60. "belly" [sitč]

61. "skin, hide" [p̓ekut]

62. "fingernail, claw" [k̓ʷaχ] (Compare number 18.)

63. "tongue" [tixʷcč]

64. "bone" [sc̓am̓]

65. "spine" [k̓ʷept]

66. "tendon, muscle" [tinč]

67. "kidney" [mot̓us]

Sample Data Compiled in Table 3 "Number of Suffix Compounded Stems by Stress Pattern, One or Two Suffixes, and Number of Vowels in First Suffix" (Numbers refer to above terms)

	Terms	Terms with Compound Stems
Root Stressed		
One Suffix		
One Vowel	2, 6, 11, 12, 13, 19, 22, 29, 39, 40, 41, 42, 45, 46, 48	
Two Suffixes		
One Vowel	20	20
Suffix Stressed		
One Suffix		
Two Vowels	33, 43, 44	43, 44
Two Suffixes		
One Vowel	14, 17, 18, 21, 23, 30, 34, 38	38
Two Vowels	3, 7, 15, 16, 25, 31	3

Terms with Root //čem// "surface": 2, 3, 10, 14, 15, 16, 20,

͏͏ ͏ ͏ ͏ 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45.

The Function of the Nootka Indicative Mood

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1. Nootka, a Southern Wakashan language,[1] has many suffixes, particularly ones indicating location, aspect, and mood.[2] Mood is, according to Lyons (1970:323), a 'grammatical category... indicating the speaker's attitude - his doubt or certainty; whether he is expressing a wish, issuing a command, asking a question, etc.'. The Nootka mood system includes a set of 'paradigmatic' suffixes, which follow the tense suffixes and are each associated with a particular person paradigm. Paradigmatic mood suffixes are in complementary distribution, never cooccurring in a single word. They are sub-categorized into the following groups:[3]

1. matrix irrealis: dubitative, purposive;

2. matrix realis: evidential, interrogative, imperative, and indicative (INDIC);

3. matrix/subordinate realis: absolutive (ABS), indefinite, relative, subordinate; and

4. matrix/subordinate irrealis: conditional.

This paper is concerned with the indicative mood.

2. In discourse, the ABS mood is the most frequent. It is the zero or unmarked mood. Predicates in the ABS mood inflect for person by means of the absolutive person series. In contrast, the INDIC mood is expressed by a syncretic mood-person paradigm.

Absolutive Person Paradigm			Indicative Mood-Person Paradigm		
I	II	III	I	II	III
s. -s	-k	∅	-s-iš	-a·c	-ʔi·š
pl. -in	-su:	-ʔa·ɬ	-n-iš	-icu:-š	-it-aɬ-š

Table 1[4]

In isolated matrix sentence pairs, obtained through elicitation, no distinction can be made between the use or meaning of these two moods.[5] They both appear to signal a realis declarative mood. Consider the following sentence pairs.

(1)   mixtuk.   He's old.

      mixtukʷʔiš.   He's old.

(2)   waɬiʔa·qƛin.   We'll go home.

      waɬiʔa·qƛniš.   We'll go home.

A distinction in function must be sought, however, beyond the context of isolated sentences because these sentences are judged as appropriate or inappropriate in a discourse context partly on the basis of the choice of mood suffix (i.e. either INDIC or ABS).

3. The first investigation of the function of INDIC (and ABS) involved a set of sixteen texts, ranging in genre (three dialogues, seven myths, and six report-type narratives)[6] and length (from 26 to 220 sentences). This yielded a total of 1516 sentences of which 72 (5% of total) were INDIC. The frequency per text of sentences marked as INDIC, ABS, or IRR (irrealis)[7] are given in Appendix 1.

Although the numbers of ABS and INDIC sentences increase as text length increases, there is no general pattern in the ratio of total number of sentences to the number of ABS in a given text. If the INDIC indicated each shift to declarative mood in discourse, with ABS used as an unmarked mood in all following declarative sentences, we might expect longer texts to have a higher ABS:TOTAL sentence ratio, as the number of ABS sentences could climb. We might also assume that dialogues would have a lower ABS:TOTAL and higher INDIC:TOTAL ratio than monologues, as dialogues involve many speaker shifts which might involve more shifts to declarative mood and hence less use of ABS and more of INDIC. None of these hypotheses were supported. In fact, dialogues tended to have a higher ABS:TOTAL ratio than monologues.

