Pseudo-Auxiliaries in Upper Chehalis

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1. Introduction. A number of writers have referred to auxiliaries in one or another Salishan language. However, there is marked inconsistency as to what elements are labelled by the term 'auxiliary'. For some this category refers to what others would call 'adverbs', and some would recognize both auxiliaries and adverbs. What I will suggest here is that some Salishan languages do indeed have both auxiliaries and adverbs, but that more have only something like the latter. Part of the problem is in defining 'auxiliary', part is the multiple roles played by adverb-like morphemes, and part is due to the location of subject clitics.

Many will not see an issue here, although that view will be partly determined by which Salishan languages one is most familiar with. A few languages do have what most would probably agree are true auxiliaries: Halkomelem, Sechelt, Pentlatch, Squamish (and possibly a few others). These languages also have the kind of morphemes many would call adverbs, and both categories are needed. Most of the rest of Salish lacks the kind of auxiliaries found in these languages. However, they do put seemingly non-predicative morphemes at the beginnings of sentences; these are followed by subject clitics, and then by a main predicate. These morphemes tend to be adverbal in meaning, but have been called auxiliaries because of their syntactic position and because subject clitics may follow them. Poggi (1981), Efrat (1969), Carlson (1972), Thompson and Thompson (1992), and van Eijk (1985) use 'auxiliary' in this latter sense for, respectively, Challam, Sooke, Spokane, Thompson, and Lillooet. This is not to say that none of the morphemes in question in languages such as Thompson or Lillooet are auxiliaries, but that it may be useful to look at different ways of categorizing these morphemes.

In order to determine what functions these various morphemes have, it will be useful first to attempt a definition of 'auxiliary', then see how the term has been used by specific writers. After that I will explore those morphemes in Upper Chehalis that by the usage of Poggi, Efrat, Carlson, Thompson and Thompson, or van Eijk would be called auxiliaries, and show that they are not that, although they have a sliding range of functions and syntactic positions.

The first thing one often thinks of upon considering the term 'auxiliary' is English and German. However, 'auxiliary' is more modal than modal. At least four criteria should be considered in defining 'auxiliary':

1. Functions for tense, aspect, and mode may be indicated.
2. They occur in a fixed syntactic position, most often second in the clause, and are phonologically weak.
3. They do not take argument markings (i.e. they are not inflected for subject or object).
4. They tend to be inflectionally defective (i.e. they may not show the full range of tense or aspect available in the language).

By these criteria, adverb-like morphemes would not be auxiliaries; they generally fail the first criterion, and sometimes all four (this is often the case in Upper Chehalis). On the other hand, there are morphemes in a few Salishan languages that do, in general, fit these criteria.

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1 These criteria were suggested to me by Henry Davis, who has explored the notion 'auxiliary' in some depth. I wish to thank him for these suggestions and his discussions of some of the issues in Upper Chehalis with me. He is, of course, not in any way responsible for any distortions I may introduce in order to account for Upper Chehalis syntax. It is important to keep in mind that my discussion of 'auxiliary' is quite distinct from the category AUX proposed particularly by Susan Steele (1978 and subsequently); that is an inflectional category (or combination of such categories) rather than the sort of particles to be discussed here. Examples given are retranscribed as necessary to achieve a uniform transcription throughout the paper.

2. Non-Tsamosan usage. Examples of true auxiliaries in Salish can be found in Halkomelem (1-4), Sechelt (5-7), Pentlatch (8-11), and Squamish (12-14). There is not always agreement on which of two morphemes illustrated here, 't' and ni', are auxiliaries; some would consider it as adjuncts to verbs within a single predicate, although it may be possible to analyze them as predicates themselves. This question requires further study. (1988:23)

These classes are (a) 'li' here (and now) (Gerds 1988:22). These classes are (a) 'li' here (and now) (cf. 'ni' be located here) and ni' (there and then) (cf. 'nì' be located there), and (b) mì' come (cf. 'nìmì' come) and nem' go (cf. nem' go). Examples below are from my Field Methods class notes from 1975-76 (primarily Cowichan [CW] dialect) and 1986-87 (primarily Musqueam [Ms] dialect).

