

KLALLAM AUXILIARIES: A SUBCLASS OF PREDICATIVES¹

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1. Recognizing Auxiliaries in Klallam
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1. Recognizing the Auxiliaries in Klallam

Auxiliaries in Klallam are a closed subclass of predicatives having a unique relationship with the next open class predicative in a sentence and displaying a particular pattern of morpho-syntactic behavior. Before we can appreciate the similarities and differences this pattern of behavior shows when compared to the morpho-syntactic behavior of open class predicatives, we must describe the latter.

A functional description of the basic Klallam sentence pattern is: Predicate (Argument) (Oblique argument). Predicates and arguments are each made up of a predicative base, a non-particle word which may include inflectional and derivational affixes.² Predicates may also include prepositive and postpositive clitics and particles: (Prepositive elements) + BASE + (Postpositive elements). Arguments do not include postpositive elements. Predicates may be closed by a demonstrative particle and arguments may be opened by one. Predicates which may occur as the base of a predicate or an argument in the above sentence pattern will be referred to as open-class predicatives in contradistinction to closed subclasses of predicatives, one of which is the class of auxiliaries.³

The following sentences exemplify the basic sentence pattern described above (demonstratives are underlined; 'ə = oblique marker):⁴

- 194.11 cə'tqwt + cən. I'm making a hole in it.
201.2 kw+ + təngsə'nəŋ + ya' + cən. I already cleaned my nose.
184.7 ʔkwi'kwa'səŋ + ci. Get your paddle.
200.10 ʔkwənə'xw + cən tə + st'u'q'wəŋ. I caught a cold.
156.1 ŋu't + cən + kwi tə + č'ixwta's.
I ate what she brought in.
166.10 kws'i'gəŋ + cə' + kwi kwsə + n'č'ixwi'kwən.
You're going to get your stomach tickled.
200.9 ʔkwənə'ŋ + cən 'ə + ti'a + sma'na'yə+.
The sickness got me.
147.11 č'ə'nəs + cən 'ə + cə + sca'cqi.
I'm baking some salmonberry sprouts.
146.11 t+i'i'səŋ + č' + ci 'ə + nəxwq'e't.
They're going to have a (baby) shower at Little Boston.

The pattern of sentences with auxiliaries is:
Auxiliary phrase Predicate (Argument) (Oblique argument).

The auxiliary phrase and the predicate are further broken down as follows:

(Prepositive elements) + Auxiliary predicative + (Enclitics)
(Prepositive elements) + Open-class predicative + (Demonstrative).
Auxiliaries, unlike open-class predicatives, are bare of affixes. The question of whether auxiliaries are predicative bases capable of forming full predicates or are rather dependent bases in complex predicates whose main bases are open-class predicatives will be discussed at the end of this section.

To summarize, then, the features of auxiliary morpho-syntactic behavior are as follows (auxiliaries are underlined in examples):

1) An auxiliary precedes an open-class predicative (which may bear proclitics) and bears the enclitics which regularly appear on open class predicatives in sentences without auxiliaries (see also example sentences above):

154.8 mən' + cən u' + ʔəy'ʔu'' + 'ə + tə + n's'ə'y'.
I'm awfully glad you're nice.

2) Prepositive elements may appear before auxiliaries and open-class predicatives since their position depends on their semantic scope in particular sentences:

33.7 kw+ + mən' 'u(?) + kw+ + čə'q, kwəs + nəcə't.
He's quite an old man, my father.

3) An auxiliary does not bear affixes. These are carried by the open-class predicative which follows:

163.10b mən' u' + c'u'[c'ə]'m-əŋ'. It's awful wet.

1 2
1 = actual reduplicative infix
2 = middle suffix

4) An auxiliary will not occur followed by either a ^{predicate} ~~clause~~-closing demonstrative or an argument without an intervening ~~open class predicate~~.
5) An auxiliary will not stand alone as a complete sentence, except perhaps as a short answer to a question (this latter point needs testing).

Furthermore, we hypothesize that a regular stress pattern will turn out to be a feature marking auxiliaries, although this hypothesis has not been systematically tested at this time. Finally, it would not be unexpected if we found that different auxiliaries may occur with different, perhaps overlapping, groups of open-class predicatives. We have not as yet analyzed patterns of cooccurrence between auxiliaries and open-class predicatives. Restrictions on cooccurrence may ultimately be semantically based.

