


DEICTIC AUXILIARIES AND DISCOURSE MARKING IN KWAK'WALIA NARRATIVE

Judith Berman
University of Pennsylvania
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 "coordinate 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 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 Kwak'ala grammar, syntax, and discourse, and looks at the syntactic role of auxiliaries. The second part describes the most important individual auxiliaries and their meaning in discourse. The third part examines the ways in which these auxiliaries work with the aspect and connective suffixes they bear.

Kwak'ala narrative is divided into groups of clauses by the particle /we/, "well," which signals a minimum discourse unit. These /we/-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 /we/-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 /we/-unit.

The initial clause in a discourse begins without a /we/ and always has a simple verb.

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1. We, le? Aix gáxen
   "Ja, gwételabudu, hága? qwídegi"
   Háem wali wálémas
   láas yáq'egali Wálæxen hílanem Némgis begwánum.

2. We, le? Aíka...
   "Well, now (he) said to me
   'Oh, you little Northerner, get out of here!' And then his words stopped
   (when) now Walas, my hired Némgis man, began to speak.
   Well, now (he) said..."

The initial clause in a discourse begins without a /we/ and always has a simple verb.
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.

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

It was stated that nearly 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: e.g. /qen genema/ "for the purpose of being my wife." When verbs are present, they often take a nominalizing suffix: e.g. /qen gaxi/ "for the purpose of my coming." /gax-/ "to come" (op. cit. 274). In narrative, how-

erver, /q-/ purpose phrases often contain full clauses, with nouns, pronouns, and ordinary verbs: /qenu?xw ãúsgašogixem?xw xwákw'ena/ "for the purpose of loading up our canoe," /-enu?xw/ first person exclusive, /xwákw'ena/ "canoe," etc. Nevertheless, nearly half of all the purpose clauses in the narratives contained auxiliaries: /qaâ 16 néfakw láxis gúkwi/ "for the purpose of going home to his house," /-aâ/ third person, /â/- "to go, now," /néfakw/ "return home," /láxis gúkwi/ "to his house": Purpose-Subject Auxiliary Verb Indirect-object.

True subordinate clauses (at least, what Boas called "subordinate") are formed using a series of paired subordinating 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 (op. cit. 274, 1911: 547):

4. Wâ, laâlai laax?idîxg gaâleâxg
   WELL GO-q- LIGHT- MORNING- Inc-app sbd=3sub
   AUX S V OBL
   "Well, now, they say, it began to be light in the morning, (when) now Tl'iselagîta arose."
In clauses expressing cause, however, the stem /qa-/ precedes the auxiliary and takes the first suffix:

5. WE, laemlai iki noga tas Hadaka WELL GO-and- GOOD-MIND- MIND-HADAWA

Aux V Sub Poss

/qaxe lemai xwengwatsa ba bagwemi

C-sbd= GO-and- CHILD-have- BOY

Sub sbd Jobj

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

To summarize, all clauses in Kwak'wa'ala narrative, except for purpose constructions, always take auxiliaries, and purpose 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: /We, Ie? Aki Yeqltl'iqelasaq, "Wixenti, qa hiamus dexema.../

"Well, now said Yeqltl'iqelas to him, 'I wish, that (for the purpose of) this your owl-mask..." /Ie/ "to do, now" (auxiliary), /Aik/ "to say" (verb), /-aqs/ third person object, /wix/ "to wish," /-entl/ first person, /qa/ purpose with third person subject, /hiamus/ "this, then" (auxiliary), etc. Indirect speech, while requiring subordinating suffixes, similarly lacks auxiliaries in the initial clause: /...qagasa bagwensi...ts'ek'ali, Walasags qebeitusai lag Masmets'a/ "came a visitor...

telling the news, Walan had capsized at Masmets'a," /qax/ "to come, now" (auxiliary), /bagwensi/"visitor," /ts'ek'ali, "to tell the news," /-xs/ subordinating suffix, third person, /qebeltus/ "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 /qa/, 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 nominal subject is preceded by a deictic pronominal case suffix also attached to the auxiliary. These pronominal 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. We, hleminawis ális gax néhakwida wenómtaxdi...
   WELL THEN-and- JUST COME RETURN- BURY-past
   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 /-la/ (for other evidentials see Boas 1947:286); it takes any conjunction, like /-á/ "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. 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, /ga~/ "to come, now," and /hi-/ "that, then" are used sparingly, /ga~/ 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 /ga~/ contrast.

