SYNTACTIC AND CONCEPTUAL RELATIONS IN NITINAHT

Terry J. Klokeid

Introduction

The language of the Nitinaht belongs to the Southern branch of the Wakashan family of Native Canadian languages, and is mutually intelligible with the language of the Pacheenaht. The homeland of the Nitinaht centers on Lake Nitinaht and the adjacent portion of the West Coast of Vancouver Island. Today, much of Nitinaht territory has been absorbed into Pacific Rim National Park; the rest is largely Crown land, in large measure given over to exploitation by logging corporations. Most Nitinaht people live at Ballats'adt, or Malachan, designated by the Federal Government as Indian Reserve number 12.

Note on Nitinaht Transcriptions

I have employed here the orthography which I suggested for Nitinaht in Klokeid (1975a).

Enclitics are written separately, and I have written the language, not strictly phonetically, but somewhat abstractly. If nothing else, this makes for relative transparency in the morphological make-up of words, and so will help the reader who does not know Nitinaht. For example, I write the sequence of bowatc 'deer' plus ?aq 'the' (an enclitic) as bowatc ?aq 'the deer'; phonetically, the processes of syncope and glottal coalescence reduce it to something more like bowtc'aq.

While the above is a relatively straight-forward case, I think, in retrospect, that I have not yet achieved a fully satisfactory level of abstractness for fluctuations between more phonetic and more abstract representations in the present work.

1. ## Grammatical Relations: case, word order, and encliticization

1.1 ### Syntactic framework

I assume here, following the work of David M. Perlmutter and Paul M. Postal (forthcoming), that a sentence is most appropriately viewed in terms of a network of relations. Thus, in the English sentence (1a), the network of relations consists in part of the statements of (1b), represented formally in (1c).

1. (a) John made a canoe with an axe.
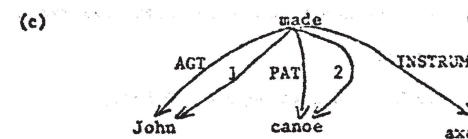
   (b) John is subject (1).

   John is agent (i.e. the one carrying out the action).

   made is verb.

   canoe is patient (i.e. that most affected by the action).

   canoe is direct object (2).

   axe is instrument (i.e. that used by the agent to effect the action).

   (c)

The Nitinaht sentence (2a) essentially corresponds to (1a),

and reflects the network of relations (2b), cf. (1b). The formal representation (2c) may be compared with (1c).

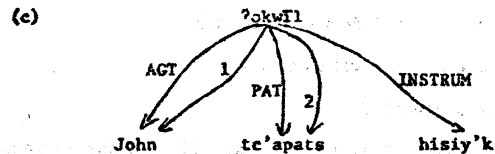2. (a) Okwīl ibt ʔa (ʔoxw) John tc'apats ʔoxwav'ēl hisiy'k.

(b) John is subject (1).

John is agent.

ʔokwīl is verb.

tc'apats is direct object (2).

tc'apats is patient.

hisiy'k is instrument.

(c)

The conceptual relations —agent, patient, instrument— describe the role of the nominal (or, better, its referant) in the action or state. Thus conceptual relations directly to the meaning, or semantics, of the sentence. The syntactic relations – subject, direct object — do not interact directly with semantics, but rather have purely syntactic consequences. That is, the syntax, or sentence pattern, makes reference to these syntactic relations. For example, English word order is:

    Subject   Verb   Direct Object   (Other);

Nitinaht word order is:

    Verb   Subject   Direct Object   (other).

These linear precedence (LP) relations can be added to the networks (1a), (2a), as in (3):

3. (a)

(b)
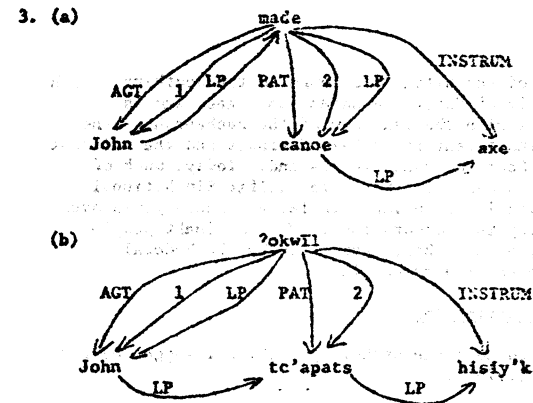
The linear precedence relations shown in (3a, b) allow us to construct the ultimate word orders:

    John made ... canoe ... axe

    Okwīl ... John tc'apats ... hisiy'k.

These word order statements are true regardless of the conceptual relation held by subject and direct object. In (4a, b), the nominals are John and canoe/tc'apats as before, but their conceptual relations differ drastically from (1, 2). John in (4a, b) cannot be agent, because there is no action carried out: instead, there is an experience, that of seeing, and John is the Experiencer. Similarly , canoe in (4a) and tc'apats in (4b) are not patients (they are unaffected): rather, each functions as the stimulus of

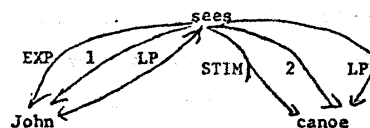the experience described by these sentences.

4. (a) John sees the canoe

      Exp   stim

      1   2

(b) Datcō?al ?a (?oxw) John ?ōyoqw tc'apats ?aq.
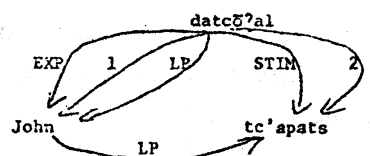
      Exp   Stim

      1   2

Nevertheless, John, as subject, precedes the verb in English and immediately follows it in Nitinaht; canoe and tc'apats, as direct objects, immediately follow the verb in English and the subject in Nitinaht. Hence, the networks for (4a, b) are:

5. (a)

(b)

The relations Agent, Experiencer, and Subject (1); Patient, Stimulus, and Direct Ojbect (2) are distinct, but they are nevertheless interrelated. In general:

      Agent is Subject (in any language)

      Patient is Direct Ojbect (in any language)

      Experiencer is Subject (in any language)

      Stimulus is Direct Object (in any language)

And, in English:

      Subject precedes Verb

      Verb precedes Direct Ojbect

While in Nitinaht:

      Verb precedes Subject

      Subject precedes Direct Object.

Another kind of relation is the anaphoric relation. In (6a, b), two persons are involved in the action, as shown by the subject Bill and the benefactive John (the latter marked by for in English and ?ōtsaxad in Nitinaht). In contrast, sentences (7a, b) involve only a single person in the action, Bill.

6. (a) Bill made a canoe for John.

    (b) OkwĪl ibt ?a Bill tc'apats ?ōtsaxad John.

7. (a) Bill made a canoe for himself.

    (b) OkwĪl ibt ?a Bill tc'apats ?ōkwtsaxad.

When two grammatical relations in a single sentence are borne by a single nominal, then a so-called reflexive pronoun, e.g. himself, comes in to take over the lower ranking of the two relations in English; while in Nitinaht, -k(w)- is attached to the preposition marking the lower relation. The English reflexive pronoun himself and the -kw- of Nitinaht thus reflect the anaphoric relation between subject and benefactive in the examples (7a, b).

We have looked briefly at some <u>syntactic</u> relations (e.g. subject, direct object), some <u>conceptual</u> relations (agent, patient, experiencer, stimulus, benefactive, etc.), and the <u>anaphoric</u> relation. This synopsis of Nitinaht syntax examines these relations, and others, in greater detail.

1.2 Case

The various syntactic relations are marked by prepositions, in both English and Nitinaht. In English, subject (1) and direct object (2) remain prepositionless, while indirect object (3) and, generally, all other nominals take prepositions. In Nitinaht, each nominal is assigned a preposition.

Subject and direct object

A subject takes the preposition ʔoxʷ 'Nominative' and a direct object may take the preposition ʔōyoqʷ 'Accusative', as in sentence 8. (The formatives <u>ibt</u> 'Past', <u>ʔa</u> 'Declarative' are discussed elsewhere.)

8. Ts'oqwcitl ibt ʔa ʔoxʷ John ʔōyoqʷ Bill.

    V   NM 1 AC   2

    'John hit Bill'

    1 V 2

Sentence (8) as it stands is a little unusual, in that the nominative preposition is usually deleted. Hence, sentence (9) is a paraphrase of (8) — they both assert that John hit Bill — but sentence (9) is a more usual form.

9. Ts'oqwcitl ibt ʔa John ʔōyoqʷ Bill.

    V   1   2

Moreover, in a short sentence containing only one or two nouns, the preposition assigned to the second (or only) one is typically postposed after that noun, as with the accusative in (10).

10. Ts'oqwcitl ibt ʔa John Bill ʔōyoqʷ.

    V   1   2

So the sentences (8-10) are all grammatical and all assert the same thing, but the form of (10) is the most common in conversation.

While the nominative preposition is always assignable to the subject, some verbs do not permit the assignment of the accusative ʔōyoqʷ to the direct object. Instead, they take a <u>registration</u> prefix ʔo-. That is, the prefix ʔo- on a verb registers the presence of a prepositionless direct object.

