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DEICTIC AUXILIARIES AND DISCOURSE MARKING
IN KWAKW'ALA NARRATIVE

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All narrative describes the unfolding of events through time, whether that time is the time of the world of myth, or whether it is the time of personal experience recollected and transformed. This implies a relationship between the relative speed of passage of these events as they are expressed through language, and some absolute scale of time: for example, five events may be consecutively narrated which take place in a single minute, and then another five which take place over the course of a whole day. Such a relationship includes notions of the sequentiality or simultaneity of these events with respect to each other. Neither of these are simple ideas when examined: they depend on the possibility of determining when one event ends and the next begins, which in turn depends upon a definition of "event." Does each verb in the narrative describe an "event?" Or only the verbs in independent clauses? Or can two verbs even in consecutive independent clauses be two aspects of, two ways of describing the same event? If the latter, the actions these two verbs describe do not have any clear relationship in time with each other, either simultaneity

or sequentiality. Furthermore, events do not simply unfold in a narrative, they are motivated, they involve different actors and are concerned with different topics, which may modify these purely temporal ideas.

All narrative traditions must have some way in which these ideas are understood, whether they are encoded in language or are part of the rules for interpretation. Linguistic methods for expressing these ideas vary, including time words, discourse particles, aspect markers, and so on. In Kwakw'ala these ideas are expressed through an elaborate system of discourse marking, which centers around the deictic verbal forms I am calling "auxiliaries." Deixis has been considered as that grammatical category which relates in terms of time and place the narrated events with the speech event. In a language which commonly uses demonstrative pronouns and trans- and cislocative verbal forms, we might expect that this is among their functions. But in Kwakw'ala narrative, the relating of narrated to speech events is accomplished in obligatory grammatical operations, through case/person markers; on the other hand, deictic words - these deictic auxiliaries - relate predications in the discourse, events in the narration, to each other, temporally, spatially, topically.

This system of discourse marking was not described as such by Boas. He did describe the various members of the lexical category of auxiliary, calling them "emphatic verbal pronouns,"

"auxiliaries," "intransitive" or "adverbial" verbs, but viewed
them only from the perspective of grammar and syntax (Boas
1947:257-9, 281). While recognizing the presence of "coor-
dinate constructions" in "connected discourse"(op. cit.: 281),
he did not explore the possibility that variation in the initial
members of these constructions, the class of words I am calling
auxiliaries, might actually shape and regulate that discourse.

In this paper I will examine the ways in which these
auxiliaries are patterned in discourse, expressing ideas about
time, location, and topic. The data are taken from two myth
texts, "Mink and the Sun" (Boas and Hunt 1906:80-88), and
"Mink marries Kelp" (Boas 1910:127-8), and a personal narrative
with a short explanatory discourse about owls (by George Hunt,
in Boas 1930, vol. 1:252-6 and vol. 2: 257-60).

The paper is divided into three parts. The first sketches
the outline of relevant features of Kwakw'ala grammar, syntax,
and discourse, and looks at the syntactic role of auxiliaries.
The second part describes the most important individual auxi-
liaries and their meaning in discourse. The third part examines
the ways in which these auxiliaries work with the aspect and
connective suffixes they bear.

I

Kwakw'ala narrative is divided into groups of clauses by
the particle /wɛ/, "well," which signals a minimum discourse

unit.[1] These /wɛ/-units group together in tightly controlled
semantic patterns, "couplets" and "stanzas," which in turn
combine in patterns to form the major units of a narrative,
"scenes." Scenes are signalled by changes in setting (time
and place); changes in topic and focus; and changes in the speed
of the passage of events. There are sometimes changes of these
within scenes, but these are of a far smaller magnitude and
usually involve only one or two of these variables.

Each /wɛ/-unit contains at least one main clause, and
often has one or more subordinate clauses following the main
clause. There may also be more than one main clause in a /wɛ/-
unit:[2]

1. Wɛ, lɛʔ ńix gáxen
                "ýa, gwítelabiduʔ, hága? qwídexɬ"
    Híem wali wáɬdemas
        láas yáq'egaɬi Wálasxen hílanem Némgis begwánem.
    Wɛ, lɛʔ ńika...

    "Well, now (he) said to me
            'oh, you little Northerner, get out of here!'
    And then his words stopped
        (when) now Walas, my hired Nemgis man, began to
                                                    speak.
    Well, now (he) said..."

The initial clause in a discourse begins without a /wɛ/
and always has a simple verb:[3]

2. Dlígadłaida   ts'edáqas   Hádawa
    NAME-q-3sub   WOMAN-3obl   HADAWA

    _____   _____   _____
        V   S   OBL

    "(There was), they say, a woman named Hadawa."

Such a clause has the order Verb-Subject-Object-Oblique,
though not all positions are likely to be filled at any one
time. After this introduction, as Boas noted (1947:281), the
verbs of nearly all clauses are accompanied by auxiliaries.
These clauses have the order Auxiliary-Subject-Verb-Object, etc.:

3. Wε,   lałai   Hádawa   xwéngwatsa   bábagwemi
    WELL   GO-q   HADAWA   HAVE-CHILD-   BOY
            -3sub   3obl

    _____ _____ _____   _____
    AUX   S   V   OBL

    "Well, now, they say, Hadawa had a child, a boy."

In some clauses the main verb is missing, and only the auxiliary
is present, giving an Aux-Sub-Obj order.

It was stated that <u>nearly</u> all clauses, main or subordinate,
have auxiliaries. Actually, there appears to be only one type
of verb phrase in Kwakw'ala narrative which does not regularly
contain auxiliaries. This is among the constructions headed
by the syntactic stem /q-/, expressing purpose, many of which
do not contain verbs at all: <u>e.g.</u> /qen genema/ "for the purpose
of being my wife." When verbs are present, they often take a
nominalizing suffix: <u>e.g.</u> /qen gaxi?/ "for the purpose of my
coming,"/gax-/ "to come" (<u>op. cit.</u>:274). In narrative, how-

ever, /q-/-purpose phrases often contain full clauses, with
nouns, pronouns, and ordinary verbs: /qenu?xw ṁúxsalogixenu?xw
xwákw'ena/ "for the purpose of loading up our canoe," /-enu?xw/
first person exclusive, /xwákw'ena/ "canoe," etc. Neverthe-
less, nearly half of all the purpose clauses in the narratives
contained auxiliaries: /qaš lε néṅakw láxis gúkwi/ "for the
purpose of going home to his house," /-aš/ third person, /lε/
"to go, now," /néṅakw/ "return home," /láxis gúkwi/ "to his
house": Purpose-Subject Auxiliary Verb Indirect-object.[4]

True subordinate clauses (at least, what Boas called
"subordinate") are formed using a series of paired subordin-
ating suffixes which mark the person of the subject of the
clause. In most subordinate clauses, the first suffix is
attached to the governing word, the last word in the preceding
clause, and the second is attached to the first word in the
subordinate clause, usually the auxiliary (<u>op. cit.</u>:274, 1911:
547):

4. Wε,   lałai   ṅax?idxa   gaalεxs
    WELL   GO-q   LIGHT-   MORNING-
            3sub   inc-app   sbd=3sub

    _____ _____
    AUX-S   V

            lai   dlaxw?idi   Tl'iselagiła
            GO-   RISE-inc-   TL'ISELAGIŁA
            sbd   3sub

    _____ _____   _____
    AUX   V   S

    "Well, now, they say, it began to be light in the morning,
          (when) now Tl'iselagiła arose."

In clauses expressing cause, however, the stem /qa-/ precedes
the auxiliary and takes the first suffix:

5. Wε,   laémłai   íki   nóqaɏas   Hádaẅa
    WELL   GO-and-   GOOD- MIND-   HADAWA
           q-dem3   3sub   3poss

    --------- ------- ------------ ----------
    AUX   V   S   POSS

    qaxs   lemái   xwéngwatsa   bábagwemi
    C-sbd=   GO-and- CHILD-have-   BOY
    3sub   sbd   3obl

    --------- ------- ------------
    AUX   V   OBL

    "Well, and now, they say, Hadaẅa's mind was good,
         because she had a boy."