Both /la-/ and /ga~/ have other functions in Kwak'wa'la 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 /ga~/ is used with first person, inclusive and exclusive indirect objects: /le? wetlélaem láxa dexdexelía~s/ "now (they) hear the owl..." /le?/ "now" auxiliary, /wetlélaem/ "hear" verb, /ía~a/ introducing indirect object, /dexdexelía~s/ "owl" indirect object; /le? hxí gæxen/ "now (he) said to me." /le?/ "now" auxiliary, /hxí/ "to say" verb, /gæxen/ introducing indirect object with pronominal indirect object /-en/ "I, me." (Note that third person subject is unmarked.)

In fact, /la-/ and /ga~/ may function in all three roles, as auxiliary, verb, and introducing indirect objects, within a single clause: /lc léwels láxen yáwapseml/ "now I went out of my tent." /-en/ first person possessive, /yáwapseml/ "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, /ga~/ a motion towards the speaker" (1947:287).

Boas was looking at Kwak'wa'la syntax rather than discourse; for auxiliary /la-/ and /ga~/ are not weakened so much as serving another function, that of a discourse marker, nor does auxiliary /ga~/ 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 /ga~/ 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, laklal WELL wënëmt'se'wa BURY-inc-jeub? āq-bagwemxdi.
   AUX V S
   V
   AUX 2
   AUX 3
"Well, now, they say, the dead boy was buried. Well, and so then, they say, the buriers had just returned home (when) now Hada*a'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:

"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 Walsas (ashore) to Xwelkwa, (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.

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 (/gax-/ to the place of the speech event in which he describes it, as if to himself, /gaxen/ "to me." Since the speaker will be in the canoe, himself returning to that place, the reference point of /la-/ and /gax-/ 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 /gax-/. However, in discourse /gax-/ assumes a more specialized function.

The basic structure of these narratives (and of many other Kwak'wala 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 "unmarked" 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. /Gax-/ 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 /gax-/, are not verbs of motion. When it is required to describe the concrete motion of actors to and fro /la-/ or /gax-/, or another verb of motion, "to paddle," "to drift," etc., it is used in the main verb position: /gaxik gax'atlela...
la~ 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 /gaxala~als taisaqi lawels la~ gukwas Latuselagilis/ or /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 auxiliary 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 /we/-unit describes him setting out to Udzolas "to buy marten skins from the Nemgis trappers":

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 /we/-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 /we, la'¡en
Nemuk'esga 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

The subject matter of this sequence has little to do
with the first sequence, the journeying to Nemukw and the
setting up there for the night. It focuses on Malas, his
words, and on Hunt's response to those words - hiring Malas
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, Malas among them, arguing
over the dead owl outside his tent. Hunt goes out to partici-
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 /gax-/ 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
Udols. Then,

The dead owl in the bow of his canoe, and then goes back in
(/la'men la'¡en la'¡en yáwapsemi/) into his tent to sleep.