One verb showing this prefix is ʔokwīl 'make, build', exemplified in (11). The direct object in (11) is <u>baʔas</u> 'house'

11. Okwīl ibt ʔa John baʔas.

    1   1   2

    'John built a house'

    1 V 2

(The initial ʔo- of the case-marking prepositions ʔōyoqʷ, ʔōxʷaʷ'šl, etc., is the same morpheme.) Many other verbs do not govern a dependent in the accusative ʔōyoqʷ, but in a different preposition.

presumably not accusative?

11. (a) Ha?okw s ?o?okwis ha?ob .

    V 1   fish

   'I eat fish'

   1 V

For example, with the verbs ha?okw 'eat' and dagcitl 'drink' the item consumed takes the preposition ?o?okwis. The verb may be omitted.

   (b) O?okwis s tc'a?ak.

     1 water

   'I (drink) water'

    1

Other nominals are marked by preposition according to their conceptual relation. The benefactive preposition is ?otsaxad 'for' (12). The instrumental preposition is ?ōxwaw'al 'with' (13) Location is marked with ?iyax 'in'; source with ?iyaxtaqcitl 'from'; and destination with ?owiy 'to' (14).

12. Okwīl ibt s tc'apats ?ōtsaxad John.

   V 1 2   BEN

  'I made a canoe for John.'

   1 V 2   BEN

13. Ōkwīl ibt ?a John tc'apats ?ōxwaw'āl tc'axay'k.

   V   1 2   IN

  'John made a canoe with an adze'

   1 V 2 IN

14. Ōkwīl ibt ?a John ba?as ?iyax Pātcīda.

   V   1 2 LC

  'John built a house in Pacheena

   1 V 2 LC

Many time expressions take the case-marking preposition ?oyi lit. 'when'.

  14. (b) Ōwīl ibt ?a John ba?as ?ābay ?oyi.

    V   1 2 TM

   'John built a house yesterday'

    1 V 2 TM

An adjective or quantifier optionally but preferably attaches

to the front of the preposition, i.e. it incorporates into the preposition, replacing the registration prefix ?o-.

    15. Ukwïl ibt ?a John ?atl ba?as.

       V   1   two   2

     Ātlakwïl ibt ?a John ba?as.

     two/V   1   2

     'John built two house(s)'

       1   V   2

Question and relative morphemes obligatorily incorporate. A noun incorporates only rarely in Nitinaht, and pronouns apparently never do so. (Thus this language differs significantly from the related language to the north with respect to incorporation.) See Chapter Six for more on incorporation.

1.3 Word order

    Linear precedence relations in Nitinaht are determined by syntactic relations.

    The verb precedes all its dependents, i.e. Nitinaht is a 'verb-initial' language.

    The dependents of a verb come in the following order:

        subject   direct object   others.

    The following sentences illustrate these linear precedence relations.

    16. (a) Ts'oqwcitl ibt ?a (?oxw) ba?itlqats ?aq ?ōyoqw

          V   NM   1   AC

        xāda?ak ?aq.

         2

    'The boy hit the woman'

       1   V   2

    (b) Ts'oqwcitl ibt ?a (?oxw) xāda?ak ?aq ?ōyoqw

         V   NX   1   AC

     ba?itlqats ?aq.

       2

    'The woman hit the boy'

      1   V   2

    (c) Dātcïl ?a (?oxw) xāda?ak ?aq ?ōyoqw ba?itlqats ?aq.

       V   NM   1   AC   2

    'The woman watches the boy'

      1   V   2

    (d) Xoqwsa ?ap ?a (oxw) ba?itlqats ?aq ?ōyoqw tobis ?aq.

       V   NM   1   AC   2

    'The boy throws out the garbage'

      1   V   2

    (e) Babuyak ?a (?oxw) xāda?ak ?aq ?iyaq bakwil ?aq

     'The woman works in the store'

      1   V   LC

A noun is preceded by its free dependents (modifiers), (17).

17. (a) Ts'axcitl ?ẵ?is ?al ?õyoqw ?Ĩx̌ bowatic ?aq.

        V   Future 1   AC ADJ   2   the

        'They will spear the big deer'

             1   V   ADJ   2

    (b) Datccitl ?i yĨlqa qõ?as.

        V   IMPER this 2

        'Look at this man'

        V   2

Bound dependents of nominals include both enclitics, e.g.
?aq 'The' in (17a) (see 1.4), and incorporated dependents (see chapter 4).

1.4 Encliticization

A number of formatives in previous examples have not been studied closely as yet: ibt 'Past', ?a 'Declarative', s 'I', ?aq 'the', ?ẵ?is 'Future', ?al 'they-Declarative', ?i 'Imperative'. There are a couple of respects in which the group of formatives including these stands apart from others.

Firstly, their position in the sentence is distinctive. This is brought out by contrasting the position of the time expression ibt 'Past tense' and ?abay ?oyi 'yesterday' in (18). While the latter expression comes in the usual position for time expressions, i.e. following the direct object, the past tense formative ibt comes immediately after the first word in the sentence, the verb.

18. Õkwĩl ibt ?a John tc'apats ?abay ?oyi.

     V   1   2   Time

    'John made a canoe yesterday'

Secondly, the group of formatives including ibt are not independent words, phonetically speaking. They are enclitics, that is, they must be phonetically linked to the preceding formative: thus, the sequence of verb ?õkwĩl and enclitics ibt ?a in (18) are pronounced as one word: ?õkwĩlibt'a.

The definite determiner ?aq 'the' is an enclitic. Thus the sequence of noun tc'apats 'canoe' and determiner ?aq in (19) is pronounced as one word: tc'apts'aq.

19. Õkwil ?a John tc'apats ?aq.

     V   1   2   the

    'John is making the canoe'

The categories which must undergo encliticization include:
tense (e.g. ibt 'Past'/ ?ẵ?is 'Future'); modals (e.g. ?a 'Declarative ?i 'Imperative'); subject and direct object pronouns (e.g. s 'I, me'); and many others.

Wackernagel's Law

In the examples so far, the enclitics have attached to the governing word: tense and modal to verb, as ... ts'ccwcitl ibt ?aq (boy the) in the same sentence. But the general statement for the positioning of enclitics has to be somewhat different. The true generalization emerges clearly when we study nominals with modifiers. In the three sentences (20a, b, c), the verb is tl'itcitl 'shoot' and the direct object is bowatc 'deer'. In (20b, c), the direct

object governs some further word: the adjective ʔix in (20b) and
the quantifier ʔatl 'two' in (20c). The governing nominal and its
dependent form the sequences ʔix bowatc and ʔatl bowatc in (20b, c),
respectively: the sequence of a nominal and its dependents can be
referred to as a Constituent.

20. (a) Tl'itcitl ibt ʔa John bowatc ʔoyoqw.

       V   Past Decl 1   2   AC

     'John shot a deer'

       1 V   2

   (b) Tl'itcitl ibt ʔa John ʔix bowatc ʔoyoqw.

                  big   2

     'John shot a big deer'

       1   2

   (c) Tl'itcitl ibt ʔa John ʔatl bowatc ʔoyoqw.

                 two   2

     'John shot two deer'

            2

When the determiner enclitic ʔaq 'the' is added to the direct
objects of (20a, b, c), then we get (21a, b, c), respectively:

21. (a) Tl'itcitl ibt ʔa John bowatc ʔaq ʔoyoqw.

       V   1   2   the   AC

     'John shot the deer'

       1 V   2

   (b) Tl'itcitl ibt ʔa John ʔix ʔaq bowatc ʔoyoqw.

                 big the   2   AC
     'John shot the big deer'

                    15

   (c) Tl'itcitl ibt ʔa John ʔatl ʔaq bowatc ʔoyoqw.

                   two   the   2

     'John shot the two deer'

In (21a), the determiner ʔaq encliticizes to the governing
nominal: bowatc ʔaq 'the deer'. But in (21b), the determiner ʔaq
encliticizes instead to an adjective dependent of the direct object
nominal: ʔix ʔaq bowatc 'the big deer'. The generalization must
be that the determiner encliticizes to the first word of the
Constituent, whether it is the governing nominal (21a) or a de-
pendent of it (21b). Sentence (21c) verifies this statement: here
the direct object bowatc governs the quantifier ʔatl 'two' and the
determiner ʔaq encliticizes to the first word in the resulting
Constituent: ʔatl ʔaq bowatc 'the two deer'.

The case-marking preposition does not form a part of the
Constituent relevant to the encliticization of ʔaq, so the determiner
never encliticizes to it when it precedes the nominal:

22. (a) Tl'itcitl ibt ʔa John ʔoyoqw bowatc ʔaq.

                  AC   2   the

     'John shot the deer'

   (b) Tl'itcitl ibt ʔa John ʔoyoqw ʔix ʔaq bowatc.

                  AC big the   2

     'John shot the big deer'

Encliticization like this is not unique to Nitinaht. A
linguist who described the placing of enclitics in 'second position'
in Indo-European has had the relevant Principle named after him:

23. Wackernagel's Principle

Attach enclitics to the first word of the Constituent.

Wackernagel's Principle applies to all enclitics in Nitinaht. Thus, the enclitics associated with the verb of the sentence attach to the first word of the sentence, in (24), the verb itself. The sentence enclitics exemplified here are: Unknown xi-(i)c 'maybe, I think that'; Imperative ?i; s 'I'; ?atl 'now, then'; Complement-izer ?aq; Complementizer qwiy (or qoy) 'when'; (i)bt 'Past'; ik 'Usitative'.

