaʔaskʷ
	mahl-di	...-AP.I		
				' to announce, preach'
				mahla'askw

10.1.A.1.a.1.b. After uvular: /a/ [A]

10.1.A.1.a.1.b.1. pre-stress: this occurs mostly in reduplication, both partial (C-)(**8**.1.) and full (Type 2, Cvc-)(**8**.2.B.1.):

qó?	'to go s.w., to go get s.'	q)qó? ASP)...	> qaqó?	'to usually go s.w. etc.'
	go'o			*gago'o*
qéːkskʷ	to slide on one's rear'	q)qéːkskʷ ASP)...	> qaqéːkskʷ	'to be sliding on one's rear'
	geekskw			*gageekskw*
		q x)qéːkskʷ PL)...	> qaxqéːkskʷ	' (pl.) to slide on one's rear'
				gaxgeekskw
qáːkʷ	'large vein, sinew'	q xʷqáːkʷ PL)...	> qaxʷqáːkʷ	'large veins, sinews'
	gaakw			*gaxwgaakw*

With Cə- prefixes starting with uvulars, there is no vowel-alternation as there is with non-back consonants; the vowel is always /a/, as in the Distributive prefix (qa-) (7.1.B.1.a.1.b.)

10.1.A.1.a.1.b.2. Post-stress: this occurs with a variety of suffixes:

ʔáq	'nose, beak'	ʔáq-ɣ̓	>	ʔáqaɣ̓	'my nose'
	ts'aƛ̓			...-1S	*ts'agaɣ́*
		ʔáq-ɣ̓	>	ʔáqaɣ̓	'your nose'
				...-2S	*ts'agan*

ʔukʷs=ʔáq-ʔsT > ʔukʷs=ʔáq̓s > ʔukʷs=ʔáq̓as 'outward protrusion: porch, visor'
outward=protrusion-AP.D
ukwts'aƛ̓'as

10.1.A.1.a.1.c. After consonants other than uvular and glottal, vowel quality depends on the consonant following, as described in **10**.1.A.1.a.2.

10.1.A.1.a.2. Pre-consonantal:

10.1.A.1.a.2.a.. Before glottals:

10.1.A.1.a.2.a.1. Pre-stress: with Cə- prefixes, or in partial reduplication (C-): the vowel is more variable than with most other C's as it depends on the quality of the stressed vowel in the following syllable, without being a copy of it. It tends to be /a/ [ʌ] before lower, more back vowels, especially long or short /a/, and /i/ [ɪ] before higher, more fronted vowels, but there is much individual variation.

10.1.A.1.a.2.a. 1.a. Before /ʔ/:

(1) with prefixes:

ʔáks	'to drink' *aks*	lə-ʔáks > liʔáks / laʔáks PL-...	'to drink (pl.)' *li'aks/la'aks*
ʔóːm̓isT	'pillowcase' *oom̓is*	sə-ʔóːm̓is > siʔóːm̓is / saʔóːm̓is make-...	'to make pillowcases' *si'oom̓is / sa'oom̓is*
ʔís	'soapberries' *is*	sə-ʔís > siʔís pick-...	'to pick soapberries' *si'is*

(2) in partial reduplication:

ʔíːcT	'to fry, iron s.t.' *iits-di*	ʔ)ʔíːcT > h)ʔíːcT > hiʔíːcT ASP)...	'to be frying, ironing s.t.' *hi'iits-di*
qal-ʔínq	'traditional storage box' *gal'ink*	qal-ʔ)ʔínq > qal-h)ʔínq > qal-haʔínq empty-PL)...	'traditional storage boxes' *galha'ink*

10.1.A.1.a.2.a.1.b. Before /h/:

(a) with prefixes:

hóːn	'fish' *hoon*	sə-hóːn > sihóːn / sahóːn get/process-...	'to catch and process fish' *sihoon / sahoon*

hú:t	'(pl.) to flee' *huut*	tə-hú:t > tihú:t DOMIN-...	'to flee with s.t.(pl.)' *dihuut*
húksa?alt	'blueberries (one species)' *huksa'alt*	sə-húksa?alt > sihúksa?alt pick-...	'to pick blueberries' *sihuksa'alt*

(b) in partial reduplication:

hítk^{W}	'to stand' *hitkw*	h)hítk^{W} > ASP)...	hihítk^{W}	'to be standing' *hihitkw*
hó:x	'to use/wear s.t.' *hoox*	h)hó:x > ASP)...	hahó:x	'to be using/ wearing s.t.' *hahoox*
*hé:	'to speak' ASP)speak	h)hé: > hahé:	> hehé:	'to be speaking' *hahee / hehee*

10.1.A.1.a.2.a..2. Post-stress: with /ʔ/ only:

(a) with suffix: this rule is responsible for the quality of the vowel in the Detransitive suffix (-a?) (**7**.2.C.2.a.1.a.);

(b) in alternative to glottalization:

This vowel-specification rule also occurs when adding suffixes beginning with a glottal stop to a non-Velar fricative (other consonants are subject to glottalization under these conditions, **10**.2.B.1.a.). The vowel is always /a/ ([ʌ] or a more centralized vowel) regardless of the quality of the preceding stressed vowel (a copy vowel is then added after /ʔ/, **10**.1.A.1.a.2.a.2.).

	*sáks-ʔn > sáksaʔn clean-CAUS	>	sáksaʔan	'to clean s.t.' *saksa'an*
	*ʔís-ʔn > ʔisaʔn smell.of-CAUS	>	ʔísaʔan	'to hate the smell of s.t.' *isa'an*
ẏ́ans 'leaf' *ẏ́ans*	ẏ́ans-ʔl-T > ẏ́ansaʔt ...-CPL-DEF	>	ẏ́ansaʔalt	'May' (lit. fully-leafed) *Ẏ́ansa'alt*
máɬT 'to tell s.t.' *mahl-di*	máɬ-ʔskʷ > máɬaʔskʷ ...-AP.I	>	máɬaʔaskʷ	'to announce, preach' *mahła'askw*

(with /ɬ/, glottalization may occur, **10**.2.B.1.a.2.a.)

10.1.A.1.a.2.b. Before uvulars:

10.1.A.1.a.2.b.1. Pre-stress: with prefixes or partial reduplication::

q̓almó:s 'crab' *k'almoos*	sə-q̓almó:s pick-...	>	saq̓almó:s	'to harvest crab' *saǩ'almoos*
χs-kʷiné:q-s 'to feel cold' *χsgwineeǩs*	lə-χs-kʷi:né:q-s PL-[...-*cold.PL-...]	>	laχskʷi:né:qs	'to feel cold (pl.)' *laχsgwiineeǩs*
χsínq 'not to believe s.o.' *χsinǩ*	nə-χsínq-T [...-...-...]RECIP	>	naχsínqt	'not to believe each other' *naχsinǩt*

q̓áq	'to open' *ƛ'aƛ*	q)q̓áq ASP)...	> qaq̓áq	'to be/keep opening' *gaƛ'aƛ*

10.1.A.1.a.2.b.2. Post-stress:

(a) with suffixes: this rule is responsible for the quality of the vowel in the Detransitive suffix (-aχ) ,7.2.C.2.a.1.b.) .

(b) in type ! (archaic) reduplication (CV́:Cvk from root CVK, **8**.2.B.3.), when the K is a Uvular:

sáq̓	'to crack' *saƛ'*	sáq̓)saq̓ >> sá:sq̓ > sá:saq̓ PL)...		'to crack (pl.)' *saasaƛ'*
nóχ	'mother' *noχ*	nóχ)noχ >> nó:nχ > nó:nax PL)...		'mothers' *noonaχ*

10.1.A.1.a.2.c. Before labio-velar:

The vowel is /u/ under certain conditions; otherwise the rule is the same as for other consonants (**10**.1.A.1.a.2.d.).

10.1.A.1.a.2.c.1. Pre-stress:

(a) In partial reduplication before the labio-velar resonant /w/:

wílp	'house' *wilp*	w)wílp > h)wílp > huwílp PL)...		'houses' *huwilp*
wá:x	'paddle, to paddle' *waax*	w)wá:x > h)wá:x > huwá:x PL/ASP)...		'paddles; to be paddling' *huwaax*

Remark: some speakers, especially older men, have this rule in prefixes too, e.g.

sə-wilá:x-s >> suwilá:ks > suwlá:ks / su:lá:ks 'to learn s.t.'
make-know.s.-MED.I

(see (b) below);

(b) With a Cə- prefix, the vowel is /u/ only if the labio-velar is extrasyllabic in the unprefixed word (but see (a) above):

x^{w}ták^{w}	'to shoot' *xwdakw*	lə-x^{w}ták^{w} > lux^{w}ták^{w} PL-...	'to shoot (pl.)' *luxwdakw*
x^{w}táx	'to be hungry' *xwdax*	lə-x^{w}tí:tix > lux^{w}tí:tix PL-PL.hungry	'to be hungry (pl.)' *luxwdiidix*

(c) In type 2 full reduplication, the vowel is /u/ unless the initial C is a glottal or uvular:

lúx^{w}T	'not to let s.o. have s.t.' *luxw-di*	l x^{w})lúx^{w}T > lux^{w}lúx^{w}T PL)...	'not to let s.o. have s.t. (pl.)' *luxwluxw-di*
?ayá:ẇilt	'to be capable' *ayaawilt*	?a-y x^{w})*yá:x^{w}-?l-T >> ?ay ux^{w}yá:ẇilt spont.-PL)??-CPL-DEF	'(pl.) to be capable' *ayuxwyaawilt*

but the vowel is /a/ after glottal (10.1.A.1.a.1.b.1.):

hú$k̓^{w}$il-T	'to roll s.t. up' *hukw'il(t)-di*	h x^{w})hú$k̓^{w}$il-T >> hax^{w}hú$k̓^{w}$il(t) PL)...-DEF	'to roll up s.t.pl.' *haxwhukw'il(t)-di*

10.1.A.1.a.2.c.2. Post-stress: in type 1 (archaic) full reduplication (CV́:Cvk from root CVK, **8**.1.B.3.) where the K is a labio-velar.

ɲák^{W}s	'to reach out'	ɲí:ɲk^{W}s >	ɲí:ɲuk^{W}s >	ɲí:l̓uk^{W}s	'to reach out'
ɲakws					*ɲiiɲukws/ ɲiil̓ukws*

10.1.A.1.a.2.d. Before other consonants: The vowel is /i/ [ɪ] in all other cases.

10.1.A.1.a.2.d.1. Pre-stress: examples are given in the order: partial reduplication, prefix, full reduplication (type 2).

(a) with stops and non-Velar fricatives, there is a vowel in all cases:

/p/:

pá?	thigh'	p)pá? >		pipá?	'thighs'
ba'a		PL)...			*biba'a*
páx̣	'to run'	tə-páx̣ >		tipáx̣	'to run with s.t.'
baɣ		DOMIN--...			*dibaɣ*
č́í:p	'to close one's eyes; to tie s.t. w. a knot'	č́ p)č́í:p > PL)...		čipč́í:p	' (pl.) to close one's eyes; to tie s.t.(pl.) w. a knot'
ts'iip					*ts'ipts'iip*

/t/:

ɬá:	'to sit'	t)ɬá: >		tiɬá:	'to be sitting'
ɬ'aa		ASP)...			*dit'aa*

tə-ɬá:	> tiɬá:		'to sit with s.t., while doing s.t.' *dit'aa*
DOMIN-...			

ẇa:-kát-[t]k^{W}	'to be lonesome for s.o.' *ẇaagatkw*	ẇa:-kt)kát-[t]k^{W}	> ẇa:-kitkát^{W}	'(pl.) to be lonesome for s.o.' *ẇaagitgatkw*
reach.s.?-person-MED		...-PL)...		

/c/:

číp	'bone' *ts'ip*	č)číp > c)číp > cičíp	'[all the] bones (of a person or animal)' *jits'ip*
		PL)...	
čé:x	'to be satiated' *ts'eex*	lə-čé:x-T >	ličé:x(t) 'to be satiated (pl.)' *lits'eex(t)*
		[...-[satiated]-...]$_{PL}$	

(/c/ does not occur in the preconsonantal position in full reduplication, because of the rule of Deaffrication, **10**.1.B.1.b.1.)

/k/ (and /ķ/)

kíp	'to eat s.t.' *gip*	k)kíp	> kikíp	'to be eating s.t.' *gigip*
		ASP)...		
ká?	'to see s.' *ga'a*	lu:k)ká?	> lu:kiká?	'to stare at s.' *luugiga'a*
		in-ASP)...		

(in full reduplication, /x/ occurs instead of preconsonantal /k/, see Velar fricativization, **10**.1.B.1.b.3.a.).

/kʷ/

k̓ʷó:tkʷ	'to be lost' *kw'ootkw*	**k̓ʷ)k̓ʷ**ó:tkʷ ASP)...	>>	kʷi**k̓ʷ**ó:tkʷ	'to keep getting lost' *gwikw'ootkw/ gukw'ootkw*
		tə-**k̓ʷ**ó:tkʷ DOMIN--...	>>	ti**k̓ʷ**ó:tkʷ	'to get lost/go missing with s.t., to take s.t. and get lost' *dikw'ootkw*

(in full reduplication, /xʷ/ occurs instead of preconsonantal /kʷ/, see Velar fricativization, **10**.1.B.1.b.3.a.).

/s/

ʔa-*sáy̓	'foot, leg, paw' *asay̓*	ʔa-s)sáy̓ ...-PL)...	>	ʔasisáy̓	'feet, legs, paws' *(a)sisay̓*
spíks	'high-bush cranberries' *sbiks*	sə-spíks pick-...	>	sispíks	'to pick high bush-cranberries' *sisbiks*
tás	'to touch s.t.' *das*	t s)tás	>	tistás	'to touch s.t.(pl.)' *disdas*

/ɬ/:

ɬínkit	'Tlingit' *Hlingit*	**ɬ)ɬ** ínkit PL)...	>	**ɬiɬí** nkit	'slaves' *hlihlingit*
ɬó?	'(pl.) to walk' *hlo'o*	tə-**ɬ**ó? DOMIN--...	>	ti**ɬ**ó?	'to take s.o. (pl.) along while walking' *dihlo'o*

kát̓kʷ	'to pierce, stab, gaff s.' *gahlkw*	k t̓)kát̓kʷ PL)...	> kit̓kát̓kʷ	'to pierce, stab, gaff s.t. (pl.)' *gihlgahlkw*

(b) with syllabic resonants, there is no vowel in partial reduplication; examples are of prefixation and full reduplication:

/m/:

mó:tkʷ	'to be saved, rescued, cured' *mootkw*	lə-mó:tkʷ PL-...	> limó:tkʷ	'to be saved, rescued, cured (pl.)' *limootkw*
cám	'to boil, cook *jam*	c m)cám PL)...	> cimcám	'to boil, cook s.t. (pl.)' *jimjam*
tám̓	'to press s.t.' *dam̓*	t m̓)tám̓ PL)...	> t)tám̓ > timtám̓	'to press s.t. (pl.)' *dimdam̓*

/n/:

t̓ántkʷ	'to sway' *hlantkw*	t̓ n)t̓ántkʷ PL)...	> t̓ int̓ántkʷ	'(pl.) to sway' *hlinhlantkw*
n̓áx̣	'bait' *naẋ*	sə-n̓áx̣ make-...	> sin̓áx̣	'to bait s.t.' *sin̓aẋ*

/l/:

láy̓	'to be large *lay̓*	sə-láy̓ make-...	> siláy̓(t)	'to enlarge s.t.' *silay̓-di*

t̓ál	'to split s.t. (a tree)' *t'al*	t̓ lt̓ál > PL)...	t̓ilt̓ál	'to split s.t.(pl.) (trees)' *t'ilt'al*
c̓ál̓	'face, eyes' *ts'al̓*	c̓ l̓c̓ál̓ > c̓ lc̓ál̓ > c̓ilc̓ál̓ PL)...		'faces, [pairs of] eyes' *ts'ilts'al̓*

(c) non-syllabics: for partial reduplication, only /y/ fits into this category.

