BELOW THE SURFACE OF NISGHA SYNTAX: ARGUMENTS AND ADJUNCTS

Marie-Lucie Tarpent
Nisgha Bilingual/Bicultural Centre
S.D.92 (Nisgha), New Aiyansh, B.C.

Languages can be divided into those which have lexical arguments and those which have pronominal arguments (Jelinek 1986).

In lexical argument languages such as English, the arguments of a predicate, whether nouns or pronouns, are separate words which can be said in isolation, as in

(1) The cat caught a mouse.
(2) She ate it.

In pronominal argument languages, on the other hand, the arguments are not separate words, but pronominal morphemes more or less tightly bound to the predicate. They must occur together with the predicate, whether or not lexical referents for these bound pronouns are present in the clause as adjuncts. Typical examples occur in colloquial French, where obligatory pronouns remain close to the predicate, while the coreferent words, or nominal adjuncts, have great freedom of occurrence, as in:

(3a) Moi, le poulet, j'aime ça.
me the chicken I like that
(3b) Moi, j'aime ça, le poulet.
(3c) J'aime ça, moi, le poulet.
(3d) J'aime ça, le poulet, moi.
(3e) Le poulet, j'aime ça, moi.
(3f) Le poulet, moi, j'aime ça.

all of which mean

(4) I love chicken!

with varying degrees of emphasis on the lexical elements of the sentence.[1]

Applying this analysis to Nisgha on the basis of a limited set of data, Jelinek 1986 concludes that Nisgha has a mixed lexical-pronominal argument structure, with nouns

and suffix pronouns in complementary distribution. Additional data will show that the argument structure is truly a pronominal one, with lexical elements serving as adjuncts, but that this structure is obscured by the operation of a phonological rule of de-affrication which deletes the 3rd person suffix pronoun -t before some common pre-nominal morphemes consisting of fricatives, the connectives =s and =ɬ ...*hl*.[2] When this rule applies, nouns appear superficially to be suffixed to verbs, but the pronoun does occur on the surface together with a noun whenever conditions prevent the application of the rule. Other data also support the analysis of pronouns as arguments and nominals as adjuncts. Constructions which appear on the surface to be exceptions to the general rule can be shown either not to be exceptions at all in the light of this new analysis, or to be very recent developments influenced by English. However, J's analysis is not incorrect, since both internal and external analogical factors seem to be moving the language towards the mixed argument structure that she describes.

1. Syntactic generalities:

There are two basic clause types in Nisgha: regular clauses and predicate-focused clauses.[3] A regular clause is usually introduced by an element such as Subordinator, a Specified Complement, a Relative-Ergative clitic, or by an Auxiliary or Negative verb, or by another predicate, verbal or nominal, but it can also occur on its own.

These structures where the predicate is usually preceded by various elements contrast with the predicate-focused clause where those elements cannot appear and the predicate is the first constituent of a main clause. Other elements can also be focused, or relativized, but the clauses in which they appear can be related to one or the other of the two basic types.

Both types of clause can include a modal particle and/or one or more modifiers, as well as an evidential postclitic.

2. Data suggesting noun/pronoun complementarity:

For most Nisgha constructions, suffix pronouns appear to occur in complementary distribution with a sequence of pre-nominal connective + noun. Connectives (Boas' term) link nouns with immediately preceding constituents under certain conditions. In addition, they specify whether the noun is determinate (if preceded by the

determinate connective =S, glossed as DC), or non-determinate (if preceded by the non-determinate connective =ɬ, glossed as NC).[4]

The following examples, which are typical of commmon elicitation patterns, show the morpheme sequences that appear on the surface in the basic clause types.[5]

2.a. Regular clauses: In regular clauses (the most common type), the personal suffix which is attached to the predicate refers to the Absolutive argument (intransitive Subject or transitive Object).

2.a.1. Intransitive: the suffixed Absolutive argument is the Subject of the intransitive verb:

(5) *yùkʷ=ɬ yú:χkʷ-ɣ̓*
AUX=NC eat-1S
I am eating.
Yukwhl yuuxgwiɣ̓.

(6) *yùkʷ=ɬ yú:χkʷ-t*
AUX=NC eat-3[6]
S/he is eating.
Yukwhl yuuxkwt.

(7) *ɬa:náks-t*
now married-3
S/he is married now.
Hlaa nakst.

A connective + noun sequence can be suffixed to the verb instead of a 3rd person pronoun suffix. The connective is =S before determinates (mostly proper nouns of persons) and =ɬ before non-determinates (most other nouns). A cluster-simplification rule deletes the Determinate Marker (DM) t between the determinate connective (DC) =S and a following consonant;[7] if a connective is attached to a word ending in the same fricative /S/ or /ɬ/, only one fricative occurs phonetically.

(8) *yùkʷ=ɬ yú:χkʷ=s[t]Màry*
AUX=NC eat=DC[DM] M.
Mary is eating.
Yukwhl yuuxkws Mary.

(9) *yùkʷ=ɬ yú:χkʷ=ɬ ɬkì:kʷ-ɣ̓*
AUX=NC eat= NC W's.sister-1S
My sister is eating.
Yukwhl yuuxkwhl hlgiigwiɣ̓.

(10) *ɬa:náks=[s][t]Pèter*
now married=DC[DM] P.
Peter is married now.
Hlaa naks Peter.

(11) *ɬa:náks=ɬ ɬkù:ɬk^{W}-mkàt-ɣ̓* My son is married now.
now married=NC child-ATTR man-1S *Hlaa nakshl hlguuhlgum gadiɣ̓.*

2.a.2. Transitive: the suffixed Absolutive argument (highlighted here) is the Object of the verb; the Ergative argument is a clitic which precedes the predicate:

2.a.2.a. Pronouns only:

(12) *yùk^{W}-nə ɬimó:m-t* I am helping him/her.
AUX 1S.ERG help.s.-3 *Yukw ni hlimoomt.*

(13) *yùk^{W}-t ɬimó:m-t* S/he is helping him/her.
AUX 3.ERG help.s.-3 *Yukwt hlimoomt.*

(14) *yùk^{W}-t ɬimó:m-ɣ̓* S/he is helping me.
AUX 3.ERG help.s.-1S *Yukwt hlimoomiɣ̓.*

2.a.2.b. Noun(s) present: The 3ERG pronoun is always present in the clause, even when an Agent noun is also present.

2.a.2.b.1. Two nouns: When two nouns, Agent and Object, are present in the clause, the first one, which receives secondary stress, is the Agent, the second, which receives primary stress, is the Object.[8]

(15) *yùk^{W}-t ɬimó:m=s [t] Lùcy t Máry* Lucy is helping Mary.
AUX 3.ERG help.s.=DC [DM] L DM M. *Yukwt hlimooms Lucy t Mary.*

(16) *yùk^{W} -t ɬimó:m=ɬ hanàq̓=ɬ ɬkí:k^{W}-ɣ̓* The woman is helping my sister.
AUX 3.ERG help.s.=NC woman=NC W's.sister-1S
Yukwt hlimoomhl hanaq̓'hl hlgiigwiɣ̓.

2.a.2.b.2. Single noun: If only one noun is present in the clause, that noun is suffixed to the verb through a connective; whether it is to be interpreted as Agent (the most likely case) or Object is indicated by secondary or primary stress respectively:[9]

(Obj) (17) *yùk^{W}-t ɬimó:m=s [t] Máry* S/he is helping Mary.
AUX 3.ERG help.s.=DC [DM] M. *Yukwt hlimooms Mary.*

(18) *yùkʷ -t ɬimó:m=ɬ ɬkí:kʷ-ẏ* S/he is helping my sister.
AUX 3.ERG help.s.=NC W's.sister-1S *Yukwt hlimoomhl hlgiigwiẏ.*

(Agt) (19) *yùkʷ-t ɬimó:m=s[t]Lùcy* Lucy is helping him/her.[10]
AUX 3.ERG help.s.-DC [DM] L. *Yukwt hlimooms Lucy.*

(20) *yùkʷ-t ɬimó:m=ɬ ɬkì:kʷ-ẏ* My sister is helping him/her.[10]
AUX 3.ERG help.s.-NC W's.sister-1S *Yukwt hlimoomhl hlgiigwiẏ.*

It seems, then, that in the case of an Agent noun, the 3ERG pronoun which precedes the verb is redundant, since it co-refers with the noun, unlike suffix pronouns which seem to be in complementary distribution with sequences of connective + noun.

Jelinek considers that the ERG pronoun in such a case functions as an agreement marker, rather than a pronominal argument: to consider the pronoun the argument would mean treating the noun as an Adjunct, rather than a lexical argument, and this would be an exception to what appears to be the normal argument structure of the language (1986:10, 13).

2.b. Predicate-focused clauses: Predicate-focused clauses place extra emphasis on the predicate, which occurs initially in the clause.[11] They answer questions such as 'What did X do (to Y)? What happened to Y?' With focused predicates there is no suffix indicating the Absolutive argument.

2.b.1. Intransitive verbs: in predicate-focused clauses, intransitive verbs do not take a suffix. When the verb is used by itself, it is understood to refer to a third person; a first or second person Subject is indicated by an independent pronoun. A determinate noun is not connected to the verb, but is preceded by a Determinate marker.

(21) *yú:χkʷ ńì:ẏ* I ate.
eat me *Yuuχkw ńiiẏ.*

(22) *yú:χkʷ* S/he ate.[12]
eat *Yuuχkw.*

(23) *yú:χkʷ t Màrẏ* Mary ate.
eat DM M. *Yuuχkw t Mary.*

(24) *yú:xkʷ=ɬ ɬkì:kʷ-y̓* — My sister ate.
eat NC W's.sister1S — *Yuuxkwhl hlgiigwiy̓.*

2.b.2. Transitive verbs: the personal suffix on transitive verbs--coming after the Control suffix -ə- --indicates the Ergative argument: [13]

(25) *ɬimó:m-ə=s [t] L ùcy t Máry* — Lucy helped Mary.
help.s.-CTL=DC [DM] L. DM M. — *Hlimoomis Lucy t Mary.*

(26) *ɬimó:m-ə=ɬ hanàq̓=ɬ ɬkí:kʷ-t* — The woman helped her sister.
help.s.-CTL=NC woman=NC w's.sister — *Hlimoomihl hanak'hl hlgiikwt*

(27) *ɬimó:m-ə=t t Máry* — S/he helped Mary.
help.s.-CTL-3 DM M. — *Hlimoomit t Mary.*

(28) *ɬimó:m-ə-t=ɬ* [14] *ɬkí:kʷ-t* — She helped her sister.
help.s.-CTL-3=NC w's.sister — *Hlimoomithl hlgiikwt.*

If the Object is unmentioned, it is assumed to refer to a 3rd person:

(29) *ɬimó:m-ə=t* — S/he helped him/her.[15]
help.s.-CTL-3 — *Hlimoomit.*

(30) *ɬimó:m-ə=s [t] L ùcy* — Lucy helped him/her.
help.s.-CTL=DC [DM] L. — *Hlimoomis Lucy.*

(31) *ɬimó:m-ə=ɬ hanàq̓* — The woman helped him/her.
help.s.-CTL= =NC woman — *Hlimoomihl hanak'.*

If the Object is a first or second person pronoun, it is indicated by an independent pronoun, not a suffix:

(32) *ɬimó:m-ə-t ńì:y̓* — S/he helped me.
help.s.-CTL-3 me — *Hlimoomit ńiiy̓.*

Treatment of the Object in these cases are parallel to that of the Subject of the intransitive verb in predicate-focused clause (1.b.1.).