To summarize, all clauses in Kwakw'ala narrative, except
for purpose constructions, always take auxiliaries, and pur-
pose constructions contain auxiliaries nearly half the time.
There are several exceptions to this. Direct speech takes no
subordinating suffixes, and the first clause of direct speech,
like that of any discourse, generally lacks an auxiliary: /Wε,
lε? níki Yéqutl'iqelasaq, "Wíxentl, qaś hímaus dexémła..."/
"Well, now said Yéqutl'iqelas to him, 'I wish, that (for the
purpose of) this your owl-mask...'" /lε?/ "to go, now"(auxil-
iary), /ník-/ "to say" (verb), /-aq/ third person object, /wix-/
"to wish," /-entl/ first person, /qaś/ purpose with third per-
son subject, /hímaus/ "this, then" (auxiliary), etc. Indirect
speech, while requiring subordinating suffixes, similarly lacks
auxiliaries in the initial clause: /...gáxaasa bágwensi...ts'e-
k'áłelas, Ẅálasaxs qebełtúsai lax Másmets'a/ "came a visitor...

telling the news, Walas had capsized at Masmets'a," /gax-/ "to
come, now" (auxiliary), /bágwensi/"visitor," /ts'ek'áłelas/
"to tell the news," /-xs/ subordinating suffix, third person,
/qebełtus-/ "to capsize," /-ai/ subordinating suffix, etc.
Other kinds of reported events, those heard, known, and so on,
take the same form as indirect speech.

Lastly, verbs of motion in both main and subordinate
clauses are not always found with auxiliaries, though it is
rare to find them without. This may be because some auxiliaries,
notably /la-/ "to go, now," are used as well as concrete verbs
of motion: this will be discussed in the next section.

There are only three clauses out of nearly 500 which do
not follow these rules. These are subordinate clauses expressing
cause, beginning with /qaxs/, which lack auxiliaries. I have
not found any reason for this lack.

Let us look at the syntactic role of the auxiliaries more
carefully.

As was stated before, the "typical" form of a clause is
Aux-Sub-Verb-Obj-Obl. When the subject is pronominal, it
takes the form of a suffix attached to the auxiliary; a nom-
inal subject is preceded by a deictic prenominal case suffix
also attached to the auxiliary. These prenominal suffixes
distinguish the definiteness of the noun, its proximity to
the speaker, addressee, or some thing outside the speech event,

and, in some forms, the visibility of a noun (1911:527-532).

Generally, though, when there are no other nouns present in a clause, the subject noun is found following the verb, with its prenominal form suffixed to the verb. And, although we have been speaking of a single auxiliary per clause, if we look at the texts, there is often a series of auxiliaries, a whole auxiliary phrase, preceding the main verb. What we now have is a clause with the form $Aux_1-Aux_2-(Aux_3...)-V-S$:

6. Wε,   híemławis   áłis   gax   néħakwida   Ẁenémtaxdi...
   WELL   THEN-and-   JUST   COME   RETURN-   BURY-past
           q-so-(3sub)   3sub

   —————————   ————   ————   ————   ————
   AUX$_1$ AUX$_2$ AUX$_3$ V   S

   "Well, and so then, they say, the mourners (buriers) had
                                just returned home...

In cases with an auxiliary _phrase_ when the subject precedes the verb, the prenominal subject marker is attached to the first auxiliary, separated from the subject by the other auxiliaries. In fact, the initial auxiliary takes all the grammatical machinery while the secondary suffixes are usually bare of any suffix at all. This initial or primary auxiliary bears a heavy grammatical burden: besides these pronominal and prenominal suffixes, it always takes any evidential or other modal markers used, the most common of which is the quotative /-ła/ (for other evidentials see Boas 1947:286); it takes any conjunction, like /-ṁ/ "and" and /-wis/ "so"; it takes tense markers (when present, these are used on the main verb as

well and even on nominals); and it occasionally takes aspect markers (which may also be on the main verb). In short, primary auxiliaries take over most of the suffixes ordinarily found on simple verbs; that is to say they take over much of the grammatical machinery of the entire sentence. What is noteworthy about this is that these auxiliaries, although formally verbal, have little concrete meaning left.

II

Auxiliaries can be divided into two classes: deictic auxiliaries, like /la-/ "to go, now," /gax-/ "to come, now," /hi-/ "that, then"; and "adverbial" stems like /k'i-/ "not," /o-/ "just," and /wax-/ "although." Deictic auxiliaries are usually found in both the initial or secondary positions in an auxiliary phrase; adverbial stems are most often found in the secondary positions, although some, especially /k'i-/ and /o-/, are sometimes found in the initial position.

The core of the system of discourse marking is built from the three most important deictic auxiliaries, /la-/ "to go, now," /gax-/ "to come, now," and /hi-/ "that, then." One or the other of these introduces most main clauses, three-quarters of causal subordinate clauses, and all other subordinate clauses.[6] In addition, they are found with five-sixths of those purpose constructions which have auxiliaries.

By far the most common auxiliary stem is /la-/ "to go,

now," repeated at the beginning of clause after clause over long stretches of discourse. We may take /la-/ as expressing the basic idea of discourse marking. In contrast, /gax-/ "to come, now," and /hi-/ "that, then" are used sparingly, /gax-/ perhaps half a dozen times in a narrative over 200 clauses long and /hi-/ perhaps twenty times. Let us first look at the ways in which /la-/ and /gax-/ contrast.

Both /la-/ and /gax-/ have other functions in Kwakw'ala besides that of auxiliary: as verbs proper, where they have the concrete meanings of "to go" and "to come" respectively; and, with the deictic prenominal object suffixes, as syntactic elements introducing indirect object phrases. /La-/ is used for second- and third-person indirect objects while /gax-/ is used with first person, inclusive and exclusive indirect objects: /lɛʔ wetlélaem láxa dexdexelíɬaxs.../ "now (they) hear the owl..." /lɛʔ/ "now" auxiliary, /wetlelaem/ "hear" verb, /laxa/ introducing indirect object, /dexdexe-líɬaxs/ "owl" indirect object; /lɛʔ ńix gáxen/ "now (he) said to me," /lɛʔ/ "now" auxiliary, /ńix/ "to say" verb, /gaxen/ introducing indirect object with pronominal indirect object /-en/ "I, me." (Note that third person subject is unmarked.) In fact, /la-/ and /gax-/ may function in all three roles, as auxiliary, verb, and introducing indirect objects, within a single clause: /len láwels láxen yáwapsemi/ "now I went out of my tent," /-en/ first person subject, /-wels/ "out of,"

/-en/ first person possessive, /yáwapsemi/ "tent."

About their use as auxiliaries Boas says only that "the verb /la-/ 'to go' has been...weakened...Nevertheless the feeling persists that /la-/ means a motion away from, /gax-/ a motion towards the speaker" (1947:287).

Boas was looking at Kwakw'ala syntax rather than discourse: for auxiliary /la-/ and /gax-/ are not weakened so much as serving another function, that of a discourse marker, nor does auxiliary /gax-/ mean motion towards the speaker. It may have been the use of these stems to introduce indirect object phrases which moved Boas to make this statement; however, if we look at discourse it becomes clear that the reference point of these auxiliaries is not actors at all, but the location where the action of the narrative is occurring, in front of a house, on the beach, in a canoe.

/La-/ and /gax-/ are used in descriptions of journeys away from and back to a location, where the perspective is that of a viewer at the point of origin:

7.	We, WELL	lálai GO-q- 3sub?	ɬenémt'itseɬa BURY-inc- pass	bábagwemxdi. BOY-past		
		AUX	V	S		
	We, WELL	híemlawis THEN-and- q-so	áɬis JUST	gax COME	néńakwida RETURN- 3sub	ɬenémtaxdi BURY-past
		AUX$_1$	AUX$_2$	AUX$_3$	V	S

```
lái    híudi    łáwenemxdɛs  Hádawa.
GO-    FAINT-   HUSBAND-     HADAWA
sbd    3sub     past-3poss

AUX    V        S            POSS
```

"Well, now, they say, the dead boy was buried.
Well, and so then, they say, the buriers had just
                                        returned home
(when) now Hadawa's husband fainted."

The setting of this example, the place where the action

before and after the funeral occurs, is Crooked Beach, the

village of the myth people; and the funeral, the trip away

from and back to Crooked Beach, is described from the point

of view of someone remaining there.

　　　This is true even when the narrative is a personal one

and the journey is described in first person. The following

example is taken from a narrative which begins as the narrator

sets off from Fort Rupert:

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8.  We,   k'ísṁisiʔ   íxała      qaś    dzáqwexganuʔxw
    WELL  NOT-and-    APPROACH   P-     EVENING-sbd=
          so-dem                 3sub   excl=sub

          AUX         V          PURPOSE
          lɛk    lágaa    lax    Udzólasi
          GO-    GO-      GO-    UDZOLAS-
          sbd    reach    3obj   dem

          AUX    V        IO
    We,   máłexsa   gánutlanuʔxw   hílɛxganuʔxw
    WELL  TWO       NIGHT-excl=    STAY-sbd=
                    sub            excl=sub

              (AUX)               V
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      gáxik    yúlxʔid    láxa    waxa     gaála.
      COME-    DRIFT-     GO-     WATER-   MORNING
      sbd      inc        3obj    app

      AUX      V          IO
We,   óṁisenuʔxw    taúdułtudex    Walas     lax
WELL  JUST-and-     BRING-3obj     WALAS     GO-
      so-excl=sub                            3obj

      AUX           V              OBJ
                             Xwélkwaxganuʔxw
                             XWELKW-sbd=excl=sub

                                          IO

      gáxi    hiṅákwela    nɛnagweṅákwela.
      COME-   THERE-con    RETURN-con
      sbd?