/y/:

yé:	'to walk' *yee*	y)yé: > **h)y**é: > **hiy**é: ASP)...		'to be walking' *hiyee*
yóx̣k^{W}	'to follow s. (s.o., or a route)	lə-**y**óx̣k^{W} > li**y**óx̣k^{W} PL)...		"to follow s. (pl.)'

/w/:

wá:x	'paddle, to paddle' *waax*	tə-**w**á:x > ti**w**á:x DOMIN--...		'to do s.t. while paddling' *diwaax*

10.1.A.1.a.2.d.2. Post-stress:

(a) General:

/p/:

wílp	'house' *wilp*	wílp-**ỷ** > wílpi**ỷ** ...-1S		'my house' *wilbiỷ*

		wílp-n ...-2S	> wílpin	'your house' *wilbin*
		wílp-æs(t) ...-AFF	> wílpis(t)	'[it's] a house! [of course!]'
laxʷlílp	'to roll' *laxʷlilp*	laxʷlílp-ʔn ...-CAUS	> laxʷlílp̓n > laxʷlílp̓in	'to make s.t. roll' *laxʷlilp'in*
*lílp	'*to roll'	ʔan-tk̓u=*líp-x-s-kʷ place-around-roll-???	>> ʔantk̓ulílpiksk^{w}	'whirlpool' *antk'ulilbikskw*
/t/:				
sq̓á:t	'side (of s.t.)' *sḵ'aat*	sq̓á:t-y̓ ...-1S	> sq̓á:tiy̓	'my side (body part)' *sḵ'aadiy̓*
q̓á:t̓	'cane' *ḵ'aat'*	q̓á:t̓-y̓ ...-1S	> q̓á:t̓iy̓	'my cane' *ḵ'aat'iy̓*
/c/:				
púc	'boots' *buts*	púc-n ...-2S	> púcin	'your boots' *bujin*
k̓utáč	'coat' *k'udats'*	k̓utáč-n ...-2S	> k̓utáčin	'your coat' *k'udats'in*

/ʔɬ/:

ć̓áɬ	'(music) record'	ć̓áɬ-n	>	ć̓áɬin	'your record(s)'
	ts'atl'	...-2S			*ts'atl'in*

/k/:

ta:ɬí:sk	'socks'	ta:ɬí:sk-n	>	ta:ɬí:skin	'your socks'
	daahliisk	...-2S			*daahliisgin*
ć̓ák	'dish, plate'	ć̓ák-n	>	ć̓ákin	'your plate'
	ts'ak'	...-2S			*ts'ak'in*

/kʷ/:

lúkʷ	'luggage'	lúkʷ-n	>	lúkʷin	'your luggage'
	lukw	...-2S			*lugwin*
t̓úk̓ʷ	'navel'	t̓úk̓ʷ-n	>	t̓úk̓ʷin	'your navel'
	t'ukw'	...-2S			*t'ukw'in*

/s/:

qís	'hair'	qís-n	>	qísin	'your hair'
	ges	...-2S			*gesin*

/ɬ/:

cáɬ	'to lose, fail'	cáɬ-n	>	cáɬin	'... you lost, failed'
	jahl	...-2S			*... jahlin*

/x/:

wá:**x**	'paddle'	wá:**x**-n >>	wá**y**in	'your paddle'
	waax	...-2S		*waayin*

/xʷ/:

mú**x**$^{\mathbf{w}}$	'ear(s)'	mú**x**$^{\mathbf{w}}$-n	>> mú**w**in	'your ear(s)'
	muxw	...-2S		*muwin*

/m/:

ʔan-cá**m**	'cooking-pot'	ʔan-cá**m**-**y̓**$^{\mathbf{ʔ}}$ >	ʔancámi**y̓**$^{\mathbf{ʔ}}$	'my cooking-pot'
	anjam	for-cook.s.-1S		*anjamiy̓*
ƛ̓imɬá:**m̓**	'shin(s)'	ƛ̓imɬá:**m̓**-**y̓**$^{\mathbf{ʔ}}$ >	ƛ̓imɬá:**m̓**i**y̓**$^{\mathbf{ʔ}}$	'my shin(s)'
	t'imhlaam̓	place-?-1S		*t'imhlaam̓iy̓*

/n/:

ʔan)ʔú**n**	'hand(s), arm(s)'	ʔan)ʔú**n**-**y̓**$^{\mathbf{ʔ}}$ >	ʔanʔúni**y̓**$^{\mathbf{ʔ}}$	'my hand(s), arm(s)'
	an'un	*(PL))hand-1S		*an'uniy̓*
qí**n̓**	'to chew (s.t.)'	qí**n̓**-ə-**y̓** >	qí**n̓**i**y̓**$^{\mathbf{ʔ}}$	'I chewed it'
	gen̓	...-CTL-1S		*...gen̓iy̓*
		q **n̓**)qí**n̓**-ks >>	qanqíńks	'to chew on s.t.'
		PL)chew.s.-SUFF		*gangen̓ks*

/l/:

/l/:

tál	'to fight' *dal*	tál-ẏ ...-1S	>	táliy̓	'... I fought' *...daliẏ*
č̓ál̓	'eyes, face' *ts'aĺ*	č̓ál̓-ẏ ...-1S	>	č̓ál̓iy̓	'my eyes, my face' *ts'aĺiẏ*

/y/: (see also /x/)

ʔasáẏ	'foot, leg'	ʔasáẏ-n *asaẏ*	>	ʔasáẏin ...-2S	'your foot, your leg' *asaẏin*

/w/: (see also /x^w/)

tá:w	'ice, to be frozen' *daaw*	sə-tá:w-ə-ẏ make-...-CTL-1S	>	sitá:wiẏ	'I froze it' *sidaawiẏ*
č̓é:ẇ	'insides, guts' *ts'eeẇ*	č̓é:ẇ-ẏ ...-1S	>	č̓é:ẇiẏ	'my insides, my guts' *(hli) ts'eeẇiẏ*

This rule is also responsible for the quality of the vowel in the Detransitive suffix (-ix) (7.2.C.2.A.1.c.).

<u>Remarks on stem-final /y/ and /y̓/</u>:

- /y/ does not occur stem-finally;

- see **10**.1.B.1.b.5.b.2./**10**.2.B.2.a. about adding the 1S suffix (-ẏ) to a word ending in /y̓/.

(b) Variations:

- [ɪ] tends to be more centralized before labials; some persons use /a/ [ʌ] before the 1P ending (-m̓):

wílp	'house'	wílp-m̓ > [wílbɪm̓, wílbʌm̓]	'our house'
		...-1P	*wilbim̓*

- In a sequence of labio-velar + /i/, the non-consonantal part may be realized as [ʊ] especially in rapid speech:

hítkʷ	'to stand'	hítkʷ-n > [hítgʷɪn, hítgʊn]	'Stand up!'
	hitkw	-2S	*Hitgwin!*
ḿúwʔ	'to be dead'	ḿúwʔ-ət > [ḿúwʔɪt, ḿúʔʊt]	'the deceased'
	úuẇ	-REL	*úuẇit*
ẇi=ʔtúxʷ	'to be fat,	ẇi=ʔtúxʷ-m > [ẇi·ʔtúwɪm, ẇi·ʔtúʊ̃m]	'a fat ...'
great-stout	stout'	...-ATTR	*ẇiit'uwim* ...
kúxʷ	'to shoot and	kúxʷ-ʔsɪ > [gúwʔɪs, gúʔʊ̃s]	'to make a
	kill s.'	...-APD	kill; s.t. killed'
			guẇs/guẇis

This is general when the 1P ending (-m̓) is added to a word ending in /kʷ/:

txó·xkʷ	'to eat (pl.)'	txó·xkʷ-m̓ > [txó·xgumʔ]	'Let's eat!'
	txoxkw	...-1P	*Txoxgum̓!*
lákʷ	'firewood'	lákʷ-m̓ > [lágumʔ]	'our wood'
	lakw	...-1P	*lagum̓*

10.1.A.1.b. Consonants: An epenthetic consonant is inserted between two segments in certain cases.

10.1.A.1.b.1. Specification of inserted C: stop or glide.

10.1.A.1.b.1.a. Stop inserted before C:

The consonant /t/ is inserted between a stem-final vowel or resonant and certain suffixes (the Definite Medial (-T), 7.2.C.1.a., suffixes starting with /ʔ/ 7.2.C.2.b.1.).

(1) after V:

kó·	'to be moored, parked' *gyoo*	kó·-ʔn > kó·tʔn > kó·ʔin ...-CAUS	'to moor, park s.t.' *gyoot'in*
ʔá·	'to sit' *t'aa*	ʔá·-ʔl > ʔá·tʔl > ʔá·ʔil ...-COMPL	'to place s.t.' (in Boas; seems obsolete now) *t'aat'i'*
		ʔá·-T > ʔá·-tT > ʔá·tt... ...-DEF-...	'to place s.t.' (modern form) *t'aa(t)-di*

(2) after resonant:

ʔám	'to write' ((root) *t'am*	ʔám-T > ʔám-T > ʔámtt... ...-DEF-...	'to write s.t.' *t'am(t)-di*

čin	'to go/come in' *ts'in*	čin-ʔn > čintʔn > činʔin ...-CAUS	'to let s.o. in' *ts'int'in*
tál	'to fight' *dal*	tál-ʔn > áltʔn > tálʔin ...-CAUS	'to make s. fight' *dalt'in*
háwʔ	'to stop [doing s.t.]' *haẃ*	háwʔ-ʔn > háwʔtʔn > háwʔʔin ...-CAUS	'to put a stop to s.t.' *haẃt'in*

10.1.A.1.b.1.b. Glide /y/ inserted:

The glide /y/ is usually inserted between two vowels, especially a stem-final vowel and a suffix-initial vowel:

kʷilá	'blanket' *gwila*	kʷilá-a: >	kʷiláya:	'(is it) a blanket?' *Gwilaya?*
		kʷilá-əs(t) >>	kʷiláyis(t)	'(it's) a blanket (of course)!' *Gwilayis!*
kipú-	'wolf' *gibuu*	kipú--a: >	kipú-ya:	'(is it) a wolf?' *Gibuuya?*
kʷiɲá	'to ask for s.t.' *gwiɲa*	kʷiɲá-ə-ỷ >>	kʷiɲáyiỷ	'I asked for it' *gwiɲayiỷ*

10.1.A.1.b.1.c. Remark: if 'anterior' is a default value of C's in general, including glides, then /y/ is the default value of glides; on the other hand, (**10**.1.B.1.b.5.b.1.) shows that /ħ/ is the default value of glides in other contexts; Bruce Rigsby has suggested (p.c.) that the inserted /y/ might come from

earlier /h/; this suggestion would make sense from this point of view, and also because it seems that all vowel-final stems originally ended in /h/; it might also explain some strange forms found in Boas (**10**.1.B.1.b.3.b.). The change /h/ > /y/ intervocalically is also found initially, e.g. hi?ó:s > yi?ó:s 'to wash/scrub'; this change could be explained by adaptation to the following /i/.

10.1.A.1.b.2. Velar strengthening:

10.1.A.1.b.2.a. Stop formation from fricative:

A Velar fricative is replaced by the corresponding stop before certain suffixes.

10.1.A.1.b.2.a.1. Before /s/: in suffix (-s) or beginning with /s/ (does not occur in word-initial presyllabic position):

(Remark: this may be a modern rule, counteracting the weakening tendency as in tóx-s >>tó·s 'to put (things)' *doos*, cf. **10**.1.B.1.b.3.a.).

x + s > ks

hó:**x**-s use/wear.s.-MED/PASS	>	hó:**ks**	'to be used/worn' *(hoox)* *hooks*
sə-wilá:**x**-s make-know-MED	>	siwilá:**ks**	'to learn s.t.' *(wilaax)* *siwilaaks*
lu·=m̓isá·**x**-s in=dawn-MED	>	lu·m̓isá·**ks**	'(boy) to be discovered in the morning in a girl's house after spending the night with her' *(misaax)* *luumisaaks*
cí·p-l-**x**-s vanish, evaporate?-?-?-MED	>	cí·pil**ks**	'to burn to the ground' *jiibilks*

$x^w + s > k^ws$

sitxé:**x^w-s** >	sitxé:**k^{w}s**	'to be changed'
change.s.-MED		*(sityeex^w) sityeek^{w}s*
haltá:**x^w-s** >	haltá:**k^{w}s**	'ointment'
anoint.s.-MED		*(haldaax^w) haldaak^{w}s*
ʔa-mú**x^w-s** >	ʔamú**k^{w}s**	'to listen'
spontaneously-hear/ear-MED		*(mux^w) amuk^{w}s*

$X + s > qs$

q)qé·**x̱-s** >>	qaqé:**qs**	'footprints, tracks'
ASP)crush/grind.s.-MED		*(geex) gageeqs*
čáx^w-ʔ**x̱-s** >>	čáẘaqs	'shoes'
considerable-?-MED		*ts'aẘaqs*

In pre-stress position, this rule seems to occur also, cf. the proclitic ʔuk^{w}s= 'outward' *ukws=* where /s/ is in the same syllable as the Velar.

10.1.A.1.b.2.a.2. Before suffix beginning with a glottal stop:

(= sporadic glottalization rule, **10**.2.B.1.a..2.b.2.) : $X + ʔ > \overset{ʔ}{K}$

wilá·**x-ʔl**-ʔsT >> wilá·**k̓ils**(t)		'to be knowledgeable, educated'
know.s.-COMPL-AP.D		*(wilaax) wilaak'ils(t)*
húka**x̱-ʔn** >> húka**q̓an** > húk̓aq̓an		'to corrrect s.'
correct-CAUS		*(hugax) huk'aq̓'an*

x̣-ʔálkax̣-ʔsk^{w}>> x̣ʔálkaq̓ask^{w} > x̣ʔálk̓aq̓ask^{w} 'to reign; kingdom'
[claim-speak]$_{speak.for.s., reign.on.s.}$-AP.I *(x̣'algax̣)* ***x̣'alk'ax̣k'askw***

(for glottalization of the previous consonant, see Anticipatory glottalization, **10**.1.A.2.b.)

10.1.A.1.b.2.b. Fricative-formation from glide: (= fricative sonorization, **10**.1.B.1.b.3.b.). A glide can be replaced by its corresponding fricative preconsonantally in unstressed syllable:

(1) full reduplication (type 2) (**8**.2.B.1.):

q̓a**y**á·n	'to harpoon s.t.' (Boas) ***k'ayaan***	q̓ **y**)q̓ayá·n > q̓a**x̣**q̓ayá·n	'to harpoon s.t.(pl.)' (Boas) ***k'ax̣k'ayaan***
ƛ̓á?	'to clap; to slap s.t. (once) ***t'a'a***	ƛ̓ ?)ƛ̓á? >> ƛ̓ax̣ƛ̓á? PL)...	'to slap s.t. (more than once); to pet s.t. (an animal)' ***t'ax̣t'a'a***
qó?	'to go s.w.; to go get s.' ***go'o***	q ?)qó? >> qax̣)qó? PL)...	'to go get s.(pl)' ***gax̣go'o***

(2) The rule /h/ > /x̣/ explains the following word:

sílk^{w}-*sá**h**-s > sílk^{w}sa**x̣**s		'midday'
middle-day-MED	*(sah)*	*silkwsax̣s*

(Note stress on first element of compound, an old rule, **10**.3.B.3; cf. other words ending in the pseudo-suffix -**sa** 'day' ...*sa*, **7**.2.D.2., but without the final -**s**).