2.c. Treatment of 3 on 1/2: If suffix pronouns and nouns are in complementary distribution, then it is puzzling to encounter examples such as the following predicate-focused clauses, where the noun is added to a clause already including a suffix pronoun indicating the Agent, after the independent first or second person pronoun indicating the Object (coreferring elements are highlighted):

(33) *ɬimó:m-ə-t ńì:ɣ̓ **t L ùcy***
help.s.-CTL-3 me DM L.
Lucy helped me.
Hlimoomit ńiiɣ̓ t Lucy.

(34) *ɬimó:m-ə-t ńì:ɣ̓=**ɬ hanàq̓***
help.s.-CTL-3 me=NC woman
The woman helped me.
Hlimoomit ńiiɣ̓hl hanaq̓'.

If the noun is plural, the suffix on the verb is still the same, never the 3PL suffix (cf. 4.b.2.b.1.a.):

(35) *ɬimó:m-ə-t ńì:ɣ̓ **tip L ùcy***
help.s.-CTL-3 me DM.PL L
Lucy 'and them' helped me.
Hlimoomit ńiiɣ̓ dip Lucy.

(36) *ɬimó:m-ə-t ńì:ɣ̓=**ɬ ha:nàq̓***
help.s.-CTL-3 me=NC women
The women helped me.
Hlimoomit ńiiɣ̓hl haanaq̓'.

The noun is similarly added to the corresponding regular clauses, after the verb, which ends in a suffix indicating the Object (in the regular clause, however, there is a precedent for having a noun coreferring with the Ergative pronoun, see above 2.a.2.b.1.):

(37) *yùk^{W}-t ɬimó:m-ɣ̓ **t L ùcy***
AUX-3ERG help.s.-1S DM L.
Lucy is helping me.
Yukwt hlimoomiɣ̓ t Lucy.

(38) *yùk^{W}-t ɬimó:m-ɣ̓=**ɬ hanàq̓***
AUX-3ERG help.s.-1S=NC woman
The woman is helping me.
Yukwt hlimoomiɣ̓hl hanaq̓'.

(39) *yùk^{W}-t ɬimó:m-ɣ̓ **tip L ùcy***
AUX-3ERG help.s.-1S DM.PL L.
Lucy 'and them' are helping me.
Yukwt hlimoomiɣ̓ dip Lucy.

(40) *yùk^{W}-t ɬimó:m-ɣ̓=**ɬ ha:nàq̓***
AUX-3ERG help.s.-1S=NC women
The women are helping me.
Yukwt hlimoomiɣ̓hl haanaq̓'.

Jelinek's interpretation is that a first or second person pronoun takes precedence over lexical arguments, according to the hierarchy 1,2 > NP (1986:9).

3. Data showing the non-complementarity of pronoun and noun: A variety of data show that pronouns and nouns cannot be considered complementary. In many cases other than those in 2.c., the 3 suffix -t does show up in the presence of a coreferring nominal: this occurs whenever there is no immediate contact between the pronoun and a connective, either because of the presence of intervening morphemes (3.a.), or because of a pause in delivery (3.b.).

Additional evidence comes from transcriptional irregularities in Boas 1902.[16] There are many cases where Boas only has the fricative /ɬ/ instead of what would nowadays be a sequence /t-ɬ/: such deaffrication is frequent in the texts but seems to be random, the result of careless speech; however, in a few examples the sequences /t-ɬ/ and /t-s/ occur where modern speakers would have only /ɬ/ and /s/: the pronoun and the connective occur together on the surface, probably because of very careful pronunciation (3.c.): in these cases, it is the modern pronunciation that is the result of generalized deaffrication.[17]

All these examples show that suffix pronouns and sequences of connective + noun are not complementary, so that the presence of the pronoun must be recognized in all cases at a deeper level of structure.

3.a. Suffix pronoun and connective separated by additional morphemes:

3.a.1. Additional suffixes: Additional suffixes such as evidential postclitics or the comparative suffix -i: 'like...' *...ii* can occur between the pronoun suffixed to the predicate, and a following connective. These additional suffixes prevent contact between a /t/-shaped morpheme such as the 3 suffix pronoun and the non-Velar fricative of the connective, so that affrication does not occur and those phonological elements remain distinct on the surface.

3.a.1.a. Evidential postclitics: Evidential postclitics add sentential meanings such as Dubitative, Reportive, Interrogative, Assertive, Distal, and others (T 1984). Some of the postclitics have more freedom of occurrence than others; a few are always attached to the predicate, after the suffix pronoun, which appears on the surface even when there is a co-referring noun in the clause.

3.a.1.a.1. With intransitives: (regular clause examples):

- Examples with pronoun only: the postclitic is added after the pronoun:

(41) *ɬa:náks-t* — S/he is married now.
by.now married-3 — *Hlaa nakst.*

(42) *ɬa náks-t==a?* — S/he is married now! (believe it or not)
by.now married-3==ASST — *Hlaa naksda'a!*

(43) *ɬa náks-t==(ə)ma?* — S/he is probably married now.
by.now married-3==DUB — *Hlaa naksdima'a.*

(44) *ɬa náks-t==qat*[18] — I hear s/he is married now.
by.now married-3==REP — *Hlaa nakst-gat.*

- Examples with both pronoun and noun: the noun, preceded by the appropriate connective, occurs after the postclitic, which is preceded by the suffix pronoun:

(45) *ɬa:náks-t==a?=s[t]Pèter* — Peter is actually married now!
by.now married-3==ASST=DC[DM] P. — *Hlaa naksda'as Peter!*

(46) *ɬa:náks-t==a?=ɬ ɬkù:ɬk^{W}-m kàt-ý́* — My son is actually married now!
by.now married-3==ASST=NC child-ATT man-1S — *Hlaa naksda'ahl hlguuhlgum gadý́!*

(47) *ɬa:náks-t==əma?=s[t]Pèter* — Peter is probably married now.
by.now married-3==DUB=DC[DM] P. — *Hlaa naksdima'as Peter.*

(48) *ɬa:náks-t==(ə)ma?=ɬ ɬkù:ɬk^{W}-mkàt-ti:t*
by.now married-3==DUB=NC child-ATT man-3P

Their son is probably married now.
Hlaa naksdima'ahl hlguuhlgum gatdiit.

With the Reportive postclitic ==qat *-gat*, contact with the fricative of a following connective causes deaffrication, always in the case of the determinate connective =S, optionally, especially in rapid speech, for the non-determinate connective =ɬ *...hl* :

(49) *ɬa:náks-**t==qa[t]=s**[t]Pèter* I hear Peter is married now.
by.now married-3==REP=DC [DM] P. ***Hlaa nakst-gas** Peter.*

(50) *ɬa:náks-**t==qa[t]=ɬ** ɬkù:ɬk^{W}-mkàt-ti:t*
by.now married-3==REP=NC child-ATT man-3P
I hear their son is married now.
***Hlaa nakst-ga(t)hl** hlguuhlgum gatdiit.*

These facts suggest that the overt absence of the suffix pronoun before a connective is attributable to phonological causes, namely the rule of Deaffrication which is also attested in other cases, and that the suffix is indeed present below the surface, thus:

(51=10) *ɬa:náks-**[t]=[s]**[t]Pèter* Peter is married now.
by.now married-[3]=DC [DM] P. ***Hlaa naks** Peter.*

(52=11) *ɬa:náks-**[t]=ɬ** ɬkù:ɬk^{W}-mkàt-ý* My son is married now.
by.now married-[3]=NC child-ATT man-1S ***Hlaa nakshl** hlguuhlgum gadiý.*

The same structure occurs in this example from Boas 1902:

(53) *ɬa:liki:k^{W}ilá̀-**t=(ə)ma?=ɬ** ɬòqs* After about three months... (170.13)
now about three-3==DUB=NC month ***Hlaa ligii gwilaldima'ahl** hloks...*

(compare:
(54) *ɬa:k^{W}ilá̀-**[t]=ɬ** ɬòqs* After three months...
now about three-[3]=NC month ***Hlaa gwilaihl** hloks...*)

In Boas 1902, the postclitic ==**ki**: *-gi* seems to prevent the occurrence of a connective in most cases (cf. 3.a.1.a.2.a./b.); modern usage does have the connective with the postclitic:

(55) *ńí[t]=ɬqanhí-**t==ki**:sim?ó:kit t kùs[t]* That's why that chief said:...(33.13)
it=NC therefore say-3==DISTAL chief DM that ***Ńihl gan hit-gi** sim'oogit tgust...*

(compare the modern equivalent without the postclitic:
(56) *ńí[t]=ɬqanhí-**[t]=ɬ** sim?ó:kit t kùs[t]* That's why that chief said:...
it=NC therefore say-[3]=NC chief DM that ***Ńihl gan hihl** sim'oogit tgust...*)

3.a.1.a.2. With transitive verb:

3.a.1.a.2.a. In Predicate-focused clause: Again, the occurrence of the suffix pronoun before a postclitic suggests that it occurs in all cases and is only deleted by a surface phonological rule:

(57) *ɬimó:m-ə-t==(ə)ma?*
help.s.-CTL-3==DUB
S/he probably helped him/her.
Hlimoomidima'a.

(58) *ɬimó:m-ə-t==qat*
help.s.-CTL-3==REP
I hear s/he helped him/her.
Hlimoomit-gat.

(59) *ɬimó:m-ə-t==(ə)ma?=s[t]L ùcy*
help.s.-CTL-3==DUB=DC[DM]M.
Lucy probably helped him/her.
***Hlimoomidima'as** Lucy.*

(60) *ɬimó:m-ə-t==a?=s[t]L ùcy*
help.s.-CTL-3==ASST=DC[DM]M.
Lucy did help him/her!
***Hlimoomida'as** Lucy!*

(61) *ɬimó:m-ə-t==qa[t]=s[t]L ùcy*
help.s.-CTL-3==REP=DC[DM]M.
I hear Lucy helped him/her.
***Hlimoomit-gas** Lucy.*

(62) *ɬimó:m-ə-[t]=s[t]L ùcy*
help.s.-CTL-3=DC[DM]M.
Lucy helped him/her.
***Hlimoomis** Lucy.*

(63) *tim?anó:q-ə-t==əma?=s[t]hòx-ɣ̓*
FUTlike.s.-CTL-[3]==DUB=DC[DM] mother-1S
My mother will probably like it.
***Dim anoogadima'as** nooɣ̓.*

(64) *sim?anó:q-ə-[t]=s[t]nòx-ɣ̓*
really like.s.-CTL-[3]=DC[DM] mother-1S
My mother really likes/liked it.
***Sim anoogas** nooɣ̓.*

In the following example, the postclitic ==ɬi: *-gi* again prevents the occurrence of a connective: (cf. above 3.a.1.a.1.)