24. (a) Oxwsa?ap xic John cotc'as ?aq.

   V   1   2

   'Maybe John chopped down the tree'

      1   V   2

   'John must have chopped down the tree'

      1   V   2

(b) Daqcitl ?i tc'a?ak!'

   V   IMPER 2

   'Drink water!'

   V   2

(c) Walcitl ?atl s, hayō ?atl ?aq s ?oyi babuyak.

   V   then 1 V   1

   'I went home, when I finished work'

   1 V   1 V

(d) Yowā ?atl qo y s da?ōkws.

   then   1 V

   'I used to accompany (him) then'

(e) Hixwā bt s ik.

   V PAST 1 Usitative

   'I used to work hard'

   1   V

Pronominal enclitics

Pronouns in Nitinaht can appear as free nominals, but pronominal subjects and direct objects, encliticize to the first word in sthe sentence. (Under limited circumstances, pronouns encliticize in different ways not described here.) The phonological forms for free and enclitic pronouns show similarities but there are significant differences that cannot be predicted.

25. (a) P'osāk Ø s.

   V   1

   'I'm tired'

(b) P'osāk Ø id.

   V   1

   'We're tired'

(c) P'osāk ?a s.

   V   1

   'You're tired'

(d) P'osāk a sow'itc.

   V   1

   'You (plural) are tired'

Just as there is no free third person pronoun, so is there no overt third person enclitic, in the singular:

26. P'osāk ?a.   'He/she is tired'

But there is a third person plural enclitic, al or l, exemplified in (27).

27. P'osāk ?a l.   'They are tired'
      V   1

There is some variation in the encliticization of subject pronouns that should be pointed out. The examples collected here are primarily for illustrative purposes. Full paradigms of pronominal enclitics are displayed in a later section.

Pronominal enclitics follow tense and modal enclitics, but some elements follow the pronominal ones. For example, first and second person pronominal enclitics are in the middle of the enclitic sequence xi - ic, which represents the Inferential category, meaning roughly 'it must be the case that'. This yields, with first person singular, the enclitic sequence xi s ic:

28. Kitlcitl ibt xi s ic.   'I must have broken it'
    V   1

If we now insert the first person plural, we get the enclitic sequence xi, id, ic: observe that there are two vowels in a row. The second of these regularly drops, giving the phonetic form: xi d ic, as in (30).

29. Kitlcitl ibt xi d ic.   'We must have broken it'
    V   1

We have seen that the sequence of Declarative plus second person singular is ?a s (30a). The form of the second person enclitic with the Inferential sequence is different: xi k ic (30b).

30. (a) Balāl ?a s.   'You're cold'
      V   .1

    (b) Balāl xi k ic.   'You must be cold'
      V   1

When the subject is third person singular, i.e. the category for which there is no overt pronominal enclitic, then the Inferential elements xi, ic come together, the second vowel dropping out: xi c (31).

31. P'osāk xi c.   'He/she must be tired'
    V

When the direct object is a pronoun, it too will encliticize. The first person enclitics are always s (1) and id (2), regardless of whether they represent the subject or direct object. But the second person singular enclitic for subject is is and for direct object itsx. The sentences in (32) contain first person subjects and a second person direct object; while in (33) the subject is second person singular and the direct objects are first person.

32. (a) Ts'oqvcitl ibt s itsx.   'I hit you'
      V   1

    (b) Ts'oqvcitl ibt id itsx. 'We hit you'
      V   2

33. (a) Ts'oqwcitl ibt s is.   'You hit me'

       V   1

   (b) Ts'oqwcitl ibt id is.   'You hit us'

       V   2

Further variation in the pronominal enclitics is conditioned by other enclitic categories.

The enclitics associated with the verb attach to the first word of the sentence, even if that word is not the verb. For example, if the direct object of (34a) is made the topic of the sentence, then it precedes the verb, together with its accusative preposition ʔōyoqw, and its dependents. Sentence (34b) shows the result: the sentence enclitics attach to the accusative preposition, since it is the first word in the sentence. (The vowel of obt 'Past' has assimilated to the preceding labial consonant qw in (34b)).

34. (a) Ts'asīks ibt ʔa John ʔōyoqw tc'Ikwāl ʔaq.

     V   PAST Decl 1   AC   2   the

     'John chased the dog'

   (b) Ōyoqw obt ʔa tc'Ikwāl ʔaq ts'asīks John.

     AC PAST Decl TOPIC/2 the   V   1

     '(It was) the dog, (that) John chased'

        TOPIC/2   1   V

1.5   Some further examples

The following sentences provide a variety of examples of prepositions and enclitics.

1's and 2's

Nominative and accusative prepositions, as well as subject and direct object enclitics, are found in (35). Some verbs taking the registration prefix ʔo- for direct objects are given in (36)

35. (a) Tl'itcitl s cots'as ʔaq ʔōyoqw.

     V   1 2   AC

     'I'm shooting (at) the tree'

     1   V   2

   (b) Datcōl ʔa Bill John ʔōyoqw.

     V   1 2   AC

     'Bill sees/saw John'

     1   V   2

   (c) Ōsoqwaʔap s ʔōyoqw John

     V   1 AC   2

     'I hunt/am hunting John'

36. (a) Okwaqilkw ʔa bayāl qō?atstp ʔaq

     V   1

     'The Indians call (it) bayāl'

   (b) Okoxwis s takin.

     V   1 2

     'I am wearing-on-the-head a stocking'

     1   V   2

Recipient

With a verb of transfer, such as ʔoyē 'give', the recipient nominal is marked with the accusative preposition ʔōyoqw (37a); it

may be omitted (37b). The item transferred receives no preposition.

37. (a) Oyē ʔaʔis s tcabas ʔōyoqw John.

      V   FUT 1 sugar AC   2

(b) Oyē ʔāʔis s tcabas Jhn.

      V FUT 1   2

     'I will give sugar to John'

The recipient may be topicalized with ʔōyoqw.

38. Oyoq ʔāʔis s John ʔoyē tcabas.

    AC FUT 1 2   V

    ''John, I will give sugar to'

Alternatively, ʔōtssey'ap 'to(ward)' may be used.

39. Otssey'ap ʔaʔis id tcabas yadaqakkw 'aqad

     to   FUT 1   sugar child/our

    'To our child, we'll give sugar'

Only the item transferred and not the recipient may be
incorporated into the verb ʔoyē as with the question (40a). (See
chapter 2 for the significance of this fact.) To question the
recipient, it is incorporated as in (40b).

40. (a) Baqa-yē ʔaʔis ik yadaqakkw'aqs.

      what/V FUT Q/1   2

    'What will you give to my child?'

           1 V   2

(b) Atci-sey'ap ʔāʔis ik tcabas?

     who/to   FUT you sugar

    'Who will you give sugar to?'

A benefactive or delegative takes the preposition ʔōtsaxad 'for'.

41. (a) Okwīl ʔāʔis s pokoʔ ʔōtsaxad yokwʔaqs

       FUT 1 2   for   BEN/my

    'I'll make a basket for my grandchild'

      1 V   2   BEN

(b) Sō s itsx ʔōtsaxad yā.

      V 1 2   for   DEL

    'I'm holding you for him.'

      1   V   2   DEL

(c) Ōtsaxad s itsx yā sō.

    'For him, I'm holding you'

(d) Datcōl s qōʔas ʔaq yāq-tsaxad ibt īk bāʔas-īl.

      V   1   2 the BEN/for PAST you 2/V

    'I saw the man who you were building a house for'

      1 V   2 BEN   1   2

A question of reason ('why?') uses this same preposition.

42. (a) Āts-tsaxad ik ʔōkwīl pokoʔ ʔaq.

     BEN/for 1 V 2   the

    'Who are you making the basket for?'

     BEN   1   2

(b) Bāq-tsaxad ik ʔōkwīl pokoʔ ʔaq?

     why   1 V 2

    'Why are you making a basket?'

Instrument

An instrument nominal takes ʔōxwaw'āl 'with, using' (43a).

Sometimes the instrument nominal incorporates into the preposition (43b).

43. (a) Oxwkwey'a ?ap ?X?is ?a xobis ?ōxwaw'al hisiy'k.

    FUT Decl 2   with   IN

    or

    Oxwkwey'a ?ap ?X?is ?a xobis hisiy'k ?ōxwaw'Xl.

    V   FUT Decl 2   IN   with

    '(He) willfell the cedar with an axe'

    V   2   IN

    (b) Oxwkwey'ap ?X?is ?a xobis hIsiy'k-xaw'Xl.

    (c) Wik ?i ?ōxwaw'Xl sipsiy'at, ?oxwaw'Xl ?i ts'istōp.

    'Don't use cedar limbs, use rope!'

Time

Most time expressions take ?oyi 'when' (44).

44. (a) HixwX qōs ho?ē ?oyi.

    V   time

    'I used to work hard a long time ago.

