

Morpho-syntactic transitivity in the Cowichan dialect of Halkomelem and its interaction with person inflection and phrasal adjuncts are discussed here in a relatively superficial framework. While the goal of linguistic description is an economical, descriptively adequate account of the relationship between meaning and surface form, it is not clear that linguistic theory is any closer to attaining this goal now than it was ten years ago. The multiplicity of alternate, perhaps equivalent, syntactic analyses of English in the literature does not augur well for a descriptively "new" language such as Halkomelem, as again any number of syntactic analyses would probably be compatible with the facts as we know them. An account of the more obvious, and superficial, syntactic relationships in Halkomelem constitutes a reasonable interim goal, serving as a basis for further research in both Halkomelem and in related languages.

Previous scholarship in related Salishan languages has made occasional use of the case-related terms *agent* and *patient*. Applying these to Halkomelem, we could label the phrasal adjuncts in the following examples as *agent* and *patient*.²

- (1) ni? q'wələm tə swəy?qe?. The man barbecued.
AGENT

ni? q^wə1-m t^θə swəy?qe?
1 2 3 4 5

For example, the roots $\dot{q}^w aq^w$ *get hit* and $s\acute{a}w^? \dot{q}$ *seek* take, respectively, patient and agent subjects, where the morpho-syntactic category of subject is constant despite the difference in case relations.

- (5) $ni^? \quad c\acute{a}n \quad \dot{q}^w aq^w.$ *I got hit.*
 SUBJECT/PATIENT

$ni^? \quad c\acute{a}n \quad \dot{q}^w aq^w$ 1 nonproximal
 1 2 3 2 I
 3 get-hit

- (6) $ni^? \quad c\acute{a}n \quad s\acute{a}w^? \dot{q}.$ *I sought (someone).*
 SUBJECT/AGENT

$ni^? \quad c\acute{a}n \quad s\acute{a}w^? \dot{q}$ 1 nonproximal
 1 2 3 2 I
 3 seek

Holding the case relations constant, the corresponding transitive constructions, marked by a /-t/ predicate suffix, differ.

- (5a) $ni^? \quad \dot{q}^w aq^w \acute{a} \acute{a} m^? \check{s} \acute{e} s$ *He/she hit me.*
 OBJECT/PATIENT

$ni^? \quad \dot{q}^w aq^w -t -s\acute{a} m^? \check{s} -\acute{e} s$
 1 2 3 4 5
 1 nonproximal 4 me (object)
 2 hit 5 third person trans. subj.
 3 transitive

- (6a) $ni^? \quad c\acute{a}n \quad s\acute{a}w^? \dot{q} -t.$ *I sought (him/her).*
 SUBJECT/AGENT

$ni^? \quad c\acute{a}n \quad s\acute{a}w^? \dot{q} -t$
 1 2 3 4
 1 nonproximal 3 seek
 2 I (subject) 4 transitive

activity suffix /-els/ (10) takes agent subjects. Similarly, the simple transitive /lək^wat/ *break it in two* (11) takes a patient object while the benefactive transitive /lək^wəɪcət/ (12) takes a benefactive object.

We consider below Halkomelem transitive and intransitive predicate morphology and its interaction with person and phrasal adjuncts, showing that a considerable range of syntactic phenomena may be accounted for by taking transitivity and the person inflection categories of subject and object as significant linguistic constructs.

1. Predicates

1.0 A root in Halkomelem is morpho-syntactically intransitive in contrast to languages such as English (compare *die* and *kill*). A *transitive* predicate in Halkomelem may inflect for both person categories, subject and object, while an *intransitive* predicate may inflect for subject only. The sole means of introducing object inflection is through the presence of a transitive suffix, the productive transitive suffixes being /-t/ *transitive*, /-nex^w/ *lack-of-control* and /-stəx^w/ *causative*.

While the relationship between semantic function (case) and syntactic category is not one-to-one in Halkomelem, the subject of a transitive predicate is in some sense the agent (or perceiver in the case of /ləmnəx^w/ *see*). For those roots which do not take agent subjects, the presence of a transitive suffix switches the

case relation of a subject marker from patient (or some other non-agentive relation) to agent, as in the following examples where the subject marker is /cən/ *I*.

- (13) ni? cən pas. *I got hit.*
 PATIENT
- | | |
|-------------|---------------|
| ni? cən pas | 1 nonproximal |
| 1 2 3 | 2 I |
| | 3 get-hit |

- (14) ni? cən pasət. *I hit (it).*
 AGENT
- | | |
|---------------|---------------|
| ni? cən pas-t | 1 nonproximal |
| 1 2 3 4 | 2 I |
| | 3 hit |
| | 4 transitive |

However, the ability to take agent subjects is not a function unique to the transitive suffixes. In this section we consider predicate suffixes which take agent subjects.

1.1 Transitive Suffixes

As mentioned above, the productive transitive suffixes are /-t/ *transitive*, /-nex^w/ *lack-of-control* and /-stəx^w/ *causative*.³ In addition, there are the apparently nonproductive forms /-š/ and /-nəs/. Such transitive suffixes constitute the sole means of introducing object inflection, which is discussed below in section two.

The suffixes /-t/ *transitive* and /-nex^w/ *lack-of-control* contrast semantically, marking the degree of control the subject has over the event. The /-nex^w/ suffix implies that the subject is not

in full control: the subject did it accidentally, he managed to do it under adverse circumstances, or he simply was not really in control (as in the case of /ləmnəx^w/ *see*, where the subject is more an experiencer than an agent). The /-t/ suffix is seemingly more neutral, but implies a greater degree of control over the event. Although this distinction does not translate readily in English, the following examples may give some idea of the contrast.

ʔik ^w ət	<i>throw (it) away</i>
ʔək ^w nəx ^w	<i>lose (it)</i>
k ^w ɬet	<i>pour (it)</i>
k ^w əɬnəx ^w	<i>spill (it)</i>
k ^w ənət	<i>take (it)</i>
k ^w ə(n)nəx ^w	<i>find/get/receive (it)</i>
taʔəlt	<i>study/learn (it)</i>
təlʔnəx ^w	<i>find (it) out</i>
lək ^w at	<i>break (it) in two</i>
lək ^w nəx ^w	<i>accidentally break (it) in two, manage to</i>

The causative suffix /-stəx^w/, while also a transitive suffix, is distributionally distinct, combining with stems which do not necessarily take /-t/ or /-nəx^w/. For example, it combines with stems ending in the activity suffix /-els/ (discussed

below), while /-t/ and /-nex^w/ do not.

q̣ ^w q̣ ^w els	<i>to club</i>
q̣ ^w q̣ ^w elstəx ^w	<i>have/take (him/her) to club</i>
čək ^w χels	<i>fry</i>
čək ^w χelstəx ^w	<i>have/take (him/her) to fry</i>

It also occurs with resultatives, consisting of consonant-vowel reduplication of the root plus the static /s-/ prefix, while /-t/ and /-nex^w/ do not.⁴