Another hypothesis concerning INDIC function (suggested in Rose:1981.225) is that the ABS is the unmarked declarative mood, copying the information source features (e.g. observation, hearsay, or inference) of a prior sentence in discourse. The INDIC would be used if an irrealis sentence preceded, in order to yield a factual rather than irrealis reading. This hypothesis is not supported, as the frequency of INDIC mood is not proportional to that of irrealis moods. The INDIC:IRR ratio varies greatly among texts and there are three times as many IRR as INDIC sentences in the sample. Clearly, at least some INDIC moods are not triggered by adjacent IRR moods and some IRR moods are not triggering INDIC moods.

4. A second investigation of INDIC function involved 21 texts, again ranging in genre (five report-type narratives and

thirteen myths) and length (26 to 288 sentences). Eight of these texts were also part of the preceding study; the rest were new. The frequency of INDIC sentences (and other relevant information) per text is shown in Appendix 2. In monologue, the INDIC mood serves to signal factuality of a story, interruption of a story, and direct quotation. No simple narrative declarative sentences are thus marked in monologue.

4.1. There is one case in the sample where INDIC signals the factuality of an anecdote related directly after a sequence of myths and a quasi-true story.[8] These are the opening lines.

(3) qʷišša·ʔⱡiš ...   She was smoking (tobacco) ...

    ...   ...

    čuˑ huˑcša·ʔⱡiš ...   Well, she was getting dizzy (from
                             smoking)...

There is an abrupt shift from the previous narrative, which is judged to be true but is a tale concerning how a beach ended up having holes all over it and involving ghosts. In contrast, the above anecdote is a personal retelling of the speaker's experience.

4.2. The INDIC mood is used more commonly to signal an aside. An aside is a portion of discourse in which the speaker interrupts the narrative (or conversation) line to make supplementary or unrelated comments to a listener, whether participant or nonparticipant (e.g. a fieldworker acting as discourse recorder). Below are given examples of asides, enclosed in square brackets and accompanied by the prior sentence in discourse to show the shift from narrative to aside.

(4) qʷisʔa·qⱡi.   How could they do it?

    [ʔanacimiš]   There was only one group (to do it).

(5) ya·ʔakň huˑⱡsuhtaʔaⱡ.   He really danced out of the woods.

    [ha wikʔiˑš tiˑč]   He wasn't alive, see.

(6) ʔukʷiˑⱡapʔin čʔiˑma...   Let's ask him to make a knife...

    [ʕacʔikmatiš ʔukʷiˑⱡ   He must be good at doing it, as it
    ʔin ʔuhuk mamums]   is his job.

(7) ... wikiˑčⱡ hiˑxʷaⱡ.   ... They sobered up.

    [ʔuˑ šaˑ]   Oh, shucks.

    [ʔayaˑš ʔuqcaqims]   There are lots of crazy things.

4.3. In the sample studied, the majority (77% or 71/91) of INDIC sentences are direct quotes. There are 354 direct quote sentences in total (21% of all sentences), including 71 INDIC, 29 ABS, and 254 either irrealis, evidential, quotative (marked by -wa·), relative, interrogative, imperative, or song.[9] The INDIC and ABS moods indicate declarative realis nonrelative sentences. The following table summarizes the correlates of INDIC and ABS moods within quoted discourse.

Mood of Quote	Following	Total S	Mood of Prior S	Subject of Quoted S	Other
INDIC	Quoted S	54	all but ABS	Ip, IIs/p	
	Nonquoted S	17	INDEF, ABS	IIIs/p	
ABS	Quoted S	25	all moods	Is	wa·ʔaⱡ myth voice cue
	Nonquoted S	4	INDEF, ABS	IIIs/p	

Table 2. INDIC and ABS Sentences in Quoted Discourse

A quoted declarative sentence will always be marked INDIC unless accompanied by waˑʔaλ 'he said', first person singular subject, or myth voice characteristics.[10] When a declarative quoted sentence is accompanied by waˑʔaλ, its status as quote rather than narrative is assured. The waˑʔaλ clause follows the quote, either in the same or subsequent sentence.

(8) 'hisiˑkʷašt__ haˑʔa',   'It was drifting around out

   waˑʔaλiˑč.   there', he said.

(9) 'waˑʔaλ__ ʔin ʔuciˑšλquˑn...' 'He said that we should go...'.

   waˑʔaλ haˑ λaʔuˑ.   He said (that) to the other.