      AUX₁    AUX₂         V
We,   k'ísṁisiʔ    íxała     qaś    dzáqwexganuʔxw
WELL  NOT-and-     APPROACH  P-     EVENING-sbd=
      so-dem                 3sub   excl-sub

      AUX          V         PURPOSE
      gáxik    gáx'atlela    lax    Tsáxisi.
      COME-    COME-         GO-    TSAXIS-
      sbd      suddenly      3obj   dem

      AUX      V             IO
```

"Well, and so it had not approached evening
　　(when) now we reached Udzolas.
Well, two nights we stayed.
　　(when) now we began to come drifting down in the morning.
Well, and so we just brought Walas (ashore) to Xwelkw,
　　(when) now we kept on coming back.
Well, and so it had not approached evening
　　(when) now we came suddenly back to Tsaxis (Fort
                                        Rupert)."

This is told as if the narrator were at Fort Rupert watching

himself return. In another example, earlier in this narrative,

a man trying to be hired as a guide describes the journey in
prospect. "My fee is one dollar," he says,

9. "...q̓anuʔxw   laɬ   ńéxɛlaɬ
      CDT-excl= GO-   GO=UPSTREAM?-
      sub   fut   fut

      -------   ---   ---------------
      -S   AUX   V

      dluʔ   quʔ   gax̱tl   yúlaudetl   gáx̱en."
      AND   CDT=   COME-   DRIFT-fut   COME-
              3sub   fut   1obj

      ----   -----   -------- ---------   -----
      -S   AUX   V   IO
   "...if (for when) we go up
      and if (when) it comes drifting down to me."

The journey is described from the perspective of the speaker
at the moment of the speech event. Although the journey is
a future one, the travellers will return (/gax̱-/) to the
place of the speech event in which he describes it, as if to
himself, /gax̱en/ "to me." Since the speaker will be in the
canoe, himself returning to that place, the reference point
of /la-/ and /gax̱-/ is the place, not the speaker, even in
the indirect object phrase.

The idea of motion away from or towards a reference
point is, I think, the fundamental meaning of /la-/ and
/gax̱-/. However, in discourse /gax̱-/ assumes a more spe-
cialized function.

The basic structure of these narratives (and of many
other Kwakw'ala narratives), personal and mythical, is that
of a journey on which the events of the narrative occur,

followed by a return home. The plot of "Mink and the Sun"
is of Mink's journey to the upper world and his unceremonious
ejection from it. Hunt's narrative is of a journey from Fort
Rupert to Udzolas and back, although the subject matter is
essentially the events at Xwelkw, an intermediate stop.
(in the shorter myth, "Mink marries Kelp," the journey is to
the sea bottom and back, and forms only the climax of the
narrative, the attempted consummation of the marriage.) The
narratives thus take place in a series of locations, and the
sequences of action which occur in these various locations
are connected by short descriptions of movement from location
to location.

These locations can be thought of as stages upon which
the narrative action unfolds. /La-/ is in a sense the "un-
marked" auxiliary - it simply furthers the action - though
it is also used when the actors are leaving the stage, whether
they are stepping out of the narrative altogether, or whether
they are simply moving on to a new location. /Gax̱-/ is used
when an actor is approaching the location of the narrative
action, coming on stage.

But it must be remembered that these auxiliaries, /la-/
and /gax̱-/, are not verbs of motion. When it is required to
describe the concrete motion of actors to and fro /la-/ or
/gax̱-/ or another verb of motion, "to paddle," "to drift,"
etc., is used in the main verb position: /gax̱ik gax̱'atlela

lax Tsaxisi/ "(when) now we came suddenly back to Tsaxisi" (from example 8 above). This is not mere redundancy or repetition for stylistic purposes. The two forms, auxiliary and verb, have different functions. The main verb carries the concrete meaning of actors coming or going from a place, physically moving. The auxiliary expresses the relation of these physical events to the location of the narrative action. Thus, one can say /gaxaalas tsidaqi lawels lax gukwas Latuselagilis/, "came a woman going out of the house of Latuselagilis." /Gax-/ as an auxiliary signifies the fact that she is approaching the location of the action, which has been the outside of the house where Mink sat down. /La-/ as the verb signifies that she is physically going away from where she was before.

It might be argued that in this example the auxiliary still expresses physical motion. But if we look carefully at the following examples, it will become apparent that the very notion of "location" itself has both a concrete and an abstract aspect. As a concrete idea it refers to physical places, beaches, houses, and so on. As an abstract idea it refers to what might be called topical "places," or foci of the discourse. As a concrete journey is made of progression through a series of concrete places, so a Kwakw'ala discourse is made of a progression through a series of topics. The verb in a clause expresses only the concrete idea; the aux-

iliary expresses primarily, but perhaps not exclusively, the abstract idea.

Let us look at the narratives more closely to develop this argument.

George Hunt's personal narrative begins at Fort Rupert, but the very next /wɛ/-unit describes him setting out to Udzolas "to buy marten skins from the Nemgis trappers":

10.

ŧálagaɥentlasen	úmpŧeɬa	qen	leʔ	lax	Udzolas...
SEND-and-1sub- 3obl-1poss	FATHER- rem=past	P- 1sub	GO- dem	GO- 3obj	UDZOLAS

V-S		OBL	PURPOSE		

Wɛ,	len	híxʔidaem	la	alíxwʔidaxa	gaála...
WELL	GO- 1sub	THEN-inc- and	GO	GO=ON=SEA- inc-app	MORNING

AUX₁-S	AUX₂	AUX₃	V	

"And I was sent by my late father to go to Udzolas...
Well, now and then at that moment now I set out on the
sea in the morning..."

The first clause of the narrative has no auxiliary, but the next main clause (only purpose phrases intervene) begins with a /la-/ auxiliary. The following /wɛ/-unit describes his arrival in the evening at Xwelkw, an intermediate stop; and the action following this all takes place on the shore at Xwelkw, where he and his crew prepare to spend the night. When Hunt's cargo is unloaded, his tent set up on the shore, and the cargo put into the tent, his crew go to eat with their relatives at Xwelkw, and remain there the night. This sequence

uses /la-/ forms almost exclusively, ending with /wε, laṁen

ñemukw'es<u>x</u>a ganutli/, "well, and now I was alone that night,"

/la-/ "now" auxiliary.

Although the narrative does not state it explicitly,

this last clause leaves Hunt in a new location, his tent.

The very next lines are

11. Wε,   k'ísṁisi?   gá<u>ł</u>a   gánutle<u>x</u>s
     WELL   NOT-and-   LATE   NIGHT-sbd=
            so-dem   3sub

	AUX₁	V	S
	ga<u>x</u>ai	Ẁálas...	gá<u>x</u>el	la<u>x</u>en	yáwapsemi
	COME-	WALAS	COME-	GO-3obj	TENT-dem
	sbd		into	-1poss	
	AUX	S	V	IO	

"Well, and so the night was not late
(when) now Ẁalas...came into my tent."

But this /ga<u>x</u>-/ auxiliary signals not only the approach of

the character Ẁalas to the stage, it signals a change of

topic. The next clause (using a /la-/ auxiliary) and those

following concern Ẁalas trying to persuade Hunt to hire him

as a guide, and Hunt's response. /La-/ auxiliaries are used

as Hunt hires Ẁalas, as Ẁalas, preparing to take his leave,

warns Hunt he won't be able to sleep unless he shoots the

owls hooting all around, as Hunt, following Ẁalas' departure,

tries to compose himself for sleep. The owls hooting indeed

keep him awake; he shoots an owl from his tent (/la-/ auxil-

iaries). He goes out (/len láwels la<u>x</u>en yáwapsemi/) to put

the dead owl in the bow of his canoe, and then goes back in

(/laṁén laél lá<u>x</u>en yáwapsemi/) into his tent to sleep.

- The subject matter of this sequence has little to do

with the first sequence, the journeying to Xwelkw and the

setting up there for the night. It focuses on Ẁalas, his

words, and on Hunt's response to those words - hiring Ẁalas

and shooting the owl. It moves smoothly - in terms of

topic or focus - into the next, which describes Hunt waking

the next morning to hear the Nemgis, Ẁalas among them, arguing

over the dead owl outside his tent. Hunt goes out to parti-

cipate in the argument, and the action of the rest of the

scene, the argument, takes place there on the shore. /La-/

forms are used throughout this scene.

The next time /ga<u>x</u>-/ is used is at the beginning of the

following scene. The argument is over and Hunt and his men

load up Hunt's canoe in preparation for the day's trip up to

Udzolas. Then,

12. Wε,   gélṁisi?   wíl<u>x</u>sa
     WELL   FIRST-and-   ALL-in=
            so-dem   canoe

	AUX	V		
	gá<u>x</u>aas	Ẁálas	wí<u>x</u>seẏap'ala<u>x</u>a	múts'aqi	dzúmiga<u>ł</u>...
	CAME	WALAS	CARRY-3obj	FOUR	POLE
	AUX	S	V	O NP	

Wε,   ga<u>x</u>i?   la<u>x</u>s   la<u>x</u>   ú<u>x</u>dlaẏa.
WELL   COME-   GO-in=   GO-   STERN
       dem   canoe   3obj

	AUX	V	IO

We,	lamí?	tinúgemitl.