ṭən [?] ət	<i>stack (them) side-by-side (transitive)</i>
sṭəṭin [?]	<i>stacked side-by-side (resultative)</i>
sṭəṭin [?] stəx ^w	<i>get (them) stacked side-by-side</i>
ɬən [?] ət	<i>weave (it)</i>
sɬəḷin [?]	<i>woven</i>
sɬəḷin [?] stəx ^w	<i>get (it) woven</i>

The remaining transitive suffixes are marginal. The /-š/ suffix, as in /nəw[?]əš/ *put (it) in* (root, /nəw[?]/ *in*) may be viewed as a suppletive allomorph of /-t/. In fact, speakers are somewhat reluctant to accept /-š/ when the predicate is inflected for object and usually switch to the /-t/ inflection. Another transitive form, /-nəs/, occurs with /nəm[?]/ *go* as in /nəmnəs/ *go toward (him/her)*, and /ʔewə/ *come here*, as in /ʔəwənəs/ *come toward (him/her)*,

/ʔəwənəsamʔʒ/ *come toward me.*⁵

1.2 Intransitive Agent Suffixes

While transitive suffixes are unique in permitting object inflection, they are not the only suffixes which take agent subjects. The /-els/ activity suffix takes agent subjects as may (although not necessarily) the so-called middle voice /-m/.

1.2.1 The Activity Suffix

The activity suffix /-els/ is intransitive, not inflecting for object but taking agent subjects.

Transitive		Activity	
čəyʔx ^w t	<i>dry (it)</i>	čəyʔx ^w els	<i>dry (something)</i>
ɬəmʔčt	<i>pick (it)</i>	ɬəmʔčels	<i>pick</i>
pət ^ʰ ət	<i>sew (it)</i>	p ^ʰ t ^ʰ els	<i>sew</i>
k ^w ɬet	<i>pour (it)</i>	k ^w ɬels	<i>pour</i>

This suffix provides a means of introducing an agent subject without mentioning the thing undergoing the action, not unlike optionally transitive verbs in English, such as *pick* or *sew*, except that such intransitives are overtly marked in Halkomelem. As third person object is unmarked in Halkomelem (see section two), the distinction between transitive and activity predicates may seem subtle in the following examples.

(15) ni? cən cəy?x^wt.

I dried (it).

ni? cən cəy?x^w-t
1 2 3 4

nonproximal I dry-transitive
1 2 3 4

(16) ni? cən cəy?x^wels.

I dried (something).

ni? cən cəy?x^w-els
1 2 3 4

nonproximal I dry-activity
1 2 3 4

(17) ni? cən k^wet.

I poured (it).

ni? cən k^wet(e)-t
1 2 3 4

nonproximal I pour-transitive
1 2 3 4

(18) ni? cən k^wels.

I poured.

ni? cən k^wet-els
1 2 3 4

nonproximal I pour-activity
1 2 3 4

However the significance of an intransitive predicate taking agent subjects will become apparent in section three.

The /-els/ activity suffix is apparently highly productive, however it sometimes denotes a culturally significant activity with specialization of meaning.

Transitive		Activity	
wenš	throw (it)	wenels	throw out money or blankets in the longhouse
nəw?əš	put (it) in	nəw?els	bring in a picture of a person for ceremonial purposes in the longhouse
?əłqt	take (it) out	?əłqels	withdraw money from the bank
teqet	lay (it) down	teqels	make a down payment; donate blankets
hiqet	put (it) under; bake (it)	həqels	bake

The use of /-els/ in culturally significant activities may be due to the fact that it permits the expression of an agent subject without an object and this, as we will see below, is impossible under certain circumstances with transitive suffixes. That is, in culturally well defined contexts the thing acted upon will be understood and the activity suffix then permits the speaker to focus on the actor.

1.2.2 Middle Voice

The so-called middle voice suffix /-m/ also may (though not necessarily) take agent subjects and does not inflect for object. This suffix is apparently not as productive as /-els/, however there is a sizeable number of roots which normally occur with /-m/, such as /^ʔtiləm/ *sing* and /^ʔwələm/ *barbecue*. Often the transitive/intransitive opposition parallels that of /-els/.

Transitive		Middle Voice	
pən ^ʔ ət	<i>plant, bury it</i>	pən ^ʔ əm	<i>plant, bury</i>
^ʔ wələt	<i>barbecue it</i>	^ʔ wələm	<i>barbecue</i>
k ^w set	<i>count it</i>	k ^w sem	<i>count</i>

Even in these cases /-els/ forms are frequently possible, although not as common: /pən^ʔels/ *plant*, /^ʔwələls/ *barbecue*, /k^wšels/ *count*.

It is conceivable, perhaps likely, that Halkomelem has more than one suffix involving /m/. I have found upon experimentation that several stems which do not occur spontaneously with /-m/

permit a /-eʔəm/ suffix.

Transitive		Activity		Middle Voice	
kʷɪet	<i>pour it</i>	kʷɪels	<i>pour</i>	kʷɪeʔəm	<i>pour</i>
hiqet	<i>put it in; bake it</i>	həqels	<i>bake</i>	həqeʔəm	<i>bake</i>
čəyʔxʷt	<i>dry it</i>	čəyʔxʷels	<i>dry</i>	čəyʔxʷeʔəm	<i>dry</i>

These forms are apparently synonymous with the activity forms but far less common. I have no explanation for this phonological shape if this is the same morpheme as /-m/. Compare, for example, /kʷʷset/ *count it*, /kʷʷsels/ *count*, and /kʷʷsem/ *count* to /kʷɪet/ *pour it*, /kʷɪels/ *pour* and /kʷɪeʔəm/ *pour*.

Further, in none of the examples above is it clear that the term *middle voice* is an accurate description. That is, it is not obvious that the actor is viewed as performing the action for his own benefit. However, these are stems with which /-m/ appears to convey the notion of middle voice, acting upon oneself or for one's own benefit.

tšiʔqʷəm	<i>comb one's hair</i>	tšiʔqʷt	<i>comb his/her hair</i>
xʷtʰxʷasəm	<i>wash one's face</i>	xʷtʰxʷast	<i>wash his/her face</i>
šakʷəm	<i>bathe oneself</i>	šakʷət	<i>bathe him/her</i>

Given these are activities typically performed on people, it is understandable that the /-m/ forms are interpreted as actions upon oneself, however, this would not *a priori* be the only possible interpretation, yet I am aware of no ambiguity in these forms.

Predicates with /-m/ do not necessarily take agent subjects. For example, /haq^wəm/ *smell*, /yak^wəm/ *break*, and /qewəm/ *get paid* take patient subjects. This suggests that case interpretation of predicates with /-m/ is a function of the predicate root, some roots taking subjects and others taking patients; however, it is also possible that this reflects distinct but homophonous /-m/ suffixes.