But this /gax-/ auxiliary signals not only the approach of
the character Malas to the stage, it signals a change of
topic. The next clause (using a /la-/ auxiliary) and those
following concern Malas trying to persuade Hunt to hire him
as a guide, and Hunt's response. /la-/ auxiliaries are used
as Hunt hires Malas, as Malas, 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 Malas' departure,
tries to compose himself for sleep. The owls hooting indeed
keep him awake; he shoots an owl from his tent (/la-/ auxil-
atories). He goes out (/len Iawels la'¡en yáwapsemi/) to put
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, /gaxi/ si'ma/ "well, now he came paddling ashore." The narrative focuses 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 Udolas 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, /gaxasa bagwenasi...ts'ekalas, Walas isqueitusai lag Masmets'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:

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

\[...gaxalasa \text{ tsidaq} \text{ la} \text{ wels} \text{ laa} \text{ gu} \text{ kw} \text{ wa} \text{ Latuselagilisi.}\]

\[\text{COME} \text{ WOMAN- \text{ GO-out} \text{ GO- \text{ HOUSE- LATUSELAGILIS}} \text{ Objj Poss} \text{ IO} \]

"...(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 (/gax-) 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 /gax-/ presented, those in descriptions of returns from journeys (examples 7-9 above): these /gax-/'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 Hadawa's child falling ill and dying; the subsequent lines concern the death of Hadawa'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 /gax-, auxiliary and verb. In a sense, /la-/ and /gax- 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 /gax-/ 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 /gax-/ is commonly used. /La-/ and /gax-/ can thus be thought of as expressing
essentially spatial ideas. However, if we reconsider the examples above, we notice that these auxiliaries also express implicitly a temporal idea, which might best be described as ongoings or sequentiality. 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 subordination). 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 Kwak'wala narratives, some variant of /laem laba/ "and now is the end." The translation obscures the fact that /laba/ "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 /laga/ means "to go into a canoe." Thus, the end of George Hunt's narrative is

15. We, laem laba lageq.
   WELL GO- GO- GO-obj=pre
   and end -3obj=pron
   AUX V IO
   "Well, and now it has gone to the end."

It was noted above that Kwak'wala narratives are often about actual journeys, describing progression through locations, and are conceived on a more abstract level as progressions 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-/) expresses "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 /laba/, "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-/ contrast 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 Kwak'wala 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 verbal 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 succession of clauses introduced by /la-/ forms. At the end of this section, before embarking on a description of the Kwakiutl custom which validates these beliefs, Hunt comments:

16. We, ydem widemsa gale Kwágula, yég láglasz...
    WELL 3nd2 WORD- EARLY KWAKIUTL app GO-reason
    AUX S POSS NP APP
    gwél'alaksa SAY-sbd=3sub...
    wetélalaza dexdél'liaks...
    NEAR-Jobj OWL-sbd=3sub...
    V 0
    We, hix?ídahísa kw'él'akwi begánem yálaqewelsaga...
    WELL 3nd-linc OLD-PERSON MAN SEND-out-Jobj
    AUX S NP V

The speech event is Hunt writing to Boas, and here, the description 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 custom 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 pronominal 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 Kwak'wala 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/-, on the other hand, function in discourse more like English demonstratives, except that /la-/ and /ga/- express the idea of motion; shifts in the discourse focus are shifts in an ongoing stream of action. English demonstratives, like Kwak’wala 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; /wetl’iixaa dëxexelíixaa../ “they hear the owls...” In another example from Hunt’s narrative, the character Yeqtul’iqelas is quarrelling with Hunt when:

/Hi-/ marks the event of Yeqtul’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:

"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’iqilis..."
This example shows the interplay of the ideas these auxiliaries 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, /dáx'íd/- "take hold" has an inchoative suffix /-x'íd/. 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, auxiliaries 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/-, /gáx/-, and /hi/-. /la/- "to go, now" expresses the basic idea of journeying, of progression, of ongoinness, of the sequentiality of events. /Gáx/- "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" signifies juxtaposition in space of two events - they are simultaneous, 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, especially the adverbial auxiliaries, which rarely occur alone. In such cases the initial auxiliary, adverbial or deictic, retains all the demonstrative, case/person, connective, evidential, 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 /-1a/; so too do auxiliaries in clauses in personal narrative and explanatory discourse which describe second-hand information. Other evidentials on the auxiliary are possible, for instance /-engs/ events of a dream, but none of these occurred in these texts.