The underlining signals the zero ABS mood.

The presence of myth voice characteristics (Sapir's 'abnormal speech types'; c.f. Sapir 1915) also signals that the speaker is quoting and not narrating. In such contexts, the narrator mimics the speech characteristics of a myth character, such as Deer (or more accurately, Deer's son) in the following examples. The nonstandard phonemes characteristic of Deer are underlined.

(10) ʔuʔataˑpɫ λ'iˑma λaˑɫ...   I'm making a knife for him...

   (= ʔuʔataˑps č'iˑma haˑɫ)

(11) ʔuḥ n'aλp̲iyaqλ ɫup'iλmiɫkʷ.   This is granny's beach.

   (= ʔuḥ n'aλmiyaqλ sup'icmiskʷ)

The third context in which quoted sentences are in ABS mood rather than INDIC mood is when the subject is first person singular. This appears to be due to a virtual merger of IsINDIC and IsABS

forms. The INDIC occurs as -siš only in second syllable (or in third syllable following a vowel). Otherwise, it occurs as -s due to regular vowel loss and cluster simplification processes in the language (-siš → -sš → -s). It is therefore impossible to determine if final first person -s in quotes is INDIC or ABS. In the sample studied, only four quoted sentences have Is subjects and neither associated waˑʔaλ or 'abnormal speech' cues. One such sentence is given below.

(12) wik'iˑtkʷs̲ ... ɫiḥaɫ   Well, I don't have any mats!

Having established that the main role of INDIC in monologue discourse is to signal direct quotes (where neither waˑʔaλ nor abnormal speech cues are present),[11] examples are given below of direct quotes which follow narrative sentences, a quoted imperative, a quoted question, and a quote by another story character.

(13) waʕitm'inḥisi ḥaɫm'ac'ak   They were really cute froggies.

   'ču ̇λawiˑšλʔaˑqλicus̲...'   'Well, you're going to visit your

   waˑʔaλiˑč ʔumʔiˑqsa   relatives', said the mother.

(14) cacc'ixša?λiˑs   I was forcing him to (ASIDE).

   'ʔuˑcmatkis̲ huˑʔa'   'It must belong to those ones'.

(15) 'λimkšiˑčay... matmaˑs...   'Wake up, everyone!

   y'imqimy'uλis̲'   Something terrible happened!'

(16) 'naʔaḥsu ḥistaˑtkʷ   'Do you hear those voices?

   ʔuˑštaqis̲ naʔa'   There's someone listening.'

(17) 'wikiˑs ʕiˑtʕiˑt', waˑʔaλiˑč.'I'm not lying', he said.

   '... qʷiλ'asʔaˑqλnis̲...'.   'We will put down herring branches.'

In each of the above examples, the INDIC suffix is underlined.

5. A conversation presents different pragmatic problems for the speaker from those found in a narrative. The functions of the INDIC mood also vary, depending on the discourse genre. A study was made of three conversations involving two speakers (plus the researcher as recorder) who played equal conversational roles, both making questions, responses, and other comments. The conversations arose in response to picture books. The common interest in, and the novelty of, the books seemed to override the problem of one speaker's greater age, cultural knowledge, and fluency. The sample consisted of 782 sentences, of which 47 (6%) were marked INDIC. The frequency per text of INDIC sentences (with a breakdown by function) is given in Appendix 3.

5.1. At to be expected, the use of INDIC in conversation cannot be due to a shift from narrative to direct quote. However, the speaker does interrupt the discourse to shift from the topic under discussion to an unrelated topic (as in (18)) or to a personal comment on the topic (as in (19)). Such shifts are signalled by INDIC mood. In the following examples, the participants are identified as CC and SJ.

(18) ƛ'iḥcipm'inḥi.   CC There's some flowerpots.

     ha·ʔa.   SJ Yes.

     [ʔucmaʕqƛintiš hu·ʔa kapča]   Kapcha wanted to go somewhere.

(19) hi··· hasa·mcƛa hi···   SJ Hey! Crabs again!

     [ƛuƛukʷʔiš ʔu·kʷɫ pukukʷ]   Her book is nice.

As before, INDIC mood is underlined and asides are enclosed in square brackets.

The INDIC also serves to indicate an explanation. Such explanations seem to be asides in that the dialogue is interrupted so that background information can be supplied.

(20) kʷikʷi·sḥinkaʕš.   CC Their houses seem to be odd.