1.3 Summary

Halkomelem exhibits overt marking for transitivity, transitive predicates being marked by the presence of a transitive suffix. We can distinguish between the morpho-syntactic property of transitivity (taking both subject and object markers) and semantic agentivity. While transitive predicates take agent subjects, so do intransitive predicates with the activity suffix /-els/ and sometimes with the middle voice suffix /-m/.

The interaction of transitivity person and phrasal adjuncts will be discussed in section three below. First, however, we turn to a brief discussion of the Halkomelem person system.

2. Person ⁶

2.0 Halkomelem inflects for two person categories: subject and object, intransitive predicates taking subject markers only and transitives permitting both.

2.1 Subject

The Halkomelem subject markers are clitics, appearing in second position in a clause. As is typical of Central Coast Salish, there are two subject series, the independent clause series preceded by a /c- ~ č/ formative and a subordinate series without it.

Independent Clause Subject Clitics

	singular	plural
first person	cən	ct
second person	č	ceep

Dependent Clause Subject Clitics

	singular	plural
first person	-(e)n?	-ət
second person	-əx ^w	-ələp
third person		-əs

Third person is unmarked in the independent clause series. However there is a transitive third person subject suffix /-əs/, homophonous with the dependent clause clitic, but distributionally distinct. While the clitic forms, including the dependent clause /-əs/, maintain second position in a clause, the transitive third person suffix always remains fixed to a transitive predicate.

The position of subject clitics is illustrated in the following sentences, where the subject clitic /cən/ *I* maintains second position, after the main predicate in (19), a temporal-spatial auxiliary in (20) and after an adverb in (21).

- (19) $\frac{k'ey?}{1} \frac{c\acute{e}n.}{2}$ *I got/was hungry.*

1 hungry
2 I

- (20) $\frac{?i}{1} \frac{c\acute{e}n}{2} \frac{k'ek'wi?}{3}$ *I am hungry.*

1 proximal
2 I
3 hungry (imperfective)

- (21) $\frac{\lambda lim?}{1} \frac{c\acute{e}n}{2} \frac{?i}{3} \frac{k'ek'wi?}{4}$ *I am very hungry.*

1 very
2 I
3 proximal
4 hungry (imperfective)

Like English tense or verb suffixes in Chomsky's (1956) treatment, the underlying position of Halkomelem subject clitics is somewhat arbitrary, although I am inclined to suggest that (19) represents the basic position as Halkomelem exhibits VSO properties (see section three).

The third person transitive subject suffix /-əs/ is unique in the system. It is a predicate suffix, not a clitic and co-occurs with the subordinate clause third person subject clitic.

- (22) $?aw?ni?_{\underline{əs}} k'ic_{\underline{ətəs}} t^{\theta}_{\underline{ə}} sməy\theta$ *whether (he) butchered*
 $?aw?-ni?-əs k'ic-t-əs t^{\theta}_{\underline{ə}} sməy\theta$ *the deer*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

1 hypothetical
2 nonproximal
3 subordinate third pers. subj.
4 butcher
5 transitive
6 transitive third pers. subj.
7 article
8 deer

In (22) the subordinate clause clitic /-əs/ occurs after the first

ni? cən ce? čew-t-samə
 1 2 3 4 5 6

1 nonproximal
 2 I
 3 future

4 help
 5 transitive
 6 you

Otherwise, /-s/ is a short form for the first person singular object.

(26) čewəθ.

Help me.

(27) ni? čewəθəs.

He/she helped me.

ni? čew-t-s-əs
 1 2 3 4 5

1 nonproximal
 2 help
 3 transitive

4 me
 5 third pers. trans. subj.

The longer forms are stylistically preferable (except perhaps for the command form), suggesting that the short form may be a truncation rather than a continuation of an etymological first person singular.

2.3 Passives

Cowichan passives represent a mixed category in surface form. They are based on transitive stems and permit inflection for object but not for subject. Two passive constructions exist: the *medio-passive* ending in /-m/ and the *dependent passive* ending in /-t/.

2.3.1 The Medio-Passive

Medio-passive predicates are based on transitive stems, which may be inflected for object, plus the suffix /-m/. The object forms are not morphologically transparent, although the inflectional categories of the transitive object system are maintained except that the first and second person plural forms are homophonous.

Medio-Passive Objects

	singular	plural
first person	-(s)eləm	-aləm
second person	-(s)am	-aləm
third person		-m

Third person is again unmarked, save the medio-passive /-m/. Note again the /s/ in the singular forms, which occurs with transitive /-t/, combining to form /θ/.

	/-t/ Transitive	/-nex ^w / Lack-of-Control
	lēmətəm <i>it is looked at</i>	ləmnəm <i>it is seen</i>
first singular	lēmθeləm	ləmneləm
second sing.	lēmθam	ləmnəm
first plural	lēmətələm	ləmnələm
second plur.	lēmətələm	ləmnələm

The medio-passive represents an intermediate series, between transitives and intransitives: like intransitives, medio-passives inflect for one person category only, like transitives, they inflect

for object, but unlike either category, medio-passives do not take subject clitics. Further they do not take the third person transitive subject marker /-əs/, a characteristic of transitive predicates.

2.3.2 The Dependent Passive⁸

Dependent passive predicates are virtually identical to medio-passives, except for the presence of a /-t/ suffix instead of /-m/.

Dependent Passive Objects		
	singular	plural
first person	-(s)elt	-alt
second pers.	-(s)amət	-alt
third person		-ewət

Feasibly dependent passives are based on medio-passives with the addition of a final /-t/ suffix triggering the loss of the medio-passive /-m/ (and no epenthetic /ə/). This might account for the relationship between the three second person singular suffixes.

transitive	-(s)amə
medio-passive	-(s)am
dependent passive	-(s)amət

The medio-passive form may derive from */-(s)amə-m/ with loss of intervocalic /m/, while this is preserved in the dependent passive

with loss of the second /m/, from */-(s)amə-m-t/.

	/-t/ Transitive	/-nex ^w / Lack-of-Control
	lēmətewət <i>it is looked</i> <i>at</i>	lēmnewət <i>it is seen</i>
first sing.	lēməθelt	lēmnel̩t
second sing.	lēməθamət	lēmnamət
first plur.	lēmətalt	lēmnaɫt
second plur.	lēmətalt	lēmnaɫt

The third person dependent passive /-ewət/ has a partial /-ew/ for which I have no explanation. Possibly this represents an empty connective.

The /-t/ suffix is tentatively assigned here to a non-productive stative morpheme, occurring in such forms as /təyt/ *upstream*, as opposed to /təyəɫ/ *go upstream* (with inchoative /-il/) and the triply marked resultative /sweʔwəlʔt/ *hidden* (/s/ *static*, /wel/ *hide*, reduplicated, /-t/ *stative*).

2.3.3 The Status of Passives

Cowichan passives appear to be subjectless transitive predicates, in that they inflect for object but do not permit subjects. They differ markedly in surface form from such languages as Lushootseed, Squamish (Kuipers: 1967) and Straits (Thompson: 1971) in which subject inflection but not object is employed. In Lushootseed, for example, the medio-passive suffix /-b/ (cognate with Cw. /-m/) is affixed to the transitive stem and a subject

clitic signals the patient (corresponding to the object of a transitive).