(a) 'li' come, Sechelt walking, (Ms)
(b) mì ci tìmad, 'We walked.' (CW)
(c) mì ci tìmad, 'We walked.' (CW)
(d) nem' (can) tetan. 'I'm going to eat now.' (CW)

Gerdts notes that (a)auxiliaries are extremely frequent although not obligatory. . . . A predicate can contain an auxiliary from either class or one from each class. . . .' (1983:223). However, Gerdts does add a caveat:

The syntactic status of Halkomelem auxiliaries is unclear at present. Here, I have treated them as adjuncts to verbs within a single predicate, although it may be possible to analyze them as predicates themselves. This question requires further study. (1988:23)

Though auxiliaries are also straightforward, and occur under much the same circumstances as those in Halkomelem, Beaumont (1985:39-45) identifies t 'fact (visible or invisible)' and k'ì 'true (invisible)' as auxiliaries. They cannot be inflected, and they are followed by subject clitics, just as is expected of auxiliaries. Examples are from Beaumont (1985).

(5) tì can xìz'ìxìw. 'I got lost.' (1985:44)
(6) k'ì can rám-nàx'ax. 'You guessed it.' (1985:217)

Although Beaumont does not classify cu 'come' and mì 'go' as auxiliaries, their usage in Sechelt parallels their equivalents in Halkomelem, and an argument might be made that they are auxiliaries in Sechelt as well, although mì less readily so than cu. (7) cù can k'ìyà-cut. 'I'm going away/leaving/getting out of the way.' (1985:212)

2.2. Sechelt. The Sechelt auxiliaries are also straightforward, and occur under much the same circumstances as those in Halkomelem. Beaumont (1985:39-45) identifies t 'fact (visible or invisible)' and k'ì 'true (invisible)' as auxiliaries. They cannot be inflected, and they are followed by subject clitics, just as is expected of auxiliaries. Examples are from Beaumont (1985).

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2.3. Pentlatch. The situation in Pentlatch is virtually identical to that in Sechelt; so are the morphemes involved, except that there is no evidence for glottalization of t, and *c has become t. Because of this similarity, examples from Pentlatch may be given with no further commentary needed.

(8) tì ci lámáxax. 'I find him again.'
(9) k'ì ci tìxfànax. 'I invite him to come in.'
(10) 6ù ci tìwáci ti smì. 'I leave the country.'
(11) mi ci tì Kì Tùu'ù. 'I shall return soon.'

These Pentlatch data are my transcriptions of data found in Boas (1886, 1886a). In this transcription T and K represent indeterminate phonemes; they may be ejectives or not, velar or
4. Squamish. In Squamish, the relevant forms are not called auxiliaries in Kuipers' grammar; the only thing he gives that label is the ɛ-element to which pronominal suffixes are added to create the set of subject clitics ɛn, ɛč, ɛt, and ča(yap) (he derives this element from the root ča(τ) 'do, act, make'; 1967:223-224). However, it is a ɛ-element, so the ɛ-element would not qualify as an auxiliary under the criteria given above. Instead, one can find appropriate likely candidates among various his predicative clitics, especially those labelled deictic and directional (and possibly others): 'Ii 'here-now' (1967:157,208), m(τ) 'come' (1967:161-162,207), nam(?) 'go' (1967:161-162,207).

(12) 'Ii ča wə yəgiłəm 'I am looking for something to eat' (1967:208)
(13) mi ča ad-x-c 'give it to me!' (1967:162)
(14) nam ɛn ča təy 'are you going across?' (1967:207)

The parallels to Halkomelem are not as close as those of Sechelt because Squamish na 'there-then' (1967:155) does not appear to match up in its usage.


Another expansion of predicates involves AUXILIARIES, which add modal-aspectual notions. A few words occur only in this function: /ctə/ 'somehow, in limited fashion, a little more'... /kətsəwil/ 'unless, (waiting) until', /wəkəx/ 'almost', /jəcəx/ 'just now, immediate PAST'. But the most common AUXILIARIES are major words adapted to this use with specialized meanings. One, /kəxə/ 'go', is rare as predicate head; it usually means 'about to, going to, will, (immediate) FUTURE'... Others (glossed first as predicate heads, then, following colon, as AUXILIARIES) are: /kətxəč/ 'arrive; continue on: CONTINUE (doing something), persevere'... /nəs/ 'depart, go toward: INCipient'... /wətxə/ (often shortened) 'exist, be (habitual or...)