The strengthening of /h/ to /x̣/ before /s/ parallels that of fricatives for stops in the same position (**10**.1.A.1.b.2.a.).

10.1.A.2. Rules extending features to other segments: Anticipatory glottalization across an unstressed syllable: The presence of a glottal stop in a suffix causes glottalization of a preceding post-stress consonant. (This rule is not to be confused with glottalization rules which merge a stem-final consonant with a following glottal stop, **10**.2.B.1.a.).

10.1.A.2.a.1. A suffix of the shape -V? (with unstressed vowel) glottalizes a stem-final stop or affricate: this occurs with the Detransitive suffix (-a?) (**7**.2.C.2.a.1.a.):

C + V? > C̓V?

cáp	'to make s.t.' *jap*	ksə-cáp-a? > out-make.s.-DETR	ksicáp̓a?	'addition to a house' *ksijap'a'a*
ʔí·c-T	'to fry, iron s.t.' *iits-di*	ha-ʔí·c-a? > INST-...-DETR	haʔí·c̓a?	'an iron' *ha'iits'a'a*
lákʷ	'fuel' *lakw*	silákʷ-a? > burn.s.-DETR	silákʷ̓a?	'to burn things' *silakw'a'a*
q̓áq	'to be open' *k'ak*	ha-q̓áq-a? >> INST-...-DETR	haq̓áq̓a?	'key' *haq'ak'a'a*

but not a fricative or resonant:

	*lís-a? hang-DETR	lísa?	'to hang up the wash' *lisa'a*

m̓ál 'to button s.t.' qan-m̓ál-**aʔ** qanm̓a**laʔ**
'button'
m̓al means-button.s.-DETR *ganm̓ala'a*

In this case, Velar fricatives are weakened to glides, **10**.1.B.2.c.2.

10.1.A.2.a. The addition of a suffix containing a glottal stop normally causes glottalization of the stem-final consonant (**10**.2.B.1.a.). If there is another consonant between the stressed vowel and the stem-final consonant, that consonant is glottalized as well.

...CVC + ʔ C > ...CVCVC

ʔamʔúḳit-ʔn > ʔamʔúḳit**ʔin** > ʔamʔú**ḳ̓it̓in** 'to dress s.o.'
clothes-CAUS *(am'ugit) am'uk'it'in*

If the final C is a Velar fricative (X) , it is replaced by the corresponding Velar stop (K) before glottalization (see Stop-formation, **10**.1.A.1.b.2.a.).

10.1.B. Rules despecifying/removing features: (weakening segments)

10.1.B.1. Rules affecting one segment:

10.1.B.1.a. Vowels: Vowel-weakening/despecification: in unstressed syllables (full reduplication, some unstressed morphemes):

10.1.B.1.a.1. Shortening of long vowels:

10.1.B.1.a.1.a. In stressed position, before a resonant + consonant cluster: (this seems to be an older rule; = V-insertion / V:R_C (**10**.2.A.1.a.1.)

haltá·xʷ-ḳit >> halt**á·wḳ**it > halt**áwḳ**it 'sorcerer, male witch
anoint.s.-people (malevolent)' *haldawgit*

x̣s-qalá·**n**-**q**	>	x̣sqal**á**n**q**	'to serve (a food) second'
resemble?-behind-?			*xsgalank*

Remark: This rule seems to be involved in the YFS shortening of the vowel in the following word prononced by OFS with long vowel:

té·ʔentkʷ	>	t**é**ʔentkʷ	'to lead, guide s.o.' *dee'entkw, de'entkw*

10.1.B.1.a.1.b. In unstressed position: long vowels tend to be shortened phonetically. Sometimes they are so shortened that they lose their quality (**10**.1.B.1.a.2.) and become predictable according to the environment:

m̓áqs-**a**·+cá(·)yn	> m̓áqs**a**cá(·)yn	> m̓áqs**i**cá(·)yn	'bluejeans' *maksijayn*
pants-SUFF+Chinese			
t**a**·ɬa· ...	> t**a**ɬa· ...	> t**i**ɬa· ...	'when..., whenever...' *daa hlaa..., dihlaa*
when now			

...

10.1.B.1.a.2. Unstressed short vowel despecification: This rule applies both to original short vowels and those deriving from shortening of a long vowel (**10**.1.B.1.a.1.b.).

10.1.B.1.a.2.a. Type 2 full reduplication (**8**.2.B.1.): The vowel in the reduplicated syllable (CVC) does not copy the stem vowel, but is fully predictable according to the consonantal environment (**10**.1.A.1.a.); from a purely synchronic viewpoint the formula for reduplication can just include the two consonants, with insertion of an unspecified vowel; however, from a historical viewpoint it is likely that the whole syllable including the vowel was reduplicated at one time.

cam)cám >> cim)cám 'to boil, cook s.t. (pl).'
PL)boil.s. *jimjam*

10.1.B.1.a.2.a. Addition of stressed suffix:

ʔam-ísT >> ʔimís(t) 'to write'
write.s.-DETR *t'imis(t)*

kaɬ-é·ʔ >> kiɬé·ʔ 'to embroider'
pierce.s.-DETR *gihlee'e*

However, the following form shows loss of the unstressed vowel (**10**.2.A.2.a.), not just despecification, so it may be better to consider these forms as having undergone vowel deletion.

ʔaɬ-é·ʔ >> ʔiɬé·ʔ > ʔɬé·ʔ > ɬe·ʔ 'to put things away' (used in comp.)
put.s.away-DETR *tl'ee'e*

However, there is no need to invoke vowel-deletion and reinsertion in cases like those in **10**.1.B.1.a.1.b. above: despecification has a rightful place there.

10.1.B.1.b. Consonants:

Deglottalization, De-affrication and Velar fricativization and sonorization apply in similar environments and can all be considered instances of consonant weakening. Velar fricativization and fricative sonorization can be considered two stages of the same rule.

10.1.B.1.b.1. De-affrication (loss of consonantal onset)

After an unstressed syllable, an affricate, whether original, or the result of a sequence, simplifies to the corresponding fricative (it loses its stop onset and keeps only its fricative release). This is most obvious in Type 2 full

reduplication (affecting the C_2 of a reduplicated CVC sequence). For prefixation, there is little direct evidence, since prefixes and proclitics are rarely related to independent words, but none of these morphemes end in an affricate (some modifiers do, however, so the rule does not apply to all pre-predicate morphemes).

10.1.B.1.b.1.a. Sibilants: c, t+s > s

(1) Full reduplication (type 2): (see **8**.2.B.1. for other details)

h **c**)híc >> hashíc 'to send s. (pl)'
PL)send.s. *hashits*

h **c̓**)hác̓ >> hashác̓ 'to bite s. (pl)'
PL)send.s. *hashats'*

q **c**)qá·c >> qasqá·c 'dogfish'
PL?)? *gasgaats*

(2) Prefixing:

ḳi**t**-sq̓an-snáx̣-(ə)t > ḳisq̓ansná·t 'People of the Hawthorns'
people-bush-haw-REL (name of a sub-clan)
Gisḵ'ansnaat

ḳi**t**-sq̓a-há·st > ḳisq̓ahá·st '(lit. People of the Fireweed): the
people-among-fireweed Killerwhale clan'
Gisḵ'ahaast,
Gisḵ'aast

10.1.B.1.b.1.b. Laterals: ƛ̓ > ɬ

(1) Reduplication:

It is difficult to tell whether the / ƛ̓/ of the stem is indeed the original ending, or whether there is a suffix or augment /ʔ/ (3.1.A., 7.2.C.2.b.1.d.) (cf. some glottalized glides reduplicating as fricatives, e.g. /w̓/ as /xʷ/: the original C is reduplicated, not the one that results from glottalization); in the latter case the consonant to be replicated would not be / ƛ̓/ but /ɬ/ ; the result would be the same. In the first example below, the word is analyzable with a root or base ending in /ɬ/ not / ƛ̓/; the others are not so clear-cut (see also note to **10**.1.B.1.b.2.b. below).

h ɬ)*hú**ɬ**-ʔx̣-ɬkʷ >	ha**ɬ**)huƛ̓aq**ɬ**kʷ	'to boil'
PL)rumble?-SUFF-TEMP		*hahlhutl'a<u>k</u>hlkw*
	q̓a**ɬ**)q̓áƛ̓	'to be slightly crooked' (no sg. used) *k'ahl<u>k</u>'atl'*
č́aƛ̓ '(music) record' *ts'atl'*	č̓i**ɬ**)č̓aƛ̓	'to have a rippled surface (?); e.g. (record) to be distorted by heat' *ts'ihlts'atl'*

10.1.B.1.b.1.c.. The deaffrication rule is also responsible for the disappearance of /t/ in several cases where this phonological element is brought into contact with a non-Velar fricative, causing a phonetic affricate. However, as the number of original elements is reduced in this case, these cases are listed under Consonant-deletion (**10**.2.A.2.b.2.) rather than under Deaffrication.

10.1.B.1.b.2. <u>Deglottalization</u>: <u>Pre-consonantal deglottalization before stressed syllable</u>: applies to all glottalized segments, whether consonants or resonants.

10.1.B.1.b.2.a. <u>Initial deglottalization</u>:

10.1.B.1.b . . . <u>In partial reduplication</u>; this rule applies before Vowel-insertion and other applicable rules (see **10**.1.B.1.b.5.b.a.1. for Glide-reduction/neutralization to /h/):

(a) <u>with consonants</u>: glottalized stops and fricatives:

t̓)t̓á· > **t**)t̓á· >tit̓á· ASP)sit	'to be sitting; to exist' *dit'aa*
c̓)c̓ák̓ > **c**)c̓ák̓ > cic̓ák̓ PL)plate, bowl	'plates, bowls' *jits'ak'*
t̓ip=**k̓**)k̓íl̓ > t̓ip=**k**)k̓íl̓ > t̓ip=kik̓íl̓ downward-ASP)one	'to fall one by one (e.g. snowflakes)' *t'ipgik'il̓*
k̓ʷ)k̓ʷó·tkʷ > **kʷ**)k̓ʷó·tkʷ > kʷik̓ʷó·tkʷ ASP)lost	'to keep getting lost' *gwikw'ootkw, gukw'ootkw*
q̓)*q̃ítkʷ > **q**)q̃ítkʷ >qaq̃ítkʷ *ASP)howl	'(wolf) to howl' *gaḵ'etkw*

(b) <u>with resonants</u>:

m̓)m̓á·l > **m**m̓á·l PL)canoe	'canoes' *mm̓aal*
n̓)n̓í > **n**n̓í ASP)that's	'that's [still, precisely] ...' *nn̓i*

(/l̓/ does not occur word-initially)

y)ɣ́aq > **y**)ɣ́aq > hiɣ́aq	'to be hanging'
ASP)hang	*hiɣ́aɬ*
w)ẃó? > **w**)ẃó? > huẃó?	'to be calling s.o.; to call, invite s.o.(pl.)' *huẃo'o*
ASP/PL)call.s.	

The non-glottalized equivalent of /ʔ/ is /h/:

ʔ)ʔá·t > **h**)ʔá·t > haʔá·t	'to be fishing'
ASP)fish.w.net	*ha'aat*

10.1.B.1.b.2.a.2. In pre-stress syllable, especially two syllables before stress:

The further away a consonant is from the stressed syllable, the more likely it is to undergo weakening.

(a) Full reduplication of a proclitic:

[t]q̓al)[t]q̓al=>q̓il)q̓al=> ɬ̓il)q̓al=> ɬil)q̓al=	'all over, completely covering ... *k'iɬ'al..., giɬ'al*
flush.against...)...	

(c) Cix- reduplication (full reduplication, type 3, 8.2.B.2.): this form of reduplication often occurs with stems containing prefixes or proclitics, the initial consonant of which is treated as the one to be reduplicated. If this consonant is a glottalized Velar, the C of the Cix- syllable is *usually* deglottalized.

ɬ̓ix)ɬ̓é·qan > ɬixɬ̓é·qan	'to drill holes in s.t.'
PL)drill.a.hole.in.s.	*gixɬ'eegan*

ɬ̓ix)ɬ̓a·ɬ--q̓isaʔ-tkʷ >> ɬixɬ̓aɬq̓isaʔatkʷ '(pl.) to kneel down'
PL)to.one.side=knee-MED *gixk'ahlɬ'esa'atkw*

q̓ix)q̓amkʷi·tkʷ > ɬ̓ixq̓amkʷi·tkʷ > ɬixq̓amkʷi·tkʷ 'to bless s.o. (pl.)'
PL) bless.s. *gixɬ'amgwiitkw*

(for /k/ instead of /q/ see **10**.1.B.1.b.5.a.).

(c) prefixation: initial deglottalization occurs sporadically, e.g. for individuals who do not perceive the derivation of the following measure and its relationsbip with ɬ̓iɬ̓ 'one' *k'il'*:

ɬ̓iɬ̓-q̓á·x > ɬ̓ilq̓á·x ~ ɬilq̓á·x 'one fathom'
one-armspan *k'ilɬ'aax, gilɬ'aax*

10.1.B.1.b.2.b. Pre-consonantal deglottalization (in prefixed syllable) (prefixed or reduplicated segment): the rule affects the C_2 of a reduplicated CVC:

Remark: it is likely that in all cases of stems where the C2 is a glottalized consonant, the glottalized C is not original, but derives from addition of a suffix beginning with a glottal stop, or a glottal stop augment, therefore this rule should be construed only in synchronic terms; whether the C_2 to be reduplicated is interpreted to be the original non-glottalized C or the derived glottalized C has a bearing on which rule is followed--especially with Velar fricatives, see **10**.2.B.1.a.2.b.

(1) consonants:

- stops: (non-Velars; see **10**.1.B.1.b.3.a. for Velar fricativization in this position): There are very few examples of stem-final glottalized stops: in particular, /p̓/ does not occur finally.

- h c̓)hít̓ >> hat)hít̓ 'to stick (pl.)'
  PL)stick *hathit'*

With Velars, the final consonant of the reduplicative syllable is replaced by a fricative; an intermediate stage with non-glottalized stop should be postulated:
(NOTE: if the glottalized consonant always results from an added morpheme in /ʔ/, then this 'intermediate stage' is the normal one).

- t k̓)tík̓ > tik)tík̓ > tixtík̓ 'to feel silly, shy (pl.)' *dixdik'*
  PL)silly,shy

- s q̓)sé·q̓al saq)sé·q̓al > saχsé·q̓al 'to be rough (to the touch)(pl.)' *saqseeq'al*
  PL)rough

(here the ending is the Completive suffix {-ʔɬ}; base unglossable at present).

- affricates:

- h c̓)hác̓ > hac)hác̓ > has)hác̓ 'to bite s. (pl.)' *hashats'*
  PL)stick
  (2) resonants:

(b) processes:

- full reduplication (type 2, 8.2.B.1.):

- t m̓)t̓ám̓ > tim)t̓ám̓ 'to press s.t. (pl')' *dimdam̓*
  PL)press.s.

- qin̓)qín̓ > qan)qín̓ 'to chew s.t. (pl.)' *gangen̓*
  PL)chew.s.