(28) ʔuk^wax^watəb ʔəd. *I was helped.* (Passive)

ʔu-k^wax^w(a)-t-b ʔəd
1 2 3 4 5

1 complete
2 help
3 transitive

4 medio-passive
5 I

(29) ʔuk^wax^wac. *(He/she) helped me.* (Non-Passive)

ʔu-k^wax^w(a)-t-s
1 2 3 4

1 complete
2 help

3 transitive
4 me

Even in languages where subject clitics appear in the medio-passive it is conceivable that this construction represents a subjectless transitive in deep structure, with a rule moving an object marker into subject clitic position. In any case, medio-passives are closely related to transitive predicates. For example, the case relations of a transitive predicate are not undone by the medio-passive. For example, a root such as /səw^ʔq/ *seek*, taking an agent subject in Cowichan, maintains patient as its object in both the transitive and the medio-passive forms.

(30) ni^ʔ səw^ʔqəam^ʔʔəs. *(He) looked for me.*

(31) ni^ʔ səw^ʔqəeləm. *I was looked for.*

That is, the one person category associated with the medio-passive

predicate maintains the same case relation as the object of the corresponding transitive, despite whatever case relations hold for the intransitive root. I suspect similar examples exist in Salishan languages where subject inflection appears in the medio-passive. That is, there are intransitive roots which take agent subjects but the surface subject of a medio-passive is nevertheless a patient, reflecting a closer association with the object of the corresponding transitive.

2.4 Summary

Halkomelem has two person inflection categories: subject and object. In addition, the transitive subject suffix /-əs/ appears to represent a category of its own. The person systems of Halkomelem are distributionally distinct from phrasal adjuncts, which are discussed below. Subject and object markers are closely associated with the predicate, object suffixes appearing on transitive predicates and subject clitics maintaining second position in the clause. As phrasal adjuncts follow the predicate, strictly speaking the person markers are not pronominal in that they do not substitute for phrasal adjuncts. This fact has no *a priori* implications for linguistic description, except for the obvious point that Halkomelem person markers clearly do not belong to the same surface category as phrasal adjuncts. It does not follow, for example, that Halkomelem person markers represent deep structure categories distinct from phrasal adjuncts. On the other hand, the obvious function-

nalparallel between person and phrasal adjuncts discussed below does not necessarily imply the opposite, that person markers and phrasal adjuncts should be derived from the same deep structure category.

3. Predicates and Adjuncts

3.0 A phrasal adjunct may be direct or oblique in Halkomelem. Direct adjuncts are interpreted as subject or object. Oblique adjuncts are preceded by the general preposition /ʔə/ and represent the means of introducing adjuncts in addition to those which are interpreted as subject or object.

(32) niʔ ʔaməstəs t^θə swiwʔləs ʔə t^θə ʃəptən.
 DIRECT (OBJECT) OBLIQUE

He/she gave the boy a knife.

niʔ ʔaməs-t-əs t^θə swiwʔləs ʔə t^θə ʃəptən
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

1 nonproximal	4 third trans. subj.	7 oblique
2 give	5 article	8 article
3 transitive	6 man	9 knife

3.1 Direct Adjuncts

3.1.1 Intransitive Constructions

The direct adjunct of an intransitive predicate is interpreted as the subject. An intransitive construction may have a subject clitic, a direct adjunct or neither (the unmarked third person). Although subject clitics are syntactically distinct from direct adjuncts, maintaining second position in a clause, the

two are functionally equivalent in intransitive constructions.

For example, if a subject clitic is interpreted as the semantic agent, then a direct adjunct is also the agent.

- (33) ni? cən k'wɛm. *I counted.*
 SUBJECT/AGENT
- ni? cən k'wɛm nonproximal I count-middle
 1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4
- (34) ni? k'wɛm t'ə swəy?qe? *The man counted.*
 SUBJECT/AGENT
- ni? k'wɛm t'ə swəy?qe?
 1 2 3 4 5
- 1 nonproximal 4 article
 2 count 5 man
 3 middle voice

Similarly, if a subject clitic is interpreted as patient, then so is a direct adjunct.

- (35) ni? cən pas. *I got hit.*
 SUBJECT/PATIENT
- ni? cən pas
 1 2 3
- 1 nonproximal
 2 I
 3 get-hit
- (36) ni? pas t'ə swiw?ləs. *The boy got hit.*
 SUBJECT/PATIENT
- ni? pas t'ə swiw?ləs
 1 2 3 4
- 1 nonproximal 3 article
 2 get-hit 4 boy

While the relation between subject clitics and direct adjuncts must be accounted for in any descriptively adequate grammar, it does not necessarily follow that they are transformationally related. In any case, subject clitics and direct adjuncts in intransitive constructions are interpreted analogously.

3.1.2 Transitive Constructions

3.1.2.1 The interpretation of a direct phrasal adjunct with a transitive predicate is a function of the person system. The direct adjunct is interpreted as object if the predicate is not inflected for first or second person subject or object.

(37) ni? lemətəs t^θə spe?eθ. *He/she looked at the bear.*

ni? lem-t-əs t^θə spe?eθ
1 2 3 4 5 6

1 nonproximal
2 see
3 transitive

4 third pers. trans. subj.
5 article
6 bear

This contrasts with intransitives, where a direct adjunct is interpreted as subject. That is, /t^θə spe?eθ/ *the bear* (37) is interpreted analogously to /-sam?ʃ/ *me* (object) in (38) rather than /cən/ *I* (subject) in (39).

(38) ni? lemθam?ʃəs. *He/she looked at me.*
OBJECT

ni? lem-t-sam?ʃ-əs
1 2 3 4 5

1 nonproximal
2 see
3 transitive

4 me (object)
5 third pers. trans. subj.

(39) ni? cən ləm-ot.
SUBJECT

I looked at (it).

ni? cən ləm-t
1 2 3 4

nonproximal I see-transitive
1 2 3 4

It is not obvious why a direct adjunct of a transitive predicate should be interpreted as object rather than subject under these circumstances. One might argue that the /-əs/ third person transitive subject suffix fills the role of subject. However this argument loses its force in face of the fact that a subject adjunct and the /-əs/ suffix may co-occur, as shown below. Further in Lushootseed (Puget Salish), a direct adjunct under similar conditions is interpreted as object, yet the third person suffix is not used.

(40) tušnuuc ti spa?c.
OBJECT

(He/she) saw the bear.

tu-šnu-c ti spa?c
1 2 3 4 5

1 remote
2 see
3 transitive

4 article
5 bear

The object interpretation of direct adjuncts of transitive predicates represents an almost ergative characteristic. One may compare intransitive roots and their corresponding transitives, where the case relation holds constant.

(41) ni? təq'w t^θə ʔw i?ləm.
PATIENT

The rope broke.

ni? təq^w t^θə ʃwi?ləm
1 2 3 4

The rope broke.