(65) *huxʷ ẇá-(y)ə-t==ɬi: ʔa:ma: wílp==ki:* Again he reached a fine house (48.3).
again find.s.-CTL-3==DISTAL good house==DISTAL
Huxw ẇayit-gi amaa wilp-gi.

3.a.1.a.2.b. In Regular clause: the suffix pronoun indicating the Object occurs before a postclitic, whether or not there is a noun, and whether the following noun is Agent or Object:

- pronoun only:

(66) *ni:-ti:-t ɬimó:m-t*
not-INTS-3ERG help.s.-3

S/he didn't help him/her.
Nidiit ɬlimoomt.

(67) *nì:-ti:-t ɬimó:m-t==qat*
not-INTS-3ERG help.s.-3==REP

I hear s/he didn't help him/her.
Nidiit ɬlimoomt-gat.

- with Agent noun:

(68) *nì:-ti:-t ɬimó:m-t==qa[t]=s[t]L ùcy*
not-INTS-3ERG help.s.-3==REP=DC [DM] L.

I hear Lucy didn't help him/her.
Nidiit ɬlimoomt-gas Lucy.

(69) *nì:-ti:-t ɬimó:m-[t]=s[t]L ùcy*
not-INTS-3ERG help.s.-[3]=DC [DM] L.

Lucy didn't help him/her.
Nidiit ɬlimooms Lucy.

- with Object noun:

(70) *nì:-ti:-t ɬimó:m-t==qa[t]=s[t]L úcy*
not-INTS-3ERG help.s.-3==REP=DC[DM]L.

I hear s/he didn't help Lucy.
Nidiit ɬlimoomt-gas Lucy.

(71) *nì:-ti:-t ɬimó:m-[t]=s[t]L úcy*
not-INTS-3ERG help.s.- [3]=DC [DM] L.

S/he didn't help Lucy.
Nidiit ɬlimooms Lucy.

In the following example, the phrase ***kʷilǫ̊a:n̓íti:t==ki:*** 'all of them' ***gwilk'a n̓idiit-gi*** functions as a noun-phrase which is the Object of the verb (note that here a connective is used after the postclitic ==**k̲i:** -***gi***, unlike most other Boas examples, 3.a.1.a.1./2.a.):

(72) *n̓i[t]=ɬk̓i:-tlax̲)lá:ǫ̊al-t==**k̲i:** ɬ kʷilǫ̊a:n̓íti:t==ki:*
it=NC and-3E PL)examine.s.-3==DIST NC all them==DIST

Then he examined them all (144.13).
Ṅihl k'iit lax̲laak'alt-gihl gwilk'a n̓idiit-gi.

3.a.1.b. With comparative suffix -i: : this suffix is used especially in the expression wit_ -i: *wit_..ii* 'looking like ...': in this expression the final /t/ of wit is deleted before the connective =ɬ ...*hl*.

The following example occurs with an intransitive verb in a regular clause: the suffix pronoun occurs before the comparative suffix: compare with and without the suffix:

(73) ***wi[t]=ɬ*** *liḵi: tim tɬ̓a:=ɬóʔ-**t**-**i**:=**ɬ** haw̓i:t̓à:tḵùn*
... =NC about FUT flat=slide-3-...=NC chair DM this
This chair looks like it's going to collapse.
Wihl ligii dim tl̓'aahlo'odiihl hanʌ̓iit'aa tgun.

(74) *ɬa: tim tɬ̓a:=ɬóʔ-**[t]**=**ɬ** haw̓i:t̓à:tḵùn* This chair is going to collapse.
now FUT flat=slide-[3]=NC chair DM this ***Hlaa dim tl̓'aahlo'ohl hanʌ̓iit'aa tgun.***

(75) *ɬa: tim tɬ̓a:=ɬóʔ-**t*** It's going to collapse.
now FUT flat=slide-3 ***Hlaa dim tl̓'aahlo'ot.***

3.a.2. Additional clause constituents intervening between verb and nominal: In some cases, other clause constituents can or must occur between the verb and a following nominal; in these cases too, the suffix pronoun does occur on the surface, as there is no connective linking the intervening constituents to the predicate. (In the following examples, coreferring items are highlighted).

3.a.2.a. Between an intransitive verb and a Subject noun: In the following example, a circumstantial complement occurs before the Subject noun:[19]

(76) *way k̓ʷiɬḵina:=tóx̌-**t** ʔa=**ɬ** kilílx **tx̌a:ńìtḵʷs-[t]=ɬtx̌úx***
Well! about left-lie.PL-3 PREP=NC up.the.hill all-[3]=NC halibut
Well, all the halibut being left at the top [of the beach] ... (70.7-8)
Way kw'ihl ginaadogt ahl gililx, tx̌aaʌ̓itḵwshl tx̌ox̌_

3.a.2.b. Between a transitive verb and its Object: The following example includes a focused coordinate noun-phrase, the components of which are separated: normally only the first component of such a phrase occurs in the initial, focused position, and the second component occurs later, after the predicate.[20] Here the coordinate noun-phrase is the focused Agent; the first component of this phrase occurs in initial

position, the second occurs after the transitive verb, which has a suffixed pronoun Object; the headless relative clause which corefers with this pronoun occurs after the second half of the coordinate noun-phrase.

(77) *ksax ɬku ničǐ.c̓t ʔan kíp-t -- qan=ɬ ɬku kʷè:ʔ-m ɬku-tx̌íɬkʷ --*
only little grandmother 3ERG REL.ERG eat.s.-3 -- and=NC little poor-ATTR little-child
ɬə ẃá-(y)ə-[t]=ɬ qà:q ʔa=ɬ hi:ɬukʷ táẃiɬ==ki:
the[21] find.s.-CTL-[3]=NC raven PREP=NC morning early==DISTAL

Only the little granny and the poor boy ate what the raven had found that morning (lit. only the little granny ate it, and the poor boy, [what] the raven ...) (152.10-12).
Ksax hlgu nits'iits' t an gipt, ganhl hlgu gwee'em hlgutk'ihlkw, hli ẃayihl gaak ahl hiihlukw daẃihl-gi.

3.b. Cases where the pronoun occurs instead of expected connective: In a number of instances in Boas 1902, the pronoun occurs where one would normally expect a connective, before a non-determinate noun; this is probably because of a pause in dictation at that point,[22] since there are many more examples when a connective does occur. The examples given in this section all have a connective in modern usage.

3.b.1. Examples with Transitive verb: the connective is lacking between verb and Object:

3.b.1.a. Regular clause: Usually, a single noun is more often the Agent than the Object (cf. note 9), but in the examples in this section, a single noun seems to be most often the Object rather than the Agent: note that these examples are chosen here because they do not have a connective between verb and noun: this is more likely to happen with an Object noun than with an Agent noun (cf. note 22).

3.b.1.a.1. Regular clause, nominal Agent:

(78) *ńì[t]=ɬ ńít [t] qan wilá:kʷ-ɾ-tlaxhà==ki:*
it=NC it [3ERG] therefore treat.s.-DEF-3 heaven==DISTAL
That's why Heaven treated them that way (96.2)
Ńihl ńit gan wilaagwit laxha-gi.
(modern: ... ***wilaagwihl*** ...)

3.b.1.a.2. Regular clause, Nominal Object:

(79) *ɲìl[t]=ɬkɬ̓i:-t wɬ̓ɬ̓in-**t**hè:-[t]=ɬhanáq̓*

it=NC and-3ERG cause.s.-3 saying-[3]=NC woman

Then he did what the woman had told him to (129.15).

Ɲihl k'iit wilt'int heehl hanaq̓.' (modern: ...***wilt'inhl***...)

(80) *ɬa: ɬìsk^{W}-t skɬ́-**t** ɬku la:x^{W} ʔa=ɬ[qa-kè:w-ə]-[t]=ɬwɬ̓lp*

now finished-3ERG place.s.-3 little trout PREP-NC [...-below.house-...]$_{ABST}$-[3]=NC house

... after he put the little trout on the beach below the house (151.8).

...hlaa hliskwt sgit hlgu laaxw ahl gageewihl wilp. (mod: ...***sgihl***...)

(81) *ɲìl[t]=ɬkɬ̓i:-tlu:=ksqalá:n-(t)T-**t** ʔiɬè:ʔetk^{W}-mlóʔop==ki:*

it=NC and-3ERG in-last-DEF-3 red-ATTR stone==DISTAL

He threw the red stone last [and hit the target] (140.10).

Ɲihl k'iit luuksgalaandit ihlee'etgum lo'op-gi.

(modern:...***luuksgalaandihl***...)

(82) *kɬ̓i:-tkú:-[t]=ɬqán -- kɬ̓i:-t qímqan-**t** wɬ̓i:ʔamhá:c̓*

and-3ERG take.s.-[3]=NC stick -- and-3ERG pry.up.s.-3 big uprooted.tree

He took a stick and pried up the uprooted tree (55.11-12).

K'iit guuhl gan, k'iit gemgant wii amhaats'.

(modern: ...***gemganhl***...)

(83) *ʔakù mə qan cáɬ-**t** hó:n ɬə cáp-ə-y̓*

what? 2ERG therefore eat.up.s.-3 fish the make.s.-CTL-1S

Why did you eat all the fish I prepared? (118.3)

Agu ma gan jahlt hoon hli jabiy̓? (mod. ...***jahl***...)

(84) *y̓ùk^{W}-nəcák^{W}-T-**t** wɬ̓i:lɬ̓ɬ́ńsk^{W}*

PROG 1S.ERG kill.s.-DEF-3 big grizzly

I just killed the big grizzly (119.5).

Yukw ni jagwit wii lik'ińskw.

(modern: ...***jagwihl***...)

3.1.a.3. Regular clause, nominal Agent and Object:

(85) *ɲìl[t]=ɬkɬ̓i:-t wálx-**t**kɬ̓è:k^{W}-T-[t]=ɬɬkucù:c̓ʔantəhasè:x-[t]=s[t]c̓ák*

it=NC and-3ERG carry.s.on.back-3 1[animal]-DEF-[3]=NC littlr bird rattlebox-[3]=DC[DM] T.

One little bird carried Ts'ak's rattlebox (124.12).
Ni̓hl k'iit walxt k'eegwihl hlgu ts'uuts'andahaseexs Ts'ak.

(here note the absence of connective between the Agent and Object noun-phrases as well; modern: ***Ni̓hl k'iit walxhl k'eegwihl hlgu ts'uuts'hl andahaseexs Ts'ak***).