    (b) Wik'Xt ?a tsaxtqi lax ?oyi.
        V   1   Time
    'There's no boat (operating) at present.
        V   1   Time

    (c) Ōkwīl ibt s tc'apats wīqpal ?oyi ?ōtsaxad yayaqawt'aqs.

    V PAS 1   2   TM   for   BEN/my

    'I made a canoe for my friend in the wintertime'

    1 V   2   BEN   TM

    (d) Skōlaw obt s Tlō?ōs ?iyax, yXdaqak ?aq s ?oyi.

    V   PAST LC   in   child   I

'I was-in-school in Clo-oose, when I was a child'

    V   LC

Place expressions

Among the place expressions are included:

Location: ?iyax '(be) at, in' (45)

Destination: ?owiy '(go) to') (46)

Source: ?iyaxtaqcitl '(come) from'

    ?o?otl 'from (a person)' (47)

45. (a) Iyax ibt id tcIkis P'XtcIda.

    at PAST 1   V   LC

    'We were fishing at Port Renfrew (Pacheena)'

    1   V   LC

    (b) DatcXwitl s datcay'k ?aq ?iyax.

    V   1   LC   in

    'I look(ed) in the mirror'

    1 V   LC

46. (a) CokwX?adokw't id ?owiy yIlqa ba?as.

    V/Passive 1   to   that DEST

    'We were invited to that house'

    1   V   DEST

47. (a) Pipaq-Xp ?a ohn ?iyaxtaqcitl bakwil ?aq.

    2/V   from SOURCE

    'John got a letter from the store'

    1 V   2   SOURCE

Comparison

The Standard in an expression of comparison takes the accusative ʔōyoqʷ (48). The Standard may be a clause (48c).

48. (a) Hāts' ʔa Tom ʔōyoqʷ Jack.

      V   1   AC   Standard

    'Tom is taller than Jack', lit.

    'Tom is-tall Jack'

      1   V   Standard

(b) Nīts'ictc ʔa Chris ʔōyoqʷ Roy.

      V   1   AC   S

    'Chris is small(er than) Roy'

      1   2

(c) Hāts' ʔa Tom ʔōyoqʷ qwā ʔaq Jack.

                      be-so COMP

    'Tom is taller than Jack is (so)'

While (48a, c) above are paraphrases, (49a) is an expression of comparison but (49b) is not; it is paraphrased by (49c).

49. (a) ōq'ākatl s ʔōyoqʷ qwa qīk.

      V   1   AC be-so COMP/1

    'I am-happy (more than) you are (so)'

      1   V

(b) ōq'ākatl s ʔōyoqʷ sow'a.

      V   1   AC you

    'I am-happy (to see what) you (are doing)'

(c) ōq'ākatl s ʔoyoqʷ s itsx̱.

      V   1   AC 1 2

paraphrases (b), lit. 'I am-happy (for) me (to see what) you (are

        1   V   1   2

doing)'

2.   Some transitions among syntactic relations

The initial syntactic relation assigned to a nominal can undergo a transition, so that the ultimate syntactic relation is not identical to the initial one. On the hierarchy of syntactic relations:

50. Syntactic hierarchy

    1   (subject)

    2   (direct object)

    3   (indirect object)

others (including Benefactive, Place, Time, Instrument);

it is possible for direct objects (2.1), indirect objects (2.2), and Benefactives to advance.

Furthermore, it is possible for a nominal in a conjoined expression to take over the syntactic relation of the latter (Comitative Float, 2.4).

Evidently the syntactic relations in a causative construction undergo a similar transition (Clause Union 2.5).

Possibly, Nitinaht also sanctions Emphatic Float (2.6) and

Raising (2.7). The possibility of Retreats is discussed
in section 2.8. In Chapter 3, the syntax of Possessors is described:
both Possessor Ascension and Possessor Union are sanctioned in
Nitinaht.

While transitions in Nitinaht are optional in some instances,
many of them are obligatory when some nominal bearing a given syn-
tactic relation outranks a nominal with a higher syntactic relation
so, on the chain-of-being hierarchy (51).

51. Chain-of-being hierarchy

> Speaker and listener
>
> (other)persons
>
> Animals
>
> Inanimates

That is, a transition between syntactic relations is sometimes
obligatory when there is a discrepancy in rank between two nominals
on the two hierarchies (50) and (51). Manifestations of this con-
ditioning are described below.

2.1 Direct objects

The Patient of an action verb, such as ts'oqwcitl 'hit' is
initially the direct object; the agent is initially the subject.
The case markings prepositions are optional ?ox̱w 'Nominative' for
subject, and ?ōyoqw 'accusative' for direct object. Sentences (52
a, b, c) illustrate these syntactic relations overtly.

52. (a) Ts'oqwcitl ibt ?a (?oxw) John Bill ?ōyoqw.

> V Past Decl NM 1 2 AC

'John hit Bill'

> 1 V 2

(b) Llakāwitl ibt ?a (?oxw) tc'ikwāl ?aq John ?ōyoqw.

> V NM 1 2 AC

'The dog licked John'

> 1 V 2

(c) Tsasā ?a (?oxw) tc'īkwāl ?aq John ?ōyoqw.

> V NM 1 2 AC

'The dog is chasing John'

> 1 V 2

Alternatively, the initial direct object may advance to
subject, as in (53).

53. (a) Ts'oqwcitl't t ?a (?oxw) Bill ?oxwīt John.

> V/P Past NM 1 NM/P ↑

'Bill was hit by John'

> 1 V ↑

(b) Llakāwitl't t ?a (?oxw) John ?oxwīt tc'ikwāl ?aq.

> V/R 1 ↑

'John was bitten by the dog'

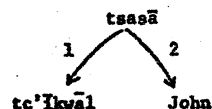(c) Tsasā?t ?a (?oxw) John tc'īkwāl ?aq ?oxwīt.
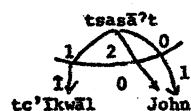
> V/R 1 ↑

'John is being chased by the dog'

When direct object advances to subject in Nitinaht, the verb takes the Passive suffix -ʔīt (usually appearing in a phonetically reduced form). Also, the former subject loses that relation and becomes a _chomeur_ (indicated by a circumflex over the number of its former relation, here Î): the 2 takes the case of a 1, i.e. nominative ʔoxw, plus the suffix -ʔīt, deletion of the glottal stop produces ʔoxwīt.

Networks for (52c), (53c) are displayed below, showing syntactic relations only.

52. (c)
```
              tsasā
          1  /    \  2
            ↙      ↘
      tc'īkwāl      John
```

53. (c)
```
             tsasāʔt
        1 / 2 ⌒ 0 \
         ↙    0   ↘ 1
    tc'īkwāl      John
```

If the initial direct object outranks the initial subject on the chain-of-being hierarchy, then that direct object must advance to subject. For example, first person outranks third person on this hierarchy, and therefore the advancement is obligatory in 54. The initial direct object is manifested here as ultimate subject, in the enclitic s 'I'.

54. (a) Ts'oqcitl't s John ʔoxwīt.

     V/P   1   Î

     'John hit me', literally, 'I was hit by John'

54. (b) Tsasāʔt s tc'ikwāl ʔaq ʔoxwīt.

     V/P   1   Î

     'The dog is chasing me', lit. 'I am being chased by the dog'

(c) Datcōlit s.

     V/P   1

     'He saw me', lit. 'I was seen'

First and second person are both of the highest rank. Thus, whenever the initial subject is third person, and the initial direct object is either first or second person, the direct object must advance. The sentence in 55 illustrates initial second person direct object that has advanced.

55. (a) Cokwāq'adit ʔas John.

     V/P   1   Î

     'John invited you', lit. 'You were invited by John'

Thus the chain-of-being hierarchy is, in part:

     first and second person

     third person

When both subject and direct object are first or second person, then no advancement of direct object is possible. Initial termhood must be retained:

56. (a) Dātcīl s itsx.

     'I am watching you'

     1   V   2

56. (b) Cokwāq'ad s itsx.

     V   1 2

    'I'm inviting you'

    1   V   2 'you'

(c) O?aw s itsx.

    V 1 2

    'I'm waiting for you'

    1   V   2

(d) Tsoqwcitl ibt s itsx.

    V   Past 1 2

    'I hit you'

    1 V 2

(e) Tsoqwcitl ibt id itsx.

    V   1 2

    'We hit you'

    1 V 2

57. (a) Ts'oqwcitl t ?a s is.

    V   Past Decl 1

    'You hit me'

    1 V 2

(b) Ts'oqwcitl ?a s ow'itcis.

    V   Decl 2   1

    'You (plural) hit me'

    1 ,   V 2

57. (c) Ts'oqwcitl id ow'itcis.

    V   2   1

    'You (plural) hit us'

    1   V 2

(d) Cokwāq'ad ak s is.

    V   Q   2 1

    'Are you inviting me?'

    1   2

When both subject and direct object are third person, then, in general, advancement of direct object is optional. This has been illustrated in (52-53), as well as in (58) and (59) below.

58. Wīdatssa?ap ?a llaptcā ?aq John ?ōyoqw.

    V   1   2

    'The lightning scared John'

    1   2

59. (a) Botca?ap ?a kwicā ?aq John ?ōyoqw.

    V   1   2

    'The cigarette burned John'

    1   V   2

(b) Botca?ab't ?a John kwicā ?aq ?oxwīt.