1 nonproximal
2 break

3 article
4 rope

(42) ni? t^watəs t^θə ʃwi?ləm.
PATIENT

(He/she) broke the rope.

ni? t^wa-t-əs t^θə ʃwi?ləm
1 2 3 4 5 6

1 nonproximal
2 break
3 transitive

4 third pers. trans. subj.
5 article
6 rope

However too much may be made of this. As we have noted above, the case relation of an adjunct to a root need not be patient, as in the case of /səw?q/ *seek*, where the parallel does not hold (see sentences (6) and (6a)). Further, the person system is, if anything, accusative, where the object of a transitive predicate does not correspond formally to the subject of an intransitive.

3.1.2.2 When two direct adjuncts occur with a transitive predicate the first is interpreted as subject and the second as object.

(43) ni? q^waq^wətəs t^θə swəy?qe? t^θə spe?eθ.
SUBJECT OBJECT

The man clubbed the bear.

ni? q^waq^w-t-əs t^θə swəy?qe? t^θə spe?eθ
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

1 nonproximal
2 club
3 transitive
4 third pers. trans. subj.

5 article
6 man
7 article
8 bear

Such examples suggest that Halkomelem is a VSO language. It seems significant to note, however, that this is not a common construction. An example of its infrequency is the fact that in one twenty-five minute text (a traditional story) I found no examples of a transitive predicate with two direct adjuncts. Nevertheless, the construction does occur spontaneously, if infrequently.

3.1.2.3 Elsewhere the interpretation of a direct adjunct is a function of the person system. If a transitive predicate is inflected for first or second person subject, a direct adjunct is interpreted as object.

- (44) ni? cən čewət 0ə sɬeni? *I helped the woman.*
 SUBJECT OBJECT

ni? cən čew-t 0ə sɬeni?
 1 2 3 4 5 6

1 nonproximal
 2 I (subject)
 3 help

4 transitive
 5 article
 6 woman

Similarly, if a transitive predicate is inflected for first person object, a direct adjunct is interpreted as subject.

- (45) ni? čewə0am?šəs 0ə sɬeni? *The woman helped me.*
 OBJECT SUBJECT

ni? čew-t-sam?š-əs 0ə sɬeni?
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

1 nonproximal
 2 help
 3 transitive
 4 me (object)

5 third pers. trans. subj.
 6 article
 7 woman

3.1.2.4 To summarize, a direct adjunct of a transitive predicate is preferentially interpreted as goal unless the goal role is filled. That is, if the predicate is inflected for goal than a direct adjunct is interpreted as subject. Similarly, when there are two direct adjuncts then one (the first) is interpreted as subject. In the remaining cases a direct adjunct is interpreted as goal.

3.1.3 The facts as discussed above indicate a functional trade-off between person inflection and direct adjuncts in Halkomelem. This does not lead to any obvious unique syntactic analysis. One can conceive of a number of descriptions compatible with the data, including the following:

- I. Adjuncts arise within the predicate complex, in the positions maintained by the person system, and are transformationally moved to the end of the clause. That is, the position of person markers is basic (VOS).
- II. Person markers arise from pronominal adjuncts, being derived through agreement rules (as in English subject-verb agreement) or through movement rules. That is, the position of direct phrasal adjuncts is basic (VSO).

III. Person markers and direct adjuncts are distinct categories in deep structure.

While it is not clear that these alternatives are empirically distinguishable in Halkomelem, I tend to prefer III, if on no other grounds than the fact that this most closely reflects the surface syntax of Halkomelem and hence represents in some sense the neutral hypothesis.

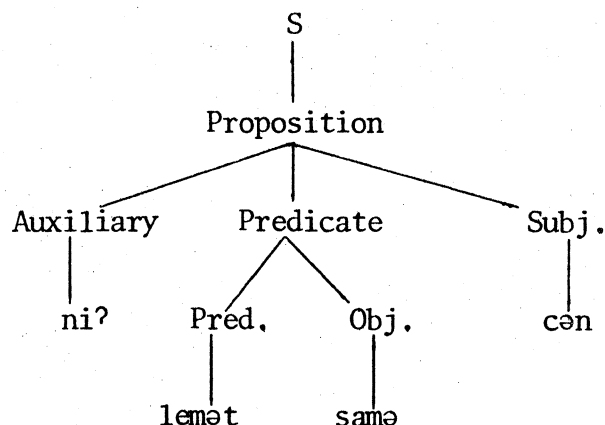
I give the following phrase markers as tentative deep structures. The categorical symbols are merely for the purpose of exposition and conceivably could be replaced by other conventions such as feature matrices in the x-bar convention (Chomsky, 1970). Further, several alternatives are possible for the representation of person. While I give syntactic status to person, this could be a function of the lexicon. The essential point in the following examples is that the role of a direct adjunct can be viewed as a function of the person system, where the interpretation as subject or object is determined by the semantic component.

3.1.3.1 First and Second Person

Let us call the predicate complex, including auxiliaries, the predicate and person markers, the *proposition*. Sentence (46) is in itself a proposition.

(46) ni? cən lemeθame.

I looked at you.

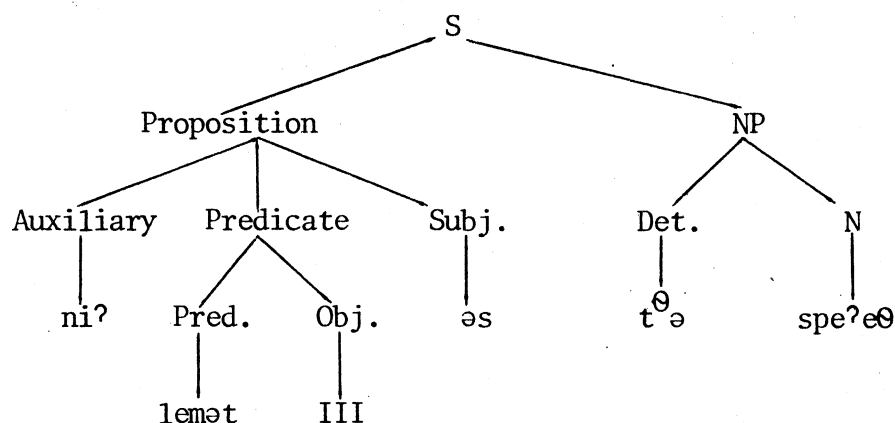


As mentioned above, it is conceivable that person is a function of the lexicon and that object and subject do not represent deep structure categorical symbols. For the purpose of discussion, however, let us assign person to syntactic nodes and, as suggested in section 2.1, I take the postverbal position as basic for clitics.