Initial auxiliaries often take demonstrative suffixes, usually /-1/ 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 /-a/, /-em/ “and” and /-(w)is/ “so,” and the aspect suffixes /-aia/ a continuative, and /-x?id/ inchoative. These suffixes are more common on some auxiliaries than on others. /Cak-/ never has connective suffixes, which agrees with its use to introduce new topics into the discourse. /La-/- forms very rarely have aspect suffixes though they are found with connectives, especially /-a/ “and,” /Hi-/ forms, and adverbial auxiliaries, are never found in the initial position without at least /-a/, generally have both /-a/ “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 /-a/ 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. It is quite different from the syntactic stem /d/a?/- “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 /-a/ 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 inextricably intertwined. For instance, /-~/ 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 /-~/. Turns at talk lack /-~ connecting them, except for a certain kind of speech act, discussed below with the suffix /-x?i~/. It is significant that the auxiliary /ga~/, which introduces a new topic into the discourse, is never found with /-~/.

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

   WELL GO-q- WALK-inc TL'ISELAGILA
   dem =3sub
   “Well, now, they say, Tl'íselfagila set out walking.”

W€, laem?ai mángamí wáldemás Látuselagilisaq.
   WELL GO-and- OBEY-jobj WORD- LATUSELAGILIS-
   q-dem 3poss jobj-pron
   “Well, and now, they say, he obeyed the words of Látuselagilis to him.”

   WELL GO-and- GOOD-dim WALK-con
   q-3sub -and
   “Well, and now, they say, the good little one was walking along.”

W€, láálaI ólaq neq’ílaq:
   WELL GO-q- ALMOST NOON-sbd
   dem =3sub
   láí wíxq’ánákwei
   GO- RESTLESS-con
   mbd
   “Well, now, they say, it was almost noon, now he was growing restless.”

   WELL GO-and- BEGIN=TO= TL’ISELAGILA
   q-dem SPEAK-3sub
   “Well, and now, they say, Tl'íselfagila began to speak.”

W€, láálaI Áka
   WELL GO-q- SAY
   dem
   “Well, now, they say, he said
   “In, sísel, háásmaqo qwiqwets’ex
   OH DEAD qwiqwets’emph
   COME-sbd? MANY-m COME-lobj
   ‘Oh, damn, go away!
   now (too) many are around me!’ ”

W€, W€, la’mái ólaq
   SAY-q-sbd
   =3sub
   láí xíkwáxa díwa?i.
   GO- SWEET- CLOUD
   mbd jobj
   they say he said;
   now he swept away the clouds.”

W€, láálaI dálxw’ida.
   WELL GO-q- RUN-inc-lex
   dem
   “Well, now, they say, he began to run.”

W€, laem?ax ts’élxw’idugda nákgegov.
   WELL GO-and-q HOT-inc-3sub= SKY-jobj-
   dem=nr2 nr2 lposs
   “Well, and now, they say, (this) our sky (near you) grew hot with it.”
This scene begins previous to this sequence, with the arrival of the morning light in Latuselagilis' house. Ti'iselagila, 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 Ti'iselagila set out walking." This begins a new event, topically, but not intrinsically related to Latuselagilis' 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 description of "the good little one walking along," and both clauses take an /-h/ "and" connective. Now, the narrative skips ahead in time and begins a new event. Mink is growing restless - this takes no /-h/. He begins to speak, swearing at the cloud-women who cluster around him - this is another aspect of his restlessness and does take an /-h/.

(It should be noted that the clause "and now he began to speak" has /-h/ "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'-...na/ "begin to speak...said" is never connected by an /-h/ in any circumstance.)