    V/P   1   2

    'John was burned by the cigarette'

    1   V   2

However, sentences in which ultimate subject is inanimate and ultimate direct object is animate are very rare. It seems

that the chain-of-being hierarchy is:

first and second person
|
(other) animate
|
inanimate
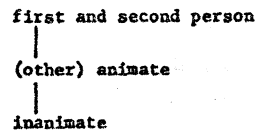
2.2 Indirect objects

There is some evidence that the recipient nominal <u>John</u> in (37), although ultimate direct object, is initial ~~and~~ indirect object. A question nominal obligatorily incorporates into the verb (for a certain class of verbs, including ?oyē). However, it is a general constraint in Nitinaht that only the <u>initial</u> direct object can incorporate in this way. A question word incorporated into ?oyo represents the item transferred: therefore, it is this nominal that serves as initial direct object, not the recipient.

For example, the ultimate direct object of (60) is first person, but this is not the incorporated nominal. Rather, the latter is baq- 'what', which must then be the initial direct object.

60. (a) Baq-ayē ?ā?is ik s is?

       V Fut Q 1 2

    'What are you going to give to me'

       1   V   2

The network of (60) is, therefore, (60b).

60. (b)
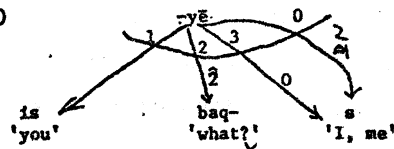
The initial indirect object incorporates into the Dative preposition:

61. Atcisē?a bt ik q'ōts'aqtp?

    who/Dat Past 1 fruit?

    'Who did you give the fruit to?'

In (62a), the initial indirect object advances to ultimate subject. This advancement is presumably in two steps: indirect to direct object, then direct object to subject. Evidence for this is the presence of the Passive morpheme, associated with advancement of direct object. Thus, the network for (62a) must be (62b).

62. (a) Baq-ayē ?ā?is it ik s John?

    what/V Fut P Q 1

    'What will John give to me?'

               1

(b)
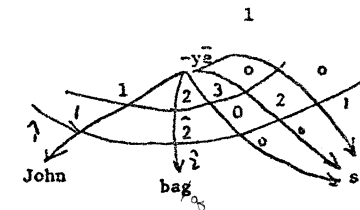
The chain-of-being constraint extends to indirect objects as well as direct objects. That is, if the initial subject is outranked by the initial indirect object, then the latter must advance, via direct object, to subject. Thus the sequence of two advancements, 3 - 2 and 2 - 1, is obligatory in (63).

63. (a) Oyē?t s q'ats'aqk.

    V/P 1   fruit

    'I was given fruit'

(b) Wikāw-iyē?t s.
                ⌃
    no-good/V/R

    '(They) gave me something no good. (lit. 'I was given something no good')

(c) Wikstōp-ayē?t ?as.

    nothing/V/R 1

    '(They) give you nothing', lit. 'You are given nothing'

                        1   V

2.3 Benefactives

Benefactives are marked with the preposition ?ōtsaxàd 'for'
(64a), but are subject to the chain-of-being hierarchy constraint.
Thus, advancement of the initial benefactive to ultimate subject
in (64b) is obligatory.

64. (a) OkwĪl s bab?ō ?aq ?ōtsaxad Roger.

        V   1 2   for   Ben

    'I am making the basket for Roger'

        1   V   2   Ben

(b) ŌkwĪlib't s bab?ō.

    V/D/P 1 basket

    'She is making a basket for me',

    lit. 'I am being made a basket'

         · 1   V

This last sentence manifests the morphology both of Bene-
factive advancing to direct object and direct object advancing to
subject. However, the initial Benefactive can advance to direct
object and then bear this as its ultimate relation:

65. (a) ŪkwĪl s tc'apats ?ōtsaxad yayqawt'aqs.

        V 1 2   for   Ben

    'I made a canoe for my friend'

        1 V   2   am

(b) Ūkwilip s tc'apats yayqawt'aqs.

    V/D 1 2̂   2

    'I made my friend a canoe'

    1 V   2   2̂

Thus, the morphological side effect of Ben-2 advancement is
the addition of the morpheme -ip to the verb.

To question a Benefactive, incorporation into ?otsaxad is
required.

66. Āts-tsaxad ik babowk?

    who   for Q/you V

    'Who are you working for?'

         1   V

2.4   Comitatives

Sentences with a plural subject, e.g. (67a), have paraphrases
with ultimate singular subjects and a comitative expression, marked
by ?o?okwidokw 'together with', as (67b, c).

67. (a) Obāts' ʔatl t id itsx.

   V   then Past 1 you

   'We talked about you'

   1   V

   (b) Ots'idāk ibt s itsx ʔoʔokwidokw yā.

      Past 1 you   with   he

   'I was talking with him about you'

   (c) Oʔokwidokw obt s yā ʔobāts' sow'a.

      with Past 1 he   V   you

   'I was talking with him about you'

   1   V

It is possible that the initial syntactic relations for both (67a) and (67b, c) are identical: these initial relations are manifested directly in the ultimate relations of (67a), where the initial first plural subject is revealed directly by the ultimate subject enclitic id 'we': network represents (67a):

68.   ʔobāts'

            1   2

           id   itsx
          'we'   'you'

      s(iy'a)   ḫā
       'I'   'he'
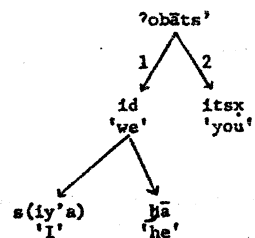
In (67 b, c), a part of the initial subject, that representing first person singular, has assumed ultimate subjecthood. Thus the

remainder of the initial subject becomes a chomeur, taking the preposition ʔoʔokwidokw 'with'. Network (69) shows the initial and ultimate relations of (67 b, c): these two sentences differ in word order because the chomeur phrase ʔoʔokwidokw yā 'with him' functions as the topic of (67 c), and so precedes the verb. The sentence enclitics s- itsx come in second position according to Wockernagel's Principle.

69.   ʔobāts'
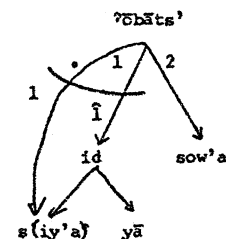
Conjoined nominal expressions are 'broken up' in other ways. For example, reflexivization may affect one of two conjuncts, which then shows up (by the regular reflexivization process as a prefix -k(w)- on the preposition or verb:

   70. Bāʔas-Il s ʔō-kw-tsaxad ʔic sow'a.

      2/V   1   self for and you

   'I'm building a house for you and I'

   1   V   2

   lit. 'for myself and you'

If a subject is one that normally encliticizes, e.g. first person plural, and yet contain a non-encliticizable noun, then both the subject enclitic and the noun show up: the subject encltic

reflects the number and person of the entire subject, while the non-
enclticizes part will retain the conjunction ?ic 'and'. (Since
there is no change in grammatical relations here, the preposition
?o?okwidokw can't show up.)

71. Xi?as-Il qoy id ?ic John.

2/V used-to 1 and

'John and I used to build houses'

lit. 've and John ... '

1

An additional use of -kidokw 'with' is shown below.

Walcitl ?atls ?ad-tcidokw-sas.

V then 1 only-with-just

'I'll go-home then alone'

1 V

2.5 Causatives

An intransitive verb such as kodokw- 'awake' may appear as
an independent verb, e.g. kodokw-citl 'awake-momentous' in (72a),
or it may incorporate into the verb -(s)a?ap 'cause, make', hence
the causitive kodokw-sa'ap 'awaken' in (72b). The nominal which
functions of the subject of the intransitive is the (ultimate)
direct object of the corresponding causative.

72. (a) Kodokwcitl ibt ?a. 'He woke up'.

(b) Kodokwsa?ap obt s. 'I woke him up'.

The formation of causative expressions by incorporation of
an intransitive verb into -(s)a?ap is fully productive, as the
following examples illustrate.

73. (a) Tc'ixwatcitl ?a. 'He's frightened'.

sabt

(b) OcIt s tc'ixwat/qwiy ?aqs wa?itc.

î 1 V/Pass when COMP I asleep

'I was frightened by somebody when I was asleep'

1 î

(c) AtcIyoqw ik tc'ixwat- sa?ap?

who/ACC Q/1

'Who did you frighten?'

74. (a) Wik s ?ōsoqw.

not 1 V

'I don't ache, hurt'

1 V

(b) So?oltaditl't s Annie, yaq-?aq s ?ōsoqwabt.

nose/grabbed 1 î COMP 1 V/Passive

'I was grabbed on the nose by Annie, (and) I was hurt'

75. (a) Kitlcitl ibt ?a llipotay ?aq.

V 1

'The bottle broke/shattered'

1 V

(b) Kitlsa'ap obt ?a ba?itlqats ?aq llipotay ?aq.

V 1 2

'The boy broke the bottle'

1 V 2

A transitive verb with an incorporated direct object partici-
pates in a causative construction in the same way as an intransitive
verb.

76. (a) Ū-kwĪl ʔas baʔas.

      V 1 2

(b) Bāʔas-Īl ʔas.