3.1.3.2 Adjuncts

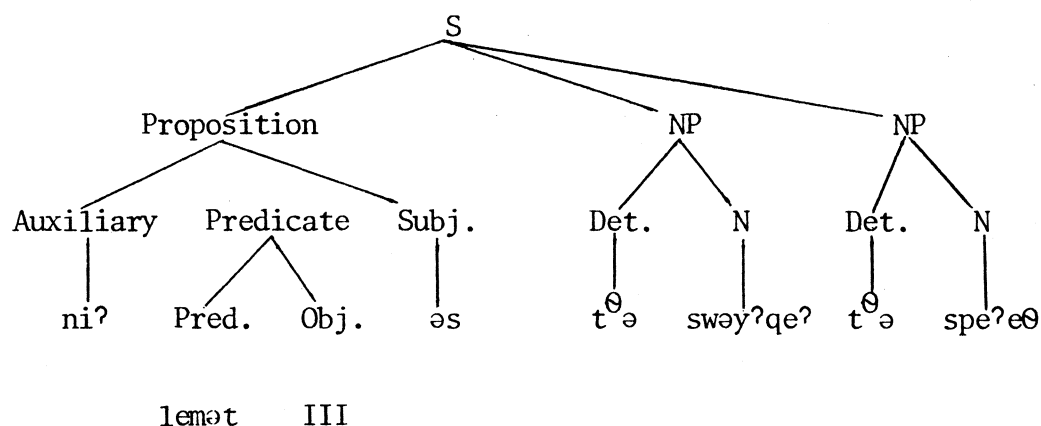
It is not clear that subject and object adjuncts are structurally distinct. I suggest that they are not and that one or two direct phrasal adjuncts (labeled NP here) may appear as sisters to the proposition.

- (47) ni? ləmətəs t^θə spe?eθ. (He/she) saw the bear.



(48) ni? lemətəs t^θə swəy?qe? t^θə spe?eθ.

The man saw the bear.



The interpretation of a direct adjunct is a function of semantic interpretation rules binding the adjuncts to third person within the person system. Such rules would reflect the facts discussed above in this section. For example, a single direct adjunct will be interpreted as co-referential with third person object and if the object is not third person the adjunct will be bound to the subject. Similarly, the first of two direct adjuncts will be co-referential with third person subject and the second with third

person object.

3.2 Oblique Adjuncts

Oblique adjuncts, introduced by the preposition /ʔə/, do not correspond functionally to the person categories of subject or object, providing a syntactic means of introducing an additional adjunct. In some cases an oblique adjunct corresponds semantically to a direct adjunct of a lexically related predicate. Three cases of this are discussed here.

3.2.1 Activity Predicates

Activity predicates with the /-els/ suffix are intransitive although, like transitives, they take agent subjects.

- (49) niʔ cən ɕək^wɕels. *I fried.*
SUBJECT

niʔ cən ɕək^wɕ-els
1 2 3 4

1 nonproximal
2 I

3 fry
4 activity

- (50) niʔ ɕək^wɕels ɬə sɬeniʔ. *The woman fried.*
SUBJECT

However an additional adjunct, not corresponding to subject or object, is possible if introduced by the preposition /ʔə/.

- (51) niʔ cən ɕək^wɕels ʔə t^θə sceɛɬtən.
SUBJECT OBLIQUE

I fried the salmon.

ni[?] cən cək^{ɹ̥}x-els ʔə t^θə sceertən
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

1 nonproximal

2 I

3 fry

4 activity

5 oblique

6 article

7 salmon

(52) ni? cək^wxels tə sɛni? ʔə t^θə sceɪtən.
SUBJECT OBLIQUE

The woman fried the salmon.

Note the parallel between this construction and the corresponding transitive with čək³xt fry it, where the object acted upon (sceetən salmon) is expressed as a object direct adjunct.

(53) ni? cən čək³xt t^θə sceertən. I fried the salmon.
SUBJECT OBJECT

(54) ni? čək^wxtəs ɬə sɬeni? t^θə sceɛɬtən.
SUBJECT OBJECT

The woman fried the salmon.

There is an obvious semantic correspondence between the object of a transitive and the oblique adjunct of an activity predicate. Nevertheless, activity predicates are syntactically intransitive, not inflecting for object, permitting only one direct adjunct and not taking the third person transitive subject suffix /-əs/.

It is interesting to note that this construction provides a means of introducing the agent as an adjunct without mentioning the thing acted upon. As we have mentioned above, normally transitive predicates occur with only one adjunct, which is interpreted as object (unless there is a first pers. object). But the direct ad-

junct of an activity predicate is the subject (and the agent), yielding the following contrast.

(55) ni? lək^watəs t^θə s'cešt. *He/she broke the stick.*

ni? lək^wa-t-əs t^θə s'cešt
1 2 3 4 5 6

1 nonproximal
2 break in two
3 transitive

4 third pers. trans. subj.
5 article
6 stick

(56) ni? lək^wels tə s'eni? *The woman broke (something).*

ni? lək^w-els tə s'eni?
1 2 3 4 5

1 nonproximal
2 break
3 activity

4 article
5 woman

The fact that activity predicates take agent subjects and do not inflect for goal provides a means of expressing the agent alone, which may account for its frequent use in culturally well-defined activities (see section 1.2), when the object acted upon would be known.

3.2.2 Middle Voice

Middle voice predicates are syntactically parallel to activity predicates. They are intransitive and may take agent subjects.

(57) ni? cən q^wələm. *I barbecued.*
SUBJECT

ni? cən q̣ʷəl-m
1 2 3 4

I barbecued.

1 nonproximal
2 I

3 barbecue
4 middle voice

(58) ni? q̣ʷələm ṭə ṣṭeni?
SUBJECT

The woman barbecued.

As in the case of activity predicates, the thing acted upon may be introduced obliquely.

(59) ni? cən q̣ʷələm ʔə ṭ^θə ṣceeṭən.
SUBJECT OBLIQUE

I barbecued the salmon.

(60) ni? q̣ʷələm ṭə ṣṭeni? ʔə ṭ^θə ṣceeṭən.
SUBJECT OBLIQUE

The woman barbecued the salmon.

The correspondence between transitive object and intransitive oblique adjunct holds for middle voice forms as well, as in the following three sentences, using the root /ḳʷəl/ *spill/pour*.

Transitive

(61) ni? cən ḳʷɛt ṭ^θə coffee.
SUBJECT OBJECT

I poured the coffee (out).

Activity

(62) ni? cən ḳʷɛls ʔə ṭ^θə coffee.
SUBJECT OBLIQUE

I poured the coffee.

Middle voice

(63) ni? cən ḳʷɛʔəm ʔə ṭ^θə coffee.
SUBJECT OBLIQUE

I poured the coffee.

3.2.3 Benefactives

Unlike the examples above, benefactive predicates are transitive, however the object of a benefactive is the beneficiary, not the thing or individual acted upon. Benefactive stems are formed with the benefactive suffix /-ɬc/ plus the transitive marker /-t/. The fact that benefactives are transitive is illustrated in the following examples.