(86) *ɬa:qó:ta-[t]=ɬkín-t xskà:k=ɬ ɬku-wílksiɬkʷ*
now gone.PL-[3]=NC give.food.to.s.-3ERG eagle=NC little-prince
Now the eagles had stopped bringing food to the prince (179.9-10).
(lit. now what [food] the eagles had been giving the prince was gone).
Hlaa goodahl gint xsgaakhl hlguwilksihlkw. (modern: ...***ginhl***...)

3.b.1.b. Predicate-focused clause:

- nominal Agent:

(87) *ńì[t]=ɬńítsimyóxkʷ-ə-t ɬku kʷè:ʔ-m ɬku-tḵi̓ɬkʷ ɬi mì:n-[t]=ɬ ẃi: qán==ki:*
it=NC it really follow.s.-CTL-3 little poor little-child the base-[3]=NC big tree==DISTAL
The poor boy headed right that way, towards the base of the huge tree (147.10-11).
Ni̓hl ńit sim yoxgwit hlgu gwee'em hlgutk'ihlkw, hli miinhl ẃii gan-gi.

(Here the second **ńit** 'it' is the Focused Object of the transitive verb and would also be followed nowadays by the non-determinate connective, causing deletion of the /t/: ***Ni̓hl ńihl sim yoxgwihl*** ....).

- nominal Object:

(88) *ɬix)lísaʔan-[ə]t sə-lít-t==ki:* He had finished making his wedges (148.5).
PL)finish.s.-[CTL]-3 make-wedge-3==DIST ***Hlixhlisa'ant silitt-gi.***
(modern: ***Hlixhlisa'anthl***...)

(89) *lipsə-naxnóq-ə-t ɬku kʷèːʔ-m ɬku-tḵi̓ɬkʷ*
self make-supernatural.being-CTL-3 little poor-ATTR little-child
The poor boy had acquired supernatural powers on his own/...had made himself into a supernatural being (152.6). ***Lip sinaxnogat hlgu gwee'em hlgutk'ihlkw.***
(modern: ... ***sinaxnogahl***...)

3.b.a.4. Examples with transitive verb and Object clause: compare the following parallel sentences occurring on the same page: two have the connective, one does not and the pronoun occurs overtly instead:

(90) *ńì[t]=ɬǩì:hux^{W}-tká?-**[t]=ɬ**wilkina:=tóx-[t]=ɬcì:x^{W}*

it=NC and again-3.ERG see.s.-[3]=NC SUB left=lie.PL-[3]=NC porpoise

Then again he saw that there were porpoises left [on the beach] (167.5).

Ńihl k'ii huxwt ga'ahl wil ginaadoxhl jiixw.

(91) *ńì[t]=ɬǩì:-thux^{W}ká?-**t** wilkina:=skí-[t]=ɬt̓ìpin*

it=NC and-3.ERG again see.s.-[3]=NC SUB left=lie-[3]=NC sealion

Then again he saw that there was a sealion left [on the beach] (167.7-8).

Ńihl k'iit huxw ga'at wil ginaasgihl t'ibin.

(92) *ńì[t]=ɬǩì:-tká?-**[t]=ɬ**wilkina:=skí-[t]=ɬẁì:ɬpìn*

it=NC and-3ERGsee.s.-[3]=NC SUB left=lie-[3]=NC big whale

Then he saw that there was a big whale left [on the beach] (167.11).

Ńihl k'iit ga'ahl wil ginaasgihl ẁii hlbin.

Some other examples with clause Objects are:

(93) *ɬa:-tnaχńá-**t** paqatíl-[t]=ɬɬkì-[t]=ɬɬkú:ɬk^{W}-t==ki:*

by.now-3ERG hear.s.-3 two[persons]-[3]=NC children-[3]=NC child-3==DISTAL

...when he heard that his daughter had two children (162.10).

...hlaat naχńat bagadilhl hlgihl hlguuhlkwt-gi.

(modern: ***...naχńahl...***)

(94) *ǩì:-tq̓áq-T-**t** willu:=qác-[t]=ɬʔàks==ki:*

and-3ERG open.s.-DEF[23]-3 SUB in=[liquid]be-[t]=NC water==DISTAL

... and he opened [the container] where the water was (26.13).

...k'iit k'agat wil luugatshl aks-gi. (modern: ***...k'agahl...***)

3.b.2. Examples with intransitives in regular clause: here the connective is lacking between verb and Subject:

(95) *wilá:x-ti:tńí-**t** t ẁi: kàt*

know.s.-3P that's-3 DM big man

They knew that he was Giant (16.2).

Wilaaxdiit ńit (t) Ẁii Gat. (mod: ***...ńit/ńis...***)

(96) *ńì[t]=ɬ ḱì:hakʼsim huxʷ yéː-tniči:cʼ-[t]=[s][t]cʼák*

it=NC and again again go-3 grandmother-[3]=[DC] [DM] Ts'ak

Then Ts'ak's grandmother went again (124.3-4).

Ńihl kʼii hakʼsim huxw yeet nitsʼiitsʼ Tsʼak.

(modern: ...***yees nitsʼiitsʼ*** ...)

(97) *ńì[t]=ɬ ḱì:ḱis)ḱáckʷ-t ẃi:-hìlt-m kàt*

it=NC and PL)land-3 great-many-ATTR people

Then lots of people landed (185.7).

Ńihl kʼii kʼiskʼatskwt ẃiihildim gat.

(modern: ...***kʼiskʼatskwhl*** ...)

(98) *ńì[t]=ɬ ḱì:-tlu:=máqsaʔan-t ʔa=ɬ wilsáq̓T-t ẃi:qàn*

it=NC and-3ERG in-place.s.PL-3 PREP=NC SUB cracked-3 big tree

Then he put them [the wedges] back in the crack of the big tree (148.12-13).

Ńihl kʼiit luumaksaʼant ahl wil sakʼat ẃii gan-gi. (modern: ... ***wil sakʼahl*** ...)

(99) *ńì[t]=ɬ ḱì:huxʷ mítkʷ-t huxʷ ḱìl̓-[t]=ɬ wìlp*

it=NC and again full-3 again one-[t]=NC house

Then one more house was full (158.6).

Ńihl kʼii huxw mitkwt huxw kʼilhl wilp.

(modern: ...***mitkwhl***...)

(100) *ʔáːm=ɬ tim ʔítkʷs-t tim wà-t*

good=NC FUT called-3 FUT name-3

He should receive his name (165.1).

(lit. his name should be called)

Aamhl dim itkwst dim wat.

(modern: ...***itkwshl*** ...)

(101) *ká?-ə-twilcaqa=his)yáckʷ-t ɬə tàːw-[t]=ɬ sqaǹíst==kiː*

see.s.-CTL-3 SUB across=PL)chopped-3 the ice-[3]=NC mountain==DISTAL

He saw that steps had been chopped across the glacier (202.6-7)

(lit. ... that the ice of the mountain had been multiply chopped across).

Gaʼat wil jagahisyatskwt hli daawhl sgaǹist-gi.

(modern: ***jagahisyatskwhl***...)

3.b.3. <u>Examples with higher predicate introducing an intransitive clause</u>: in this case a higher predicate is normally followed by a non-determinate connective, except before the Irrealis particle cə *ji*:

3.b.3.a. Cases which would normally take a connective:

(102) *ɬa:čú:sk-t tim wil ńúẃ-[t]=ɬʔàxʷt*
now little-3 FUT SUB die-[3]=NC porcupine
... just before the porcupine was going to die (76.6-7)
...hlaa ts'uuskt dim wil ńuẃhl axwt ...
(modern: ...*ts'uuskhl*...)

(103) *ńì[t]=ɬǩi:ńákʷ-t wiyìtkʷ-t*
it=NC and long-3 cry-3
Then he cried for a long time (90.3).
Ńihl k'ii ńakwt wiyitkwt.
(modern: ...*ńákwhl*...)

(104) *haẃìn-kiǹákʷ-t ɬita:yúkʷsa*
not.yet-INTENS long-3 since evening
Not long after dark ... (156.4-5).
Haẃingii ńakwt hlidaa yukwsa ...
(modern: ...*ńákwhl*...)

(105) *ńì[t]=ɬǩi:ɬə qó:q-t tim múkʷ-[t]=ɬmà:ẏ*
it=NC and the in.front-3 FUT ripe-[3]=NC berries
Then before the berries were ripe... (206.5).
Ńihl k'ii hla gookt dim mukwhl maaẏ ...
(modern: ...*gookhl*...)
(here the higher predicate is a possessed noun and the clause is its 'possessor')

(106) *ɬa: ẃi:čís-t wil sa:=ɬkúkʷskʷ-[t]=ɬkʷi:s-qanà:ẃ-t==ki:*
now great-3 SUB off-inert-[3]=NC garment-frog-3==DISTAL
He was now having great difficulty taking off his frogskin [that he wore underwater] /
His frogskin was getting very hard to take off (163.15).
Hlaa ẃiit'ist wil saahlgukwskwhl gwiisganaaẃt-gi.
(modern: ...*ẃiit'ishl*...)

3.b.3.b. Before the Irrealis particle Cə *ji*: no connective is ever used with this particle, so that the 3 suffix appears on the surface in cases like the following:

(107) *ni:-ki:skí-t cə tim kíp-ə-[t]=ɬɬkù:ɬkʷ-[t]=ɬsimʔó:kit*
not-INTENS be-3 IRR FUR eat.s.-CTL-[3]=NC child-[3]=NC chief
The chief's daughter didn't have anything to eat (146.2).
Nigii sgit ji dim gibihl hlguuhlkwhl sim'oogit.

However, the contact of final /t/ with the initial /c/ of the particle causes coalescence into a single segment /c/, and present-day speakers do not perceive a final suffix. The modern equivalent of this example is written: ***Nigii sgi ji...*** Another modern example is:

(108) *qús-ə-ɣ̓ nətim ẃá-**[t]**cə wilmáx̱k^{W}-ɣ̓*
can't-CTL-1S 1S.ERG find.s.-[3] IRR SUB ride-1S
I couldn't find a ride (...[someone] to ride with).
Gosiɣ̓ ni dimẃa ji wil max̱gwiɣ̓.

3.c. Cases where deaffrication does not occur:

The Boas texts contain many instances where only a fricative is noted, where a modern speaker would have a /t/ + fricative sequence. As these instances appear to be random, they may be attributable to a very weak pronunciation of the /t/ before fricative, especially after unstressed vowel. As Boas's consultants seem to deaffricate more than present-day speakers (e.g. after the 3P suffix -ti:t...*diit*, 3.c.1.b.2.), the few cases where they do not deaffricate, probably as a result of particularly careful enunciation, are particularly noteworthy.

3.c.1. Regular clause:

3.c.1.a. With intransitive verb:

(109) *ńi[t]=ɬk̓i:lu:yáltk^{W}-**t=s** [t]ć̓àk* — Then Ts'ak went back ... (121.1).
it=NC and return-3=DC [DM] Ts'ak — ***Ńihl k'ii luuyaltkwts Ts'ak...***
(modern: ...***luuyaltkws***...)