     [histitḥiš Alaskač]   SJ They must be from Alaska.

(21) ʔo··· mači·ɫ ha   SJ Oh (understands)! It (the fish)
                                 is in the house there.

     haʔumkitaɫš.   It's their food.

In most cases, such INDIC-marked explanations confirm the veracity of a previous statement. They signal a shift in discourse to a period of more factuality from one of less factuality, as in cases where a prior observation is based on secondary evidence, as in (20), or is confused (as in (21) where the speaker had just succeeded in interpreting the picture correctly).

5.2. The most common context for the INDIC in conversation is a shift in factuality of statements. Such a shift often follows a statement uttered by a speaker who has only second-hand or inferential evidence for it, as in (20), (24), and (25), or who is uncertain or uncommitted concerning it, as in (21), (22), and (23). The more factual statement may serve as explanation, as in the examples already presented, or as confirmation, as in the following four.

(22) ti·ɫu·pḥ   SJ It is an octapus?

     ʔa·niʔiš. ti·ɫu·piš.   It really is! It's an octapus.

(23) mamu·kʷi.   SJ She's working on something.

     k'achaq ʔukʷi·ɬiš.   CC She's making a blanket.

(24) qi·čiʌinaʕš č'imɑ·s.   SJ We must have cut grass for a
                                       long time.

     qi·čiʌac.   CC You did.

(25) ʕaḥu·satḥč.   SJ It seems to be Ahousat.

     ʌuɬukʷitaɬš maʔu·ɬ...   They have a really nice hall...

Alternatively, the more factual statement may simply support the

previous assertion, as in (26), or introduce a new topic, as in

(27).

(26) ʔaḥʔa·ʔʌ hiʔis nawa·ys. CC Here they are lounging.

     ʌ'aʔa·siš.   SJ She's sitting outside...

(27) ʕac'ikintaʕš.   SJ They evidently were experts.

     hi ʔaḥʔa·ʔʌiš.   Oh, there it is! (a beak mask
                                       she recognized)

In all cases where the INDIC signals a factuality shift, one might

suggest that the INDIC is emphasizing the factuality of a statement,

whether in support of or in contradiction to a prior statement.

        6. The INDIC mood in Nootka appears to have several

functions. It can indicate

1. the observed factuality of a story, in contrast to previous

nonfactual ones, as in (3);

2. a shift from narrative to an aside, as in (4) through (7);

3. a quoted declarative sentence, as in (13) through (17);

4. an interruption of conversation for an unrelated comment, as in

(18), a personal comment, as in (19), or an explanation, as in (20)

and (21); and

5. a shift in degree of truth status of statements, from fallacy,

inference, or opinion to confirmed observation-based or authority-

based fact. Such shifts may occur within one topic, as in (22)

through (26), or between topics, as in (27).

        6.1. The suitability of the term INDIC to cover these

functions seems questionable. As Lyons (1977:847) observes,

'... it is important to emphasize that, at the present stage of
linguistic theory and descriptive practice, it is impossible to for-
mulate any very clear notion of the distinctions that are grammati-
calized within the category of mood, throughout the languages of the
world. The labels that are used in standard descriptions of
particular languages are often misleading in that they imply that
the functions of the moods are narrow or more specific than they
really are.'

        Certain initial observations concerning the function of the

Nootka INDIC can be made. First, the function depends in part on

the genre of the discourse, i.e. monologue versus dialogue. This

type of disourse dichotomy in function of a morphological or

lexical entity has been observed before. For example, Hymes

(1967:27) notes

'... the case of the -y form of the accusative plural of
masculine nouns in Polish, which has the value 'solemn' in the
genre of petry, and the value 'ironic, pejorative' in the genres of
non-poetic speech.'

McLeod (1974) notes that in Xavante the aspect functions differently

depending on whether one is expressing an event or an explanation.

Finally, Morton (1978) reports a particle in Parji which changes

function as genre changes. In narrative, the particle signals
deliberateness or introduction of a new character; in conversation,
it signals reliability or finality of a statement.

Second, the overlap of functions of a mood such as the
Nootka INDIC has also been observed before. In fact the range of
functions of the Longuda focus marker -ma is rather similar:
confirmation of statement, signal of scene change (either of charac-
ter or location), and exclamation of new event. Newman (1978:35)
observes that these functions range over the components of discourse,
including setting, background information, and participant identi-
fication. Consider also the range of functions of the Khan
involvement modes, which are morphologically signalled. Watters
(1978:6) interprets these modes as follows:

'... in a narrative discourse, the orientation mode says "Do not
respond to this as though it were part of the plot. Simply register
this information." ... The response elicitation mode, on the other
hand, says "This is the plot. Watch and see what happens."'