    2/v   1

'You are (starting to) build a house'

   1   V   2

(c) Bāʔas-Īl-saʔap s itsx̣.

        1   2

'I made you (start to) build a house'

It is possible that the causative construction of Nitinaht
reflects the transition of Clause Union. If this is the correct
analysis, then -saʔap 'cause' is the superordinate verb of (72b),
its initial direct object being kodokw- 'awake'. The initial subject
of kodokw- then serves as the ultimate direct object of the super-
ordinate causative verb:

77.
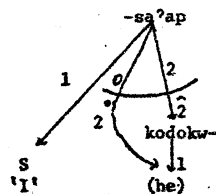
This analysis, seemingly, does not make completely accurate
predictions about the syntax of causatives in Nitinaht, and one
might argue that a rather different syntactic process is involved.
I briefly outline a few of the difficulties here and show that they
are not insurmountable for the Clause Union analysis.

If the subordinate verb is initially transitive (and its
direct object does not incorporate), then its direct object and
subject should serve as the ultimate direct and indirect objects,
respectively, in the causative sentences. There are two problems
here: nominal representing the subordinate subject bears evidence
of being (i) the initial direct object, and (ii) the ultimate direct
object, of the causative verb -(s)aʔap.

(i) In general, only the initial direct object of a verb (or a modifier
of the direct object) may incorporate into the verb, and this is
regardless of the ultimate syntactic relation of that initial direct
object. Yet in the causative construction, the initial subject of
the subordinate verb may incorporate, as in 78a (cf. 78b).

78. (a) Atc-aʔap ik tcʼĪccitl baʔas ʔaq.

    who/V Q/1 clean   house

'Who did you make clean the house?'

    1   V

(b) TcʼĪc-saʔap s yādaqak ʔaq baʔas ʔaq.

    clean/V   1 2   house

'I made the child clean the house'

    1 V   2

However, since a modifier of a dependent nominal may incorporate in place of that nominal, it may also be possible that the subject of a direct object verb incorporate in place of that verb.

Evidently, other dependents of the direct object verb may not incorporate in its place, hence the question (79a) must be formed by double incorporation, something which is in general possible (79b).

79. (a) Bāq-kwīl-āp ik qōʔas ʔaqʔ

what/build/V 1 man

'What did you make the man build?'

           1   V

(b) Tcʼapats-īl-aʔp s qōʔas ʔaq.

canoe/build/V   1 2

'I made the man build a canoe'

        1 V   2

(ii) That the initial subject of the subordinate verb shows up as the ultimate <u>direct</u>, not <u>indirect</u>, object (as in 78b), is explainable as an advancement. Thus the network for (78b) is:

80.
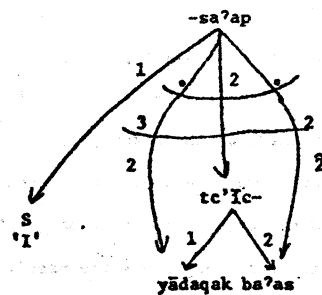
One further property of causative constructions in Nitinaht is that the initial dependents of the subordinate verb, aside from subject and direct object, simply transfer to the causative verb with the same syntactic relation. For example, the subordinate benefactive of (80a) has advanced to direct object of the superordinate verb. (This verb takes both -ip showing benefactive becoming direct object; and -ʔīt, showing direct object to subject advancement; the sequence contracts to ābt.); Cf. (80b). The network for (80a) is (80c).

80. (a) Bāʔas-īl-ap-ābt s itsx ʔoxwīt Bob.

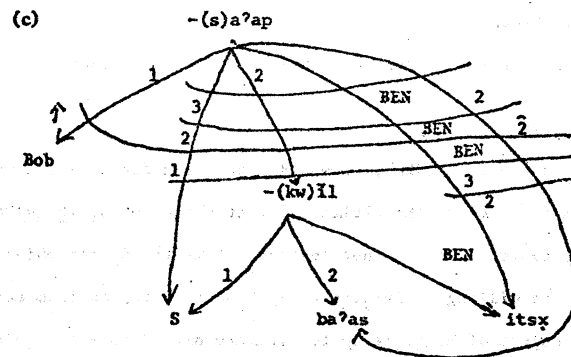house/build/V 1   2

'Bob made me build a house for you'

lit. 'I was made (for) you (to) build a house by Bob.'

      1   V   2

(b) Bāʔas-īl-ap s itsx ʔōtsaxad Bob.

'I'm making you build a house for Bob'

(c)

2.6 Emphasis

Nitinaht has an emphatic expression ʔoʔokwx '(by) oneself' as in (81).

81. Hitakwisadap s ʔoʔokwx.

    V   1   EMPH

'I took it off (by) myself'

    1   V   EMPH

The word ʔoʔokwx consists of the definite prefix ʔo-, the reflexive -k(w)-, and the nominative preposition -x(w). Possibly, this word forms a part of the initial subject of (81) together with s '1', and the latter takes over that relation, the emphatic ʔoʔokwx then 'floating', the ultimate subject then encliticizes as s.

However, it has been seen in section 2.9 that even if a pronominal enclitic for the subject is used, there may be a non-encliticized nominal still present as part of the ultimate subject. So, the ultimate subject of (81) could be s ʔoʔokwx, without my emphatic float.

I lack enough relevant data to decide this question.

2.7 Raising

In sentence (82a), we would expect the first person pronoun to be manifested as the ultimate direct object of hōxwtaksaʔap 'teach, cause to learn', but instead, it is the direct object of q'apāk 'be willing'. Evidently, it h as been raised from earlier direct object of hoxtaksa'ap to ultimate direct object of q'āpāk.

This is shown in the (simplified) network (82b).

82. (a) Q'apāk ak s is hoxwtaksaʔap DīdītĪdq?

    V Q 2 1   teach   Nitinaht-lg

'Are you willing to teach me the Nitinaht language?'

    1   2

(b)
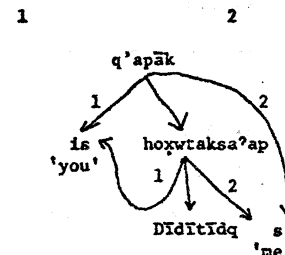
We can see that s 'me' is the ultimate direct object of q'apāk from the fact that it encliticizes within the clause governed by q'apāk. Furthermore, a nominal raised in this way can further advance to subject of (the passive form) q'apāk't:

83. (a) Kab'at'p ak q'apāk't qō s Ben hōxwtaksaʔap DīdītĪdq?

    know Q/you V/PASSV COMP 1 1̂

'Do you know if Ben is willing to teach me Nitinaht?'

    COMP 1̂   V   1

lit. 'Do you know if I am willing-ed by Effie to

    COMP 1   V   1̂

It seems that the advancement of the first person pronoun from direct object to subject cannot be while a dependent of hoxwtaksa'ap 'teach' but rather when raised to, be direct object of q'apāk 'be willing', since it is the latter verb that shows the passive

Morphology: q'apãk't.

However, at least two alternative analyses must be considered.
(i) Possibly, the ultimate direct object achieves that relation
through a Union not through Raising. (ii) If there is in fact a
Union involved here, then possibly the ultimate direct object
passes through a stage of being subordinate subject: by virtue
of the Union rule, the passive morphology would not be manifested
in the subordinate verb.

For now, I must leave these as open questions.

2.8 Retreats

The Chain-of-Being Hierarch, described in section 2.1, has
been shown to constrain transitions in Ntinaht.

Advancements of direct object, indirect object, and benefactive
are optional under certain circumstances, but obligatory under
certain circumstances where the above Hierarchy is relevant.

I review briefly using the passive (advancement of direct
object to subject). While (84), with both initial subject and
direct object being third person animates, is grammatical in both
the active and passive forms (84a, b), (85), with inital third
person subject and first person direct object is ill-formed in the
active (85a), but perfectly grammatical in the passive (85b).

84. (a) Tc'ixwatsa?ap ?a (ox̱v) bowatc ?aq ?õyoqw Robin.

    V   NOM   1   ACC   2

'The deer frightened Robin'

    1   V   2

(b) Tc'ixwatsa?ab't ?a (?ox̱w)Robin ?ox̱wīt bowatc ?aq

   v/PASSV   NOM 1 NOM/P 1̂

'Robin was frightened by the deer'

    1   V   1̂

85. (a) *Pixtcitl ?a (?ox̱w) Robin ?õyoqw s(iy'a)

    V   1   ACC 2

literally 'Robin pinched me'

      1 V   2

(b) Pixtcitl'it s ?ox̱wīt Robin.

   V/PASSV 1   1̂

literally: 'I was pinched by Robin'

     1   V   1̂

The interaction of the Chain-of-Being Hierarchy with
sanctioned advancements is more general. For example, while an
initial benefactive, optionally to ultimate direct object (86b) or
ultimate subject (86c) if it is of equal hierarchical rank compared
to the initial subject, the benefactive must so advance (in general)
if it outranks the initial subject, as shown in (87).

86. (a) Okwīl ibt ?a (?ox̱w)Mary bab?õ ?õtsaxad John.

    V   1 2   for   Ben

'Mary made a basket for John'

    1 V   2   Ben

86. (b) OkwĪlip obt ?a (?ox̣w) Mary John bab?ŏ.