(110) *ɬa: ɬé:x̱k^{W}-**[t]=s**[t]ć̓àk - sim ć̓é:x-**t=s** [t]ć̓àk*
by.now finished.eating-[3]=DC [DM] Ts'ak - really satiated-3=DC [DM] Ts'ak
When Ts'ak had finished eating and was really full ... (128.6-7).
Hlaa hleex̱kws Ts'ak, sim ts'eexts Ts'ak ...(modern: ...***ts'eexs***...)

(111) *ɬa: hux^{W} sit̓á:tk^{W}s-**t=ɬ** hì-[t]=ɬk̓upa:-tk̓ì ɬk^{W}==ki:*
now again begin-3=NC saying-[3]=NC little.PL-child==DISTAL
... the children had started to talk [loud] again (98.15-16).
...hlaa huxw sit'aatkwsth1 hihl k'ubatk'ihlkw-gi.
(modern: ...***sit'aatkwsh1***...)

3.c.1.b. With transitive verb:

- after 3 suffix:

(112) *...ʔálkax̲-[t]=ɬk̓ò:l-[t]=ɬkàt ʔa=s[t]c̓ák --t ʔítkʷ-t=s [t]c̓ák*
speak-[3]=NC one-[3]=NC man PREP=DC [DM] Ts'ak -- 3ERG call.s.-3=DC [DM] Ts'ak
... one man spoke to Ts'ak, calling Ts'ak's name ...(120.6)
*... **algax̲hl k'yoolhl gat as Ts'ak, t itkwts Ts'ak** ...*
(modern: *...**itkws** ...*)

(113) *ńì[t]=ɬk̓i:-tʔanks=kslágs-t=s [t]c̓àk ẃi:qán*
it=NC and-3ERG opening=kick.s.-3=DC [DM] Ts'ak big tree
Then Ts'ak kicked open the big tree [in the crack of which he was wedged] (134.2).
Ńihl k'iit ankskslax̲sts Ts'ak ẃii gan.
(modern: *...**ankskslax̲s Ts'akhl** ...*)
(note here also the missing connective between the Agent and Object nouns).

- after 3P suffix: In the following two cases, the determinate connective would not be used in modern Nisgha after the 3P pronoun suffix -tiːt...*diit*, which corefers with the Ergative pronoun; its use here represents an exception to the normal usage of Boas' consultants but may represent an older usage (see below 4.b.2.a.):

(114) *ńì[t]=ɬwil-ttq̓al=tə-tákɬ-tiːt=s [t]c̓ák*
it=NC SUB-3 against-DOM-binding-3P=DC [DM] Ts'ak
They had Ts'ak tied up there (120.11).
Ńihl wilt tx̲'aldidakhldiits Ts'ak.
(modern: *...**tx̲'aldidakhldiit (t) Ts'ak.***)

(115) *ńì[t]=ɬk̓i:-tsaː=kú:-tiːt=s [t]c̓ák*
it=NC and-3ERG off=take.s.-3P=DC [DM] Ts'ak
Then they took Ts'ak off (120.15).
Ńihl k'iit saaguudiits Ts'ak.
(modern: *...**saaguudiit (t) Ts'ak.***)

3.c.2. Predicate-focused clause: the following examples are of transitive verbs followed by nominal Agents:

(116) *k̓ʷiɬ yúkʷ-ɪ-ə-t=s [t]c̓àk ɬ ɬku qàmt-mlóʔop*
about hold.s.-DEF-CTL-3=DC [DM] Ts'ak NC little firestarter-ATTR rock

Ts'ak was carrying a strike-a-light about him (118.9).
Kw'ihl yukwdits Ts'akhl hlgu gamdim lo'op.
(modern: ...*yukwdis*...)

(117) *yúkʷ-T-ə-t=ɬ ɬku-tḵ̓ìɬkʷ ɬ qán* The child was holding a stick (125.4-5).
hold.s.-DEF-CTL-3=NC little-child NC stick *Yukwdithl hlgutk'ihlkwhl gan.*
(modern: *Yukwdihl*...)

4. Pronominal arguments, nominal adjuncts: The data in section 3 show that suffix pronouns are not truly in complementary distribution with a sequence of connective + noun. Where the deaffrication rule either cannot or does not operate (for whatever reason), suffix pronouns do occur on the surface, in the same clause as coreferring nouns.

If there is no complementary distribution of nouns and suffix pronouns, and the presence of a 3rd person suffix must be assumed in all cases, then the pronoun is the argument of the verb, not the noun, which is only an adjunct. This section presents yet other evidence supporting this interpretation.

If one accepts that Nisgha arguments are pronominal rather than lexical, the case of the 3ERG pronoun which must occur even with a noun (2.a.2.b. above) is no longer isolated, since the 3 suffix pronoun also must occur, and the case of 1st and 2nd person pronouns is no longer to be considered apart from that of 3rd person pronouns or of nouns.

4.a. Additional evidence for the Adjunct status of coreferring nouns:

4.a.1. Reverse-order transitive constructions: In the great majority of cases, nouns coreferring with pronouns occur in the same order as the pronouns, i.e. the Agent noun precedes the Object noun in the same way as the preverbal Ergative clitic pronoun precedes the Absolutive suffix pronoun, but there are a few exceptions in which the order of nouns is reversed. That the order of nouns can be reversed, not that of pronouns, supports the identification of nouns as simply adjuncts to the pronouns, which are the arguments (cf. French examples above, (3.a-f)).

4.a.1.a. Normal noun order: nouns coreferring with pronouns normally occur in the same order as the pronouns: Ergative first, Absolutive second.

- in regular clause:

(118=15) *yùkʷ-t ɬimóːm-[t]=s[t]L ùcy t Máry* Lucy is helping Mary.
AUX-3ERG help.s.-[t]=DC [DM] L. DM M. *Yukwt hlimooms Lucy t Mary.*

- in predicate-focused clause:

(119=25) *ɬimóːm-ə-[t]=s[t]L ùcy t Máry* Lucy helped Mary.
help.s.-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] L. DM M. *Hlimoomis Lucy t Mary.*

4.a.1.b. Reverse noun order: In most of the examples available, this reversal occurs when the verb is **húkax** to be like s.' ***hugax***: when the nominal Object of this verb is inanimate, it usually follows the verb, and the nominal Agent comes last. Stress depends on the function of the noun, not its position: as in the majority of clauses, the Object here receives primary stress, the Agent secondary stress (cf. above 2.a.2.):

4.a.1.b.1. Predicate-focused clause:

(120) *hùkax-ə-[t]=ɬ ɬíɬ ɬ qàn==ki:* They used a stick as their ball[24] (95.2).
be.like.s.-CTL-[3]=NC ball NC stick==DISTAL *Hugaxahl hlit'hl gan-gi.*

(121) *hùkax-ə-tlímx-ti: ɬ hì-t==ki:*
be.like.s..-CTL-3 sing-INDEF NC say-3==DISTAL
When he said it it sounded like singing (54.1-55.1).
(lit. his saying sounded like ...)
Hugaxat limxdiihl hit-gi.
(note here the lack of a connective between the verb and the Object, cf. 3.b.1.b.).

When one of my Nisgha-speaking co-workers and I were going over a story in which the following sentence occurs:

(122) *kát=ɬmə̀ːl==ki:* The canoe was a person (i.e. had a life of its own)(106.13). *Gathl maal-gi.*
man=NC canoe==DISTAL

she added a word to the sentence to read:
(123) *húkax-ə-[t]=ɬkát=ɬmə̀ːl==ki:* The canoe was like a person.
be.like.s.-CTL-[3]=NC man=NC canoe==DISTAL *Hugaxahl gathl maal-gi.*

As written, the new sentence could be interpreted as: 'The man was like a canoe', but the stress pattern has primary stress as usual on the Object noun, which here precedes the Agent (compare above 2.a.2., 2.b.2.).

4.a.1.b.2. Regular clause:

(124) *ńi[t]=ɬḱi:-thúkax̣-[t]=ɬsmá:ẃinɬəqam-ɬàlbiksk^{w}-t ʔa=ɬq̓altú:x*
it=NC and-3ERG be.like.s.-[3]=NC maggots the refuse-whittling-3 PREP=NC horn.spoon
What she was whittling off the horn spoon looked like maggots (8.9-10).
Ńihl k'iit hugaxhl smaaẃin hla gamhlalbikskwt ahl k̲'alduux.

Other verbs can also occur in this construction, as in:

(125) *ńi[t]=ɬḱi:-tsa:=ťóq-[t]=ɬʔamàlk^{w}-mťim=ɬá:m̓-tḱò:l-t==ki:*
it=NC and-3ERG off-scratch.s.-[3]=NC scab-ATTR shin-3 one[person]-3==DISTAL
One of them scratched off a scab from his shin (36.7-8).
Ńihl k'iit saat'o̲khl amalgum t'imhlaaṁt, k'yoolt-gi.

4.a.2. Possessed nouns: Possession is indicated by the same personal pronoun suffixes as are used as Absolutive arguments of verbs. A possessed noun can be used as a clause predicate, as well as non-predicatively. Some details of a clause in which the predicate is a possessed noun are shared with transitive constructions and throw further light on the argument/adjunct structure.

4.a.2.a. Suffixation: in possessive noun-phrases, the conditions of occurrence of personal suffix or connective + noun are the same as with intransitive verbs, and evidential postclitics can also be added after the suffix:

(126) *wílp-y̓*
house-3.
'my house'
wilbiy̓

(127) *wílp-t*
house-3.
'his/her house'
wilpt

(128) *nóx̣-t*
mother-3
'his/her mother'
no̲xt

(129) *nóx̣-t==a?* '[it's] his/her mother!'
mother-3==ASST ***noxda'a***

(130) *nòx̣-t==a?=s[t]Máry* '[it's] Mary's mother!'
mother-3==ASST=DC[DM]S. ***noxda'as Mary!***

so the suffix pronoun must occur also in:

(131) *nòx̣-[t]=s[t]Máry* 'Mary's mother'
mother-[3]=DC[DM]M. ***nóxs Mary***

In Boas 1902, the postclitic ==ki: *-gi* seems to prevent the occurrence of a connective between the two nouns (cf. 3.a.1.a.1./2.a.; modern usage does have the connective as well as the postclitic):

(132) *wílp-t==ki: sim?ó:kittkùs[t]* 'the house of that chief' (25.2.)
house-3==DIST chief DM that ***wilpt-gi sim'oogit tgus***

(compare without the postclitic:

(133) *wílp-[t]=ɬ sim?ó:kittkùs[t]* 'the house of that chief'
house-[3]=NC chief DM that ***wilpɬ sim'oogit tgus***)

If there is no =S connective before a determinate noun, the determinate marker (DM) t is present on the surface as well, just before the noun:

(134) *hisńúẃtkʷ=ɬ wìl-t==ki: t txè:msim* Txeemsim pretended to be dead
pretend.to.be.dead=NC act-3==DISTAL DM T. (65.11). (lit. T.'s act was to pretend...)
Hisńuẃtkwɬ wilt-gi t Txeemsim.