WELL	GO-and	POLE-in=
	-dem	bow-fut

AUX	V

"Well, and so first it was all aboard,
  (when) now came Walas carrying four poles...
Well, now he came aboard at the stern.
Well, and now he was going to pole in the bow."

Walas has arrived, again heralded by a /gax-/ auxiliary. His arrival is described from the perspective of the men in the canoe. The narrative is now focused on him while he loads his gear, seats himself, and determines if Hunt's crew includes a skillful punter. The topic has changed: the next sequence of events concerns the trip up river to the dangerous rapids at Masmets'a. Walas is still in charge: he directs the men to get out on the river bank while he attempts to haul the heavily laden canoe up the rapids. The events are described from the perspective of the watchers on the bank, with /la-/ auxiliaries. The attempt is unsuccessful, the rope breaks, but Walas comes out safely, and /we, gáxi? síxwsa?/ "well, now he came paddling ashore." The narrative focusses on him as he repairs the rope and bravely makes a second, and successful, attempt.

The very next lines are those in example 8 above, describing the last stage of their journey to Udzolas and their return home. This serves as a transition into a new phase of the narrative, the events at Fort Rupert. When they have

been at Fort Rupert nine days, /gáxaasa bágwensi...ts'ekál-alas, Wálasaxs qebeltúsai lax Másmets'a/ "came a visitor... telling the news, that Walas had capsized at Masmets'a." This /gax-/ ushers in the next topic - the story about Walas' death and the quarrel that broke out at his funeral - and the new location for the narrative action - this story is set back at Xwelkw. /La-/ auxiliaries are used during this. Then, Walas' adversary is linking Walas' death to the incident over the owls, when:

13.

	Híemłai	wáli	wáłdemas	Yéqutl'iqelas
	THEN-and	STOP	WORD-	YEQUTL'IQELAS
	-q-dem	-3sub	3poss	
	AUX	V	S	POSS
	gáxai	gáxewelsi	genémxdes	Wálasdi
	COME-	COME-out-	WIFE-past	WALAS-
	sbd	3sub	3poss	past
	AUX	V	S	POSS
We,	láłai	ñíka	ts'edáqi...	
WELL,	GO-q-	SAY	WOMAN-dem	
	3sub?			
	AUX	V	S	

"And then, they say, Yequtl'iqelas' words stopped,
  (when) now Walas' widow came out (of her house).
Well, now, they say, the woman said..."

This introduces Walas' wife to us, of whom we have not yet heard. The following sequence of events concerns her words to Yequtl'iqelas and her attempt to kill him in her rage. The narrative now has /la-/ forms until /we, laem laba/ "well, and now is the end."

If we look at the mythological narrative "Mink and the Sun," we see /gax̲-/ used in the same way to indicate changes in topic. One scene illustrates this particularly well. The scene begins with Mink (Tl'iselagiła) arriving in the upper world, and discovering the house of the Sun (with /la-/ auxiliaries). Then, "he hadn't been sitting there very long,"

14. ...gáx̲aalasa tsidáqi láwels lax̲ gúkwas Látuselagilisi.
     COME WOMAN- GO-out GO- HOUSE- LATUSELAGILIS
           dem   3obj 3poss

AUX	S	V		IO

"...(when) now came a woman going out of the house of
            Latuselagilis."

The woman comes up to Mink, and now the focus of the narrative shifts to her. She speaks to Mink (/la-/), returns into the house (/la-/), tells the Sun, Latuselagilis, about Mink (/la-/), and receives his command to invite Mink into the house (/la-/). The narrative remains focussed on the woman. She goes out again (/la-/), invites Mink in (/la-/), and he comes (/gax̲-/) inside. Now the topic changes: the rest of the scene describes the conversation between Mink and the Sun, which ends with Mink spending the night in the Sun's house.

And to return briefly to the initial examples of /gax̲-/ presented, those in descriptions of returns from journeys (examples 7-9 above): these /gax̲-/'s actually function in the narratives in the same way as the other examples, to change the topic. Example 8 was discussed above. In example

seven, the topic previous to the lines quoted is of Hadaẇa's child falling ill and dying; the subsequent lines concern the death of Hadaẇa's husband and her mourning for them both. Example 9 is direct speech and the auxiliaries are operating within that discourse, rather than in the main narrative.

In these examples the abstract progression from topic to topic intertwines with the concrete movement of actors from location to location, as the auxiliaries indicating this progression of topics are used almost exclusively with verbs of motion. As we have noted, the concrete and the abstract ideas are related anyway. (This notion persists even in our own tradition: "topic" comes from Greek topos, place.) This may be why verbs of motion are occasionally found without auxiliaries.

Topics, and locations, are the reference points of /la-/ and /gax̲-/, auxiliary and verb. In a sense, /la-/ and /gax̲-/ as auxiliaries are like proximate and obviate pronouns, referring though not to objects but to the moving stream of events. /La-/ auxiliaries indicate the ongoing action at hand, moving away, while /gax̲-/ auxiliaries indicate a new phase of action approaching, to be transformed on its arrival into /la-/ action. Since action is something performed by actors, a new phase of action will often be brought by a new actor arriving on the scene - one way /gax̲-/ is commonly used.

/La-/ and /gax̲-/ can thus be thought of as expressing

essentially <u>spatial</u> ideas. However, if we reconsider the
examples above, we notice that these auxiliaries also express
implicitly a <u>temporal</u> idea, which might best be described as
<u>ongoingness</u> or <u>sequentiality</u>. An action described by a verb
in a clause beginning with /la-/ or /gax-/ simply follows
in time the action described in the preceding cause (this
works slightly differently in clauses expressing causal sub-
ordination). It is for this reason that I have translated
both of these by "now" in the free translation of the examples,
although I have been discussing the spatial ideas involved
in these auxiliaries.

The temporal meaning of /la-/ is clearly expressed in
the formulaic ending of Kwakw'ala narratives, some variant
of /laém laba/ " and now is the end." The translation ob-
scures the fact that /lába/ "end" is not a noun but a verb,
in fact, the main verb of the clause, /la-/ with the suffix
/-ba/ denoting the extremity of a long horizontal object.
/Laba/ means literally "to go to the end," as the form /laxs/
means "to go into a canoe." Thus, the end of George Hunt's
narrative is

15. Wε,   laém   laba   láxeq.
    WELL   GO-   GO-   GO-3obj=pre
           and   end   -3obj=pron
           ___   ____   _____
           AUX   V   IO
    "Well, and now it has gone to the end of it."

It was noted above that Kwakw'ala narratives are often
about actual journeys, describing progression through loca-
tions, and are conceived on a more abstract level as pro-
gressions from topic to topic. Here we see this theme again
on the temporal dimension: narrative as a journey in time
away from its beginning. Auxiliary /la-/ (and /gax-/) ex-
presses "going farther" on that journey, that is, "getting
later" in terms of the events of the narrative. Each clause
beginning with auxiliary /la-/ is further away in the time
of the narrative than the preceding one, and the beginning
of narrative time is the first clause in the narrative; this
clause, being the beginning, requires no auxiliary /la-/ at
all. The end of the narrative, the end of the journey in
time and topic, is thus /lába/, "arriving at the end."

But sequentiality is not the only temporal relationship
conceivable in a narrative. There are various kinds of co-
occurrence possible. As it turns out, /la-/ and /gax-/ con-
trast in this dimension with the auxiliary /hi-/ "that, then,"
which expresses the idea of co-occurrence of events.

According to Boas, /hi-/ is actually a pronoun, part of
a paradigm of "verbal" and nominal" emphatic forms (1947:
157-9). These emphatic pronouns, like most other Kwakw'ala
person markers, distinguish first person, inclusive, exclusive,
second person, and in the third person, have separate forms
for third persons near the speaker, near the addressee, and

outside the vicinity of the speech event. /Hi-/ is the ver-
bal emphatic form for third person outside of speech event,
for example, /hid Siwid/ "he over there is Siwid" (ibid.).
The first and second person verbal forms are often used in
quoted speech in narrative. The other third person verbal
forms (third person near speaker, third person near addressee)
are rarely used in narrative. One example will serve to
illustrate the contrast between these forms and /hi-/ third
person outside of speech event.

Hunt, in an explanatory note to Boas that begins his
narrative, describes Kwakiutl beliefs about owls with a suc-
cession of clauses introduced by /la-/ forms. At the end of
this section, before embarking on a description of the Kwa-
kiutl custom which validates these beliefs, Hunt comments:

16.

Wε, WELL	yúem 3nr2 -and	wáłdemsa WORD- 3poss	gálε EARLY	Kwáguła, KWAKIUTL	yex app	lágiłas GO-reason