The following sentences demonstrate the three currently identified Klallam auxiliaries:

- ma'n' 'very'
12.27 ma'n' + 'u + cxw 'u' + xwa'əŋ 'ə + č'i + t'alu'm'.
Are you awfully (very) hungry for smoked salmon?
'əha' 'not yet'
216.1a 'u + 'əha' + cən c + t'u'yəŋ 'ə + č'i + stu'q'wəŋ.
I haven't got over the cold yet.

č'u'i'n' 'even'
73.11 č'u'i'n' + crw yu' + qi'nu'ngət.
Even you are mad at me.

In the case of a possible fourth auxiliary *a'y(?), we find a mixture of behavior patterns accompanied by variance in meaning within the range of 'forming a continuum'. We suspect that we may be dealing with different lexemes utilizing the same morpheme paralleling the case of English 'have been doing' versus 'have something'. The A sentences below follow the auxiliary pattern while the B sentences indicate open-class predicative distribution:

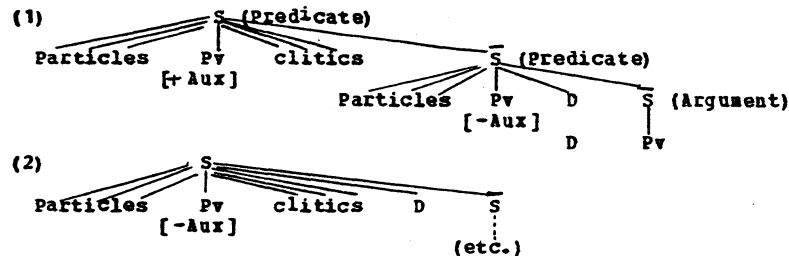
- A 'too, also; again'
- 12.16b *a'y + 'u + crw (?)u + 'e'ʔən'. Are you eating too?
13.9 *a'y + (?)u + crw 'u' + ʔi't. Do you know too?
13.3a *a'y u' + a'wnə' syči'ts csa'nu.
She doesn't know either (also).
25.12a *a'y + ca'ən 'u' + nəw'c)su'st.
I'm going to hit him too.
59.3c 'u + ts u' + cəŋnu'ngət, i' + *a'y' ča'q'.
She just stands up, and falls again.
- B 'too; again; continue' (relevant demonstratives are underlined>)
62.1 *a'y + ʔa kwi + +a'q'wts. He licked it again.
13.14c *a'y' + kw u' + +ə'm'xw 'ə + kwi + č'i'a'q' +.
It was raining yesterday too.
146.8 *a'y'-trw u' + sɔw'kwa'q' +. Leave it open.
(continue-causative)
151.6 *a'y'-trw + č'i 'u + 'ə'y' č'i + sk'wə'n's.
Let him look good!

Because of the close relationship existing between the auxiliary and the following open-class predicative in Klallan, Thompson and Thompson (1971:263) have described this sequence as a "complex predicate." We infer that this means the two predicatives involved are on the same clause level. The relationship between the two predicatives encompasses the facts that (1) the second element is semantically modified by the first and (2) the auxiliary predicative displays distinctive morpho-syntactic behavior, as noted in points 1 through 5 above. Because the latter fact seems also to be true of other subclasses of predicatives (see note 2), we prefer not to introduce the notion complex predicate and instead assume that each subclass predicative forms a subtype of predicate on its own, depending on its morpho-syntactic behavior. Furthermore, it is our position that the semantic relationship which exists between an auxiliary and the next open-class predicative need not be accounted for on the syntactic level.

We propose the following phrase structure rules for Klallan sentences:⁵

- S → (Particles...) Pv (Evidential) (Conjectural) (Tense)
Person (D) (S)
S̄ → (Particles...) (OP) (D) (Particles...) Pv (D) (S̄)

The following are sample phrase markers for (1) sentences with auxiliaries and (2) sentences without auxiliaries:



Cooccurrence restrictions on auxiliaries will insure that (1) the head of the next lower S is [-Aux] and (2) neither the oblique particle nor a demonstrative is its sister. Cooccurrence restrictions on open-class predicatives will insure that they do not occur with two demonstratives (preceding and following) or with the oblique particle and a demonstrative following. (Recall that the pattern Pv (D) marks a predicate and the pattern (OP) (D) Pv marks an argument). Open-class predicatives will not be restricted with regard to the clauses in which they may occur, i.e., they may occur in both upper and lower clauses.