(Compare without the postclitic, therefore with the connective:

(135) *hisńúẃtkʷ=ɬ wìl-[t]=s[t]txè:msim* Txeemsim pretended to be dead.
pretend.to.be.dead=NC act[3]=DC[DM]T. ***Hisńuẃtkwɬ wils Txeemsim.***)

4.a.2.b. Possessed noun as clause predicate:

4.a.2.b.1. In predicate-focused clause: In terms of morpheme and word order, some predicate-focused clauses with nominal predicates behave exactly like transitive constructions (2.b.2.).[25] In particular, in both types of constructions a noun coreferring with a suffix pronoun occurs after an independent 1st or 2nd person pronoun (2.c.). This shows that the Ergative role is not the only one for which the pronoun can corefer with a noun.

(136) *ɬkú:ɬk^{W}-t ńì:ỷ*
child-3 me
I am his/her son/daughter.
Hlguuhlkwt ńiiỷ.

(137) *ɬkú:ɬk^{W}-t ńì:ỷ* ***t Màry***
child-3 me DM M.
I am Mary's son/daughter.[26]
Hlguuhlkwt ńiiỷ t Mary.

(138) *siɬkú:ɬk^{W}s-t ńì:ỷ* ***t Màry***
adopted.child-3 me DM M.
Mary adopted me.
(lit. I am Mary's adopted child)
Sihlguuhlkwst ńiiỷ t Mary.

(139) *ʔansk^{W}átk^{W}-t ńì:ỷ* ***ɬ lip wàk-ỷ***
cause.of.fun-3 IND-1S NC self M's.brother-1S
My own brother makes fun of me.
(I am my brother's laughing-stock)
Ansgwatkwt ńiiỷhl lip wagiỷ.

Where there are two nouns, the first one is linked to the predicate by a connective and corefers with the pronoun, as in a transitive predicate-focused clause (2.a.2.b.), but the stress pattern is opposite:

(140) *ɬkù:ɬk^{W}-**[t]=s[t]Máry** t Làura*
child-[3]=DC [DM] M. DM L.
Laura is Mary's child.
Hlguuhlkws Mary t Laura.

(141) *ʔansk^{W}àtk^{W}-**[t]=ɬ lip wák-t** ɬ ɬku-wìlksiɬk^{W}*
cause.of.fun-[3] =NC self M's.brother-3 NC little-prince
His own brother was making fun of the prince.
(The prince was his own brother's laughing-stock)
Ansgwatkwhl lip wakthl hlguwilksihlkw.

4.a.2.b.2. <u>In regular clause</u>: here transitive and nominal predicate constructions differ: the nominal predicate keeps its suffix pronoun, and the suffix pronoun is attached to the Indirect pronoun base lo:- *loo-*. This construction is not restricted to 1st and 2nd person pronoun, but also occurs with 3rd person pronouns. However, coreferring nouns occur after this phrase, as they do with transitives.

The following is a regular clause analogous to the predicate-focused clause (141):

(142) *ńì[t]=ɬḱi:ʔansk^{w}átk^{w}-t lò:-ý* ***lip wàk-ý***
that's=NC and cause.of.fun-3 IND-1S self M's.brother-1S
Then my own brother was making fun of me.
Ńihl k'ii ansgwatkwt looý lip wagiý.

In the following example, the 3rd person Indirect pronoun lo:-t *loot* occurs between the nominal predicate and its nominal possessor. Note that here both the suffix pronoun on the nominal predicate and that on the Indirect pronoun have coreferring noun-phrases, occurring in the same order as the pronouns (cf. the two nouns in the transitive clause in 4.a.1.a.); the one coreferring with the Indirect pronoun occurs after the preposition ʔa *a-*:

(143) *ńì[t]=ɬḱi:ʔansk^{w}átk^{w}-t lò:-t --* ***lip wàk-[t]=ɬ ɬku-wílksiɬk^{w}***
that's=NC and cause.of.fun-3 IND-3 self M's.brother-[3]=NC little-prince
ʔa=ɬ ẃi: lip wák-t==ki:
PREP=NC big self brother-3==DISTAL
Then the prince's own brother was making fun of his big (oafish) brother. (196.5-6)
(lit. he was making fun of him, the prince's own brother, of his own big brother)
Ńihl k'ii ansgwatkwt loot, lip wakhl hlgu wilksihlkw, ahl ẃii lip wakt-gi.

4.b. <u>Adjuncts other than nouns</u>: Nouns are not the only elements that can be adjuncts to pronominal arguments. In one case, 1st and 2nd person independent pronouns are used as adjuncts to the corresponding preverbal Ergative pronouns, in exact parallelism with adjunct nouns. The 3rd person plural suffix is also used as an adjunct to the 3ERG pronoun, in complementary distribution with a noun.

4.b.1. <u>Independent pronouns adjuncts</u>: This is the case of the quoting verb yá, pl. hí:ta 'to say "..." *ya /hiida*, which has some morphological and syntactic peculiarities.[27] It follows the words quoted and is always preceded by an Ergative

pronoun.

4.b.1.a. With 3ERG pronoun: A 3rd person Ergative pronoun is morphologically linked to the verb by an epenthetic vowel; the verb can be followed by a coreferring noun which receives secondary stress.

(144) ... *"t(ə)-yá* "...," s/he said.
... 3ERG-say *"..."diya.*

(145) ... *"t(ə)-yá t Màry* "...," Mary said.
... 3ERG-say DM M. *"..."diya t Mary.*

(146) ... *"t(ə)-hí:ta* "...," they said.
... 3ERG-say.PL *"..."dihiida.*

(147) ... *"t(ə)-hí:ta tip Màry* "...," Mary 'and them' said.
... 3ERG-say.PL DM.PL M. *"..."dihiida dip Mary.*

4.b.1.b. With 1st person ERG pronoun: If the Ergative pronoun is 1st person,[28] it is followed by a corresponding independent pronoun which receives secondary stress (at least for older speakers; younger speakers tend to omit the 1st singular independent pronoun):

(148) ... *"nə-yá (ńì:ỷ)* "...." I said.
...1S.ERG-say me *"..."niya (ńiiỷ).*

(149) ... *"tip-hí:ta ńù:m̀* "...," we said.
... 1P.ERG-say.PL us *"..."dip hiida ńuum̀.*

The optional use of nouns and obligatory use of 1st person independent pronouns recalls the structure of Predicate-focused transitive clauses (2.b.2., 2.c.).

4.b.2. Plural suffix adjunct to 3rd person pronoun: The plural suffix -ti:t ...*diit* is also used as an adjunct to a 3rd person clitic (Ergative) or suffix pronoun, in the absence of a noun. Here there seems to be true complementarity between noun and pronoun, but some morphosyntactic irregularities associated with this pronoun (as against the other suffix pronouns) argue against this conclusion. This suffix is composed of the

indefinite suffix -tiː (T 1986:2; cf. (121)) and the 3 suffix -t, and it seems to be a recent addition to the list of Nisgha personal suffixes. Keeping its components separate throws light on some otherwise puzzling data. [29]

4.b.2.a.. Plural adjunct to 3ERG in regular clause: In a regular clause, when the 3ERG pronoun refers to a plural (especially human) Agent that is not specified by a noun adjunct, the predicate is suffixed with the 3P suffix -tiːt, in the sequence t ...[PRED] -tiːt.

4.b.2.a.1. Surface occurrence: The 3P suffix is in complementary distribution with a plural Agent noun, so that it too can be considered an adjunct to the 3ERG suffix. Compare for instance:

(150) *yùkʷ-t ɬimóːm-tiːt t Máry* — They are helping Mary.
AUX-3ERG help.s.-3P DM M. — *Yukwt hlimoomdiit (t) Mary.*

(151) *yùkʷ-t ɬimóːm-[t] ɬ hàːnáq̓ t Máry* — The women are helping Mary.
AUX-3ERG help.s.-[3] NC women DM M. — *Yukwt hlimoomhl haanaƛ' t Mary.*

(152) *yùkʷ-t ɬimóːm-tiːt* — They are helping her/him.
AUX-3ERG help.s.-3P — *Yukwt hlimoomdiit.*

(153) *yùkʷ-t ɬimóːm-[t] ɬ hàːnáq̓* — The women are helping her/him.
AUX-3ERG help.s.-[3] NC women — *Yukwt hlimoomhl haanaƛ'.*

As described here, the two structures are not entirely parallel: when a noun Agent corefers with the 3ERG pronoun, the verb has a suffix indicating the Object; but when the 3P pronoun corefers with the 3ERG pronoun, there is no indication of the Object. However, another interpretation is possible.

4.b.2.a.2. Interpretation: The 3rd person plural suffix -tiːt is not a single suffix, but consists of the Indefinite personal suffix -tiː (originally a plural or collective suffix, hence glossed PL here) followed by the 3rd person suffix -t. We can interpret the plural morpheme -tiː as the adjunct to the 3ERG pronoun, and the following 3 suffix pronoun -t as the Absolutive argument coreferring with the Object noun: compare the following sentences, with plural and singular Agents:

(154) *yùkʷ-t ɬimó:m-ti:-t*
AUX-3ERG help.s.-PL-3
They are helping him/her.
Yukwt hlimoomdiit.

(155) *yùkʷ-t ɬimó:m-t*
AUX-3ERG help.s.-PL-3
S/he is helping him/her.
Yukwt hlimoomt.

(156) *yùkʷ-t ɬimó:m-ti:-t t Máry*
AUX-3ERG help.s.-PL-3 DM M.
They are helping Mary.
Yukwt hlimoomdiit (t) Mary.

(157) *yùkʷ-t ɬimó:m-[t]=s[t]Máry*
AUX-3ERG help.s.-PL-[3]=DC [DM] M.
S/he is helping Mary.
Yukwt hlimooms Mary.

In the last two examples, which are modern, the connective =S does not occur after the plural suffix, so that structures with singular and plural Agent are not exactly parallel. However, the parallel plural structure with connective as in (157) does occur in a few examples from Boas (cf. above 3.c.1.b.2.):

(158=115) *ńì[t]=ɬkí:-tsa:=kú:-ti:-t=s[t]čák*
it=NC and-3ERG off=take.s.-PL-3=DC [DM] Ts'ak
Then they took Ts'ak off (120.15).
Ńihl k'iit saaguudiits Ts'ak.

As this example is more in keeping with other singular-Agent structures than the modern type as in (156), it is likely that it represents an older construction, and that the modern one is analogical to the equivalent predicate-focused construction in (164) below (there are other examples of this sort of analogy in the language).

4.b.2.b. Predicate-focused clause: Plural suffix adjunct to 3 suffix: The 3P suffix can be 'adjunct' to the 3 suffix as well, with transitive verbs or possessed nominal predicates in predicate-focused clauses. Again, in these cases analysis of this suffix as a compound of two suffixes helps to understand some peculiarities of its occurrence.