The orientation mode seems parallel here to the Nootka use
of INDIC to register asides and interruptions. In addition, the
Khan orientation mode may orient the listeners to a transition such
as an episode change or new incident. Most contexts in which the
INDIC occurs in Nootka do involve a discourse transition: from
less to more factual, from plot to side issue, or from narrative to
quotation (directly reported dialogue). There are, however, some
quoted declarative sentences marked by INDIC which are preceded by
other quoted sentences. In such cases, the INDIC signals maintain-

ance of quoted style and not transition.

6.2. How can the functions of the Nootka INDIC be synthe-
sized? In Longacre and Levinsohn's (1977) model, the functions
would be discussed in relationship to the discourse components
concerned with genre, participant identification (and author's
viewpoint), and cohesion (event sequencing and background informa-
tion). In Hymes' (1967) system of discourse components, the
Nootka INDIC would signal information concerning genre, norms
(roles of speaker and cultural beliefs), participants and possibly
tone as well. In Grimes' (1975) model, it would operate in
relation to information concerning performatives (participant and
role identification, speaker's attitude to himself, hearer and
information); reference (speaker's viewpoint toward participants in
his narrative; i.e. his role as narrator or quoter); and modality
(degree of verifiability of information transmitted). In such
discourse theories, the various functions of the INDIC would be
part of different semantic components.

In contrast, Halliday's (1970:143, 1976, 1978) model offers
a system in which all the INDIC functions are predicted to be
integrated. Halliday posits that language serves three functions:
1. ideational, i.e. expression of the speaker's experience of the
world;
2. interpersonal, i.e. establishment and maintainance of social
relations; and
3. textual, i.e. formal linking of language to its discourse con-

text. Halliday (1978:112) characterizes the interpersonal
component as the one

'through which the speaker intrudes himself into the context of
situation, both expressing his own attitudes and judgements
['modality'] and seeking to influence the attitudes and behaviors
of others. It expresses the role relationships associated with
the situation, including those that are defined by language itself
['mood'], relations of questioner-respondent, informer-doubter and
the like.'

He (1976:211) defines modality as

'the speaker's assessment of probability and predictability. It is
external to the context, being a part of the attitude taken up by
the speaker; his attitude, in this case, towards his own speech
role as "declarer".'

Modality, then, is concerned with the dimensions of possibility/
impossibility and committed/uncommitted. Halliday (1970:159)

defines mood as being concerned with

'the roles which people may take in situations in which they are
communicating with one another; [and] every language incorporates
options whereby the speaker can vary his own communication role,
making assertions, asking questions, giving orders, expressing
doubts, and so on.'

Halliday (1977:202, 1978:110-7) further claims that the sta-
tus of discourse roles and other social roles (defined as part of
the semiotic or pragmatic structure of a discourse) will be reflec-
ted in the choice of linguistic cues associated with the interper-
sonal component of the semantic structure of a discourse. He
(1978:63) states that there is

'a general tendency whereby the speaker, in encoding the role rel-
ationships in the situation... draws on the interpersonal component
in the semantic system, realized for example by mood...'[12]

6.3. As mentioned before, Halliday's model predicts that
all functions of the Nootka INDIC are part of the interpersonal
component of the semantic structure of discourse and that the
INDIC, as a mood, should reflect roles and role relations held by
participants in the discourse. Recall that the speaker's role in
discourse is a composite, consisting of, among others,

1. his mood roles: as declarer, questioner, commander, doubter,
interrupter, reporter (in narrative genre), responder (in conver-
sation genre), etc; and

2. his modality role: as less valid source of information (due to
inference, uncertainty, opinion, etc.) or more valid source (due
to observation, authority, first-hand knowledge, etc.). If we
assume that a speaker has an unmarked role in discourse, then the
INDIC can be understood as a signal that the speaker has a marked
role for a declarative utterance.