(13) mi ča wə yəgiłəm 'I am looking for something to eat' (1967:208)
(14) nam ɛn ča təy 'are you going across?' (1967:207)

Thompson remarks that the 'pattern of sentences with particles associated with full word predicates' (1985:216). There is clearly overlap in these classes. Among the auxiliaries is: 'Auxiliary phrase Predicate (Argument) (Oblique argument)' (1985:266). Later he adds verbs of motion to these, and lists 'the stems most often used as auxiliaries' (1985:266):

 plan 'bygone, past' (as auxiliary: "already"), kəxə? 'first' (as auxiliary: "very"), sat3 'true', real" (as auxiliary: "truly, really, very"), həz 'to be about to do smt.', waʔ 'to be (busy with, involved in)', kəx 'to go along' (as auxiliary: "keep going at it, to get...", nəs 'to go, kəx 'to arrive (here)', cəx 'to arrive (there)', cəx 'to come' (as auxiliary: see kəx), pəx 'always', cəxə 'to do smt. with effort' (usually cəxə Kəʔ).... təs 'really, very', fəpəxə 'barely, just about', pəx 'always', təx 'almost' (usually təx Kəʔ). We also have two conjunctions which function as auxiliaries: tənməs Kəʔ 'but', təx Kəʔ 'but'.

3 Quotations from Thompson are from a pre-publication version of Thompson and Thompson 1992, hence section numbers are given rather than page numbers.
(19) má'n tu cx'x' u't? x'átxám 'a či či lačán. ‘Are you awfully (very) hungry for smoked salmon?’
(1981:64)

(20) tu 'aθá'l ča c kwaxán 'a či alláθq'ap. ‘I haven't got over the cold yet.’
(1981:64)

(21) čuφn'ti cx'x' 'uθu'm p'it. ‘Even you are made at me.’
(1981:65)

Poggi also discusses a ‘possible fourth auxiliary k'ayâ(?)’ meaning ‘too, again’, but finds ‘a mixture of behavior patterns accompanied by variance in meaning’ (1981:65) where the form may occur in patterns like má'n, 'aθá', and čuφn'ti (22 below), as well as being an open-class predicate (23 below).

(22) k'ayâ(?) cx'x' 'uθu'm. ‘Do you know too?’

(23) k'ayâ-t'x' u xu'kim k'ágq'ap. ‘Leave it open.’

In (23), inflection occurs on k'ayâ?, something that should not happen if the morpheme is an auxiliary.

2.9. Straits. Only one of the three dissertations on Straits dialects refers to the category of morphemes in question here. Efrat (1969) identifies seven morphemes as auxiliaries: “This sub-class can be followed by a non-particle within the same predicate. In such a case, the post-particles follow the auxiliary, rather than the non-particle predicate head” (1969:40). Efrat lists the following: tân ‘very’, too much’, 7âÁ’ ‘if’, yâ is always’, k'et ‘again’, maks? ‘all’, every’, his ‘a long time’, and čëyn ‘straight, all right, very’. All of these are subject to the subject clitic, so that it follows them rather than the ensuing main predicate. Montier (1986) lists no such class for Saninch. Since discussion of syntax is minimal in this work, it was not particularly relevant to identify a class of adverbs or auxiliaries. There is, however, a category of pre-predicative particles (1986:190), two of which have the kinds of meaning that others have found for their classes of auxiliaries: tawa ‘still, yet’ and ?ū?w?w ‘perhaps, maybe’. Neither attracts the subject clitic, though, so there is no reason to consider them auxiliaries. Although Raffen (1972) identifies many of the same particles as occurring in Songish, she does not subcategorize them at all, and has no category of auxiliaries.