• ʔáːxʷ-ʔskʷ > *ʔáːwʔiskʷ	ʔwʔ)*ʔáːwʔiskʷ >	ʔawʔáːwʔiskʷ	
coiled.seaweed	PL)...	'to be curly'	
		aw'aawiskw	

- For prefixes, direct evidence is rare, since most prefixes and proclitics are not related to full words, but there are a few cases where an independent word ending in a glottalized C is used as a prefix and loses its glottalization, as in:

kʔiɬ-q̓áːx	>	kʔilq̓áːx	'one fathom'
one-armspan			*k'il'aax*
kʔiɬ-*ʔún	>	kʔilʔún	'(men) one fathom;(women) one cupful'
one-hand, arm			*k'il'un*
kʷilaɬ-sáq̓ans	>	kʷilal-sáq̓ans	'three handspans'
three-handspan		*gwilal'sak'ans*	

There is also the fact that no prefix or proclitic ends in a glottalized consonant (some modifiers (5.15.) do, however, so the rule does not apply to all pre-predicate morphemes).

10.1.B.1.b.3. Velar weakening:
Velar weakening occurs as fricativization for stops and sonorization for fricatives. Ultimately the process may result in deletion (**10**.2.A.2.b.2.)

10.1.B.1.b.3.a. Fricativization of Velar stops: (this is the opposite of Stop-formation, **10**.1.B.1.b.2.a.):

10.1.B.1.b.3.a.1. Before consonant:

10.1.B.1.b.3.a.1.a. pre-stress: in prefixation and in full reduplication (type 2,

CVC, 8.2.B.1.), non-glottalized Velar stops are replaced by the corresponding fricatives:

(a) prefix: no prefix, proclitic or modifier ends in a Velar stop, but many end in uvular fricatives, e.g. ksax̣ 'only' *ksax̣*, ʔax̣ 'just for a short while' *ʔ'ax̣*; the following shows fricativization when a full word is used as a modifier/prefix:

ʔáq	'to be non-existent, impossible' *aʔ*	ʔáx̣-	'not, non-...' *ax̣*

(b) full reduplication: Type 2 (8.2.B.1.): CVK stems reduplicate as CvX:

k > x:	ʔák	'to forget s.t.' *ʔak*	ʔ k)ʔák >> ʔix)ʔák PL)...	'to forget s.t. (pl.)' *ʔixʔak*
kʷ > xʷ:	ʔákʷ	'to twist s.t.' *ʔakw*	ʔ kʷ)ʔákʷ>> ʔuxʷʔákʷ PL)...	'to twist s.t.(pl.); tornado' *ʔuxwʔakw*
q > x̣:	páq	'to feel s.t.' *baʔ*	p q)páq >> paxpáq PL)...	'to feel around for s.t. (e.g. in the dark)' *bax̣baʔ*

If the Velar stop is glottalized, deglottalization (regular in this position, 10.1.B.1.b.2.b.) takes place before fricativization (alternately: glottalization derives from addition of a suffix containing a glotial stop, to a plain stem-final stop; reduplication can be said to occur on the unsuffixed stem):

q̓ > q > x̣:	sé·q̓al 'to be rough'	s q)sé·q̓al >>sax̣sé·q̓al	'(pl.) to be rough'
or	sé·q-ʔl >> sé·q̓al	s q)sé·q-ʔl >> saxsé·q̓al	

10.1.B.1.b.3.a.1.b. post-stress:

(a) before suffix consisting of a stop: after vowel, resonant or consonant:

yú·q	'string of oolichans' *yuuk*	yú·**q**-[t]k^{w}	> yú·**x**k^{w}	'to eat' *yuuxkw*
		...-MED		
sá·q-T	'to stretch s.t. (a skin)' *saak-di*	qan-sá·**q**-[t]k^{w}	> qansá·**x̣**k^{w}	'stretching-frame' *gansaaxkw*
		means-...-MED		
ná·ɬq	'breath' *naahlk*	ksə-ná·ɬ**q**-k^{w}	> ksiná·ɬ**x̣**k^{w}	'to breathe out' *ksinaahlxkw*

(b) in compounding, after syllabic resonant (not always applied in more recent compounds):

ḳímk	'to wipe s.t.' *gimk*	ha-ḳím**k** +*ʔún-tk^{w}	> haḳim**x**ʔún+tk^{w}	'handtowel' *hagimx'untkw*
		INSTR-wipe.s.+hand-REFL		

(c) type 1 (archaic) full reduplication (CV́:Cvk): CV́KCVK › CV́XCVK › CV́hCvk › CV́:Cvk (› CV́:Cvx) (**8**.2.B.3.):

(1) the long vowel with root CVK suggests a series of weakenings K › X › h › V. Steps X ›› V are actually attested in suffixed forms (**10**.1.B.1.2.c.2./3) after stress.

láq-s	'to bathe' *laks*	láq)laq-s	> lá**x̣**laqs > láhlaqs > lá:laqs	'(pl.) to bathe' *laalaks*
be.in.water-MED		PL)...		

(2) sporadically: final K › X:

χ.póq 'fold, crease' χ.póq)poq > χpóxpoq > χpóhpoq >> χpó:paχ
χbok PL)... 'creases, folds'
χboobaχ

ʔóq 'to claw at s.t.' ʔóq)ʔoq > ʔóχʔoq > ʔóhʔoq >> ʔó:ʔaχ
t'ok PL)... 'to claw at s.t.(pl.)'
t'oot'aχ

10.1.B.1.b.3.a.2. After consonant: this sporadic rule seems to affect both glottalized and non-glottalized uvular stops, after another stop:

ḳit-qa-ʔin > ḳitχaʔin 'people of Greenville'
people-DIST-weir *Gitχat'in*

ʔip-q̓ó·ɬt > ʔipχó·ɬt 'seven'
downward-six *t'ipχoo·ɬt*

10.1.B.1.b.3.b. Velar fricative sonorization to corresponding glide:

10.1.B.1.b.3.b.1. Intervocalically:

10.1.B.1.b.3.b.1.a. Non-Uvulars: A word-final palato-velar or labio-velar fricative which immediately follows stress is replaced by a corresponding non-glottalized glide (which is voiced) before a suffix vowel, whether inherent, or epenthetic before a resonant suffix. (A sequence V + /y/ before the fricative is considered vocalic with this rule).

x > y

wilá:x 'to know s.t.' wilá:χ-ə-ỷ > wilá:γiỷ 'I know it/h.'
wilaax ...-CTL-1S *wilaayiỷ*

wá:x	'paddle'	wá:**x**-ɣ̓ >> wá:**y**iɣ̓	'my paddle'
	waax	...-1S	*waayiɣ̓*
hó:x	'to use s.'	ʔan-hó·**x**-**a**ʔ >ʔan(h)ó·**ya**ʔ	'tool, utensil,
	hoox	used.for-use.s.-DETR	implement,
			vehicle, thing'
			anhooya'a

$x^w > w$

čiláyx^w	'to visit s.o.'	čiláy**x^w**-ə-t > čiláy**w**it	'S/he visited h.'
	ts'ilayxw	...-CTL-3	*ts'ilaywit*
múx^w	'ear(s)'	mú**x^w**-n >> mú**w**in	'your ear(s)'
	muxw	...-2S	*muwin*
ḳúx^w	'to shoot s.'	ḳú**x^w**-ə-t >>ḳú**w**it	'S/he shot it/h.'
	guxw	...-CTL-3	*guwit*

ḳú**x^w**-**a**ʔ-m + ná·ɬq > ḳù**wa**ʔam ná·ɬq
... -DETR-ATT + breath

'(whale) to blow'
guwa'am-naahlɣ

Compare with the retention of the fricative after unstressed vowel, in:

ɬú·ʔux^w	'to value,	ɬú·ʔu**x^w**-ə-t > ɬú·ʔu**x^w**it	'S/he
	treasure s.t.,	...-CTL-3	values,treasures
	to cherish s.o.'		it, s/he cherishes
	hluut'uxw		him/her'
			hluut'uxwit

hó:pix	'spoon'	hó:pix-ʔ́ > hó:pixiʔ́	'my spoon'
	hoobix	...-1S	*hoobixiʔ́*

10.1.B.1.b.3.b.1.b. Uvular: The application of this rule to the uvular fricative /χ́/ would result in /h/, which has a more restricted distribution than the other resonants; in fact, /χ́/ is deleted, and an intermediate stage /h/ can be postulated, with a later rule deleting it (see **10**.2.A.2.b.2.).

A stage /h/ also accounts for some otherwise irregular forms: a few transitive verbs ending in /χ́/ seem to delete the fricative instead of adding the Control suffix (-ə-), as in:

qé·χ́	'to grind/sharpen s.t.'	qé·ʔ́	'I ground/sharpened it'
	geeɪ		*geeʔ́*
		qé·t	'S/he ground, ... it'
			geet

instead of *qé·χ́-ə-ʔ́ 'I ground,... it' *(geeɪəʔ́)*, *qé·χ́-ə-t 's/he ground,... it' *(geeɪət)*. These forms are explainable by an older rule weakening /χ́/ to /h/, with later deletion:

qé·χ́ 'to grind, sharpen s.t.' *geeɪ*

qé·χ́-ə-ʔ́ > qé·h-ə-ʔ́ > qé·həʔ́ > qé·əʔ́ > qé·ʔ́

...-CTL-1S

'I ground/sharpened it' *geeʔ́*

qé·χ́-ə-t > qé·h-ə-t > qé·hət > qé·ət > qé·t

...-CTL-3

's/he ground/sharpened it' *geet*

In these forms the unstressed vowel left after the deletion of /h/ has been absorbed into the long stressed vowel.

A stage long vowel + suffix vowel explains other forms in Boas, where the CTL suffix (-ə-) is preceded by /y/ as in vowel-final stems, for instance:

tóx̣	'to put s.t. (pl)'	tóx̣-ə-t > tóh-ə-t > tó:-ə-t	>> tó:**y**it	's/he put them ...' (s.w.)'
	dox̲	...-CTL-3		*dooyit*
páx̣	'to run'	ksə-tə-páx̣-ə-t > ...páh-ə-t > ...pá:-ə-t	> ksitipá:**y**it	
	bax̲	out-DOMIN-CTL-3		's/he ran out with it'
				ksidibuayit

where instead of being absorbed into the long vowel as described above, the suffix vowel is separated from the stem by epenthetic /y/ , exactly as if the long vowel was originally part of the stem (**10**.2.A.1.b.1.).

There are also archaizing forms which have a long vowel before the REL suffix -(ə)t: the vowel of this suffix normally appears after consonant, never after vowel; with a resonant it is optional after short vowel: here again the long vowel created by the weakening of the Uvular is treated as if it was original, or alternately, the unstressed vowel is absorbed into the long vowel:

tóx̣	'(pl.) (things) to be (s.w.)	tóx̲-[ə]t > tó**h**(ə)t > tó:(ə)t	> tó:t	'...[things] that are...'
	dox̲	...-REL	...	*doot*
páx̣	'to run'	páx̲-[ə]t > pá**h**(ə)t > pá:(ə)t	> pá:t	'... that runs/ran...'
	bax̲	...-REL		*baat*

(these forms alternate with the regularized tóx̣at *dox̲at*, páx̣at *bax̲at*).

10.1.B.1.b.3.b.2. Preconsonantally:

10.1.B.1.b.3.b.2.a. After stress:

10.1.B.1.b.3.b.2.a.1. Non-Uvulars:

x > y

syáx	'to be scorched'	ha-sya**x**-ks > hasy**ay**ks	'swallow'
	syax	having?-...-?	*hasyayks*

x > w

haltá·x^{w}	'to anoint s.'	haltá·**x^{w}**-kát >> haltá**w**ḳit	
	haldaarw	...-people	'sorcerer, male witch (malevolent)'
			haldawgit

10.1.B.1.b.3.b.2.a.2. Uvular: There is evidence for a former rule /χ̣/ > /h/ from long vowel vocalization (V + /h/ > V:) in archaic and archaizing forms built on roots ending in /χ̣/:

(a) before suffix: (only in a few common words, since there is a modern tendency to keeping the stem intact) :

tóχ̣	'(pl.) (things) to be (s.w.)	tó**χ̣**-s > tó**h**s > tó:s ...-MED	'to put t.' ings ...' *doos* (used in composition)
	doχ		

Vocalization of /h/ occurs before V-insertion (**10**.2.a.1.a.1.) can apply before resonant suffix:

nóχ̣	'mother'	nó**χ̣**-n > nó**h**n > nó:n	'your mother'
noχ		...-2S	*noon*

		nóx̱-ɣ̓ > nóhɣ̓ > nó:ɣ̓	'my mother'
		...-1S	*nooɣ̓*
ńáx̱	'bait'	ńáx̱-m̓ > ńáhm̓ > ńá:m̓	'our bait'
ńax̱		...-1P	*ńaam̓* (Boas)
páx̱	'to run'	páx-n > páhn > pá:n	
		bax̱ ...-2S	*Baan!*

(regularized forms nóx̱aɣ̓ 'my mother' *noxaɣ̓*, páxan 'Run!' *Paxan!* do occur as well).

(b) in type 1 (CV:Cvk) full reduplication: this is an archaic type (**8**.2.B.3.b.), as evidenced by (a) involvement of root only (not augments, let alone affixes), (b) stress on prefixed syllable (archaic, **10**.3.B.), (c) numerous irregularities (C-shifts, reformations with other pluralization methods) and (d) this rule, which is archaizing with other forms, as described above.

nóx̱	'mother'	nóx̱)nox̱ > nóhnox̱ >> **nó**·nax̱	'mothers'
nox̱		PL)...	*noonax̱(kw)*

Similarly there is a long vowel in such forms as:

nó?	'(to have a) hole'	nó?)no? >> nó-na?	'(to have) holes'
no'o		PL)...	*noona'a*

qa-páq)-s-[t]kʷ	'to struggle'	qa-páq)paq-s-[t]kʷ	> qapá·paqskʷ
?-PL)feel.s.-MED?-INDEF			'to struggle (pl.)'
gabax̱skw			*gabaabax̱skw*

10.1.B.1.b.3.b.2.b. Before stress: there are cases of long V: alternating with Vx in proclitics and prefixes:

staɣ ~ sta-	'on one side'	*sdaɣ... / sdaa...*
laɣ-laɣ-*ʔú ~ la-laɣʔú	'swamp'	
on-on-moss?		*laɣlaɣ'u / laalaɣ'u*

10.1.B.1.b.3.b.3. Finally: When the suffix (-ʔX) is added to a stem ending in a Uvular, /X/ of the suffix is weakened to /ɣ/ (7.2.C.2.b.1.c.1.a.).

10.1.B.1.b.4.. Lateral fricative sonorization: Sonorization of the lateral fricative /ɬ/ is phonetically parallel to the sonorization of the Velar fricatives, but occurs under different conditions. In particular, it does not occur intervocalically, where the contrast between fricative and resonant laterals is always maintained. Post-consonantal fluctuation between the two does not impair communication as there is no contrast in this position.

The lateral fricative /ɬ/ is sonorized to /l/ between the fricative /s/ and a vowel. This occurs mostly after the prefix (ks-) 'most ...':

ks-ɬáxʷ > ksláxʷ	'to be undermost'	
most-underside	*kslaxw*	
ks-ɬáxʷ-ʔskʷ >> kslaẃiskʷ	'shirt'	
most-underside-AP.I		*kslaẃiskw*
ks-ɬáq-s > kslaqs	'to kick s.'	
most?-?-MED?		*kslaks*

This rule does not apply intervocalically, hence the medial /ɬ/ in the plural:

ks-ɬáq)ɬaq-s >> kslá-ɬaqs	'to kick s.(pl.)'	
most?-PL)?-?		*kslaahlaks*

After other fricatives, the situation is less clear-cut than after /s/, and there is

a certain amount of free variation, e.g.

x̣lip= ~ x̣ɬip=	'at the tip (proc.)'
	x̣lip..., also pron. *x̣hlip*
x̣ɬíl̓ ~ x̣líl̓	'to be sweet, delicious'
	x̣líl̓..., also pron. *x̣hlíl̓*

Some fluctuation also exists after stops. In general, the fricative tends to stay after /kʷ/ and to be sonorized after /p/, hence the following singular-plural alternations: where /ɬ/ occurs in both post-consonantal and intervocalic positions (the vocalic alternations are independent of this rule):

qalksə-kʷɬák / qalksə-kʷɬí·ɬik	'to be inside out (sg./pl.)'
through-?	*galksikwhlak/*
	galksikwhliihlik
plákskʷ / plí·ɬikskʷ	'to be tired (sg./pl.)'
	plakskw/pliihlikskw

/ɬ/ is more likely to be sonorized after /p/ than after /kʷ/, although both pronunciations occur).