AUX	S		POSS NP		APP	...

gwíl'alaxs
SAY-sbd=3sub

...

wetlélaaxa   déxdexelíłaxs...
HEAR-3obj   OWL-sbd=3sub...

V	O

Wε, WELL	híx?idaṁisa 3nr3-inc- and-so	qw'élyakwi OLD=PERSON -dem	begwánem MAN	yálaqewelsaxa SEND-out-3obj
AUX		S NP		V

úgwela   begwánem.
OTHER   MAN

0

"Well, and this (near you) is the word of the early
                Kwaguł, the reason of saying it is
        hearing the owls...
Well, and that (outside speech event, in narrated event)
                at that moment an old man sends out another
                                                    man."

The speech event is Hunt writing to Boas, and here, the des-
cription of the belief, a written text, is physically near
Boas - he will be reading it in New York. This description
is referred to by /yu-/ third person near second. The cus-
tom of sending out a man to ask the owl its name is outside
the speech event, belonging only to the narrated event, and
therefore is referred to by /hi-/.

Boas suggested that these third person emphatic pro-
nominal forms might better be called demonstrative pronouns
(ibid.). Again, it is instructive to compare them to the
English demonstratives "this" and "that" by which I have
glossed them here. The English demonstratives are not fixed
in their relations to the speech event and the narrated event:
they can be contrasting a third person close to the speech
event with a third person far from the speech event; or they
can be contrasting two third persons outside the speech event,
in the narrated event. In the latter case, the proximate
form "this" refers to the third person on which the discourse
is focussed, and the obviate form will be used for that same

third person when the focus of the discourse shifts away from it (or he or she). The Kwakw'ala auxiliary demonstratives, though, are in a fixed relationship to the speech event. /Hi-/ is fixed in reference in relation both to the speech event (it always refers to a third person far from the speech event or in the narrated event) and to the focus of the discourse (it is used regardless of where that focus is). The auxiliaries /la-/ and /ga$\underline{x}$-/, on the other hand, function in discourse more like English demonstratives, except that /la-/ and /ga$\underline{x}$-/ express the idea of motion; shifts in the discourse focus are shifts in an ongoing stream of action. English demonstratives, like Kwakw'ala verbal emphatic pronouns, express static, spatial relationships, they refer to things coexistent in time rather than events that are portions of an ongoing stream of time.

The fundamental idea of /hi-/, then, is of the juxtaposition of events in space; what is occurring separately in space is coincident in time. In example 16 above, the event described by the clause beginning with /hi-/, in which the old man sends out another man to ask the owl's name, occurs during the previously described event, that of the Kwaguł listening in their houses to the owls hooting: /wetlélaa$\underline{x}$a déxdexelí±a$\underline{x}$s.../ "they hear the owls..." In another example from Hunt's narrative, the character Yεqutl'iqelas is quarrelling with Hunt when:

17.

Híem	wali	wá±demas
3nr3 -and	STOP -3sub	WORD-3poss
AUX	V	S

láas	yáq'egałi	Wálas...
GO	BEGIN=TO= SPEAK-3sub	WALAS
AUX	V	S

"And then his words topped, now Walas began to speak..."

/Hi-/ marks the event of Yεqutl'iqelas' stopping to speak as simultaneous with the end of his speech in the previous clause ("oh, you little Northerner, get out of here!"). Walas' beginning to speak is sequential to, follows this stopping to speak.

Later in Hunt's narrative, as he and his men prepare to continue their trip upriver, Walas comes aboard the canoe:

18.

Wε,	híṁis	la	kw'ágiwi$\underline{x}$a	xwákw'ena
WELL	3nr3- and-so	GO	SIT-in=bow -3obj	CANOE
	AUX₁	AUX₂	V	O

Wε,	laṁíˀ	náxwa	dáxˀid$\underline{x}$a	síwayu	qaš	sí$\underline{x}$w'estaliˀ
WELL	GO-and -dem	ALL	TAKE-inc -3obj	PADDLE inst	P- 3sub	PADDLE-nom
	AUX	S	V	O		PURPOSE ...

	lálaa	la$\underline{x}$	Tl'ígilis...
	GO-con 3obj	GO-	TL'IGILIS
...	AUX	S	V

"Well, and so then now he sat in the bow of the canoe. Well, and now all took hold of the paddles for paddling going to Tl'igilis..."

This example shows the interplay of the ideas these auxili-
aries express with ideas of aspect. Walas' sitting is not
sitting down in a perfective or inchoative sense; the main
verb is neutral with respect to aspect. In contrast, the
verb of the following clause, /dáx²id-/ "take hold" has an
inchoative suffix /-x²id/. The action of the first clause,
the /hi-/ clause, is general, diffuse, overlapping with the
sharply defined action of the /la-/ clause. In a series of
discrete, sequential /la-/ actions - loading the canoe, coming
aboard, taking up the paddles, this sticks out as the only
action which occurs and continues to occur - for some 26
clauses, in fact - while any of the others are occurring.
(We know that the /hi-/ refers to following events here because
of the presence of the secondary /la/ - this will be discussed
in more detail in the third section, below. Otherwise, aux-
iliaries refer to the actions of previous clauses.)

There are no rules about which aspect markers on the
main verb can be used with which auxiliaries: /la-/ can be
used with main-verb continuative markers, /hi-/ with main-
verb inchoative markers, and so on. Main-verb aspects and
auxiliaries are two different systems, and how they are used
to supplement each other is a creative process, and depends
on the precise nature of the events being described. This
is not true of aspect markers on auxiliaries, which are an
integral part of the discourse-marking system. Auxiliary

aspect will also be discussed in the last section of this
paper.

To summarize the ideas developed in this section, Kwa-
kw'ala narrative is conceived of as a journey, in a literal,
concrete sense - the characters go somewhere and things
happen to them as they go - but especially in an extended,
abstract sense. In this abstract sense, a narrative is a
progression from event to event, from topic to topic, a going
farther and a getting later. Roughly, each clause describes
an event, an independent moment of action, which stands in
various kinds of deictic relations - temporal, spatial, and
topical relations - with other such events. These deictic
relations are indicated by the auxiliaries which begin each
clause, especially the deictic auxiliaries /la-/, /gax-/,
and /hi-/. /La-/ "to go, now" expresses the basic idea of
journeying, of progression, of ongoingness, of the sequen-
tiality of events. /Gax-/ "to come, now" shifts the focus
of the narrative onto a new topic - a new character, a new
kind of activity, a new location. /Hi-/ "that, then" sig-
nifies juxtaposition in space of two events - they are simul-
taneous, cooccurring.

However, the actual relations specified in narratives
are more elaborate, and in order to understand them, it is
necessary to look at the whole auxiliary system. It depends
not only on the use of initial "primary" auxiliaries, like

those presented in the examples in this section, but also
on the aspect markers and conjunctions suffixed to these
initial auxiliaries, and on the auxiliaries in the second
and third positions.

III

Auxiliaries are very often found in combinations, espe-
cially the adverbial auxiliaries, which rarely occur alone.
In such cases the initial auxiliary, adverbial or deictic,
retains all the demonstrative, case/person, connective, evi-
dential, and aspect suffixes, while the auxiliaries in the
second and third positions are usually bare of any suffix.
(Aspect suffixes are occasionally found on some auxiliaries
in the secondary positions).

In a myth, all or nearly all the initial auxiliaries
take the quotative /-ʔa/; so too do auxiliaries in clauses
in personal narrative and explanatory discourse which des-
cribe second-hand information. Other evidentials on the
auxiliary are possible, for instance /-enga/ events of a
dream, but none of these occurred in these texts.

Initial auxiliaries often take demonstrative suffixes,
usually /-i/ third person far from the place of the speech
event, although others are used in personal narrative. I
will not discuss these in any detail in this paper, though
they surely belong in this system.

Aspect markers and connective suffixes are less common.

The suffixes most used are the connectives /-m/, /-em/ "and"
and /-(w)is/ "so," and the aspect suffixes /-aɬa/ a contin-
uative, and /-xʔid/ inchoative. These suffixes are more
common on some auxiliaries than on others. /Gax-/ never
has connective suffixes, which agrees with its use to intro-
duce new topics into the discourse. /La-/ forms very rarely
have aspect suffixes though they are found with connectives,
especially /-m/ "and." /Hi-/ forms, and adverbial auxiliaries,
are never found in the initial position without at least /-m/,
generally have both /-m/ "and" and /-wis/ "so," and /hi-/ is