2. Alternative Analyses of Parallel Elements in Three Central Coast Salish Languages

A number of Salishanists (Demers 1980; Hukari 1974; Leslie 1979) have proposed a category Adverb for elements paralleling those here labelled auxiliary predicatives. Following from such a position are various analyses of the enclitics. Three of these analyses are discussed here.

In A Grammar of the Coviclan Dialect of Halkomelem Salish, Leslie (1979) recognizes the following six non-particles as adverbs (p. 137): *a'e' 'also, too'; yaθ 'always, often'; *i'm 'very much so'; nan 'very much so'; ta'xw 'soon'; mək'w 'all, every, both'. He also recognizes that these have been labelled auxiliaries by others (p. 272 fn. 12). He further recognizes that enclitics occur after the first non-particle in a clause (he calls this location second position). This is his explanation for the appearance of the enclitics cə p'e' in both of the following sentences (p. 144-5):

- (1) *a'əqti'mət' cə p'e' swə'y'qe'.
tall I certain man
I am a tall man.
(2) *i'm cə p'e' 'ew' *a'əqti'mət' swə'y'qe'.
very I certain contemporary tall man
I am a very tall man.

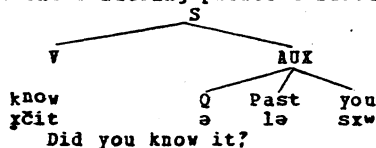
In Leslie's view, then, "[The] distribution of the enclitics is independent of the syntactic relationship between the first element and some other form" (p. 144). Leslie does not present an analysis of phrase structure but we may assume that the enclitics form some sort of second position constituent.

Demers (1980) also recognizes a second-position constituent for enclitics in Lumai and labels this constituent AUX.⁶ His phrase structure rule is as follows (p. 11):

AUX --> (Question) (Modal) Tense Person-Subject⁷

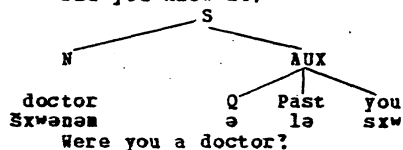
He also presents the following phrase structure trees:

(3)



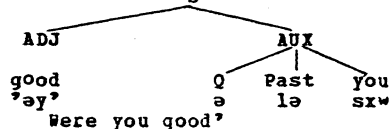
(p. 6)

(4)



(p. 12)

(5)



(p. 12)

Demers (p. 9) considers *x'el* 'also' an adverb in Lumai and presents the following sentence (without accompanying phrase structure):

6. *x'el-ə-lə-sxw* 'u' čit
 also-Q-Past-you aspect know
 Did you know it too?

Based on 3, 4, 5, and 6 we may assume the following phrase structure rule:



Clearly we are missing a generalization here if nouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs all appear in the same position before AUX. But the pattern is explained by an analysis which recognizes all of the former elements as predicatives. There is no need to posit an AUX constituent made up of enclitics since the position of the enclitics is predictably after the first predicative in a sentence. It is our position that there is no need to posit an AUX constituent at all.

Hukari (1974¹) presents a transformational analysis of the enclitics in Puget Salish based on the following phrase structure rule (derived from phrase structure, p. 15):

Proposition --> (Adverb) Verb Particle-Phrase

Hukari posits a particle movement transformation by which the particle

phrase attaches under the auxiliary in order to account for the following (b) sentence (p. 24):

- (a) *'əstagwəxw čəxw 'u.*
 static-hungry you Q
 Are you hungry?
- (b) *la'b čəxw 'u 'əstagwəxw.*
 very you Q static-hungry
 Are you very hungry?

An encliticization process completes his transformational analysis. But a movement transformation is not necessary and an important generalization is captured if we posit that auxiliaries are a subclass of predicatives which, like all other predicatives, take enclitics.

3. Conclusion

It seems clear that a number of Central Coast Salish languages have auxiliaries forming a limited subclass of predicatives as defined by their distinctive morpho-syntactic behavior. The three basic criteria defining auxiliaries are:

- 1) they require the presence of a following predicate;
- 2) they appear as the head of an uppermost clause carrying the predicative enclitics;
- 3) they do not bear affixes.