No sonorization occurs after /p/ in *ɬipɬán* '(human) body' *hliphlan* , nor fricativization in *liplé:t* 'priest' *lipleet* (< Chinook < Fr. *le prêtre*), perhaps because the C_1VCC_1VC structure of these words recalls full reduplication (type 2), where the C_1 in the stressed syllable does not change.

10.1.B.1.b.5.. Reduction (of Velars and glides) to default feature: Velars to anterior, glides to glottal.

10.1.B.1.b.5.a. Velar-despecification/reduction to anterior Velar: This occurs especially two syllables before stress. Infrequently, it also happens in

pre-stress syllable, as in the alternate forms:

taɣ-yúkʷ-T	> tiɣ-yúkʷ-T	'to hold s.t.'
firmly-hold.s.		*daɣyukw-di, diɣyukw-di*

Two syllables before stress, in a reduplicative syllable away from stress, a Uvular is replaced by a front Velar; deglottalization may also take place (cf. **10**.1.B.1.b.2.a.2.).

(1) Reduplicating proclitic: the proclitic **(t)q̓al=** 'flush with ...' *tɬ'al...* which occurs in pre-stress position has a fully reduplicated form **ɬilq̓al=** or **ɬilq̓al=** 'all over...' *k'ilɬ'al...* or *gilɬ'al...* which shows despecification (and also deglottalization) of the consonant furthest away from word-stress:

(t)q̓al)(t)q̓al= >> ɬ̓ilq̓al= (> ɬilq̓al=)	'all over ...'
PL)flush	*k'ilɬ'al.../gilɬ'al...*

(2) With Cix-reduplication: two syllables before stress:

q̓ix)q̓amkʷí·tkʷ > ɬ̓ixq̓amkʷí·tkʷ > ɬixq̓amkʷí·tkʷ	'to bless s.o. (pl.)'
PL) bless.s.	*gixɬ'amgwiitkw*
qix)qaq̓í·tkʷ > ɬixqaq̓í·tkʷ	'(wolves) to howl'
PL) howl	*gixgaɬ'etkw*
m̓in=qix)qapúxʷ > ɬixqapúxʷ	'(waterspout, geyser) to spout up in sprays'
upwards=PL)spray	*m̓ingixgabuxw*

10.1.B.1.b.5.b. Glide-despecification/glide-reduction to glottal segment:

Under certain conditions, palatal and labio-velar glides may lost their specific

quality and be replaced by a glottal segment, /h/ for non-glottalized glides, /ʔ/ for glottalized glides.

10.1.B.1.b.5.b.1. Non-glottalized glides: reduction to /h/:

a. in partial reduplication: the rule applies both to original non-glottalized glides, and to those which result from deglottalization in initial preconsonatal position (**10**.1.B.2.a.1.)

y)y > h)y

yé·	'to walk, go'	**y**)yé· >**h**)yé· > hiyé·	'to be walking'
	yee	ASP)...	*hiyee*
yuk^{w}	'(PROG aux.)'	**y**)yuk^{w} > **h**)yuk^{w} >hiyúk^{w}	'to be doing ...'
	yukw	ASP)...	*hiyukw*
ỷáq	'to hang'	ỷ)ỷáq > **y**)ỷáq > **h**)ỷáq > hiỷáq	'to be hanging'
	ỷak	ASP)...	*hiỷak*

w)w > h)w

wílp	'house'	**w**)wílp >**h**)wílp > huwílp	'houses'
	wilp	PL)...	*huwilp*
wán	'(pl.) to sit, be located, exist' *wan*	**w**)wán > **h**)wán > huwán	'(pl.) to be sitting, located, to exist' *huwan*
ẇ́ʔó?	'to call, invite s.o.' *ẇo'o*	ẇ)ẇ́ʔó? > **w**)ẇ́ʔó? > **h**)ẇ́ʔó? > huẇ́ʔó? ASP/PL)...	(1) to be calling, inviting s.o.; (2) to call, invite s.o. (pl.)' *huẇo'o*

The rule applies vacuously in the case of word-initial /h/, or /h/ resulting from the deglottalization of /ʔ/.

b. in CV:Cvk reduplication (type 1, 8.2.B.3.): In this archaic type of reduplication, applying only to CVK roots, the original sequence of stressed vowel + Velar is realized as a long vowel. This is probably the result of a sequence (VK >) VX > VGlide > long vowel. Since all combinations result in a long vowel of the same quality as the original vowel (e.g. there are no differences such as might result from different diphthongs, e.g. /ay/ and /aw/), the stage immediately before the long vowel must have /h/ regardless of the original Velar.

náx̣)nax̣ >náhnax̣ >>ná-nax̣ '(pairs of) snowshoes'
PL)snowshoes *naanax̣*

nóx̣)nox̣ >nóhnox̣ >> nó-nax̣ 'mothers'
PL)mother *noonax̣*

10.1.B.1.b.5.b.2. The glottalized glide /y̰/: Reduction to /ʔ/ before another /y̰/:

If two /y̰/'s come in contact, the first /y̰/ loses its anterior/palatal character and is replaced by /ʔ/, which is then followed by a copy vowel. (Remark: some younger speakers do not apply this rule and treat /y̰/ as any other anterior consonant).

This occurs only after stress: before stress, as in partial reduplication, the deglottalization rule applies first (**10**.1.B.1.b.2.a.), and the conditions for this rule no longer exist. The rule applies when a word ending in /y̰/ adds the 1S suffix (-y̰), either directly, as in:

ʔasáy̰ 'foot, leg' ʔasay̰-y̰ > ʔasáʔy̰ > ʔasáʔay̰ 'my foot'
asay̰ ...-1S *asa'ay̰*

líy̓	'garters'	líy̓-y̓	> lí?y̓	> lí?iy̓ 'my garters'
liẏ				*li'iẏ*

or with the intervening Control suffix (-ə), which is deleted after glottalized resonant (**10**.2.A.2.a.):

pc̓áy̓	'to comb s.t.'	pc̓áy̓-ə-y̓ > pc̓ay̓y̓>	pc̓á?y̓> pc̓á?ay̓
pts'aẏ			'I combed it'
			pts'a'aẏ
titíy̓	'to look after s.'	titíy̓-ə-y̓ > t'itíy̓y̓>	titi?y̓> titi?iy̓
didiẏ			'I looked after him/her/it'
			didi'iẏ

This rule, which despecifies the first of two adjacent glides, seems to be parallel to the rule of glide-despecification/ glide-reduction to /h/ (**10**.1.B.1.b.5.b.1.) which occurs especially in partial reduplication (it does not occur with the other glottalized glide /w̓/ as there is no opportunity for two /w̓/'s to be adjacent after stress). However, unlike that rule, it only occurs after stress. Phonetically, it is a consequence of the phonetic realization [ʔ̚] of /y̓/ before consonant (**2**.1.B.3.b.), separating the consonantal and vocalic components of the glottalized glide; before consonant the phonetic [ʔ] behaves like a phonological /ʔ/, and causes a copy vowel to occur (**2**.1.B.3.b.3.b.).

10.1.B.2. Rules extending over several segments: Dissimilation of glottalized consonants (dissimilatory deglottalization):

(a) If there is more than one suffix beginning with /ʔ/, only the first suffix causes glottalization; other suffixes lose their /ʔ/.

...+ ʔC + ʔC > ... ʔCC

ɬipáykʷ-ʔn-ʔskʷ	>> ɬipáyɬʔʷinskʷ	'airplane'
fly- CAUS-AP.I		*gibaykw'inskw*
*ɬíp-ʔl-ʔskʷ	>> ɬíɸʔilskʷ	'to mend nets'
sew.s.-CPL-AP.I		*lip'ilskw*
*sáks-ʔn-ʔskʷ	>> sáksaʔnskʷ > sáksaʔanskʷ	'to clean up'
clean.s.-CAUS-AP.I		*saksa'anskw*
yáɬ-ʔx-ʔskʷ	>> yáɬʔxskʷ > yáɬʔiksk^{w}	'to slip and fall'
slime-ʔ-AP.I		*yatl'ikskw*

(b) if the stem contains a glottal stop in post-stress position, the glottal stop is lost from the suffix as well:

sə-móʔon-ʔskʷ	>> simóʔonskʷ	'to salt food'
make-salt-AP.I		*simo'onskw*

These rules cause the AP.I suffix in particular to appear to be just $(-Sk^{W})$ not $(-ʔSk^{W})$, hence some new formations in $(-Sk^{W})$ (7.2.C.2.b.1.b.2.b.(3)).

10.2. Rules affecting the number of elements:

10.2.A. Addition and deletion rules:

10.2.A.1. Addition rules: epenthesis (insertion):

10.2.A.1.a. Vowels:

10.2.A.1.a.1. Vowel-insertion conditions: A vowel is inserted after stress, between certain consonants.

10.2.A.1.a.1.a. Between any consonant and a non-stop:

- when adding the personal suffixes (-ẏ) '1S', (-n) '2S', (-ṁ) '1P', which consist of syllabic resonants; (this rule is also responsible for the vowel of the 2P suffix (-sim̓) /sim̓/):

wíl̓p	'house'	wíl̓p-ẏ̓ > wíl̓piẏ̓	'my house'
	wilp	...-1S	*wilbiẏ̓*
		wíl̓p-n > wíl̓pin	'your house'
		...-2S	*wilbin*
		wíl̓p-sm̓ > wíl̓psim̓	'your (pl.) house'
		...-2P	*wilpsim̓*
ʔáq	'nose'	ʔáq-ẏ̓ > ʔáqay̓	'my nose'
	ts'ak	...-1S	*ts'agaẏ̓*
		ʔáq-n > ʔáqan	'your nose'
		...-2S	*ts'agan*

contrasting with no vowel before a true consonant as in:

wíl̓p-t > wíl̓pt	'his/her house'	
...-3	*wilpt*	
ʔáq-t > ʔáqt	'h. nose'	
...-3	*ts'akt*	

This rule also occurs with various suffixes consisting of, or beginning with a syllabic resonant, for instance:

ʔimsán-mq >	ʔimsánim̓q	'Tsimshian (lg.)'
Tsimshian-lang.?	*Ts'imsanim̓k*	

- between a glottalized consonant and a syllabic resonant or a fricative: this occurs when adding a suffix consisting of (or beginning with) a glottal stop, followed by a syllabic resonant or a fricative:

*líp-ʔsT	> líp̓s(t)	>	líp̓is(t)	'to sew'
sew-AP.D				*lip'is(t)*
*líp-ʔl	> líp̓l	>	líp̓il	'to sew'
sew-COMPL				*lip'il*
*kʷó·t-ʔn	> kʷó·t̓n	>	kʷó·t̓in	'to lose s.t.'
lose?-CAUS				*kw'oot'in*
yáɬ-ʔx-ʔskʷ	> yáɬ̓x ʔskʷ	>	yáɬ̓ikskʷ	'to slip and fall'
slime-?-AP.I				*yatl'ikskw*

10.2.A.1.a.1.b. Between a resonant following a long vowel and a following stop:

q̓amksi·wá·-mq	>	q̓amksi·wá·maq	'English (lang.)'
white.person-lg.?			*k'amksiiwaamak*

(remark: an older rule shortens the long vowel in such cases, **10**.1.2.A.1.b.)

sə-miy̓é·n-ʔskʷ	>>	simiy̓é·n̓iskʷ	'to smoke food;
make-smoke-AP.I			smoked spring salmon'
			simiyeeniskw

(With glottalized non-syllabics, there is more variability in the realization of a cluster).

Compare with non-insertion after short vowel:

ʔimsán-mq	>	ʔimsánimq	'Tsimshian (lg.)'
Tsimshian-lang.?			*Ts'imsanimɬ*

10.2.A.1.a.1.c. Between non-Velar fricatives:

A vowel(/i/) is inserted between a word-final /s/ and the 2P suffix (-sim̓):

qanʔimís	'pencil'	qa-qanʔimís-sm̓ >	qaqanʔimísisim̓
	gant'imis(t)	DIST-...	'your (2P) pencils'
			gagant'imisisim̓

However, no vowel is inserted between adjacent /s/'s or /ɬ/'s as a result of the addition of a connective (**6**.2.B.); instead, the two identical fricatives merge into one (**10**.2.B.1.c.).

10.2.A.1.a.1.d. Between a nonVelar fricative and a glottal stop: this occurs in suffixation: (the vowel inserted is /a/ because of the following glottal stop; a copy vowel then follows the glottal stop):

máɬ-ʔskʷ >> máɬaʔaskʷ	'to announce, preach, broadcast'	
tell.s.t.-AP.I	*mahla'askw*	

ẏánsʔl-T >> ẏánsaʔalt	'May' (lit. 'fully-leafed')	
leaf-COMPL-DEF	*Ẏansa'alt*	

10.2.A.1.a.2. Non-insertion of a vowel: the rule does not occur between some other combinations of consonants (this does not mean that a vowel is never found between such consonants because of other causes).