often found with aspect suffixes as well.

Let us examine each of these suffixes in order.

The connective /-m/ or /-em/ "and" is the most widely
used of these suffixes. According to Boas, it indicates a
"close connection in thought" between the clause in which it
is found and the clause preceding it (1947:338). It can be
used in more than one word in a clause, when that word is
repeated from the previous clause.[7] It is quite different
from the syntactic stem /dluʔ-/ "and," which is used in the
sense of "with" to connect two words or two phrases which
have the same syntactic function (e.g. subject, conditional
phrase, etc.).

The key to the use of /-m/ seems to be in the way an
ongoing stream of activity is divided up linguistically
into /we/-units and clauses. Actions which are linguis-

tically represented as separate may actually be inextric-
ably intertwined. For instance, /-m̓/ will connect a clause
stating that actors responded to something, and the clause
describing their response. It will connect a description of
the performance of an activity, and a statement that the
activity was completed. On the other hand, clauses which
describe completely separate actions, or which describe a
passage of time between topically connected sequences of
events, will lack /-m̓/. Turns at talk lack /-m̓/ connecting
them, except for a certain kind of speech act, discussed
below with the suffix /-x̓iɬ/. It is significant that the
auxiliary /gax̱-/, which introduces a new topic into the dis-
course, is never found with /-m̓/.

Let us look at an extended section of narrative to
develop this idea more clearly.

19.   Wε,   láɬai   qás'idi   Tl'íselagiɬa.
    WELL   GO-q-   WALK-inc   TL'ISELAGIɬA
         dem   -3sub

    "Well, now, they say, Tl'iselagiɬa set out walking."

  Wε,   laémɬai   nánagigix̱   waɬdemas   Látuselagilisaq.
  WELL   GO-and-   OBEY-3obj   WORD-   LATUSELAGILIS-
      q-dem   3poss   3obj=pron

    "Well, and now, they say, he obeyed the words of Lat-
                uselagilis to him."

  Wε,   laémɬai   íxbiduem   qεn̓ákwela.
  WELL   GO-and-   GOOD-dim   WALK-con
      q-3sub   -and

    "Well, and now, they say, the good little one was
                walking along."

Wε,   láɬai   élaq   neqélax̱s
WELL   GO-q-   ALMOST   NOON-sbd
    dem   =3sub

    lái   wísq'an̓ákwela
    GO-   RESTLESS-con
    sbd

"Well, now, they say, it was almost noon,
    now he was growing restless."

Wε,   laémɬai   yáq'endeto'i   Tl'íselagiɬa.
WELL   GO-and-   BEGIN=TO=   TL'ISELAGIɬA
    q-dem   SPEAK-3sub

"Well, and now, they say, Tl'iselagiɬa began to speak."

Wε,   láɬai   n̓íka
WELL   GO-q-   SAY
    dem

"Well, now, they say, he said

        "ɬa, sísel,   hádsadso   qwíqwets'ex
        OH DEAD   IMPER-   GO=AWAY-
                  emph   exhor

    dsáxitsix̱   q'ídsetsemis   dzáx̱en," [8]
    COME-sbd?   MANY-?   COME-1obj

      'Oh, damn, go away!
      now (too) many are around me!'

  n̓íxɬaix̱s
  SAY-q-sbd
  =3sub

  lái   xíkwax̱a   ánwa'i.
  GO-   SWEEP-   CLOUD
  sbd   3obj

  they say he said;
  now he swept away the clouds."

Wε,   láɬai   dzélxw'ida.
WELL   GO-q-   RUN-inc-lex
    dem

"Well, now, they say, he began to run."

Wε,   laémɬaux̱   ts'élxw'iduxda   n̓álεqens.
WELL   GO-and-q   HOT-inc-3sub=   SKY-3obj-
    dem=nr2   nr2   1poss

"Well, and now, they say, (this) our sky (near you) grew
                hot with it."

We,   híṁis   ts'et'édaatsa   xi?xóx̲   láx̲wa   ṅaéngex̲
WELL   ȝnrȝ-   CRACK-inc-   HEAT?-   GO-   MOUNTAIN
        and-so   ȝobl   dem=nr2   ȝobj=   dem-nr2
                                            nr2

"Well, and so then the cracks appeared in (these)
                mountains (near you)."

We,   híemxaáwis   la   legekwémgiⱡtsa   lilégekw'ax̲
WELL   ȝnr2-and-   GO   ROCK-?-ȝobl   ROCKS-dem=
        also-so   nr2

            láx̲wa   ṅáx̲wax̲   awíṅagwisa.
            GO-ȝ=   COVER-   SHORE
            obj=nr2   dem=nr2

"Well, and so then too now the rocks (near you) covering
                the shore were burnt."

This scene begins previous to this sequence, with the arrival
of the morning light in Latuselagilis' house. Tl'iselagiⱡa,
Mink, is sent to go walking with the Sun-mask that day.
Latuselagilis repeats his instructions of the night before:
don't walk fast, or sweep away the clouds roughly, or the
villages below will suffer. The next clause is the first
above, "now Tl'iselagiⱡa set out walking." This begins a
new event, topically, but not instrinsically related to Lat-
uselagilis' advice. The next few clauses describe the first
stage of Mink's walk across the heavens. His obedience to
Latuselagilis' advice is part of this event as is the des-
cription of "the good little one walking along," and both
clauses take an /-ṁ/ "and" connective. Now, the narrative
skips ahead in time and begins a new event. Mink is growing
restless - this takes no /-ṁ/. He begins to speak, swearing
at the cloud-women who cluster around him - this is another

aspect of his restlessness and does take an /-ṁ/.

(It should be noted that the clause "and now he began
to speak" has /-ṁ/ "and," while the next clause "he said"
does not, even though these would seem to be intrinsically
connected, part of the same event or activity. For whatever
reason, the formulaic sequence /yaq'-...ṅika/ "begin to
speak...said" is never connected by an /-ṁ/ in any circum-
stance.)

Now, two discrete, self-contained actions occur: Mink
sweeps away the clouds shielding the full light of the Sun
from the lower world; next, he begins to run. These clauses
take no /-ṁ/. Next, however, comes an event which is con-
nected to the previous events: the sky grows hot. The next
two clauses are marked by /hi-/ as occurring simultaneously
with the heating of the sky: the mountains crack and the
rocks covering the shores get burnt.

It is important to understand the difference between
the kind of simultaneity indicated by /hi-/ auxiliaries and
the kind of intrinsic connectedness indicated by /-ṁ/ "and."
That they are related is clear from the fact that /hi-/ in
the initial position is never found without /-ṁ/. That they
are nevertheless distinct is clear from the fact that /la-/
does sometimes take /-ṁ/. /La-/ indicates sequentiality,
but the idea of sequentiality depends on the idea of the tem-
poral discreteness of actions. That is, in order to be truly

sequential, an action must only begin after the last action has been completed or is no longer being performed, and must itself cease before the next action is performed. Thus, "I shot an owl, I picked up the owl, I threw it into my canoe, I went into my tent," are four sequential actions, each fitting perfectly within the boundaries of the actions preceding it and following it. But "he set out walking, he was obeying the words of Latuselagilis (about how he should be walking), he was walking along well" are not perfectly sequential. There is a single activity extended over time, Mink's walking along as he is supposed to, and it has three different aspects: his setting out, his obeying, and his being good; the /-ṁ/ required because they are part of a single activity. It might be objected that these are simultaneous and should also be marked with /hi-/; but /hi-/ is only used when two spatially separated activities are performed or occur together in time: for instance the cracking of the mountains and the burning of the rocks, marked by /hi-/ as simultaneous with the heating up of the sky.

This is a subtle distinction, but crucial for the understanding of how these forms are used in Kwakw'ala narrative. /La-/ by itself indicates pure sequentiality. /Hi-/ never occurs by itself. /La-/ plus /-ṁ/ indicates different aspects of a single activity; /hi-/ plus /-ṁ/ indicates different activities spatially distant and occurring simultaneously.

Before we go on to the discussion of the connective /-(w)is/ "so," it should be noted that /hi-/ rarely occurs only with /-ṁ/ "and." In the example presented above, the /hi-/ clauses occur both with /-wis/ and one with the connective /-xaa/ "also," which add concepts to the idea of pure simultaneity. In the main clause, initial /hi-/ with /-ṁ/ "and" only is found when a character's speech is interrupted by the speech or some other action of another character (see examples 13, 17).

The connective /-(w)is/ "so" is rarely found with /la-/ and never with /gax̱-/, although it is common with /hi-/ and the adverbial auxiliaries. /-(W)is/ was never found in these texts without /-ṁ/. The two connectives may be separated by the quotative, in the form /-emḷawis/ "and so, they say," or when the quotative is not present, they occur in the form /-ṁis).

Boas states that /-(w)is/ expresses a "weak causal connection" (1947:335); in other words, the clause with /-(w)is/ suffixed to its initial auxiliary is the result in some way of the action described in the previous clause. For example, in the last two clauses of example 19 above, /hi-/ with /-ṁ/ and /-(w)is/ indicates these events are both simultaneous with and caused by the preceding clause, "the sky grew hot." (The /-xaa/ "also" indicates that both are caused by this).