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 /-h/. Next, however, comes an event which is connected 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 /-h/ "and." That they are related is clear from the fact that /hi-/ in the initial position is never found without /-h/. That they are nevertheless distinct is clear from the fact that /la-/ does sometimes take /-h/. /la-/ indicates sequentiality, but the idea of sequentiality depends on the idea of the temporal 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 /-h/ 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 Kwak'wala narrative. /la-/ by itself indicates pure sequentiality. /Hi-/ never occurs by itself. /la-/ plus /-h/ indicates different aspects of a single activity; /hi-/ plus /-h/ 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 /-h/ "and." In the example presented above, the /hi-/ clauses occur both with /-w/is/ and one with the connective /-xa/ "also," which add concepts to the idea of pure simultaneity. In the main clause, initial /hi-/ with /-h/ "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 /gax-/., although it is common with /hi-/ and the adverbial auxiliaries. /-(w)is/ was never found in these texts without /-h/. The two connectives may be separated by the quotative, in the form /-em'lawis/ "and so, they say," or when the quotative is not present, they occur in the form /-a/.

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 /-h/ and /-(w)is/ indicates these events are both simultaneous with and caused by the preceding clause, "the sky grew hot." (The /-xa/ "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 con-
nection between the clause and the preceding one, and it is
hard to argue a motivation for the use of /-a/ 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 /we, layemiwisi dlaxmat'ai'ala 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, /-ala/ a continuative and
/-x'id/ inchoative or momentaneous, are never found on /la-/ or
/-xid-/, 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 /-ala/ continuative (usually in the fixed form
/himenala-/ are diffuse, having blurry onsets and blurry ends:

20. We, laem1ai k'i6s la la,menemudi Hadawa.
WELL GO-and- NOT GO HUSBAND- HADAWA
q-dem past
"Well, and now, they say, Hadaâwa's husband was no more."

The first clause of this example has an /-a/ "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 (/-a/), and is the result of
it (/-(w)is/), but it is a separate activity, simultaneous with
the being no more (/hi-/). The /-ala/ suffix indicates that
her wailing is not a discrete, inchoative activity; it is
diffuse, sloppy, continuously occurring during the events de-
scribed in the clauses preceding it and perhaps not finally
ceasing until the last clause in the example.

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

All responses to a certain type of speech act take
/hix'id-/. 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!" /we, hixʔidaemʔawis H̓aƛ̓aʔa.../ "well, and so then at that moment, they say, H̓aƛ̓aʔa..." begins making him his bow and arrows.

Similarly, /hixʔid/- 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 misbehavior 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 automatically 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 /hixʔid/- 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 responses 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 /hixʔid/- events. A birth or death so inevitably will bring a name or a burial that these are no longer sequential 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 /hixʔid/- 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 contrasts with /hixʔid/-, /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 Yequtl'iqelas demands of Hunt "was it you who shot this owl?" Hunt responds /hixʔidaemʔisən ulaqwaqən/ "and so then at that moment I confessed that..." When Yequtl'iqelas next asks if Hunt is aware that he shot a man when
he shot the owl, Hunt says /dǐisen duqwe*=aq̂̂x̂̂/ "and so I just looked at him" rather than responding.

I have described the function of the suffixes most commonly occurring with auxiliaries. Next I will examine combinations of the deictic auxiliaries, /la-/, /gax-/ and /hi-/, and the nuances of meaning these express. First the combination 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 combinations these enter into with adverbial auxiliaries.

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

21. We, hii̍̂̂s ilgilaugs ti'ltu*belxetu*denámenix WELL 3nr1 GO-reason- DEAD=CEDAR-top- RED=CEDAR-and-so dem=nr2 jsub=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-gili-/ indicates a change into a condition which will hold for some time.

It is interesting to note that in Kwak'ala, "reason" seems to mean, not "reason of being this way," but "reason of going this way." The suffix /-gili/ 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-/ following, when the event is concurrent only with a following event or events. These /hi-/ forms are either bare, or have the aspect marker /-alai/ continuative suffixed to them in the fixed form /himenalaeem-/ "and always." There are two points to note about this: first, this is the only circumstance in which /hi-/ is found in the secondary position in a clause; second, /la-/- and /hi-/ are found in this construction only in one environment in the narratives. /la-/ and /hi-/ occur in this order only 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 following discourse, the whole next scene or sequence of action, as in the third clause of "Mink and the Sun": /We, la'la hi gukwell Qalugwisi/ "Well, now then, they say, they lived at Qalugwis (Crooked Beach)."