10.2.A.1.a.2.a. with a combination of fricative + stop:

náɬq	'breath'
	naahlɡ

ć̓ú·s**k**	'to be small'	*ts'uusk*
yú·**x̱k**^{w}	'to eat'	*yuux̱kw*

(compare *hí:ɬuk*^{w} 'morning' *hiihlukw*)

10.2.A.1.a.2. with a combination of non-glottalized stop/affricate + fricative:

má·**ks**	'to put s.t. in water (a net, laundry, etc.)'	*maaks*
lá·**k**^{w}**s**	'torch, lamp'	*laakws*
piyá·**q**$^{}$**ɬ**	'cliff'	*biyaaq̓hl*
q̓ó·**cx̱**	'fish offal: gills and guts'	*k̲'ootsx̲*

10.2.A.1.a.2.c. between two stops in word-final position:

ć̓é·**q̓k**^{w}	'to be deafening'	*ts'eeq̲'kw*
ʔampó**qk**^{w}	'poplar'	*ampoq̲kw*
ksiy̓im**qk**^{w}	'to shave'	*ksiy̓imq̲kw*

ć́aʔ̓kʷ '(sun) to shine'

ts'at'kw

(compare wáʔ̓ukʷ 'female slave' *wat'ukw*)

hítkʷ 'to stand'

hitkw

10.2.A.1.a.2.d. between two fricatives of different types (non-Velar and Velar):

qíɬχkʷ 'to shout, holler'

gehlχkw

qísxkʷ 'to stop talking, shouting, etc.
(= Fr. se taire) *gesχkw*

(compare pásaχkʷ 'to be divided' *basaχkw* where the vowel is inherent);

10.2.A.1.a.2.e. in a cluster of syllabic resonant, fricative and stop following a short vowel:

ʔúmɬkʷ ' sphagnum moss'

umhlkw

yímskʷ 'to sniff'

yimskw

ʔúmχkʷ 'not to be able to stand s., to hate s.,'

umχkw

ḳílskʷ 'to moan'

gilskw

ḳíʔsk^{w} 'to pick, gather things (berries, plants, clams, etc.) *gil̓skw*

10.2.A.1.b. Consonants:

10.2.A.1.b.1. A consonant (which is always /t/) is added between a stem-final vowel or resonant and a suffix consisting of a glottal stop and a resonant: the added consonant serves as a support for glottalization (**10**.2.B.1.b.1.):

10.2.A.1.b.1.a. after long or short vowel:

kó·-ʔn > kó·-**t**-ʔn >> kó·ʔ̓in 'to moor, park s.t.'
moored, parked-CAUS *gyoot'in*

yé·-ʔn >> yé·ʔ̓in 'to pass s.t. (to another person)
go-CAUS *yeet'in*

ʔ̓á·-ʔl >> ʔ̓á·ʔ̓il 'to place, sit s.' (Boas; now obsolete?)
sit-COMPL *t'aat'il*

sil-qatiptí·-ʔn >> silqatiptí·ʔ̓in 'to make s.t.(pl.) the same size as others'
COMIT-Pl.size-CAUS *silgadipdiit'in*

ʔasḳí-ʔn >> ʔasḳíʔ̓in 'to find s.t. strange, funny, ugly'
abnormal, etc.-CAUS *asgit'in*

ks-laxʷhá-ʔn-tk^{w} >> kslaxʷháʔ̓intk^{w} 'to be exalted (religious sense)'
most-sky-CAUS-PAS *kslaxhat'intkw*

k^{w}ilá-ʔmsk^{w} >> k^{w}iláʔ̓imsk^{w} 'to put a blanket or coat on the bride's shoulders [as part of the marriage ceremony]'
blanket-TEMP? *gwilat'imskw*

10.2.A.1.b.1.b. after resonant.

tál-ʔn fight-CAUS	>> tálʔin	'to make s.o. fight'	*dalt'in*
x̣líl̂-ʔn sweet-CAUS	>> x̣líl̂ʔin	'to like s.t. [a food] (to find it sweet, delicious'	*x̱lil̓t'in*
téʔen-ʔmskʷ lead-TEMP?	>> téʔenʔimskʷ	'to lead (prayers, songs) in church'	*de'ent'imskw*

Remark: There are many examples of this rule, especially with the Causative suffix {-ʔn} (7.2.C.2.b.a.1.); it seems to be fairly recent, as there are other words which add a suffix of this type directly and glottalize the suffix resonant: this seems to be expecially common with the Completive suffix {-ʔl} (7.2.C.2.b.a.2.) e.g. ɬḳú-l̂ to be narrow, small (in capacity) *hlguul̓* (the stem is related to the modifier ɬḳú 'little' *hlgu* (5.15.B.36.)). The rule adding /t/ especially before the Causative suffix may have been influenced by the presence of a /t/ (non-epenthetic) in the Medial suffix {-[t]kʷ} (7.2.C.1.b.), as there are many word-pairs with these two suffixes, built on the same stem, as in hítkʷ 'to stand' *hitkw* / híʔin 'to stand, erect s.t.' *hit'in*. (In this example, it is not possible to tell whether the stem ends in a vowel or in /t/).

10.2.A.1.b.2. Non-insertion of a consonant: this rule does not apply between vowel or resonant and stop: in particular, in forms like the following:

ʔámtkʷ	'to be written'	*t'amtkw*
hinyántkʷ	'(body part) to tickle'	*hinyantkw*

lu·táltkʷ 'to meet s.o.'

luudaltkw

pc̓áy̓tkʷ 'to comb one's hair'

pts'ay̓tkw

the /t/ is part of the suffix (-[t]kʷ) (7.2.C.1.b.). Compare with:

yánkʷ 'to be moldy'

yankw

málkʷ-T 'to throw s.t. into a fire'

malkw-di

10.2.A.1.c. Resonant: The non-syllabic resonant /y/ is inserted between a stem-final vowel and a suffix beginning with a vowel:

timkipá-**y**-ə-t S/he is going to wait for h.
FUT wait.for.s.-...-CTL-3 *Dim gibayit.*

w̓á-**y**-ə-y̓ I found it.
find.s.-...-CTL-1S *W̓ayiy̓.*

including postclitics:

ni: mə ká?-[t]=ɬ liki: ?akú==**y**-a: Did you see anything?
not 2E see.s.-[3]=NC about something==...-Q *Nii mi ga'ahl ligii aguya?*

10.2.A.2. Deletion rules/rules removing segments:

10.2.A.2.a. Vowel-deletion: a vowel that is unspecified (e.g. in an added morpheme) or despecified in a particular environment is often deleted.

10.2.A.2.a.1. Loss of the vowel representing the Control infix (-ə-) (**7**.2.A.3.) after resonant under certain conditions:

NOTE: examples are all given with personal suffixes (**7**.2.A.1.) beginning with a consonant; with those suffixes consisting of a resonant, the Control infix vowel can be confused with the epenthetic vowel needed between the stem-final consonant and the resonant suffix when there is no vowel infix (**10**.2.A.1.a.).

The loss of this vowel is explainable by the phonetic rather than phonological conditions of the realization of glottalized resonants before a consonant (**2**.1.B.3.): either an epenthetic vowel is added after the resonant (thus a sequence RV), or the glottal stop component is pronounced ahead of the resonant component, with intervening copy vowel (thus a sequence ʔVR). The latter realization is most often found in rapid speech and after short vowels.

a. after short stressed vowel followed by a glottalized resonant: the sequence of glottalized resonant + infix vowel is interpreted as the slow realization of the glottalized resonant (RV); this realization can then be replaced by the sequence ʔVR:

kíl̓-ə-t	*[gíl̓Il̓t]	> kíl̓t	[gíʔɪl̓t]	'S/he picked it/them [clams, berries, etc.]'
pick.s.-CTL-3				*Gíl̓t*
pc̓áy̓-ə-t	*[pc̓áy̓Il̓t]	> pc̓áy̓t	[pc̓áʔAi̯l̓t]	'S/he combed it'
comb.s.-CTL-3				*Pts'áy̓t*

Only a few words are affected by this rule, as most transitive verbs ending in glottalized resonants (including the glottal stop) add the Definite suffix (-T) before the Control infix (-ə).

b. after unstressed short vowel followed by non-glottalized resonant: (sequence CVR)

kʷóːʔin-ə-t	> kʷóːʔint	'S/he lost it'	
lose.s.-CTL-3			*Kw'oot'int.*
lákʔin-ə-t	> lákʔint	'S/he wrecked it'	
wreck.s.-CTL-3			*Lak'int.*

This rule is most in evidence after a verb suffixed with the Causative suffix (-ʔn) (7.2.C.2.b.1.a.1.) which causes glottalization and insertion of an unstressed vowel. Verbs formed with the Completive suffix (-ʔl) (7.2.C.2.b.1.a.2.) tend to add the Definite suffix (-T) (7.2.C.1.a.) before the Control infix.

Compare with the retention of this vowel after stressed stem vowel:

cám-ə-t	> cámit	'S/he boiled it'	
boil.s.-CTL-3			*Jamit.*
kín-ə-t	> kínit	'S/he gave it/h. s.t. to eat'	
give.so.to.eat-CTL-3			*Ginit.*
siːlín-ə-t	> siːlínit	'S/he pursued, chased, hunted it/h.'	
pursue.s.-CTL-3			*Siilinit.*
stíl-ə-t	> stílit	'S/he took h. with h. (for company)'	
accompany.s.-CTL-3			*Sdilit.*
cə stíl-ə-simʔ	> ci stílisimʔ	'[You pl. could] go with h.!'	
IRR accompany.s.-CTL-2P			*Ji sdilisim!*

10.2.A.2.a.2. Loss of a despecified vowel between initial /ʔ/ and /ɬ/, resulting in the affricate /ʔɬ/ : or alternately: loss of a despecified vowel in the environment #C_CV (followed by insertion of an unspecified vowel, unless

affrication has occurred):

In the following form, the addition of a stressed suffix to a CVC stem has caused de-stressing, despecification and loss of the stem vowel, followed by merging by affrication of the two consonants thus brought into contact:

ʔtáɬ-é·ʔ > ʔaɬé·ʔ > ʔəɬé·ʔ > ʔɬé·ʔ > ʔté·ʔ	'to remove things'
put.s.away-DETR	(not used by itself)
	...tl'ee'e...

This obvious case of deletion, not just despecification, suggests that other instances where an unstressed vowel occurs should be interpreted as cases of deletion and later reinsertion, rather than just despecification, e.g. the similar formations:

káɬ-é·ʔ > kaɬé·ʔ > kəɬé·ʔ > kɬé·ʔ > kiɬé·ʔ	'to embroider'
pierce.s.-DETR	*gihlee'e*

*[t]ʔqát-é·ʔ > ʔqaté·ʔ > ʔqəté·ʔ > ʔqté·ʔ > ʔqaté·ʔ	'to patch'
apply.s.ʔ-DETR	*(t)k'adee'e*

in which there is no possibility of affrication between the two consonants brought into contact, and a vowel must be inserted anew and specified according to the existing consonantal environment (**10**.2.A.1.a.1.).

A succession of two rules, one reversing the other unless conditions no longer apply, gives a more general description of all these forms, rather than a single rule applying in the restricted environment /*ʔt_ɬV.

It is likely that affrication would also occur between /ʔt/ and the other non-Velar fricative /s/; thus it is possible that some forms beginning with /ʔc/ before stressed vowel are the result of similar affrication, but these is no convincing evidence for this at present.

10.2.A.2.a.3. Loss of unspecified vowel in sequence of unstressed syllables (esp. in rapid speech): the consonant immediately preceding the unspecified vowel is attached phonologically to the previous word, which ends in a vowel; the unspecified vowel is deleted: (these conditions recall those of schwa-deletion in French, e.g. in *je n(e) sais pas*):

a. with clitics:

nì· **nə** ti· wilá·x-t	> ninti· wilá·xt	I don't know (it/h.).
not 1S.E INTS know.s.-3		*Nindii wilaaxt.*
kilò **mə** cə tás-t	> kilomcì tást	Don't touch it!
don't 2E IRR touch.s.-3		*Gilo m(i) ji dast!*

b. as a result of loss of a glottal element between unstressed syllables, after vowel or syllabic resonant (**10**.2.A.2.b.2.):

ʔáwʔaqs-a· **ha**ɬóʔ	> ʔàwʔaqsa(·)**ha**ɬóʔ ~ ʔàwʔaqsaɬóʔ	'running shoes'
shoes-SUFF canvas		*ts'awaksa (ha)hlo'o*
mó·s-m **ʔa**sáyʔ	> mò·sim **ʔa**sáyʔ ~ mò·sim sáyʔ	'big toe'
thumb-ATT foot		*moosim (a)sayʔ*

10.2.A.2.b. Consonant-deletion:

10.2.A.2.b.1. Deletion of /t/ before and between consonants: morphosyntactic consequences: (/t/ is the default value of a C; * /t/ - insertion, **10**.2.A.1.b.1.). /t/ -deletion occurs optionally between a vowel and a consonant, obligatorily in clusters. As several very common morphemes are realized as /t/, the deletion rule has important morphological and syntactic consequences.

10.2.A.2.b.1.a. Initially:

(1) /t/ occurs word-initially before Velar stop, but has a tendency to drop in this position, especially away from stress, as in proclitics, which are never stressed:

tqə==	'dropping to a lower level (proc.)'	~ qə--	'id.' *k'i.../k'a... tk'i.../tk'a...*
tqal==	'flush with... (proc.)' *tk'al...*	~ qal--	'id.' *tk'al.../k'al...*
tqu==	'around (proc.)' *tk'u...*	tqu)tqu== > qutqu== PL)...	'round and round (proc.)' *k'u:k'u...*

If one of these proclitics is preceded by other morphemes ending in consonants, /t/ always drops, whether after a prefix:

kʷilks-tqal-ʔám-tkʷ > kʷilksqalʔámtkʷ [...-flush-write/draw.s/-...]REFL	'picture' *gwilksk'alt'amtkw*

or a reduplicated syllable:

tqal)tqal-- > qalqal-- >> qilqal-- ~ kilqal-- PL)flush	'all over..., completely covering ... (proc.)' *k'ilk'al.../gilk'al...*

(2) As the realization of the singular Determinate marker t (6.2.A.), which occurs before personal names and a few other words, /t/ also occurs before any consonant. In initial position, only very old speakers maintain the /t/:

(t) qiná· ʔan-t cáp-t	So-and-so made it.
DM So-and-so REL E-3 make.s.-3	*(T) K'inaa ant japt.*

(t) Máry mə tim wil kiṅ̓ám-t	[You will] give it to Mary.
DM M. 2E FUT SUB give.s.-3	*(T) Mary mi dim wil giṅamt.*

It is maintained after vowels and other consonants:

ni·-ti· t Máry lo·-t	It isn't Mary [it's someone else].
not-INTS DM M. IND-3	*Nidii t Mary loot.*
huxʷti· t Máry=ɬ wà-ỷ	My name is Mary too.
also DM M.=NC name-1S	*Huxwdii t Maryhl waẏ.*
ksaẋ t Máry=ɬ húksk^w-ət	Only Mary came/attended.
only DM M.=NC attend-REL	*Ksax t Maryhl huksgwit.*

except before /s/, as happens before the Determinate connective (=s) (6.2.B.1.):

tim kiṅ̓ám-ə-n ʔa=s [t] Máry	[You will] give it to Mary.
FUT give.s.-CTL-2S PREP=DC [DM] M.	*Dim giṅamin as Mary.*
ni·-ti· t Máry ʔa=s [t] ḳùst	That isn't Mary.
not-INTS DM M. PREP=DC [DM] that	*Nidii t Mary as gus.*

10.2.A.2.b.1.b. Word-finally: /t/ also tends to drop in final post-consonantal position. Since the Definite Medial suffix (-T) (7.2.C.1.a.) is realized as /t/ word-finally, this rule is responsible for the loss of this suffix under certain conditions, among many YFS, especially where the suffix is associated with another, as in:

*líp-ʔs-T > líp̓ist ~ líp̓is	'to sew'
sew-AP-DEF	*lip'is(t)*

or to a prefix in a morphological frame (see Frames ending in this suffix,

7.3.A.1.a.1.):

m̓aẓ-híx-T > m̓aẓhíxt ~ m̓aẓhíx	'(food) to be fat'
[...-fat-...]$_{\text{to.excess}}$	*ṁaẓhix(t)*

With many words ending in /st/, it is often difficult to tell whether the /t/ is part of the word, and subject to the deletion rule, or added as a kind of consonantal reinforcement, since it rarely occurs before vowel, as in

wís(t)	'roots'	but:	wìs-a-qán	'tree roots'
	wis(t)			*wisa gan*

10.2.A.2.b.1.c. Medially: before a non-Velar fricative followed by another consonant: (these could also be treated as instances of the Deaffrication rule (**10**.1.B.1.b.1.)).