The idea of result does not always seem to be present

when /-(w)is/ is used, however. In one or two examples it is used with /la-/ where there is not even any topical connection between the clause and the preceding one, and it is hard to argue a motivation for the use of /-m̓/ as well. For example, near the end of "Mink and the Sun," Mink is thrown back down to the lower world. The next clause, beginning the last scene, is /wɛ, laemławisi dlaxʷat'ałaida mukwi ts'idaqi/ "well, and so now, they say, four women went out digging clams."

Initial auxiliaries are occasionally found with aspect markers, which do not have to agree with the aspect of the main verb, usually neutral anyway. The two more common aspect markers on auxiliaries, /-ała/ a continuative and /-xʔid/ inchoative or momentaneous, are never found on /la-/ or /gax-/, and are rarely found on any auxiliary other than /hi-/. The distinction between these has to do with the distinctness of the boundaries of an event. Events marked by /hi-/ plus /-ała/ continuative (usually in the fixed form /himenała-/) are diffuse, having blurry onsets and blurry ends:

20. Wɛ,   laémłai   k'iós   la   láẇenemxdi   Hádaẇa.
     WELL GO-and-   NOT   GO   HUSBAND-   HADAWA
           q-dem   past

     "Well, and now, they say, Hadaẇa's husband was no more."

Wɛ,   hímenałaemłáwis   łágwaʔłi   Hádaẇa...
WELL 3nrʒ-con-and-q-so WAIL-3sub HADAWA

"Well, and so then always, they say, Hadaẇa was wailing..."

Wɛ,   láłai   géła   la   łełí   łáẇenemxdɛs...
WELL GO-q-   LONG   GO   DEAD   HUSBAND-past
      dem   3sub   3poss

"Well, now, they say, her husband was dead a long time.

Wɛ,   laémłai   tl'élgemxʔidi   Hádaẇɛq.
WELL GO-and-   PUSH-face-inc   HADAWA-
      q-dem   -3sub   3obj=pron

"Well, and now, they say, Hadaẇa pushed away his face."

The first clause of this example has an /-m̓/ "and" because it is part of the event of the preceding lines - her husband's death and burial. The second clause is also connected to the fact of the husband's death (/-m̓/), and is the result of it (/-wis/); but it is a separate activity, simultaneous with the being no more (/hi-/). The /-ała/ suffix indicates that her wailing is not a discrete, inchoative activity; it is diffuse, sloppy, continuously occurring during the events described in the clauses preceding it and perhaps not finally ceasing until the last clause in the example.

The suffix /-xʔid/ inchoative or momentaneous with /hi-/ refers to discrete, sharply defined events simultaneous with the preceding clause. This, however, does not adequately describe the way /híxʔid-/ is used. To do this we must look at the categories of events which take /híxʔid-/.

All responses to a certain type of speech act take /híxʔid-/. These speech acts include ordering, demanding

information, and asking someone directly to perform an action.
Responses to other kinds of speech acts take /la-/ forms.
For example, Mink says to his mother "Make me a bow and four
arrows!" /wɛ, híxʔidaemlawisi Hadaẃa.../ "well, and so then
at that moment, they say, Hadaẃa..." begins making him his
bow and arrows.

Similarly, /híxʔid-/ is used when an event demands a
customary, cultural response. These include: the birth of
a baby, requiring that a name be given; the discovery of
a corpse, requiring burial; hearing an owl hooting at night,
requiring a man be sent out to ask its name; a boy's mis-
behavior or disobedience, requiring a lecture by his mother;
the arrival of a visitor on an errand, requiring that the
visitor be shown in and dealt with, and so on (see example
16 above).

The last category includes magical acts which auto-
matically bring a result: the conception of Mink when the
Sun shines on his mother, the speed of Mink's growing up
when washed magically with cold water by his mother. All
uses of /híxʔid-/ fit into one of these three categories.

These three categories can be classified together under
the label "culturally inevitable responses." Boas did not
provide the information to write a complete ethnography of
speaking for the Kwakiutl; but from comments by a modern
ethnographer, it appears that "direct speech" - giving orders,
demanding information, and so on - occupies a special place

in their classification of speech acts (Rohner 1967:63-4, 93-
100, 135-6, et passim). We can reason that such speech acts
are conceived as being so tightly connected to the responses
to them - with more than a causal connection - that the res-
ponses are conceived as simultaneous in an extended sense.
An order presupposes a response to it.

A similar argument can be made for the second category
of /híxʔid-/ events. A birth or death so inevitably will
bring a name or a burial that these are no longer sequen-
tial events. The two events, the birth and the naming,
the death and the burial, come as a unit in time.

Again, events of the third category are caused by
magical activities, inherently potent, which presuppose a
result. The initial event and the /híxʔid-/ response form
such a tightly connected unit in time that they are conceived
as having a kind of simultaneity.

A word should be said here about the form which con-
trasts with /híxʔid-/, /o-/ "just, only." Obviously there
must be cases in which the culturally inevitable response
does not happen: orders which are not obeyed, misbehaving
boys who are not chastised by their mothers, and so on. This
contrast is especially clear in the responses to direct speech
acts. Thus, when Yɛ̨utl'iqelas demands of Hunt "was it you
who shot this owl?" Hunt responds /hixʔidamhisen ulaqwaxgen/
"and so then at that moment I confessed that..." When Yɛqu-
tl'qelas next asks if Hunt is aware that he shot a man when

he shot the owl, Hunt says /ómisen duqwełaqixs.../ "and so
I just looked at him" rather than responding.

I have described the function of the suffixes most com-
monly occurring with auxiliaries. Next I will examine com-
binations of the deictic auxiliaries, /la-/, /gax-/ and /hi-/,
and the nuances of meaning these express. First the combin-
ation in which /hi-/ is initial, /la-/ or /gax-/ secondary,
will be examined; and then the combination of /la-/ followed
by /hi-/, and then the exceptions to the rules stated for the
first two combinations. Space prohibits considering the com-
binations these enter into with adverbial auxiliaries.

/Hi-/ is used in the primary position with /la-/ fol-
lowing when an event is simultaneous with a previous event,
but describes a state or condition or a change into a state
which will hold during the following sequence of action.
See, for instance, example 18 above and the discussion that
follows. Without a secondary /la-/, the /hi-/ would refer
only to the preceding clause.

When /la-/ is used with the suffix /-gił/ "reason of"
/hi-/ is always used in the primary auxiliary position,
(except when the clause is introduced instead by /yex/, the
third-person-near-third-person appositional form of /hi-/,
see example 16 above).

21. Wε,   hímis   lágiłasux   tl'tlúbelxetuxda denásmesix
    WELL   3nr3-   GO-reason- DEAD=CEDAR-top- RED=CEDAR-
           and-so   dem=nr2   3sub=nr2   dem=nr2

"Well, and so that is why those red cedars (near you)
are dead at the top."

This statement follow, of course, the description of Mink's
misdeeds with the Sun-mask, and is part of an explanation
of how they affected the world in ways the listeners can
see. The initial /hi-/ indicates the simultaneity of the
burning of the tops of cedars with the other damage Mink has
done, described in the previous clauses. The /la-/ in /la-
gił-/ indicates a change into a condition which will hold
foe some time.

It is interesting to note that in Kwakw'ala, "reason"
seems to mean, not "reason of being this way," but "reason
of going this way." The suffix /-gił/ is used with other
stems, but this is the form in which it is found in narrative.

/La-/ is used in the primary position, with /hi-/ fol-
lowing, when the event is concurrent only with a following
event or events. These /hi-/ forms are either bare, or have
the aspect marker /-ała/ continuative suffixed to them in
the fixed form /hímenałaem-/ "and always." There are two
points to note about this: first, this is the only circum-
stance in which /hi-/ is found in the secondary position in
a clause; second, /la-/ and /hi-/ are found in this construc-
tion only in one environment in the narratives. /La-/ and
/hi-/ occur in this orderonly when the narrator is about to
embark on a portion of the discourse in which the action
shifts to a different setting, a different time and place.

These are almost entirely related to major breaks in the
poetic structure of the narrative. Here, initial /la-/
signals disjunction, sequentiality, the moving onward
time of the narrative, separating the reference of /hi-/
from the previous time and place. The secondary /hi-/
refers then to the events ahead, the journey onward signaled