2.10. Other. These morphemes are clearly much more adverbal (at least in terms of their English translations) than what one would want to call auxiliaries in Halkomelem, etc., and other writers have simply labelled them adverbs (a position which Poggi argues against, although I will not repeat her arguments here). Demers (1980), in a paper on AUX in the Steele sense, cites k'et ‘also’ in Lummi, and labels it ‘adverb’. Leslie (1979:137-143) lists k'et ‘also’, too, yâ ‘always, often’, k'äm ‘very much so, nan ‘very much so’, tax’ ‘soon’, and maks? ‘all, every, both’ as adverbs in Cowichan. Hess (1970) and Hess and Hibbert (1975-77) give as Lushootseed adverbs click ‘very’ (Northern), cay ‘very’ (Southern), day’ ‘very, really, especially’ (Snohomish, Sauk), dâx’ ‘just now’, didi ‘still’, (ha)lârf ‘really, very’, hiqab/hîrâb ‘too, excessively’, k'af ‘too, also’, and tux ‘and yet; merely, just, nearly’. None of these lists should be assumed to exhaust the adverbial category for any of these languages. Since the meanings and usage of these elements are very much like the Thompson and Chilkan examples given in 18-24 above and like the Upper Chehalis forms to be given below, I will not add illustrations of their usage in these other languages.

To summarize the range of meanings of this group of forms, note the following glosses used in the Steele sense, cites k'et ‘also’ in Lummi, and labels it ‘adverb’. Leslie (1979:137-143) lists k'et ‘also’, too, yâ ‘always, often’, k'äm ‘very much so, nan ‘very much so’, tax’ ‘soon’, and maks? ‘all, every, both’ as adverbs in Cowichan. Hess (1970) and Hess and Hibbert (1975-77) give as Lushootseed adverbs click ‘very’ (Northern), cay ‘very’ (Southern), day’ ‘very, really, especially’ (Snohomish, Sauk), dâx’ ‘just now’, didi ‘still’, (ha)lârf ‘really, very’, hiqab/hîrâb ‘too, excessively’, k'af ‘too, also’, and tux ‘and yet; merely, just, nearly’. None of these lists should be assumed to exhaust the adverbial category for any of these languages. Since the meanings and usage of these elements are very much like the Thompson and Chilkan examples given in 18-24 above and like the Upper Chehalis forms to be given below, I will not add illustrations of their usage in these other languages.

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The particle (?u)m(?) which follows several of the PAs means something like ‘still, yet, as soon as’, but is really non-specific that it is usually best left untranslated; in these collocations I consider the gloss given to apply to the PA + a as a whole.

Perfactive third person plural is indicated by an enclitic (when it is overtly marked at all), so it can be grouped with the subject markers for first and second person to demonstrate this auxiliary-like usage.
intransitive, nor does it matter which aspect is used—perfective, stative, imperfective, or unrealized.

However, one unusual thing happens with most imperfective main predicates after an initial QA. In all my elicited Upper Chehalis data, imperfective predications begin with a prefixed s-. It seems likely that this construction originated as a dependent clause, a construction-type throughout Salish that is usually marked as subordinate by prefixing s- as an indication of a sort of nominalization; in Upper Chehalis these subordinate forms then migrated into main clause position, and function now to distinguish aspect rather than subordination. Use of the s- prefix on imperfectives is consistent in my elicited materials. However, in texts, no matter who the narrator is, imperfective predications without a QA (and in main clauses) typically do not have this prefix. With a QA the s- usually reappears (exceptions will be noted below). No explanation for this difference between elicited and textual usage is obvious to me; the reappearance of s- after a QA may or may not have anything to do with subordination.

(3) Many sentences with an initial QA are followed by a possessive construction, either a single possessed predicate or a whole possessed clause. Since this is a common way of marking a clause as dependent, this use of the QA appears to be treating it as the main predicate of the higher clause, rather than any kind of auxiliary. No examples of this construction were found for ?aciw?, ?amn?, ?it?, h?y?, t?x?l?, w?l?l?, or yaq?, although none of these occurs often.

(4) There are also several initial QAs followed by a dependent clause without possessive marking; at least ?amn u, ?y? u, qi?c?, and qi?i-oc- are involved in this construction. The most obvious instances are marked as dependent by using the subordinate passive inflection. These too suggest that these QAs may be the main predicates of higher clauses.


(6) In many instances a QA has a straightforward modifying role; this role is often adverbial, and the QA may immediately precede what it modifies or not. In the latter case the QA is probably best considered a sentence-level adverb. The QAs ?y? u, ?i?u?, k?y?, n?x?t?, s?i?, w?l?l?, w?x?as, ?i?w?ic?, and s-?i?q? are found with this function.