4.b.2.b.1. With transitive verb: referring to Agent:

4.b.2.b.1.a. Non-use with nouns: In a predicate-focused clause, the personal suffix refers to the Agent. The 3 suffix -t is used with the coreferring noun, whether singular or plural:

(159) *ɬimóːm-ə-t[t]Máry* — S/he helped Mary.
help.s.-CTL-3 me DM M. — ***Hlimoomit (t) Mary.***

(160) *ɬimóːm-ə-[t]=s[t]L ùcy t Máry* — Lucy helped Mary.
help.s.-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] L DM M. — ***Hlimoomis Lucy(t) Mary.***

(161) *ɬimóːm-ə-[t]=ɬhaːnàq̓ t Máry* — The women helped Mary.
help.s.-CTL-[3]=NC women DM M. — ***Hlimoomihl haanak̲'*** *(t) Mary.*

(162=35) *ɬimóːm-ə-t ńìːy̓ tip L ùcy* — Lucy 'and them' helped me.
help.s.-CTL-3 me DM.PL L. — ***Hlimoomit ńiiy̓ dip Lucy.***

(162) *ɬimóːm-ə-t ńìːy̓ ɬ ɬixɬkìːkʷs-y̓* — My sisters helped me.
help.s.-CTL-3 me NC W's.sisters-1S — ***Hlimoomit ńiiy̓hl hlixhlgiikwsiy̓.***

4.b.2.b.1.b. Use in the absence of a noun: The 3P suffix is used only in the absence of a coreferring noun. If it is considered as a single suffix, there is a discrepancy in its use, since unlike the other personal suffixes, it is not used with the Control suffix –ə–:

(164) *ɬimóːm-tiːt[t]Máry* — They helped Mary .
help.s.-3P me DM M. — ***Hlimoomdiit*** *(t) Mary.*

(165=27) *ɬimóːm-ə-t[t]Máry* — S/he helped Mary.
help.s.-CTL-3 me [DM] M. — ***Hlimoomit*** *(t) Mary.*

However, considering it as two suffixes suggests that the Control suffix occurs *between* the two suffixes, and is deleted or absorbed phonologically: thus singular and plural are parallel:[30]

(166=164) *ɬimóːm-tiː-ə-t[t]Máry* — They helped Mary.
help.s.-PL-CTL-3 [DM] M — ***Hlimoomdiit*** *(t) Mary.*

4.b.2.b.2. Plural suffix Adjunct to 3 suffix on possessed nominal predicate:

With possessed nouns as with transitive verbs, the3P suffix occurs only in the absence of a coreferring noun; otherwise, the 3 suffix alone indicates the possessor, whether single or plural.

(167) *sɬkú:ɬk^{w}s-t ɲi:ɣ̓*
adopted.child-3 me

S/he adopted me.
(lit. I am his/her adopted child)
Sihlguuhlkwst ɲiiɣ̓.

(168=138) *sɬkú:ɬk^{w}s-t ɲi:ɣ̓* ***t Màry***
adopted.child-3 me DM M.

Mary adopted me.
(lit. I am Mary's adopted child)
Sihlguuhlkwst ɲiiɣ̓ t Mary.

(169) *sɬkú:ɬk^{w}s-t ɲi:ɣ̓* ***tip Màry qan=s[t]Pèter***
adopted.child-3 me DM.PL M. and=DC [DM] P.

Mary and Peter adopted me.
Sihlguuhlkwst ɲiiɣ̓ dip Mary gans Peter.

(170) *sɬkú:ɬk^{w}s-ti:-t ɲi:ɣ̓*
adopted.child-PL-3 me

They adopted me.
(lit. I am their adopted child)
Sihlguuhlkwsdiit ɲiiɣ̓.

5. Does Nisgha have a pronoun hierarchy?

The data in sections 3 and 4 above show that pronouns and nouns are not in complementary distribution, but that nouns are Adjuncts to nouns. Jelinek's argument hierarchy 1,2 > NP then is irrelevant, since is is based on an analysis which considers NP's as arguments, a position that is no longer tenable. It is however legitimate to ask whether there is a hierarchy of *pronoun* arguments.

5.a. Case of 1st and 2nd person pronouns: As described in section 2., an Agent noun, coreferring with the Ergative pronoun, occurs *before* an Object noun but *after* a 1st or 2nd person independent Object pronoun, a fact which Jelinek attributes to an argument hierarchy 1,2 > NP (1986:9). If NP's cannot be arguments, only adjuncts, the need for the argument hierarchy disappears. There is no hierarchy either among the suffix pronouns.

5.a.1. Regular clause: With this analysis, the imbalance between 1,2 and 3 Objects disappears: in both cases, there is an Object pronoun suffixed to the verb (although it is hidden most of the time) and the noun corefers with the Ergative pronoun which precedes the verb:

(171=37) *yùkʷ-t ɬimóːm-ɬ̓ t L ùcy* — Lucy is helping me.
AUX-3ERG help.s.-1S DM L. — *Yukwt ɬlimoomiɬ̓ t Lucy.*

(172=19) *yùkʷ-t ɬimóːm-[t]-s[t]L ùcy* — Lucy is helping him/her.
AUX-3ERG help.s.-[3]=DC [DM] L. — *Yukwt ɬlimooms Lucy.*

5.a.2. Predicate-focused clause: In a transitive predicate-focused clause, only 1st and 2nd person Objects are represented by a separate word, an independent pronoun (which has secondary, not primary stress, unlike a noun Object); a predicate without overt Object is understood to refer to a 3rd person. A noun coreferring with the suffix indicating the Agent occurs after the verb-(+ 1, 2 pronoun)-phrase:

(173=29) *ɬimóːm-ə-t* — S/he helped him/her.
help.s.-CTL-3 — *Hlimoomit.*

(174=30) *ɬimóːm-ə-[t]-s [t]L ùcy* — Lucy helped him/her.
help.s.-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] L. — *Hlimoomis Lucy.*

(175=32) *ɬimóːm-ə-t ɬ̓ìːɬ̓* — S/he helped me.
help.s.-CTL-3 me — *Hlimoomit ɬiiɬ̓.*

(176=33) *ɬimóːm-ə-t ɬ̓ìːɬ̓ t L ùcy* — Lucy helped me.
help.s.-CTL-3 me DM L. — *Hlimoomit ɬiiɬ̓ t Lucy.*

Whether or not there is an Object pronoun, the Agent noun (the noun coreferring with the Ergative pronoun argument) *t Lucy* is added after the verb phrase. The main difference is that a connective is used if the noun is connected to the suffixed verb, not if another morpheme, here **ɬ̓íːɬ̓** 'me' *ɬiiɬ̓*, intervenes.

Addition of the noun after the pronoun could be due to analogy with the structure of the regular clause:

R: (177=171) *yùkʷ-t ɬimóːm-ɬ̓ t L ùcy* — Lucy is helping me.
AUX-3ERG help.s.-1S DM L. — *Yukwt ɬlimoomiɬ̓ t Lucy.*

P-F: (178=176) *ɬimóːm-ə-t ɬ̓ìːɬ̓ t L ùcy* — Lucy helped me.
help.s.-CTL-3 me DM L. — *Hlimoomit ɬiiɬ̓ t Lucy.*

5.b. Case of 3rd person independent pronouns used as Objects: Asking a Nisgha speaker for translations of English sentences with 3rd person pronoun Objects usually yields sentences such as:

(179) *ɬimo:m-ə-[t]=s[t]L ucy ɲit* Lucyy helped him/her.
help.s.-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] L. him/her/it *Hlimoomis Lucy ɲit.*

(180) *yùkʷ-t ɬimo:m-[t]=s[t]L ucy ɲit* Lucy is helping him/her.
AUX-3ERG help.s.-[3]=DC [DM] L. him/her/it *Yukwt hlimooms Lucy ɲit.*

In these clauses, the 3rd person independent Object pronoun ɲit[31] is placed after the Agent noun, in the position of the Object noun (2.a.2.). The position of this 3rd person pronoun differs therefore from that of the 1st or 2nd person independent pronoun, which is placed after the verb, before the Agent noun. This difference between independent pronouns would seem to indicate a hierarchy 1,2 › 3.

However, such clauses are not adequate evidence, as they are the product of artificial conditions: they are oral translations of English sentences without a context, rather than answers to meaningful questions. The speaker is trying to faithfully translate the English sentence, which does contain an independent pronoun, and as well, the necessity of speaking the words slowly for the benefit of the linguist distorts the normal stress pattern which would differentiate (181) and (182):

(181) *yùkʷ-t ɬimó:m-[t]=s[t]Màry* Mary is helping him/her.
AUX-3ERG help.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M. *Yukwt hlimooms Mary.*

(182=17) *yùkʷ-t ɬimó:m-[t]=s[t]Máry* S/he is helping Mary.
AUX-3ERG help.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M. *Yukwt hlimooms Mary*

so that (181) requires the addition of the singular pronoun ɲít *ɲit* in order to make the meaning explicit (T1987a:158-9). It is not the case that this pronoun is normally present and can be omitted; rather, it is a highly marked form, normally used only in initial, focused position. In Boas' 1902 collection of Nisgha legends, use of this pronoun after a transitive verb (as in (179, 180)) is found only once in more than 200 pages, while examples similar to (181) are found on practically every page.

It is more common to encounter the plural pronoun ɬíti:t *ɬidiit* in this position, as in

(183) *ɬimó:m-ə-[t]=s[t]Màry* ***ɬíti:t***
help.s.-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] M. them
Mary helped them.
Hlimoomis Mary ɬidiit.

(184) *yùkʷ-t ɬimó:m-[t]=s[t]Màry* ***ɬíti:t***
AUX-3ERG help.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M. them
Mary is helping them.
Yukwt hlimooms Mary ɬidiit.

Again, such clauses are somewhat artificial. In Boas 1902, the pronoun is not used as (adjunct to an) Object, unless preceded by a prefix or modifier as in (72) above.

The modern use of these pronouns as adjuncts to Objects parallels their use as Absolutive arguments to non-transitive predicates. Such use is hardly ever found either in Boas 1902, but it is gaining ground in modern usage under the influence of English, especially when referring to a plurality of humans (T 1987b, section 5.8.).

Equivalent sentences in more traditional usage have demonstratives instead of independent pronouns. The functional equivalence between demonstratives and independent pronouns, and the shift towards the latter, is shown as well by the use of the plural determinate marker tip *dip* before plural independent pronouns (T 1981: 398-9); like determinate nouns, demonstratives always occur with a determinate marker).

The modern examples with 3rd persons independent pronouns show that these pronouns are being used in place of nouns and treated like them, instead of parallel to 1st and 2nd person independent pronouns.

6. Concluding remarks:

While some superficial features of Nisgha morphology and syntax seem to show a complementarity between pronominal and lexical arguments, a variety of data show conclusively that the argument structure is underlyingly pronominal, and that there are no lexical arguments. The question of a hierarchy between pronominal and lexical arguments therefore does not arise.

Among pronominal arguments, there is no difference in treatment between suffix pronouns once it is recognized that the lack of overt occurrence of 3rd person suffixes

under certain conditions is phonologically motivated. There is therefore no hierarchy there either. The treatment of independent 1st and 2nd person pronouns does differ from that of 3rd person pronouns, but the occurrence of the latter is a still marginal phenomenon.