V/B   1   2   2̂

"Mary made John a basket'

1   V   2   2̂

(c) OkwĪlib't t ?a (?ox̣w) John bab?ŏ ?ox̣wĪt Mary.

V/B/PASSV   1   2̂   1̂

lit. 'John was made a basket by Mary'

1   V   2̂   1̂

The benefactive of (87), the first person singular, has advanced successively to indirect object, direct object, and subject. When that benefactive does not undergo all These advancements then ungrammatical sentences result (e.g. *87a, b); thus only (87c) is grammatical. These judgements of grammaticality are very strong and clearcut; moreover, there is absolutely no variation among speakers of Nitinaht in these respects. A Nitinaht person has difficulty in consciously repeating word-for-word sentences like (*87a, b), much as an English-speaking person would when abruptly faced with an ill-formed sentence like *who did they whizper that John and left together.

87. (a) *OkwĪl ?a (?ox̣w) Mary bab?ŏ ?ŏtsax̣ad s(iy'a).

V   1   2   for   Ben

lit. 'Mary is making a basket for me'

1   V   2   BEN

87. (b) *OkwĪlip ?a (?ox̣w) Mary s(iy'a) bab?ŏ.

V/B   1   2   2̂

lit. 'Mary is making me a basket.

1   V   2   2̂

(c) OkwĪlib't s bab?ŏ ?oxwĪt Mary.

V/B/PASSV 1   2̂   1̂

"Mary is making a basket for me'

lit. 'I am being made a basket by Mary'

1   V   ŝ   1̂

The condition that advancement is obligatory when a direct object, indirect object, or benefactive outranks the (initial) subject on the Chain-of-Being Hierarchy accounts for the above observations.

There are some sentence patterns in Nitinaht which at first glance seem to vilate the condition involving the Chain-of-Being Hierarchy. For example, in (88), the initial subject and benefactive are Mary and s(iy'a) 'I, me', respectively. It is obvious that the initial benefactive outranks the subject on the Chain-of-Being Hierarchy, and also that any advancement rules have failed to apply. Our expectation is that (88) will be an ill-formed pattern in Nitinaht, but it is in fact perfectly grammatical. For example, the typical reaction of a fluent speaker of Nitinaht to (*87a) is to correct this sentence to (88).

88. OkwĪl ?a (?oxw) Mary bab?ō ?ōtsaxad'it s.

     V   1   2   for

The crucial feature about (88) is that the benefactive case-marking preposition, normally just ?ōtsaxad, takes here the affix -?It (reduced by regular processes to ?ōtsaxad'it).

Since the affix -?it is in general assigned to a chomeur (or to a verb having a chomeur), the above observations lead to the hypothesis that the expression ?ōtsaxad'it s in (88) is an ultimate chomeur, and so for this reason does not count as a violation of the Chain-of-Being Hierarchy condition on ultimate syntactic relations.

At least two mechanisms for effecting the demotion to chomeur have been proposed, cf. Klokeid (1976a) and Postal (1976). A rather different analysis has been explored in Klokeid (1976c).

Not only benefactives, but other dependent nominals demote to chomeur in the same way, i.e. with the function of eliminating violation of the Chain-of-Being Hierarchy condition. Here, I present an example of a demoted direct object (89c).

89. (a) Wik s xabop tc'Ikwāl ?aq ?ōyoqw.

     not 1 V   2   ACC

     'I don't recognize the dog'

     1   V   2

(b) Wik't s xabop't tc'Ikwāl ?aq ?oxwIt.

     not/PASSV 1 V/Passv 1̂   by

     'Thè dog doesn't recognize me'

     lit. 'I am not recognized by the dog'

        1   V   1̂

89. (c) Wik ?a xabop tc'Ikwāl ?aq ?ōyoqwi?t s.

     not Decl V   1   ACC/PASS I

     'The dog doesn't recognize me'

3. Possession

At least three semantically distinct kinds of possessions exist:(i)-(iii); in addition, there are less readily classifiable possessors (iv).

(i) <u>Part-whole relation</u>. The whole is the 'possessor'; the part is the 'possessed'. The most common manifestation of the part-whole relation is in the area of body part expressions, e.g. <u>my hands</u>, kokodokwsi?t ?aqs 'my hand(s)'; <u>your ear</u>, p'ip'I?t Ik 'your ear'; tl'āxIdab -It ?aq llapotay ?aq 'the cap of the bottle'

(ii) <u>Kinship</u>. The specified kinship relation is the 'possessed', while the person having that kin is the 'possessor'. For example, <u>my mother</u>, ?ab?eqs-āk ?aq s 'my mother'; <u>his daughter</u>, hitxaw'Ilib-āk ?aq 'his daughter'.

(iii) <u>Ownership and control</u>. The owner is the 'possessor', the item which is owned is the 'possessed'. For example, <u>my axe</u> hisiy'ak-kw ?aq s 'my axe'; <u>your house</u>, ba?as-kw Ik 'your house'.

(iv) <u>Miscellaneous</u>. Included here are such expressions as <u>my picture</u>: semantically, they are unlike groups (i-iii), but are morphologically related to possession.

(Type (i) has been traditionally called 'inalienable' possession, and type (iii), 'alienable' possession.) In the three

sections of this chapter, I deal with types (i, ii, and iii): 3.1
covers ownership and control; 3.2, part-whole relations; and 3.3
kinship. In Nitinaht, the syntax of each is distinct.

3.1 Ownership and control

One way to express ownership or control is as follows.
The possessed nominal under the ownership-control relation takes
the suffix -okw; the possessor appears, with the complementizer
(definite determiner) ?aq/qīk, in the allomorph used for subject
of a clause. Thus:

90. Tlawā ?a John xixbis-okw ?aq s.

    V   1   car /POSS the I

   'John is-near. my car'

       V

If the possessor is a nominal, then it appears immediately
after the possessed nominal (91a), or else preceding it (91b). In
the former instance, the possessed suffix -okw is used, but in the
latter, the possessor takes the suffix -s. Both forms are used by
younger generation of Nitinaht speakers; it seems that the second
mode of expression is based on an English way of expressing the
ownership relation.

91. (a) Tlawā s xixibis-okw ?aq qō?as ?aq.

       V 1 car/POSS the man   the

       'I am-near the man's car, the car of the man'

       1   V

91. (a) Tlawā s John-s ?aq xixibis.

       'I am near John's car'

An alternative way of expressing ownership is possible in
Nitinaht: it finds no parallel in English. The initial possessor
assumes the syntactic relation of indirect object, and the possessed
does not have any overt morphological marking.

Thus (91a) is paraphrased by (92). Here, the possessor has
advanced from indirect object to direct object, and so the verb takes
the suffix -tcip.

92. Tlawā-tcip s qō?as ?aq xixibis.

       V   1 2 $\hat{2}$

       'I am near the man's car'

       1   2 $\hat{2}$

We can see that the possessor has become the ultimate direct
object in the sentence pattern of (92), in that the possessor en-
cliticizes in direct object form if it is non-third person, as in
(93).

93. Tlawā-tcip s itsx xixibis.

       V   1 2 $\hat{2}$

       'I am near your car'

       1   2 $\hat{2}$

The conversion of initial possessor to indirect object is
called Possessor Union.

If Possessor Union fails to apply, as in (94a), then no
violation of the Chain-of-Being Hierarchy condition is observed.
But when Possessor Union does apply, then a potential violation

of that condition arises in circumstances like that exemplified

by (94), and so advancement of indirect object to ultimate subject

is obligatory, as in (94b).

   94. (a) Tlawī?a qō?as ?aq x̌ix̌ibis-okw ?aq s.

        V   1   car/POSS   my

      'The man is-near my car'

          1   V

     (b) Tlawī-tcib't s x̌ix̌ibis qō?as ?aq.

       V/Passv   1 $\hat{2}$ $\hat{1}$

       'The man is near my car' (literally,

       'I am-neared the car by the man'

        1   V $\hat{2}$ $\hat{1}$

This form of expression, shared by all generations of Nitinaht

speakers, quite clearly does not reflect influence by English, or,

say, Chinook Jargon.

    Sentences with initial indirect objects may acquire second

indirect objects through Possessor Union. In the known examples,

it appears that both of these advance to direct object, but that

the higher ranking nominal (with respect to the Chain-of-Being) serves

as the ultimate direct object.

   95. Oyē-tcip s itsx̌ poko qō?as ?aq ?ōyoqw.

        V   1   2 $\hat{2}$ man   ACC

      'I gave your basket to the man'

        1   2 $\hat{2}$

Some additional examples of Possessor Union involving the

ownership/control relation follow.

   96. (a) Atca?t ik s kōw'al-ibt tālla.

       $\hat{1}$ Q 1 V $\hat{2}$

       'Who stole my money?'

       $\hat{1}$ V   1   2

     (b) Wik s t'aqwāk ?oxwīt qō s Dick sokwitl-ibt tālla.

       not I believe by COMP 1 $\hat{1}$ V $\hat{2}$

       'I don't believe that (it was) Dick (who) stole

                  COMP $\hat{1}$ V

      my money'.

      1 $\hat{2}$

     (c) Hayā?ak-ibt ?as yīlqa qō?as caci.