by /la-/. In this circumstance, the /la-/+ /hi-/ event is
one which is concurrent with a large section of the fol-
lowing discourse, the whole next scene or sequence of action,
as in the third clause of "Mink and the Sun": /Wε, laʔai hi
gukweli Qalugwisi/ "Well, now then, they say, they lived at
Qalugwis (Crooked Beach)."

There are two exceptions to this which it is worth con-
sidering. One is a case at the beginning of a major dis-
course break in which /hi-/ is initial, /la-/ secondary; the
other is a case, again, near the beginning of a scene, in
which /la-/ is initial, /hi-/ secondary, which refers at
least in part to the previous event. Let us look at the
latter case first (see example 10 above). This is the only
example in the narratives in which a secondary /hi-/ form
is found with the inchoative suffix /-xʔid/. Ordinarily,
such a situation, an order and a response, would demand that
/híxʔid/ be in the initial position, and the /la-/ which
indicates that Hunt is on the way to Udzolas for the next
part of the discourse would be secondary. Here, there are

two /la-/ forms, one initial and one in the third position.
It seems possible that in such a context, the second full
clause, the first /wε/ in a narrative which is not only a
metaphorical but a literal journey, that an initial /la-/
is required to get the story in motion.

The second exceptional case is as follows:

22. Wε,   lamí Tl'íselagiła haxwełʔéndxa la denéma.
    WELL GO-and TL'ISELAGIŁA CLIMB-3obj   GO ROPE
          -dem
    "Well, and now Tl'iselagiła climbed up the rope."

    Wε, laʔai lágai Tl'íselagiła láxa kwóxsu.
    WELL GO-q- GO-   TL'ISELAGIŁA GO-   HOLE
         dem   reach-   3obj
                3sub
    "Well, now, they say, Tl'iselgiła reached the hole.

    Híxʔidaemłáwisi la láxsoi   Tl'íselagiła
    3nr3-inc-and-q   GO GO-through TL'ISELAGIŁA
        -so-dem   -3sub

        láxa hímalaxudl t'ixíłesa ík'ε awíñagwisa.
        GO-   3nr3-and-   DOOR-3obl ABOVE COUNTRY
        3obj cdt?
    And so then at that moment, they say, Tl'isela-
                            giła passed through
        what is called the door to the upper world."

Again, the /hi-/ refers to the previous clause, in which
Tl'iselagiła reaches the door to the upper world; the /la-/
indicates that the new condition, the being in the upper
world, lasts during the following sequence of action. One
would expect an initial /la-/ form to precede the /hi-/, since
this falls at the beginning of a major discourse section, a
scene. There are two things, though, which might provide an

an argument for the absence of an initial /la-/. First,

this clause lacks the marker /wɛ/; one might therefore argue

that an initial /la-/ is unnecessary as long as the clause

following the previous /wɛ/ has a /la-/. But this moment

has an important expressive weight. The myth is about a

transformation that failed, the attempt to turn Mink into

a proper chief, a proper Sun. These lines describe the first

stage of transformation, the passing of Mink from the lower

world into the upper. The ongoingness of the narrative is

halted to emphasize this critical moment, even though it

falls at the beginning of the scene (as a rite of passage,

this use of /híxʔid-/ could fall into the category either

of customary, cultural responses, or results of magically

potent acts).

Little has been said about "adverbial" auxiliaries, and

space does not permit more. The most important of these are

/kʼi-/ "not" (see example 8), /o-/ "just, only" (discussed

in the section on /-xʔid/ inchoative suffix), /gel-/ "first"

(which may be a deictic auxiliary: see example 12). It

should be mentioned, however, that time expressions some-

times appear in the auxiliary position (see the second /we/-

unit of example 8).

CONCLUSION

All narrative may describe the unfolding of events

through time, but exactly how it does so in any narrative

tradition is problematical. Narrative is built of verbs

in clauses, but verbs in clauses by themselves are not nec-

essarily "events." In the Southern Kwakiutl tradition, a

verb in a clause does not become an event, it can not be

part of a connected discourse, without an auxiliary which

precisely specifies its temporal, spatial, and topical rel-

ations to the event which precedes it. These basic deictic

ideas are modified in various ways by suffixes on the auxili-

aries and by combinations of the auxiliaries in a single

clause. The underlying concept is of narrative as a jour-

ney from moment to moment, place to place, topic to topic.

Kwakwʼala has perhaps an unusually complex and sys-

tematic way of indicating these relationships. It seems

likely, however, that other story-telling traditions have

comparably elaborate linguistic methods of shaping and

ordering the story. It would be worthwhile pursuing the

question of to what extent any system of narrative marking

incorporates deictic ideas of this sort.

FOOTNOTES

1. Not all narrators use /wɛ/; however, narratives with-
out /wɛ/ use auxiliaries in the same way as those with it.
There is apparently a special elliptical narrative style,
represented by the second myth text "Mink marries Kelp"
(Boas 1910:127-8), which lacks /wɛ/'s, has few auxiliaries,

and consists largely of quoted speech without explicitly identifying the speakers.

2. In the examples I have used a modified version of the phonemic orthography developed by Grubb (1977). It is fairly straightforward in the vowels except for the following: /o/= [ɔ], /e/=[ʌ], and /e/=[ɛ](Boas [ã], [ɛ] and [ä]). In the consonants, the uvular series is represented by /x/, /g/, etc., with a subposed line, except for /q/ (/k/). Postglottalization is indicated by a postposed apostrophe (e.g. /k'/; the resonants which are preglottalized except in word-final position have a superposed apostrophe (/m̓/). The lateral affricates are represented by tl/, /dl/, and the lateral fricative by /ł/. Phonemic glottal stop is /ʔ/.

The following abbreviations have been used in the examples:

app, APP	apposition
AUX	auxiliary
C	causal subordination
CDT	conditional clause
con	continuative
dem	demonstrative (unless otherwise indicated, 3rd near 3rd)
dim	diminutive
emph	emphatic
excl	exclusive (person marker)
exhor	exhortative
fut	future
IMPER	imperative
inc	inchoative
instr	instrumental
lex	lexical completion
nom	nominalizer
NP	noun phrase
nr	near, demonstrative of
obj, O	objective case
obl, OBL	oblique case
P	purpose clause
pass	passive
past	past tense marker
pre	prenominal suffix
pron	pronominal suffix
poss, POSS	possessive case
q	quotative
rem=past	remote-past tense marker
sbd	subordination
sub, S	subjective case
V	verb
CAPITALS	stem gloss
small letters	suffix gloss

1, 2, 3 subscript	persons
1, 2, 3	auxiliary positions
(-)	suffixed to
(=)	connects parts of gloss of same morpheme

3. All statements on grammar and syntax in this section are synthesized from Boas (1911, 1947); all statements on discourse and auxiliaries are my own unless otherwise indicated.

4. There are a few other constructions in Kwakw'ala which take an auxiliary-verb "coordinate construction," e.g. indirect object phrases and conditional phrases, but their use of auxiliaries has not been considered here.

5. There are also "nominal" syntactic stems which take subordinating suffixes, as does /qa-/, and introduce subordinate clauses: /ye-/ subjective and /laq-/ (related to /la-/ auxiliary) objective.

6. All or nearly all. There is one subordinate clause in Hunt's narrative beginning with an /o-/ form, and one or two in "Mink and the Sun" beginning with /k'i-/. There is also one beginning with /nugwa-/ the verbal emphatic pronominal form from the /hi-/ paradigm.

7. Repeated or paraphrased.

8. Mink has a speech defect: this in normal speech would read /ła, łiłel, hagadzo qwiqwesdex gaxaix q'igitlemił gaxen/.

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Lillooet Local Deictics

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1. The Lillooet system of local deictics[1] distinguishes eight points of reference (see chart below). Local deictics consist of a deictic root plus one of four local prefixes; in the chart below, forms with the prefix l-/lâ- "in, on, at" are given. Comments follow.

		pivoting	non-pivoting
visible	proximal ("here")	l-c?a	lâ-ti?
	distal ("there")	l-t?u	lâ-ta?
invisible	proximal ("here")	l-kʷ?a	lâ-kʷu?
	distal ("there")	l-kʷ?u	lâ-kʷ?a

Formal aspects: the roots in the "pivoting" category have the shape C?V, while the non-pivoting roots have CV? (except for lâ-kʷ?a). The roots in the category "visible" have c or t as C_1, while the "invisible" roots have kʷ as C_1. Note that the prefix has the shape l- in the category "pivoting", and lâ- in the category "non-pivoting"; lâ-kʷ?a combines the characteristics of pivoting (root C?V) and non-pivoting (prefix lâ-) deictics (note that l-kʷ?a and lâ-kʷ?a share the same root). For details on affixation see 3.

2. Semantics and use. The division "visible" vs. "invisible"