(1) /t/ is part of a prefix, the other consonant is part of a word:

ḳit-sq̓an-snáẓ-t >>	ḳisq̓ansná·t	'the Grizzly bear clan (lit. people of the hawthorns)'
people-bush-haws-REL?		*Gisḵ'ansnaat*

(2) /t/ is the 3 suffix (-t), the non-Velar fricative is one of the connective suffixes (=s) or (=ɬ): in a complete sentence these suffixes always occur between two words, and since no word begins with a vowel, a /t/ which occurs before one of them is always before a non-Velar fricative followed by a consonant. This is a position where /t/ always drops, hence for instance the contrast between the following sentences:

1	ḳiṅ̓ám-ə-t lo-ý̓	S/he gave it to me.
	give.s.-CTL-3 IND-1S	*Giṅamit looý.*

2 ḳiṅ̓ám-ə-[t]=s [t] Màry lo--ỷ̓ Mary gave it to me.
give.s.-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] M. IND-1S *Giṅamis Mary looỷ.*

3 ḳiṅ̓ám-ə-[t]=ɬ hanáq̓ lo--ỷ̓ The woman gave it to me.
give.s.-CTL-[3]=NC woman IND-1S *Giṅamihl hanaḵ' looỷ.*

4 ḳiṅ̓ám-ə-t==aʔ=s [t] Màry lo--ỷ̓ Mary did give it to me!
give.s.-CTL-3==ASST=DC [DM] M. IND-1S *Giṅamida'as Mary looỷ!*

5 ḳiṅ̓ám-ə-t==aʔ=ɬ hanáq̓ lo--ỷ̓ The woman did give it to me!
give.s.-CTL-3==ASST=NC woman IND-1S *Giṅamida'ahl hanaḵ' looỷ!*

Because of this rule, the suffix (-t) does not occur on the surface when followed by a noun, since the intervening connective suffix, consisting of a non-Velar fricative, causes deletion. It only occurs on the surface when another morpheme intervenes: evidential postclitics such as the Assertive (==aʔ) ...-*a'a* (6.3.A.2.a.) are the only ones able to occur in this position.

Similarly the final /t/ of the evidential postclitic (==qat) (6.3.B.1.) is subject to deletion before a connective: it is always deleted before (=s), optionally so before (-ɬ) (but the 3 suffix (-t) is not deleted before (==qat)):

6 ḳiṅ̓ám-ə-t==qat lo--n I hear s/he gave it to you.
give.s.-CTL-3 IND-2S *Giṅamit-gat loon.*

7 ḳiṅ̓ám-ə-t==qa[t]=s [t] Màry lo--n I hear Mary gave it to you.
give.s.-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] M. IND-1S *Giṅamit-gas Mary loon.*

8 ḳiṅ̓ám-ə-t==qa(t)=ɬ hanáq̓ lo·n I hear the woman gave it to you.
give.s.-CTL-[3]=NC woman -1S *Giṅamit-ga(t)hl hanaḵ' loon.*

Exception: When there is only one noun in a predicate-focused transitive sentence such as (2), it may or may not corefer with the 3 suffix pronoun on the

verb. If the noun is determinate, there is no ambiguity as the structures are different: the determinate connective (=S) occurs only between the verb and the coreferring Agent noun, as in (9):

9	wilá·x-ə-[t]=s [t] Màry	Mary knows it/him/her.
	know.s.-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] M.	*Wilaayis Mary.*
10	wilá·x-ə-t t Máry	S/he knows Mary.
	know.s.-CTL-3 DM M.	*Wilaayit t Mary.*

But if the noun is non-determinate, the non-determinate connective (=ɬ) occurs between the verb and any noun, so that there could be ambiguity were the /t/of the 3 suffix deleted in both cases: this /t/ then is only deleted under the same conditions as where (=S) occurs, before a coreferring Agent noun, not before an Object noun:

11	wilá·x-ə-[t]=ɬ hanàq̓	The woman knows it/him/her.
	know.s.-CTL-[3]=NC woman	*Wilaayihl hanak̓'.*
12	wilá·x-ə-t=ɬ hanáq̓	S/he knows the woman.
	know.s.-CTL-[3]=NC woman	*Wilaayihl hanak̓'.*

(Note that if a postclitic intervenes, there is no distinction except stress, since the 3 suffix is phonologically present).

This distinction however is not maintained with the non-predicate-focused clause, where connectives occur regardless of the grammatical status of the following noun and where the 3 suffix is deleted in all cases: the distinction between Agent and Object noun is made solely through stress:

13	wil-t wilá·x-[t]=s [t] Màry	... as Mary knows it/him/her.
	know.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M.	... *wilt wilaaxs Mary.*

14	wil-t wilá·x-[t]=s [t] Máry	...as s/he knows Mary.
	know.s.-{3}=DC{DM}M.	... *wilt wilaars Mary*.
15	wil-t wilá·x-[t]=ɬ hanàq̓	... as the woman knows it/him/her.
	know.s.-{3}=NC woman	... *wilt wilaarh hanaǥ'*.
16	wil-t wilá·x-[t]=ɬ hanáq̓	...as s/he knows the woman.
	know.s.-{3}=NC woman	... *wilt wilaarh hanaǥ'*.

10.2.A.2.b.2. Deletion of Velar elements: Weaker Velar elements or those in weak position may be deleted intervocalically and after syllabic resonant, under certain conditions. The lack of final /ḥ/ also points to a deletion rule (cf. sporadic Velar fricativization in unstressed final syllable, in CV:CvK plurals).

10.2.A.2.b.2.a. Intervocalic: Non-glottalized Velar stops (/k, kʷ, q/) and 'resonants' (the glottal 'resonant' /h/) may be deleted between unstressed vowels, especially at morpheme boundary (in this position, the Velar stops have a voiced phonetic realization). The two vowels brought together by this deletion merge into a long vowel; however, in rapid speech this vowel does not always stay long.

(1) with unstressed pre-predicate morphemes (clitics, modifiers, subordinators): optionally in rapid speech:

ʔaḳú mə **qa**n ʔaχ čiláyxʷ-ý >	ʔaḳú m**a(qa)**n ʔaχ čiláywiý
what 2E reason not visit.s.-1S	Why didn't/don't you come and visit me?
	Agu ma gan aǥ ts'ilaywiý?
	Agu man aǥ ...
liki- lip ʔaḳú > **li**- lip ʔaḳú	'anything, whatever'
about self what	*ligii-lip-agu, lii-lip-agu*

(2) in some plurals formed by prefixation or C- reduplication on stems

beginning with an unstressed syllable: here the rule is not optional; the distinction of short vowel in the singular, long vowel in the plural is maintained, as it is the only difference between the singular and plural stems in this category:

lə-ɬipáykʷ > liɬipáykʷ > li:páykʷ	'(pl.) to fly'
PL-fly	*liibaykw*
k)ɬiƛ̓ám >> ɬiɬiƛ̓ám > ki-ƛ̓ám	'to give s.t. (pl.)'
PL)give.s.	*giiƛ̓am*
kʷ)kʷilá >>kʷikʷilá > kʷi-lá	'blankets'
PL)blanket	*gwiila*
tə-q)qalá:n-T>> taqaqalá:nt > taqa:lá:nTt	'(pl.)to be behind,
DOM-PL)[place]behind-DEF	last' *dagaalaant*
h)hanáq̓ >> hahanáq̓ > ha-náq̓	'women'
PL)woman	*haanak̲'*

(3) in compounds, both glottals /ʔ/ and /h/ are often deleted at the junction of two unstressed syllables:

c̓áw̓aqs-a- ha4ó? > c̓àw̓aqsa(·)ha4ó? ~ c̓àw̓aqsa4ó?	'running shoes'
shoes-SUFF canvas	*ts'aẃak̲sa hahlo'o*

(4) These rules also occur with some prefixes, before stressed syllable: this does not seem to be a productive process any more, except with /h/:

old plurals:

lə-qinx̣ >> lín̓x̣ '(trees) to fall'
PL-(tree) fall *lin̓x̣*

other prefixes:

kə-ʔáx̣kʷ >> ká·x̣kʷ 'last night'
ADV-night *gax̣kw*

kit-sʔa-há·st > kisq̓aha·st ~ kisq̓á·s(t) 'the Killerwhale clan'
people-among-fireweed *Gisk̓'ahaast, Gisk̓'aast*

10.2.A.2.b.2.b. After resonant (esp. syllabic):

10.2.A.2.b.2.b.1. Glottals:

(a) in compounds, between unstressed syllables:

*[sim-kát>-m **ha**náq̓ >> sìx̣itim**(h)a**náq̓ > sìx̣itimnáq̓ 'chieftainess, [real-man]$_{noble}$-ATTR woman lady' *sigidimnak̓*

ʔú·čkʷ-m **ha**-ʔáks >> ʔù·čx̣uma**ʔ**áks ~ ʔù·čx̣um ʔáks 'canteen > bottle'
metal-ATT INST-drink *t'uuts'gum (ha')aks*

(Note: the resulting contraction is identical to:

ʔú·čkʷ-m ʔáks > ʔú·čx̣um ʔáks 'black water'
black-ATT water *t'uuts'gum aks*)

(b) in prefixed forms:

ʔim-ʔá·q > ʔimá·q 'inside of the mouth'
in-mouth *ts'imaak̓*

q̓ay-*húkʷs	> q̓ayúkʷs	'smoked salmon fillets'	
still-?			*k'ayukws*

(cf. G *huxʷ's* 'smoked salmon fillets')

ʔan-*húɬ	> ʔanúɬ	'drum' (CT *nahool*)	
means-rumble?			*anuhl*

(c) in others of similar shape:

qanháta	> qanáta	'the Frog-Raven clan'	
(<Tlingit)			(oid) *Ganhada*, (modern) *Ganada*

10.2.A.2.b.2.b.2. Velar fricatives: A Velar fricative following a syllabic resonant (/l m n/) in a post-stress cluster is deleted under certain conditions.

10.2.A.2.b.2.b.2.a. Before a vowel, whether inherent or epenthetic. (Since the labio-velar fricative does not occur in this position, the rule is evidenced only for front velars and uvulars).

ʔílx	' grease, oil' (esp. oolichan)	ʔílx-a·+sá·k > ʔila(·)sá·k	'oolichan
	t'ilx	...-SUFF+oolichan	grease' *t'ila saak*
ẋ-ʔílx	'to eat	ẋ-ʔílx-ɣ̓ʔ > ẋʔíliɣ̓ʔ	'... I ate oolichan
eat-oo.grease	oolichan grease'	...-1S	grease; the ool. grease I ate'
	xt'ilx		*xt'iliɣ̓*
típilx	'back of the neck'	típilx-ɣ̓ʔ > típiliɣ̓ʔ	'the back of my neck'
	dibilx		*dibiliɣ̓*

ʔimlánx	'neck' *t'imlaax*	ʔimlánx-ɣ̓ > ʔimlániɣ̓ ...-1S	'my neck' ...-1S *t'imlaniɣ̓*
		ʔimlánx-n > ʔimlánin ...-2S	'your neck' *t'imlanin*
límx	'song, to sing'	límx-ɣ̓ > límiɣ̓ ...-1S	'my song, ... I sing/sang' *limiɣ̓*
		límx-ət > límit ...-REL	'... that sang/ sings' ... *limit*
tílχ	'tongue' *dilχ*	tílχ-ɣ̓ > tíliɣ̓ ...-1S	'my tongue' *diliɣ̓*
		qa-tílχ-m̓ > qatílim̓ DIST-...-1P	'our tongues' *gadilim̓*

(NOTE: tilχlákʷ 'flame, lit. tongue of fire', may be a reduction of *tilχ-a-·-lákʷ, or a modern formation; see 9.1.B.1. for nouns compounded with (-a:))

ɬáyχ	'a preparation of sour berries in oolichan grease and water' *hlayχ*	ɬáyχ-a·+má·ɣ̓ > ɬayamá·ɣ̓ ...-SUFF+berries	'a preparation of sour berries in ool. grease and water' *hlaya maaɣ̓*

Compare with the lack of deletion after non-resonant:

ɬíntx	'to be angry' *hlintx*	ɬíntx-n > ɬíntxin	'... you were/are angry' *hlintxin*
húpx̱	'forehead' *hupx̱*	húpx̱-n > húpx̱an ...-2S	'your forehead' *hupx̱an*

10.2.A.2.b.2.b.2.b. Before a cluster:

límx	'sing/song'	ha-limx+xpí:s > halimxpí:s INSTR-song-box	'record-player' *halimxbiis*
ʔimlánx	'neck' *t'imlanx*	ʔimlánx-T-t >> ʔimlántit neck-DEF-3	'its collar' *t'imlandit*

Remark: an alternate interpretation is possible: instead of deletion, there could be neutralization and vocalization of Velar fricatives to /h/, which drops. Compare with Velar vocalization between stressed vowel and consonant, occurring in CV:Cvk reduplication (**8**.2.B.1., type 3, c.).

10.2.A.2.b.2.b.2.c. Between a resonant and a glottal stop: A Velar fricative (not the result of Velar fricativization) is deleted between a resonant and a glottal stop; if the glottal stop is part of a suffix, deletion occurs prior to the application of the vowel-epenthesis rule (**10**.2.A.1.a.1.):

límx	'sing/song' *limx*	límx-ʔó:ɣ̓ > limʔó:ɣ̓ song-yore??	'ancient [funeral?] song' *lim'ooɣ̓*
		límx-ʔn > límʔin ...-CAUS	'to play a song, a record' *límin*

10.2.B. Merging rules:

10.2.B.1. Degemination:

10.2.B.1.a. Within a word:

(1) between unstressed prefix and stem:

č**im**-**m**úx^{w}	> č**im**úx^{w}	'inside of the ear'	
in-ear			*ts'imuxw*
ʔ**am**-**m**í:luk^{w}	> ʔ**am**í:luk^{w}	'mask'	
good.for-dance			*amiilukw*
k**s**-**s**ílk^{w}	> k**s**ílk^{w}	'to be in the middle'	
most-middle			*ksilkw*

(2) between the two elements of a compound: in rapid speech:

ksə-má:**s**+**s**ḳu:sí:t	> ksimá:**s**ḳu:sí:t	'to peel potatoes'
remove-peel+potato		*ksimaas(s)guusiit*
q̓u**c**+**s**máx	> q̓u**c**máx	'to cut meat'
cut.s.+ meat		*k'otsmax*

(3) Degemination does not occur in forms built by C-reduplication, whether word-initially or medially (**8**.1.C.2.).

10.2.B.1.b. In sandḥi: between a word ending in a non-Velar fricative /s/ or /ɬ/ or an affricate /cɔ/, /č/ or /x̌/ and a connective consisting of the same fricative or fricative release:

(1) non-determinate connective (=ɬ):

mí**ɬ**=**ɬ** làkʷ > mí**ɬ** làkʷ — Wood burns.
burn=NC fuel — *Mihl lakw.*

ʔi**ɬ**)ʔa**ƛ̓**=**ɬ** ʔáƛ̓-ỷ >> ʔi**ɬ**ʔa**ƛ̓** ʔáƛ̓iỷ — My records are warped.
PL)rippled?=NC record -1S — *Ts'ihlts'atl' ts'atl'iỷ.*

Contact between the two fricatives may result from the deletion of a /t/ representing the 3 suffix (-t) (**10**.2.A.2.b.1.c.2.)

wil mí**ɬ**-[t]=**ɬ** làkʷ > wil mí**ɬ** làkʷ — ... as/when wood burns.
SUB burn-[3]=NC fuel — ... *wil mihl lakw.*

wil ʔi**ɬ**)ʔáƛ̓-[t]=**ɬ** ʔàƛ̓-ỷ > wil ʔi**ɬ**ʔáƛ̓ ʔàƛ̓iỷ — ... as my records are warped.
PL)rippled-[3]=NC record -1S — ... *wil ts'ihlts'atl' ts'atl'iỷ.*

(2) determinate connective (=s): this connective occurs only before determinates, which are preceded by the Determinate marker t, which is deleted after /s/ (**10**.2.A.2.b.1.c.2.):

ɬa· náks-[t]=s [t] Máry > **ɬ**a· náks Màry — Mary is married now.
spouse-[3]=DC [DM] M. — *Hlaa naks Mary.*

náks-[t]=s [t] Máry > nàks Máry — 'Mary's husband'
spouse-[3]=DC [DM] M. — *naks Mary*

k̓utáʔ-[t]=s [t] Máry > k̓utàʔ Máry — 'Mary's coat'
coat-[3]=DC [DM] M. — *k'udats' Mary*

10.2.B.1.b. Rules creating glottalized segments:

The glottal absorption rules merge a stem-final consonant (except /s/, which cannot be glottalized) with a /ʔ/ belonging to a suffix. Of lesser importance is the rule merging a glottalized /t̓/ with a following /ɬ/ (as a result of a

vowel-deletion rule) into a /ʔ/.