- (64) ʔi cən ceʔ lək^wɬcəmə. *I will break it for you.*
 SUBJECT OBJECT

ʔi cən ceʔ lək^w-ɬc-t-səmə
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

1 proximal	5 benefactive
2 I	6 transitive
3 future	7 you
4 break in two	

- (65) niʔ ɬək^wɬcətəs t^əə swiwʔləs. *He/she broke (it) for the boy.*
 TRANS. SUBJ. OBJECT

niʔ ɬək^w-ɬc-t-əs t^əə swiwʔləs.
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

1 nonproximal	5 third pers. trans. subj.
2 break in two	6 article
3 benefactive	7 boy

That is, benefactives inflect for object as well as subject and take the third person transitive suffix /-əs/.

A benefactive predicate may take an adjunct in addition to those corresponding to subject and object. This is an oblique adjunct semantically corresponding to the object of a simple transitive.

Benefactive

- (66) ni? cən lək^wɛɪcət t^θə nə syeʔyə ʔə t^θə sʰešt.
 SUBJECT OBJECT OBLIQUE

I broke the stick for my friend.

ni? cən lək^w-ɪc-t t^θə nə syeʔyə ʔə t^θə sʰešt
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

1 nonproximal	5 transitive	9 oblique
2 I	6 article	10 article
3 break in two	7 my	11 stick
4 benefactive	8 friend	

Transitive

- (67) ni? cən lək^wat t^θə sʰešt. *I broke the stick.*
 SUBJECT OBJECT

ni? cən lək^wa-t t^θə sʰešt
 1 2 3 4 5 6

1 nonproximal	4 transitive
2 I	5 article
3 break in two	6 stick

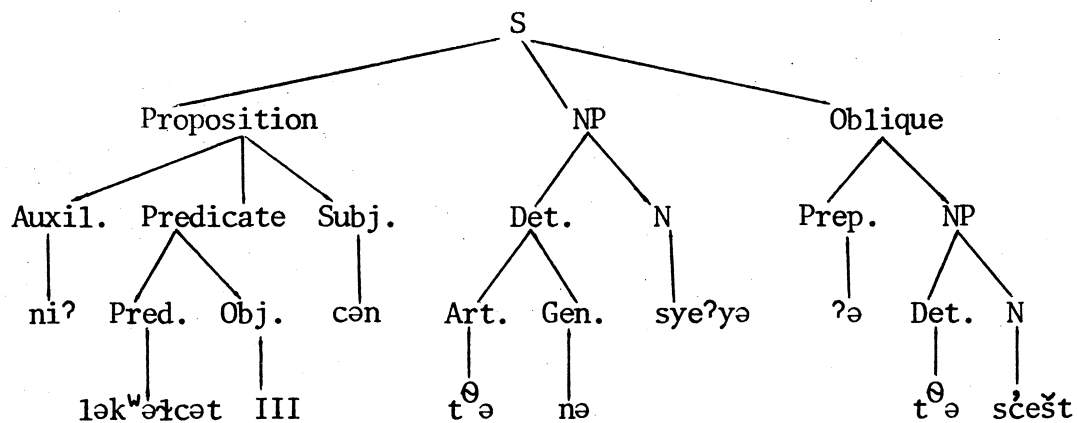
3.2.4 Oblique Adjuncts in Deep Structure

The oblique adjuncts discussed in previous sections are often interpreted, as we have seen, parallel to objects of transitive predicates. It does not necessarily follow that they are syntactically related. On the other hand, it is not clear that oblique adjuncts represent a distinct syntactic category in deep structure. Other adjuncts with distinct interpretations are also preceded by the general preposition /ʔə/, including passive agents, instrumentals and various locatives. In fact, any adjunct-type construction which does not stand in a subject or ob-

ject relation to a predicate is formally identical to the oblique adjuncts discussed above, being preceded by /ʔə/. The position taken here is that oblique adjuncts represent a distinct deep structure category. Evidence for this analysis (which is not altogether compelling) is presented in section 4. Sentence (66), then, may be assigned the following deep structure.

(66) niʔ cən ləkʷəɬcət tʰə nə syeʔyə ʔə tʰə sʰeʃt.

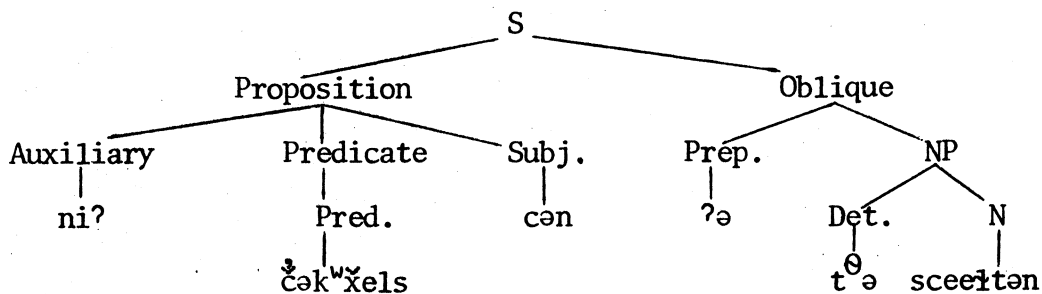
I broke the stick for my friend.



A similar analysis would hold for other oblique adjuncts discussed above. For example, the deep structure of (51) would be the following.

(51) niʔ cən ʃəkʷxels ʔə tʰə sceɛɬtən.

I fried the salmon.



3.3 Summary

The intent here has been to illustrate that transitivity and the morpho-syntactic categories of subject and object are central to Cowichan syntax, even at the expense of semantic relations. While certain semantic regularities obtain between constructions, this is not necessarily an area for syntactic description. For example, the relationship between objects of transitive predicates, such as /q̣ʷələt/ *barbecue (it)* and oblique objects of intransitives such as /q̣ʷələm/ *barbecue* may be a function of the lexicon and lexical rules of semantic interpretation along the lines suggested by Jackendoff (1975). Further, it has been suggested that adjuncts do not represent the fundamental relationships in Cowichan, but rather that the person categories of subject and object are central and that direct adjuncts are interpreted analogously. It is not clear at this time, however, whether this is a claim with empirical substance.

4. Attributive Clauses

Attributive clauses offer evidence for the central nature of the subject and object categories in Halkomelem, as I have discussed elsewhere (Hukari: 1975, 1976). When the understood relationship between a head and its attributive clause is subject or object the clause contains no special markings (other than the use of subordinate clause subject clitics). When any other relationship is understood to hold between a head and its attributive clause

a nominalizer appears.

4.1 Understood Subject or Object

When the understood relationship between a head and its attributive clause is subject, the attributive lacks a subject clitic.

(68a) ni? ʔə ʃ ʔəw? statəlʔstəx^w ɬə sɬeni? ni? ʔex^weʔt k^wθə nə
men ʔə k^wθə sceɛɬtən.