At a deeper or older level, then, Jelinek's analysis of Nisgha as having a mixed lexical-pronominal argument structure and an argument hierarchy is not tenable. However, it is usually the case in languages that when underlying structures are no longer recoverable from surface features, a realignment occurs, with new morphological and syntactic relationships. The interpretation of Nisgha syntax as having pronominal arguments rests on the recoverability of the 3 suffix -t in the presence of a coreferring noun. Numerous features of the Boas texts show definitely the presence of this suffix in a variety of environments and make it possible to extrapolate to other environments, but in modern data the occurence of the suffix together with a noun is almost totally obscured, except before additional suffixes such as the postclitics. It seems then that for modern speakers nouns are indeed lexical arguments, and the presence of the suffix before postclitics is an archaic remnant or a puzzling intrusion.[32] The influence of English, causing the use of independent object pronouns in the same position as nouns, has introduced another factor and a difference between 1st and 2nd person pronouns, and 3rd person pronouns, which could be construed as showing a hierarchy. For some modern speakers, then, Jelinek's analysis may be justified, but a larger view must take into account all the environments which do show the presence of the suffix, and which point conclusively to an exclusively pronominal argument structure, without a hierarchy.

In a larger perspective, Jelinek seems to consider that Nisgha ergativity is linked to the fact that it has pronominal arguments: 'argument hierarchies, non-accusative case, and the absence of a VP node are all syntactic features frequently found in languages with pronominal arguments' (1986:15-16). This statement may be true, but the Nisgha case shows that argument hierarchies are not a necessary ingredient of this complex of features.

NOTES

* The ancestral language of the Nisgha /nisqá?/ [nIsGá?^{a}] *Nisga'a* people, who live in the Nass Valley of British Columbia, belongs to the Tsimshianic family. The data presented here were collected during the course of my employment with the Bilingual/Bicultural Centre of B.C. School District #92 (Nisgha), in 1977-80, in the summer of 1982, and in 1983-88. Analytical work on the language was supported by

SSHRC doctoral fellowships held at the University of Victoria in 1981-82 and 1982-83. I have had the privilege to learn what Nisgha I know in its natural environment, from excellent speakers. I especially wish to thank, in alphabetical order, Mrs. Audrey A. Gosnell, Mrs. Nita Morven, Mrs. Rosie Robinson, Mrs. Verna Williams, all present or former teachers of the Nisgha language, and Mr. Harold Wright, who is an elder and a hereditary chief in the Eagle clan. Mr. Bert McKay, coordinator of the Bilingual/Bicultural Centre and a hereditary chief in the Frog/Raven clan, arranged for me to have access to these and other resource persons. The conclusions in this paper are my own, and I alone am responsible for any errors.

1. These sentences may surprise readers who only know French from taking it in school, where it is probable that only the grammatical but colorless *j'aime le poulet* would have been taught. Formal, literary French is a lexical argument language, colloquial French a pronominal argument language, with many speakers using a mix of argument types depending on circumstances.

2. Within the text, bold type indicates morphophonemic transcription, italics give the corresponding standard Nisgha orthography if different. Nisgha examples set off from the text are given in italics, with morphemes under discussion highlighted by bold type. Deletion of elements between square brackets is phonologically conditioned. English names are not transcribed, but stress on them is indicated.

3. The terms 'regular clause' and 'predicate-focused clause' (see below 2.b.) have been used in T 1987b in preference to Rigsby 1975's 'dependent order clause' and 'independent order clause' respectively. Boas 1911 refers to the same patterns as 'subjunctive' and 'indicative.'

4. This is a simplified account of connective occurrence, which is described more fully in section 6.2.b. of T 1987b. One complication is that the connective =**ɬ** is the non-determinate counterpart of both the connective =**s** and the determinate marker **t**, as well as occurring before a clause in many instances. In the transcriptions below, starting in section 3., the connective =**ɬ** is shown with the attachment marker = in its connective role, without it (just **ɬ**) in its non-determinate marker role. Section 2, however, does not make this distinction.

5. Similar examples and analyses have been given in Rigsby 1975 and most subsequent publications on Nisgha, including Jelinek 1986. The present paper presents the justification for the pronominal-argument interpretation adopted in T 1987b, which owes much to the questions raised by Jelinek.

6. (a) Abbreviations: ASST Assertive, ATTR attributive suffix, AUX Progressive Auxiliary, CAUS Causative, CTL Control suffix, DC Determinate connective, DEF Definite Medial suffix, DM Determinate marker, DOM Dominative (called Comitative in T 1987a), DUB Dubitative, ERG Ergative, FUT future, IND indirect pronoun, INDEF Indefinite, INTS Intensive, IRR Irrealis, NC Non- determinate connective, REP Reportive, P or PL Plural, PRED Predicate, S Singular, SUB Subordinator.

(b) Morpheme separators: - separates most morphemes, including pronominal clitics;) follows a reduplicated syllable; = separates a proclitic (adverbial) from the following element, or a connective from a preceding element; == separates a postclitic (evidential) from the preceding element.

(c) The suffix -**t** is glossed as '3' rather than '3S' because it is undifferentiated for number. The 3rd person plural suffix -**ti:t** *...diit,* which consists originally of the Indefinite personal suffix -**ti:** *...dii* and the 3 suffix -**t** , occurs only with animates, especially humans, in complementary distribution with noun-phrases (T 1986:2; see

also below 4.b.2.b.1.)

7. Evidence for the deletion of the singular Determinate Marker **t** between /s/ and another consonant (including a glottal stop) was first presented in T 1986, fn. 4. The cluster-simplification rule also operates in other environments.

8. See below 4.a.1. for exceptions to this rule.

9. T 1987a presents a number of examples showing that a single noun is much more often the Agent than the Object.

10. Examples in T 1981 and in J 1986 include the pronoun **ẖit** 'him/her/it' at the end of this type of clause. See below 5.b. for discussion.

11. The predicate can be preceded by modifiers and modal particles such as FUTure and IRRealis, but not by the auxiliaries, subordinators, etc. which usually precede the regular clause (1. above).

12. see note 10.

13. (a) The existence of this suffix (-ə- after consonant, -yə- after vowel) was first recognized in T ms. [1981], where it was called Control. In subsequent papers (T 1982-1986) it was called Ergative, since it seems to indicate that the element following it has Ergative function. In 1987 the original gloss Control (CTL) was used again. The term is still not fully satisfactory but seems suitably vague.

(b) The suffix occurs only in predicate-focused clauses, except before the 3P suffix **-ti:t** ...diit (Jelinek's data are incorrect on this point); this exception is not due to phonologically-motivated deletion, see below 4.b.2.b.1.

(c) The suffix does *not* enter into the Relative suffix **-(ə)t**, which is unanalyzable; cf. T 1982, fn. 15.

14. Note here the contact between /t/ and /ɬ/ ; cf. note 17.

15. See note 10.

16. Boas 1902 is an invaluable collection of texts in the Nisgha language, gathered in Kincolith in 1894. The texts contain numerous discrepancies from present language use: some are clearly transcriptional errors, but many others represent older features. In the examples from this source given below, discrepancies relevant to the discussion have been preserved, but others have been corrected. All sentences have been retranslated directly from the Nisgha text. References are to page and line number.

17. Deaffrication is general but not automatic: it does not occur when /ɬ/ precedes an Object noun, as in (28).

18. In rapid or careless speech, the suffix **-t** may be deleted by the cluster-simplification rule, see text to note 7.

19. This clause is an example of a 'free' regular clause, one occurring without an introductory word (the two morphemes preceding the predicate are modifiers, which do not affect clause status); such a clause implies the occurrence of other context, whether linguistic or extra-linguistic. Free regular clauses are often best translated as participial clauses in English.

20. This description applies to traditional usage, such as that found in the Boas texts; under the influence of English, many modern speakers keep the whole noun-phrase together.

21. The particle here translated as 'the' for convenience is not an article. Here it occurs before a headless Object-relative clause.

22. When dictating very slowly, word-by-word, many speakers omit the =**ɬ** ...*ɬ* connective especially between Agent and Object noun.

23. The Definite Medial suffix -**T**- occurs phonetically sometimes as /t/ (/tt/ after vowel and non-glottalized resonant) and sometimes as /ə/, as here; the conditioning is complex, and the realization /ə/ can cause confusion with the Control suffix. See T 1987b, section 7.2.c.1.a. for more details.

24. The context describes a children's game: they each had a stick, with which they hit another stick instead of a ball.

25. In predicate-focused clauses, the only difference, which allows identification of the predicate as a noun or transitive verb, is the absence or presence of the Control suffix -**ə**-, since only transitive verbs take this suffix.
These nominal predicate constructions also often correspond to English verbal constructions, especially with abstract words prefixed with **ha**- or **ʔan**- 'cause of ...'; as a result, some younger speakers confuse the two Nisgha constructions, and treat the abstract nominal predicates as transitive verbs, complete with the Control suffix.

26. Asked to translate the English sentence, a younger speaker might say

ɬkʊ:ɬkʷ-[t]=s [t] Máry ńi:ý	*Hlguuhlkws Mary ńiiý.*
child-[3]=DC [DM] M. me	

which shows English influence.

27. The -**ta** of the plural form is an old plural suffix, now frozen. T 1983 derives the plural stem **hi:** and the singular stem **yá** from a common source.

28. This does not occur with 2nd person pronouns; the 2nd person stem is irregular as it seems to have a suffix -**ʔn** : e.g.

ʔaḵú mə yáʔan	'What did you say?'
what-2ERG say-CAUS??	*Agu mi ya'an?*

29. The suffix was first identified as originally bimorphemic in T 1983:181. However, there are also cases where the suffix should be interpreted as unitary because of more recent structural realignment (ibid. note 91b).

30. I first suggested this interpretation in T 1983: 210-211 (note 91c) but did not use it in subsequent analyses because of what appeared to be a lack of confirmatory data. Considering the -**ti:** ...*dii* suffix as the adjunct in both regular and predicate-focused clauses provides the missing link.

31. This pronoun is itself composed of the base **ṅi**- 'that's ... and the 3 suffix -**t**. All independent pronouns are originally formed on this base, but several morphophonemic irregularities show that this is not a productive process. Only with the third person singular is the base used as a predicate, as in example (95).

32. cf. in French the obligatory presence of a pronoun in questions such as

*La terre est-**elle** bien ronde?* 'Is the earth indeed round?'
the.fem. earth is she well round.fem.

and the extra -t- (analogous to the 3rd person ending of some categories of verbs) in

*La terre tourne-**t-elle** vraiment?* 'Does the earth really turn?'
the.fem. earth turns-...-she really

The extra -t- also occurs in archaisms such as in the old folk song

*Malbrough s'en va-**t'en** guerre* 'Marlborough is going away to war'
M. self from.it goes-...-in war

the modern equivalent of which would be

*Malbrough s'en va **à** la guerre* 'Marlborough is going away to war'
M. self from.it goes to the war

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