Consider first of all narrative (story monologue), discussed
in part 4 of this paper. In Nootka, the speaker's unmarked role
in such discourse is as reporter/declarer, with reasonable relia-
bility as an information source. Marked roles would be as

1. an explainer, where the speaker begins an aside to the audience
and is no longer a reporter but behaves as if in a dialogue;

2. a quoter, where he speaks as if he were one of the characters in
his story and is clearly no longer a reporter; and

3. a reporter of a more personal narrative, where his source of information changes from cultural transmission to first-hand experience. In all three marked contexts, the INDIC appears to signal not only the marked role of the speaker but also a shift towards greater factuality or intimacy between the speaker and his audience or his information; either because the speaker engages the listener in discourse, as in the first marked role given, or uses direct rather than indirect discourse style, as in the second, or reports a personal experience rather than one handed down from elders, as in the third.

In conversation (dialogue), the speaker's unmarked role is as responder/declarer, with reasonable reliability as an information source. Marked roles would be as

1. an interrupter of the dialogue, where the speaker steps aside from his expected responder role and introduces an unrelated comment or explanation or aside to a nonparticipant; and

2. a better source of information, where the speaker establishes or increases the factuality of his assertions and the validity of his sources in contrast to earlier utterances interpreted as opinion, assumption, inference, etc. In these marked contexts, as in those for monologue, the INDIC signals not only the marked role of the speaker but often also a shift toward greater factuality and intimacy in the discourse; because the speaker ventures an aside to a nonparticipant, thereby engaging him in dialogue; an explanation supporting some earlier observation, thereby giving it more

factual status); a secretive comment not meant to be part of the dialogue; or, most obviously, an assertion establishing greater factuality than that found in earlier statements.

Thus, in Nootka, a marked speaker role and a marked (increased) degree of factuality are both signalled by the INDIC mood (in contrast to the ABS mood). This is illustrated in the following table, where sentence types (and correlated speaker roles) are linked by arrows. Rightward shifts between sentence types (or speaker roles) signal heightened factuality and marked speaker role status and require presence of the INDIC mood in Nootka.

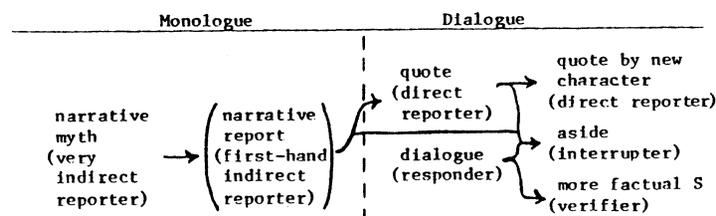| Monologue		Dialogue
narrative myth (very indirect reporter) →	narrative report (first-hand indirect reporter)	quote (direct reporter) → quote by new character (direct reporter)
		dialogue (responder) → aside (interrupter)
		more factual S (verifier)

Table 3. Role and Factuality Shifts in Nootka

In Nootka, then, the contrastive role of the speaker (a mood shift in Halliday's model) roughly correlates with a contrastive level of factuality and intimacy in discourse (a modality shift in this model).[13] The speaker typically steps outside his unmarked role when signalling heightened factuality, and vice versa. This is to be expected if Halliday's model is correct in treating mood and modality as complementary parts of the interpersonal component of discourse, which reflects the role relations of discourse partipants and their attitudes to their statements and each other.

Appendix 1

In the following table are listed the set of texts used in the first investigation. Each text is identified by genre, i.e. conversation (C), historical narrative (N), or myth (M); total sentences (S); and total sentences marked for indicative (INDIC), absolutive (ABS), or irrealis (IRR)[7] mood.

Name	Genre	S	INDIC	ABS	IRR
Edible	C	88	3	66	4
Family	C	220	21	139	33
Nootka	C	245	17	159	34
Granny I	C	26	1	17	7
Survival	N	64	0	28	10
Bad Boy	N	71	2	31	21
Triplets	N	78	1	41	15
Granny II	N	80	5	48	6
Sack	N	98	11	48	9
Bite Breast	N	28	0	17	5
Ice	M	30	3	15	4
Herring	M	38	0	26	3
Octapus	M	63	0	30	15
Red Snapper	M	69	2	33	8
Creation	M	142	4	79	16
Pitchwoman	M	176	2	103	27
Total		1516	72	980	217

In this sample, the average INDIC:IRR, ABS:TOTAL, and INDIC:TOTAL ratios are .33, .58, and .05 respectively. Texts in Appendix 1 with the same name as a text in Appendix 2 are, in fact, the same texts, except in the case of Herring.