Do you know the woman who gave my father the salmon?

ni? ʔə ʃ ʔəw? statəlʔstəx^w ɬə sɬeni? ni? ʔex^weʔt k^wθə nə
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
 men ʔə k^wθə sceɛɬtən
 12 13 14 15

1 nonproximal	9 give (food)
2 question	10 article
3 you	11 my
4 conditional	12 father
5 know	13 oblique
6 article	14 article
7 woman	15 salmon
8 nonproximal	

(68b) ni? ʔex^weʔtəs k^wθə nə men ʔə k^wθə sceɛɬtən.

(He/she/it) gave my father the salmon.

The lack of a third person transitive subject suffix /-əs/ in (68a) is significant in that it overtly marks the understood subject relationship.

When the understood relation is object, no overt marking is present in the attributive clause, although the presence of a subordinate subject clitic is, by default, an indication of the understood object relation.

(69a) ni? ct ɬəyχt kʷθə sməyəθ ni? kʷiçətəxʷ.

We ate the deer which you butchered.

ni? ct ɬəyχt kʷθə sməyəθ ni? kʷiçət-əxʷ
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

1 nonproximal	5 deer
2 we	6 nonproximal
3 eat	7 butcher
4 article	8 you (sg.)

(69b) ni? ʔə č kʷiçət kʷθə sməyəθ.

Did you butcher the deer?

ni? ʔə č kʷiçət kʷθə sməyəθ
1 2 3 4 5 6

1 nonproximal	4 butcher
2 question	5 article
3 you (sg.)	6 deer

Subject and object in Halkomelem may be thought of as syntactically referential positions, permitting anaphoric relationships to obtain between heads and attributive clauses.

4.2 Understood Oblique Adjuncts

When the understood relationship between an attributive clause and a head is that of oblique adjunct, the predicate head of the attributive clause takes the /s-/ nominalizer.

(70a) ni? ct čəyʔxʷt kʷθə sceɛɬtən ni? ʔənʔsʔexʷeʔtalʔxʷ.

We dried the salmon which you gave us.

ni? ct čəyʔxʷt kʷθə sceɛɬtən ni? ʔənʔ-s-ʔexʷeʔt-alʔxʷ
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

1 nonproximal	6 nonproximal
2 we	7 your (sg.)
3 dry	8 s-nominalizer
4 article	9 give (food)
5 salmon	10 us

(70b) ni? ʔə č ʔex^weʔtalʔx^w ʔə k^wθə sceeɬtən.

Did you give us the salmon?

ni? ʔə č ʔex^weʔt-alʔx^w ʔə k^wθə sceeɬtən
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

1 nonproximal	5 us
2 question	6 oblique
3 you (sg.)	7 article
4 give	8 salmon

This overt marking of understood oblique relationships sets oblique adjuncts off from the syntactically more central categories of subject and object. Further, other relations introduced by the preposition /ʔə/, such as locatives and instrumentals, are formally differentiated from oblique adjuncts in attributive clauses.

4.3 Understood Instrumentals and Locatives

Understood instrumental and locative relations between heads and attributive clauses are signalled by the instrumental nominalizer /š(x^w)-/.

(71a) ni? ʔə č ləmnəx^w k^wθə sment ni? nəšpas.

Did you see the rock that hit me?

ni? ʔə č ləmnəx^w k^wθə sment ni? nə-šx^w-pas
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

1 nonproximal	6 rock
2 question	7 nonproximal
3 you (sg.)	8 my
4 see	9 instrumental
5 article	10 hit

(71b) ni? cən pas ʔə kʷθə sment.

I was hit by the rock.

ni? cən pas ʔə kʷθə sment

1 2 3 4 5 6

1 nonproximal

2 I

3 hit

4 oblique

5 article

6 rock

(72a) mʔi ʔaməsθamʔš ʔə t^θə ʃθəm ni? š(s)ənʔiwʔs kʷθə sey?

Come give me the box the wool is in.

(hə)mʔi ʔaməst-samʔš ʔə t^θə ʃθəm ni? šxʷ-s-hənʔiwʔ-s kʷθə sey?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

1 come

2 give

3 me

4 oblique

5 article

6 box

7 nonproximal

8 instrumental

9 static

10 be-in

11 third possessive

12 article

13 wool

(72b) ni? ʔə sənʔiwʔ kʷθə sey? ʔə kʷθə ʃθəm.

Is the wool in the box?

ni? ʔə s-hənʔiwʔ kʷθə sey? ʔə kʷθə ʃθəm

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

1 nonproximal

2 question

3 static

4 be-in

5 article

6 wool

7 oblique

8 article

9 box

The use of /š(xʷ)-/ rather than /s-/ to mark understood instrumental and locative relations suggests these categories are grammatically distinct from the oblique adjuncts discussed in section 3.2. However, this may not be compelling evidence for treating oblique adjuncts as distinct from locatives and instrumentals in syntax. It is conceivable that nominalized attributives should be treated as

deep structure nominals and, if so, the grammar would not contain nominalization transformations which differentiate between oblique adjuncts on one hand and locatives and instrumentals on the other.

4.4 Summary

The specifics of attributive clause formation (if transformations are necessary) are not pertinent to the present study. However it is significant to note that subject and object relations do not require special markings, which offers independent evidence of the central nature of these two categories in Halkomelem syntax.

5. Conclusions

Subject and object, as represented in the person systems of Halkomelem, have been presented here as central grammatical categories. This implies that certain semantic regularities in the language are not a function of syntax. For example, the following relationships have been noted above:

- i. subjects of many (not all) roots correspond semantically to objects of transitives;
- ii. subjects of transitive predicates are agents (or at least thematically higher than instrument or patient);
- iii. oblique adjuncts of benefactives correspond to objects of simple transitives;

- iv. oblique adjuncts of middle voice /-m/ and activity /-els/ predicates correspond to objects of transitives.

Obviously these facts must be accounted for in the grammar, however this need not be a function of syntactic description. It seems equally, if not more, plausible to account for such case or thematic relations in the lexicon by lexical redundancy rules along the lines of Jackendoff (1975).

Footnotes

¹ This work was supported in part by the Canada Council, Humanities and Social Sciences Division, grant no. S73-0828.

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² I do not object to the terms *agent* and *patient* per se, but if they are intended to reflect syntactic categories rather than semantic ones, the usage is misleading.

³ The term *lack-of-control* is awkward, however, I have not found a more appropriate label in the literature. /-nex^w/ is listed here as the underlying form, however it is conceivable that the /e/ represents a phonological strengthening of /ə/. The /e/ form occurs optionally with weak stems (having no inherent vowel).

⁴ The resultative of stems in CəC is formed by CV-reduplication plus infixation of /i/, replacing the stem /ə/.

⁵ Conceivably /-nəs/ is a morphologically complex form, however, the examples given exhaust the data collected to date, which are insufficient for further analysis.

6 The person system of Halkomelem has been discussed extensively by Dr. Wayne Suttles in unpublished materials prepared for his classes.

7 The form /č/ in Cowichan represents a loss of /-x^w/, compare Musqueam /čx^w/ or Saanich /sx^w/. Apparently the /c-/ formative is palatalized before /x^w/.

8 The dependent passive construction apparently occurs only in subordinate clauses.

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