Based on historical-comparative evidence, Thompson (1979) hypothesizes that auxiliaries represent a historical innovation which spread by stimulation diffusion, making use of native material in each dialect. He recognizes their synchronic existence in Northern Interior languages as well as Central Coast languages. Barry Carlson (p.c.) suggests that Kalispel may also have elements meeting the criteria outlined here for auxiliaries. So, whatever their history, auxiliaries appear to be a synchronic fact in a number of Salish languages.

NOTES

¹I would like to thank Ricky Jacobs and Stan Starosta for discussions with them about auxiliaries. Of course, responsibility for the content of this paper is completely my own. A special thanks must go to Larry Thompson, not only for his helpful feedback on this paper, but for his continued support in my Salish studies. I would also like to acknowledge the support of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

²Affixation includes inflectional and derivational markers such as stative, localizer (prefix); diminutive, augmentative (reduplication or infix); actual (infix or metathesis); lexical extension, aspect, control, transitive, causative, middle, object pronominal, third person transitive subject pronominal (suffix).

³The exact number and nature of the subclasses of predicatives have not been fully explored by this author as yet. We have,

however, begun recording the features of the morpho-syntactic behavior of such limited predicatives as *ni+* 'precisely that one; so' and *'ə'və* 'not' and have found these features to be different from those of both auxiliaries and open-class predicatives.

*Where there is no indication to the contrary, all examples are from the Klallam field notes of Dr. L.C. Thompson. After vowels, ' = primary stress and ' = secondary stress.

*Note that Person marking is not optional; zero marking = third person. Regarding the elements in \bar{S} , it is not clear to us at this time what, if any, is the fixed order of other particles with respect to the oblique particle (OP) and prepositive demonstratives (D). "Particles..." is not meant as a constituent label but is a cover term for a number of prepositive particle constituents. Finally, it should be noted that we found it difficult to fit Klallam into an existing syntactic framework and so our rules are necessarily undergoing development. We have deliberately avoided the labels Noun and Verb for the present, hence the constituent labelled Pv (predicative).

*Demers is following a parallel analysis presented for Luiseno by Steele (1978).

*Since overt tense marking is optional in Salish languages, Demers' phrase structure rule should be rewritten as:
AUX --> (Q) (Modal) (Tense) Personal Subject.
This leaves the pronominal as the only obligatory member of AUX.

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SOME PHONOLOGICAL PROBLEMS IN THE COWICHAN¹ L-INFIX PLURAL

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1. INTRODUCTION

At least three apparently synonymous plural constructions are employed in the Cowichan dialect of Halkomelem: CəC-reduplication, -Ci- infixal reduplication and l-infixation, as illustrated in the following examples.

- (1) a. cēləʒ hand
b. cəlcēləʒ PL
- (2) a. xʷəl̥məxʷ Indian
b. xʷəxʷəl̥məxʷ PL
- (3) a. tēcəl approach
b. tēʔləcəl PL

An adequate description of plural formation in Cowichan, then, should take into account the formation processes involved in each construction, the distributions of these constructions relative to each other and--especially as these are not simple affixal constructions--their formal relationships to other morphological constructions (i.e., derivational order). The present study is confined to a small portion of this overall description: the phonological shape of the l-infix plural.

The limited scope of this work reflects the relative complexity of the data, as the Cowichan l-infix exhibits a variety of alternate forms involving phonological processes which, in some cases, appear to be quite ideosyncratic and restricted, but which are quite far-ranging in others, hopefully forming a basis for a more encompassing study of Cowichan phonology.

While alternate analyses will be considered below, I suggest that l-infixation involves a vowel copying rule (much as does reduplication) which is obscured by stress placement and the reduction of unstressed vowels to shwa. This analysis explains an interesting, but perhaps not obvious, parallel between infixation and reduplication in strong-syllable roots (those with a long vowel (VV) or vowel plus /ʔ/).

2. PHONOLOGICAL ALTERNATES

The l-infix appears to follow the first CV sequence of the base (excluding all nonreduplicative prefixes), unless the vowel is long or followed by /ʔ/ (hereafter, *strong syllables*), in which case it seems to follow the first consonant (and then contains no glottal stop).

- (4) a. ʒáKʷəm bathe
b. ʒáʔləKʷəm PL