There are two exceptions to this which it is worth considering. One is a case at the beginning of a major discourse 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 /-x?id/. Ordinarily, such a situation, an order and a response, would demand that /hi?xid/- 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 /we/ 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. /We, la'la Ti'iselagila haxwel'endxa la denéma./
    WELL GO-and TL'ISELAGILA CLIMB-3obj GO ROPE
    "Well, and now Ti'iselagila climbed up the rope."

    /We, la'la la'ga Ti'iselagila la'ga kwóxu./
    WELL GO-q- GO- TL'ISELAGILA GO- HOLE
    dem reach- 3obj
    "Well, now, they say, Ti'iselagila reached the hole."

    Híx?idaemlúwisi la láxmoi Ti'iselagila
    3mrj-inc-and-q GO GO-through TL'ISELAGILA
    -3sub
    láxá híomalagudl t'ixísaa tk'e awíttax'isí.
    GO- 3mrj-and- DOOR-3obj ABOVE COUNTRY
    3obj cdt?
    And so then at that moment, they say, Ti'iselagila passed through what is called the door to the upper world."

Again, the /hi-/ refers to the previous clause, in which Ti'iselagila 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 /we/; one might therefore argue that an initial /la-/ is unnecessary as long as the clause following the previous /we/ 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 /hixid-/ 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 /k'i-/- "not" (see example 8), /o-/- "just, only" (discussed in the section on /x'id/ inchoative suffix), /gel-/- "first" (which may be a deictic auxiliary; see example 12) It should be mentioned, however, that time expressions sometimes 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 necessarily "events." In the Southern Kwakiutl tradition, a verb in a clause does not become an event, it cannot be part of a connected discourse, without an auxiliary which precisely specifies its temporal, spatial, and topical relations to the event which precedes it These basic deictic ideas are modified in various ways by suffixes on the auxiliaries and by combinations of the auxiliaries in a single clause The underlying concept is of narrative as a journey from moment to moment, place to place, topic to topic.

Kwak'wala has perhaps an unusually complex and systematic 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 /we/; however, narratives without /we/ 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 /we/-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/ = [ə], /e/ = [ɛ], and /a/ = [æ](Boas [8], [11] and [14]). In the consonants, the uvular series is represented by /q/, /q/, 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 (/h/). The lateral affricates are represented by /ɭ/, /ɭ/, and the lateral fricative by /ɭ/. Phonic 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. 0: objective case
- obl. OBL: oblique case
- P: purpose clause
- pass: passive
- past: past tense marker
- pre: pronominal suffix
- pron: pronominal suffix
- poss, POSG: possessive case
- q: quotative
- rem=past: remote-past tense marker
- sbd: subordination
- subj. s: subjective case
- V: verb

REFERENCES

Boas, Franz.
Lillooet Local Deictics

Jan van Eijk
Mount Currie, B.C.

1. The Lillooet system of local deictics 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 1-/l?- "in, on, at" are given. Comments follow.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>pivoting</th>
<th>non-pivoting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>visible</td>
<td>proximal (&quot;here&quot;)</td>
<td>1-c?a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>distal (&quot;there&quot;)</td>
<td>1-t?u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>invisible</td>
<td>proximal (&quot;here&quot;)</td>
<td>1-k?u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>distal (&quot;there&quot;)</td>
<td>1-k?u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Formal aspects: the roots in the "pivoting" category have the shape C?V, while the non-pivoting roots have CV? (except for l?-k?u). The roots in the category "visible" have c or t as C, while the "invisible" roots have k? as C. Note that the prefix has the shape 1- in the category "pivoting", and l?- in the category "non-pivoting"; l?-k?u combines the characteristics of pivoting (root C?V) and non-pivoting (prefix l?-) deictics (note that 1-k?u and l?-k?u share the same root). For details on affixation see 3.

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