Appendix 2

In the following table are listed the set of texts used in the second study. Each text is identified by genre; total number of sentences; and total number of sentences marked indicative (INDIC), subcategorized into indicative sentences indicating an ASIDE, a more factual story (FACT), or a QUOTE. At the right are indicated the total number of sentences marked absolutive (ABS) in quoted sentences and the total number of QUOTE sentences.

Name	Genre	S	INDIC	INDIC ASIDE	INDIC FACT	INDIC QUOTE	ABS QUOTE	TOTAL QUOTE
Granny I	N	26	1	1				
Ghost	N	59	2	1		1		6
Bad Boy	N	68	2	1		1		13
Granny II	N	80	5		3	2		12
Sack	N	96	11	1		10	1	27
Ice	M	28	3	1		2		6
Elk	M	43	2	1		1	1	13
Raven & Clam	M	46	2	1		1		4
Triplets	M	62	1			1	1	9
Frogs	M	72	8	2		6		14
Triplets II	M	78	1			1	4	15
Red Cod	M	107	5	1		3	1	14
Thunderbird	M	121	6	1		5	6	38
Raven & Raspberries	M	127	9	3		6		14
Rock Feast	M	135	3			3	2	27
Herring	M	139	5			5	2	24
Woodpecker	M	143	5	1		4	1	19
Wolf & Deer	M	288	21	2		19	10	99
Total		1718	92	17	3	71	29	354

All these texts are transcribed in Field Notebook 10 (recorded May 10-20, 1979), a copy of which is stored in the University of

Washington Archives, Seattle, Washington.

Appendix 3

In the following table are listed the set of texts (all conversations) used in the third study. Each text is identified by the total number of sentences and the total number of indicative-marked (INDIC) sentences, this latter number being subcategorized into INDIC sentences indicating discourse interruptions and those indicating factuality shifts.

Name	S	INDIC	Interruptions	Shifts
Edible	143	4	1	3
Family	303	24	6	16
Nootka	336	20	5	15
Total	782	48	12	34

There are two INDIC sentences not assigned a function.

FOOTNOTES

[1] The Nootka phonemes include / p t c č ƛ k kʷ q qʷ p' t' c' č' ƛ' k' kʷ ʕ ʔ s š ł x xʷ ḥ h m n y w m' n' y' w' a i u aˑ iˑ uˑ aː iː uː /. The research for this paper was supported by the Melville and Elizabeth Jacobs Research Fund and by SSHRC Grant 453-794541. The texts were provided by Christina Cox and Sophie Jules; their elucidation was made possible by George Louie.

[2] C.f. Rose 1981:212-233 and Sapir & Swadesh 1939:242-3.

[3] Matrix moods occur only in matrix clauses; subordinating moods (termed matrix/subordinate here) occur in either matrix or subordinate clauses.

[4] Hyphens within the INDIC forms indicate boundaries between the person part and the mood part (-š or -iš or -it..-š).

[5] The ABS, but not the INDIC, occurs in subordinate clauses. The indefinite mood also occurs in matrix clauses as a (relative) declarative marker. It is not studied in this paper.

[6] The dialogues arose in response to picture books. The myths were judged as equivalent to European fairy tales by native speakers; report narratives are considered true.

[7] Irrealis matrix clauses are marked dubitative, evidential, inferential, or conditional.

[8] An alternative analysis of INDIC function here may be that the shift to personal aside is an interruption of the narrative style, that of myth-telling.

[9] Songs are composed of phonologically nonstandard lexemes and nonsense syllables.

[10] There were also two cases in which the quoted (IIIsABS) sentence appears in fact to be a part of the prior quoted sentence: 'It's a little basket (.) full of fat' and 'We'll make them into knives (.) for dressing dog salmon'.

11 Quoted declarative material was identified as such by
the INDIC mood in 71 sentences, by abnormal speech and/or waˑʔaƛ
in 24 sentences, and by Is subject alone in 4 sentences.

12 This parallelism of the semantic and semiotic (pragmatic)
structures of discourse has been observed by van Dijk (1977:9) as
well. He divides discourse into two parts, the semantic and the
pragmatic, 'which are SYSTEMATICALLY RELATED to each other'.

13 This contrastive function of the INDIC is particularly
interesting in Nootka because it historically derives from a mood
paradigm associated only with a contrastive particle ʔata-. C.f.
Sapir & Swadesh 1939:243 and Rose 1981:223-4.

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DEICTIC AUXILIARIES AND DISCOURSE MARKING
IN KWAKW'ALA NARRATIVE

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