        V   1 that $\hat{1}$ $\hat{2}$

       'That man doesn't-know your name'

         $\hat{1}$ V   1 $\hat{2}$

     (d) Ha?ok obt id itsx̌ ?ats'aqk.

       V PAST 1 2 $\hat{2}$

       'We ate your fish'

       1   V   2 $\hat{2}$

No possessor union occurs in (97).

  97. (a) Wik ?   tc'ītl dadātcay'k'aqtlsib-āk ?aqs

       not Imper   V   2   DAT POSS

       'Don't pull my glasses!'

          V POSS   2

97. (b) Batct't ows id tc'Ikwāl-okw ?aq yīlqa qō?as'.

V/Passv might 1   1̂   POSS

'That man's dog might bite us'

POSS 1̂   V   1

Other ways of expressing ownership: space precludes
describing them here.

3.2   Part-Whole relationship

If an initial (intransitive) subject or direct object is a
body part, then the possessor of that body part typically assumes
the relation of ultimate subject or direct object, respectively.
For example, the initial subject of (98a,b) is p'ip'ī 'ear(s)'; its
possessor, the first person singular has assumed ultimate subject-
hood, as we can see from the fact that it excliticizes within the
clause according to Wackernagel's principle. The verb here takes
the suffix which is underlyingly -?īt:

98. (a) Ōsoqwi?t s p'ip'ī.

V   1   ear

'My ears hurt', lit. 'I hurt ear'

1 V

(b) Osoqwi?t owis s p'ip'ī.

V   might 1   ear

'My ears might hurt'

The network for (98a) is (99): the initial possessor ascends,
i.e. it assumes the syntactic relation borne by its governer, here,

subjecthood. The suffix -?īt records the ascension.

99.   ?ōsoqwi?t

o 1

1   1̂

p'ip'ī

POSS

s

Possessor ascension is possible with direct objects as well,
as in (100): the verb suffix -?īt is absent here.

(100) Wik ? s tcī?itl p'ip'ī.

not Imper w V   2̂

'Don't pull my ear', lit.

V   2

'Don't pull me (on the) ear'

V   2   2̂

(Possibly, the absence of the suffix -?īt here is evidence
that Possessor Union, not Possessor Ascension, is at work. However,
we would expect to see the morphological side effects that would
be ultimately triggered by Possessor Union, and yet these are absent.)

Possessor Ascension is impossible if the possessed nominal
is neither direct object nor subject of an intransitive. For example,
in (101), the nominal s 'I' is subject of a transitive verb: to
express the possessed nominal, an instrumental phrase must be resorted
to. (The direct object, though, has undergone Possessor Union —
see immediately below, also, for the internal morphological forms of the
instrumental expression, see below.)

101. Tcoxwcitl-ip s John qwaqwātqatsib ʔōxwawʼāl kokodokwrit

      V   2   2̂   with   INSTR

ʔaq s.

Det POSS

'I tickled John('s) foot with my hand'

   1   V   2   2̂   POSS INSTR

Body part expressions also seem to permit Possessor Union.
For example, the initial direct object of (101) above must be
qwaqwātqatsib 'foot', with a possessor John. John is evidently
the ultimate direct object of (101), and it must have arrived at
that syntactic relation by advancement from indirect object: the
suffix -ip on the verb of (101) marks advancement of indirect to
direct object. Now, the only way for the possessor of a direct
object to become an indirect object is by Possessor Union. Thus
the network for (101), ignoring the instrument expression, is (102).

102.
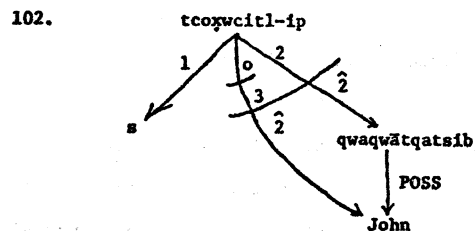
However, instances of Possessor Union with body part ex-
pressions is rare.

The internal form of the instrument expression in (101) is
interesting, in that the possessed nominal manifests the suffix

-ʔīt, which we have previously seen to be associated with Possessor
Ascension, as well as with Advancement of direct object to subject.
In fact, the typical way to express a part-whole relationship, in
a context where Possessor Ascension (as well as, perhaps, Possessor
Union) is impossible, is with this form, i.e.: body part + suffix
-ʔīt; encliticized determiner ʔaq/qīk; encliticized possessor (in
the same form as for a subject). Some examples of such expressions
in isolation are given in (103).

    103. wadīq   'throat'

         wadāʔt ʔaq s   'my throat'

         wadāʔt īk   'your throat'

         dits'   'nose'

         dits'ī?t ?aq s 'my nose'

         dits'iʔt īk   'your nose'

Yet another mode of expressing the part-whole relation exists
in Nitinaht, although it is not used as extensively by contemporary
speakers as was evidently the case with earlier generations. The
possessor of an initial direct object ascends, and the possessed
nominal incorporates into the verb, as a suffix, as in (104).

   104. (a) Wik s qwāsʔoxw John bobo-dk-oʔp.

        not 1 on purpose 2 V/2̂/cans

        'I didn't burn John's hand on purpose'

        1   V   2   2̂

        lit. 'I didn't hand-burn John on purpose'

           2̂ /V   2

104. (b) Bobō-kwits'-awob't s John

       V/2̂/caus/Passv   1 1̂

      'John burned my foot' lit.
         1   V   1   2
      'I was foot-burned (b) John'
         1   2 / V   1

(c) Bobo-dk-o?b't s John.

       V/ 2̂   1 1̂

      'John burned my hand'

       1̂   V   1

      lit. 'I was hand-burned (by) John'

        1   2̂/V   1̂

The possibility of Ascension/Incorporation also exists with intransitive subjects (the causative morpheme is absent here):

105. (a) Bobō-kwits'l a?tl s.

       V/1̂   now/then 1

      'I burned (my) foot'

       1   V   1̂

      lit. 'I foot-burned'

        1 1̂ / V

(b) Bobō-kwits'l a?tl ?a John.

       V / 1̂   1

      'John's foot got burned', lit.

      'John foot-burned'

       1   1̂ /V

Incorporation as a suffix is not unique to body parts: several locative expressions typically incorporate in this way, especially in the speech of elder persons; incorporation is less exploited by younger speakers in general, apparently. In any event, incorporation in Nitinaht seems to be somewhat more restricted overall than in the related languages to the north. However, I cannot state the restrictions with any certainty.

3.3 Kinship

A kinship relation can be expressed by placing the possessor nominal in front of the possessed nominal, and suffixing -okw to the latter (106a); a pronominal possessor will encliticize (106b).

106. (a) Wāhātl i xāda?ak'ictc ?aq xatcibisiqis-kw ?aq?

       where Q little-girl   brother

      'Where is the little girl's brother?'

(b) Tcotcoxwats'awitl ?a John yadaqk-kw ?aq s.

          V   1   2   POSS

      'John tickled my child'

        1   V POSS 2

Possessor Union is possible in kinship expressions. In (107) the possessor of the direct object has become the indirect object by Possessor Union; then, because of the Chain-of-Being Hierarchy constraint, it has advanced, via direct object, to ultimate subject.

107. Tcoxwtcoxwats'awitl ?a?is-ib't s John yãdaqk.

    V   Fut   1 $\hat{1}$ $\hat{2}$

  'John tickled my child'

  $\hat{1}$ V   1 $\hat{2}$

  lit. 'I was tickled (by) John (on the) child'

    1   V $\hat{1}$ $\hat{2}$

The network for (107) is:

108.   tcoxwtcoxwats'awitl-ib't
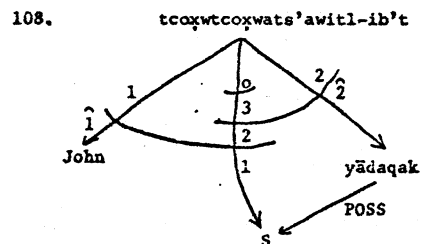
Apparently, kinship expressions also permit Possessor Ascension, as in (109): here, the possessed suffix -ak is assigned to the verb.

109. (a) hãts?iy-ãk ak yãdaqk?

    V / Poss Q/1 $\hat{1}$

   'Is your child coming?'

     1   $\hat{1}$

   lit. 'Are you coming child?'

       1 V $\hat{1}$

The transition from initial to ultimate syntactic relations must be as I have here described. With an intransitive verb, only the ultimate subject can produce an enclitic form. Hence, the

ultimate subject of (110a) must be yayãdaqiy 'children', as shown by the enclitic ?al 'they'; in (110b), the ultimate subject is instead s 'I'.

110. (a) Aptã ?al yayãdqiy-ãk ?aq s.

      V they 1   POSS

   'My children are hiding'

   POSS 1   V

(b) Aptã – k s yayãdaqiy.

    V   1 $\hat{1}$

   'My children are hiding'

    1 $\hat{1}$ V

   lit. 'I hide, children'

      1 V $\hat{1}$

The networks for (110a, b) are (111a, b), respectively.

111. (a)   aptã

(b)

Acknowledgements

Other, complementary studies of the Nitinaht language include Klokeid (1968, 1969, 1972, 1975a, 1975b, 1976b, 1976c, in press).

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