10.2.B.1.b.1. Glottal absorption: (occurs post-stress):

When a base ending in a consonant (except /s/) is followed by a suffix consisting of, or beginning with /ʔ/, the sequence C + /ʔ/ becomes a glottalized consonant. If /ʔ/ in the suffix is followed by a consonant, a vowel is inserted between the new glottalized consonant and the consonant of the suffix (see above **10**.2.A.1.a. and **10**.1.A.1.a.1.a.2. for vowel rules).

10.2.B.1.b.1.a. Stop + /ʔ/ › glottalized stop:

p + ʔ > p̓

* líp-ʔsT > líp̓is(t) 'to sew'
sew.s.-AP.D *lip'is(t)*

ḳíp-ʔskʷ > ḳíp̓iskʷ 'to eat berries while picking'
eat.s.-AP.I *gip'iskw*

t + ʔ > t̓ (there are very few examples as few stems end in /t/)

taẋkát-ʔn > taẋkát̓in 'to strengthen, reinforce s.'
strong-CAUS *daggat'in*

c + ʔ > c̓

yác-ʔskʷ > yác̓iskʷ 'animals'
strike.s.pl.-AP.I *yats'iskw*

k + ʔ > k̓

lák-ʔn > lák̓in 'to wreck s.'
be.in.heap-CAUS *lak'in*

kʷ + ʔ > k̓ʷ

cákʷ-ʔskʷ > cák̓ʷiskʷ 'animal'
kill.s.-AP.I *jakw'iskw*

	xháykʷ-ʔn > xháykʷʔin capsize-CAUS	'to capsize s.' *xhaykw'in*
q + ʔ > qʔ	pá4q-ʔn > pá4qʔan (road) smooth-CAUS	'to grade s. (a road)' *bahlk'an*

Remarks: a. If a stop is already glottalized, no extra glottalization occurs; the /ʔ/ of the suffix merges with the base-final consonant, as in:

nintə-hítʔ-ʔn > nintahítʔin together-stick-CAUS	'to glue things together' *nindahit'in*
háčʔ-ʔskʷ > háčʔiskʷ bite.s.-AP.I	'to bite (as in: this dog bites)' *hats'iskw*

b. If the final consonant does not immediately follow stress, the previous consonant is also glottalized, **10**.1.A.2.c. (Anticipatory glottalization).

10.2.B.1.b.1.b. Fricatives:

The rule of Glottal Absorption is not as absolute with fricatives as with stops. Other rules may apply instead, as will be mentioned. Note that /s/ is the only consonant that cannot be glottalized.

10.2.B.1.b.1.b.1. Lateral fricative + /ʔ/ > glottalized lateral affricate /ƛ̓/:

yá4-ʔx-ʔskʷ > yáƛ̓ikskʷ slime-?-AP.I	'to slip and fall' *yatl'ikskw*

(for /x/ > /k/, see **10**.1.A.1.b.2.a.1., Stop-formation)

ha-ńi-xs-pá4-ʔn-ʔskʷ > haǹi:xspáƛ̓inskʷ INSTR-on-like-spread.s.-CAUS-AP.I	'matting of cedar boughs (for sleeping in the open)' *haǹiixsbatl'inskw*

Remark: This rule seems to apply mostly when there are two suffixes beginning with a glottal stop. If only one such suffix is added, the vowel /a/ is generally inserted between /ɬ/ and /ʔ/, as between /s/ and /ʔ/ (**10**.2.A.1.a.1.(d)).

10.2.B.1.b.1.b.2. Velar fricative + /ʔ/: In general, this combination is replaced by the glottalized glide corresponding to the Velar fricative (cf. **10**.1.B.1.b.3.b.1. where intervocalic Velar fricatives are replaced by glides); alternately but sporadically, the combination is replaced by the corresponding glottalized stop.

10.2.B.1.b.1.b.2.a. General rule: X + ʔ > R (glide)

x + ʔ > y̓	hó·x-ʔn	>	hó·y̓in	'to put s.t. (a garment) on sbdy' *hooy̓in*
	use/wear.s.-CAUS			
	wilá·x-ʔskʷ	>	wilá·y̓iskʷ	'a relative' *wilaay̓iskw*
	know.s.-AP.I			
xʷ + ʔ > wˀ	ksáxʷ-ʔn	>	ksáwˀin	'to let s. outside' *ksaẇin*
	go.out-CAUS			
	ḳúxʷ-ʔsT	>	ḳúwˀs	'to shoot and kill game' *guẇs*
	shoot.s.-AP.D			
χ̣ + ʔ > ʔ	páχ̣-ʔn	>	paʔn	'to run /drive s.t. (a boat, car, engine, etc.)' *ba'an*
	run-CAUS			
	sə-ńáχ̣-ʔskʷ		siń̓áʔskʷ	'to bait one's traps' *siń̓a'askw*
	make-bait-AP.I			

10.2.B.1.b.1.b.2.b. Sporadic rule: X + ʔ > K̓ (the fricative is replaced by the corresponding stop).

These cases are probably influenced by other alternations involving the same

base, in which a stop does occur.

x + ʔ > kʔ

wilá:**x**-ʔl-ʔsT > wilá:**kʔ**ils		'to be knowledgeable,
know.s.-CPL-AP.D		educated' *wilaak'ils*

(compare siwilá:**k**s 'to learn s.t.' *siwilaaks*, with /k/ before /s/, see **10**.1.A.1.b.2.a.1.).

x̣ + ʔ > q̓	qínx̣-ʔn	> qínq̓an	'to fell a tree'
	(tree)fall-CAUS		*genx̣'an*

This formation is analogous to other /x̣ ~ q̓/ alternations, where /x̣/ however is followed by /kʷ/ and results from preconsonantal spirantization (**10**.1.B.1.b.3.a.), as in:

yú·**x̣**kʷ / yú·**q̓**an	to eat / to feed s.o.
	yuuxkw/yuuk'an

both probably deriving from yú·q 'string of oolichans' *yuuk*..

Note that while the plural of qínx '(tree) to fall' *genx* is línx̣ *linx*, that of qínq̓an *genk'an* is línt̓in *lint'in*, with /t/-insertion (**10**.2.A.1.b.1.b.), not @línq̓an. (See also Anticipatory Glottalization (**10**.1.A.2.).

10.2.B.1.b.1.b.2.c. Conversely, sometimes a glottalized resonant results from a Velar stop + /ʔ/:

kʷ + ʔ > w̓	tx̣a:-yú**k**ʷ-ʔn	>tx̣a:yú**w̓**in	'to have s.o. carry s.t.'
	all-move-CAUS		*tx̣aayuẃin*

10.2.B.1.b.1.c. Resonant + /ʔ/ > glottalized resonant: R + /ʔ/ > R̓

10.2.B.1.b.1.c.1. The non-glottal resonants /m n l w/: (/y/ does not occur in base-final position).

Glottalization of the non-glottal resonants occurs mostly with the AP suffixes (-ʔsT) and (-ʔsk^{w}). With the Causative suffix (-ʔn) and the Completive suffix (-ʔl), /t/-insertion (**10**.2.A.1.b.1.b.) is more common. Before a non-Velar fricative, vowel-insertion occurs only if the stem vowel is long.

m + ʔ > m̓	ɬimó·**m**-ʔsk^{w}	> ɬimó·m̓isk^{w}	'to help out with donations at feasts, etc.' *hlimoom̓iskw*
	help.s.-AP.I		
	lím[x]-ʔn	> lím̓in	'to play a record' *lim̓in*
	sing-CAUS		

(for loss of /x/after resonant, see **10**.2.A.2.b.2.b.2.).

n + ʔ > n̓	pé·**n**-ʔsT	> pé·n̓is	'to paint' *pee·n̓is(t)*
	paint.s.-AP.D		
	sə-miẏé:**n**-ʔsk^{w}	> simiẏé:n̓isk^{w}	'to smoke food; smoked spring salmon' *simiẏee·n̓iskw*
	make-smoke-AP.I		
l + ʔ > l̓	síl-ʔsT	> síl̓s	'to spin (wool)' *sil̓s(t)*
	dizzy-AP.D		
w + ʔ > w̓	sə-tá:**w**-ʔsk^{w}	sitá:w̓iskw	'to freeze food' *sidaaẃiskw*
	make-ice-AP.I		

Note: With resonants as with stops, if the base-final consonant is already glottalized, suffix-initial /ʔ/ merges with the consonant:

ñúw̓-ʔmɬkʷ > ñúw̓imɬkʷ 'to be bereaved'
dead - TEMP? *ñuw̓imhlkw*

10.2.B.1.b.1.c.2. Glottals and vowels: A word-final glottal element merges with a following glottal stop. Some vowel-final stems show evidence of having once ended in /h/, others attach a glottalizing suffix directly.

a. ʔ + ʔ > ʔ:

čóʔ-ʔskʷ >> čóʔoskʷ 'to skin animals'
split.off-AP.I *ts'o'oskw*

káʔ-ʔskʷ >> káʔaskʷ 'to look'
see.s.-AP.I *ga'askw*

b. * h + ʔ > ʔ: Although /h/ does not occur word-finally in normal speech, its presence at some point can be inferred from some present alternations. Its behavior matches that of /ʔ/.

A number of words presently ending in the short vowel /á/ have suffixed counterparts in which the vowel of the suffixed word is /é/: it is likely that these words originally ended in ** /éh/(the two asterisks indicate a reconstructed form; see also **8**.2. CV́:CvK Reduplication for other examples of this alternation):

**ḳipéh > ḳipá 'to wait for s.' *giba*

**ḳipéh-ʔskʷ > ḳipéʔeskʷ 'to wait'
wait.for.s.AP.I *gibe'eskw*

sə-**wéh > siwá-T 'to name s.'
make-name-DEF *siwa(t)-ti*

**siwéh-ʔskʷ > siwéʔeskʷ
name.s.-AP.I 'to give names'
siwe'eskw

c. For the following stems presently ending in long vowels, which are probably

more modern, direct attachment of a /ʔ/-initial suffix can be assumed, without an intervening stage /h/. There is no change in either vowel length or quality.

t)ɬá·-ʔskʷ ASP)sit-AP.I	>> tiɬá·ʔaskʷ	'to bounce on one's chair (while sitting)' *dit'aa'askw*
tə-yé·-ʔskʷ DOM-go.-AP.I	>> tiyé·ʔeskʷ	'very high tide (bringing debris)' *diyee'eskw*

10.3. Stress rules:

10.3.A. Current rule: stress on the root or base: Stress on the root (or at least on the base) is the rule in the vast majority of cases, including modern coinages.

- All prefixes are unstressed (**7**.1., **7**.2.);
- In reduplication, stress is on the stem, not on the prefixed syllable (**8**.2.B.1.).
- In a compound, main stress on the second major component (**9**.).

10.3.B. Exceptions: Exceptions to the current rule are not productive patterns and usually bear signs of being older, such as vocalic alternations.

10.3.B.1. Stressed suffixes: A few non-productive suffixes (7.2.C.2.a.2.) bear stress, hence alternations such as:

ɬám	'to write s.t.' *t'am*	ɬam-ísT > ɬimís(t) ...-SUFF	'to write, writing' *t'imis(t)*
ká4-[t]kʷ pierce-MED.I	'to pierce s.t.' *gahlkw*	ka4-é:ʔ > ki4é:ʔ	'to embroider' (orig. with porcupine quills) *gihlee'e*

10.3.B.2. Penultimate stress: A number of forms bear stress on the initial or penultimate syllable, regardless of the specific grammatical function of that syllable. Other characteristics of most of these forms show that they are older and that the process is not productive.

10.3.B.2.a. Stress on the prefix:

10.3.B.2.a.1. Prefixed plurals: (**7**.1.B.1.a.1.a.) Stress falls on the plural prefix (lə-) in a few forms, rather than on the root, hence presently irregular pairs such as:

skát	'to be born'	lísḳit	'to be born (pl.)'
	sgat		*lisgit*
kúkʷskʷ	'to wake up'	lúḳukʷskʷ	'to wake up (pl.)'
	k(y)ukwskw		*lugukwskw*
(* máq-s)	'to be placed'	lə-maqs-T >> límqs(t)	'to grow (pl.)'
place.s.-MED.I	*(maḳs)*	[...-be.placed-...]$_{PL}$	*limḳs(t)*

(Note the loss of the root vowel in the last example as a result of stress placement on the prefix).

10.3.B.2.a.2. Other prefixes:

A prefix used to form many high-ranking names means 'grandfather of ...' and is derived from the word meaning 'grandfather', now stressed normally on the root. The new prefix however shows stress on the original prefix (nə-) (**7**.1.B.1.b.1.b.2.) and loss of the original root vowel, exactly as in límqs(t) 'to grow (pl.)' *limḳs(t)* above:

nə-ye? >> niyé? 'grandfather' nə-ye?-[t]=s>> **níye?s >> niẏs-**
...-Grandfather *niye'e* ...-Grandfather-[3]=DC 'Grandfather of ...'
Niẏs...

10.3.B.2. b. Reduplication: Numerous irregularities show that the CV́:Cvk form of reduplication is archaic (**8**.2.B.3.b.). One of these irregularities is stress on the reduplicated syllable, for instance:

nóx̣	'mother'	nox̣)nox̣ > **nóx**)nox̣ >> **nó**:nax̣	'mothers'
	nox̣	PL)mother	*noonax̣*
q̓áq	'to be open'	q̓aq)q̓aq> **q̓áq**)q̓aq >> **q̓á**:?ax̣	'to be open(pl.)'
	k'ak̓	PL)open	*k'aa'ax̣*

10.3.B.2.c. Compounds: Some older compounds are stressed on the first component, with resulting weakening of the vowel of the second component, so that the second component appears to be a lexical suffix (Pseudo-suffixes, **7**.2.D.2.), as in the following examples:

- with **ḳit** 'man, person, people' ...*git* (‹ **kát**):

?am-[*?ú+kát]	>	?am**?úḳit**	'clothing'
good.for.-[cover.s.-...]			*am'ugit*
sim-[*?ó-+kát]	>	sim**?ó-**ḳit	'chief'
really-[protect.s.?-...]			*sim'oogit*
ẇi:-wil-[hílT+kát]	>	ẇì:wil**hílḳit**	'multitude'
great-SUB-[many-...]			*ẇiiwilhilgit*

- with **sa** 'day' ...*sa* (‹ **sá(h)**):

yúkʷ+sá	> **yúkʷ**sa	'evening'
move?-...		*yukwsa*
[síłkʷ+*sáh]-s	> **síł**kʷsaxs	'midday, to be [in] the
[middle-...]-MED		middle of the day'
		silkwsaxs

- with **ʔčip** 'tribe, clan, village' ... *ts'ip* (< **ʔčáp**):

tə-[*ʔó:+ʔčáp]	> ta**ʔó·**ʔčip	'fortress'
DOMIN-[protect.s.?+...]		*da'oots'ip*

- with **ʔlip** 'rock, stone' ... *łip* (< **ló·ʔop** , cf. Tarpent 1983b.):

ʔan-[tóx̣+ló·ʔop]	>> ʔan-**tó·**ʔłip	'fire where stones were
place-[put.s.+...]		heated for cooking'
		andoołip
qa-[*té·ʔ+ló·ʔop]	>> qa-**té·**ʔłip	'anchor' (formerly rock
place-[lead.s.?+...]		at the end of a rope)
		gadeełip

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