(7) QAs occur in a number of other positions that do not appear to lend themselves so easily to classification. They may mostly be other instances of sentential adverbs. Some of these involve negation, which has its own effects on syntax.

(8) There are many consecutive pairs of QAs in a sentence. These are probably simply a sequence of two adverbs, or one may be more auxiliary-like than the other. The QAs ?amn?, ?am n, ?y? u, ?ik?q?, ?it?, qi?c?, s?i?, t?x?l?, w?x?as and ?i?w?ic? have been found in these combinations.

(9) There are a number of special idiomatic constructions involving QAs. This would not be surprising for adverbs.

(10) Several of the QAs have corresponding main predicate forms and usages. A few are primarily main predicates, and only secondarily QAs. As main predicates, they take usual predicative inflections.

(11) Several QAs have special derivations, creating other kinds of forms. Some of these are somewhat idiomatic, others are not. The most interesting cases occur with ?i?u?, ?i?k?q?, n?i-t?, qi?i-oc-, s?w?as, ?i?w?ic?, and s-?i?q?.

These eleven usage categories fall out into four general types: QAs that function somewhat like an auxiliary (1, 2), QAs that are basically predicative (10, 3, 4, 5), QAs that are adverbial (6, 7, 8), and derived or idiomatic uses of QAs (9, 11). Adverbial usage in general in Upper Chehalis is probably a derived function, secondary to the use of any morpheme as a main predicate.

Auxiliary-like usage is also probably secondary, since several of the QAs have straightforward main predicate uses; it may also be tertiary, if QAs go through an adverbial level. Derived and idiomatic usages are clearly secondary, and derived from usual predicates. More will be said on these matters in 4.

3.1. Individual QAs. The following sections will give examples of each of the QAs found to occur in the Secena texts. Their use in each of the categories above will be shown, and discussed where pertinent. It will also be noted when any of the eleven categories is not attested for a QA; such non-occurrence may, after all, be significant.

3.1.1. ?aciw?(a) after a while, when (11). All of the QAs for which there is more than one attestation, only ?aciw? always occurs in initial position with a subject clitic following immediately. Indeed, it has the least syntactic variation of any QA. All instances have non-third person subjects. Two are followed by the future marker ?a, and all the others by ? unrealized aspect, which indicates future as well.


QA we UNR DEF again make-3Obj thus YET at PAST NOM-make-3Poss

"After a while we will make it again the way it was made."


QA you/s? UNR INDEF know-3Obj

"After a while you will find out."


QA you/pl FUT ST-sec-IND-PASS by INDEF mother-2plPoss

"Later on you (pl.) will be looked after by your mother."

The main predicate in all but one instance is transitive; the one exception suggests that transitivity is not significant.


QA I UNR DEF come

"Later on I will come (back)."

Examples show that transitive and intransitive main predicates occur freely after all QAs.

Boas transcribed this QA variously as ?aciw?, ?aciwi, ?aciw, or ?aci; twice a variant ?aci occurs.


QA I UNR DEF come-REL-2sgObj

"By and by I will come for you."

There is insufficient evidence available to determine any difference between ?aciw? and ?aciw?. Although this QA does not occur often, it is remarkably consistent. Because all examples show

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Footnotes:

3 Sentences taken from the Secena story ?a? ?a? and Crane are designated X&X, those from ?a? ?a? and Witch are X&W, and those from ?a? ?a? and Rocks are X&R. The majority are from the long cycle of ?a? ?a? one stories, and are not labelled. The change in the name of ?a? ?a? one to ?a? ?a? in ?a? ?a? and Rocks is unexplained. One possibility is that it was not told by Secena; the notebooks do not make it clear who the narrator was. I have assumed it was by Secena, however, on stylistic grounds and because there is no other likely candidate among those from whom he obtained texts. Against this is the fact that it is far more explicitly sexual than any of the other Secena texts; he was usually surprisingly circumspect and indirect about such matters.

Abbreviations used are the following: ADV adverbial, DESC descriptive, AUT autonomous, COP copula, DEF definite article, DETR detransitive, DF definite, FUT future, HAB habitual, IMPF imperative, IMPF imperfective aspect, INCH inchoative, IND indicative, INDEF indefinite article, LNK link, MDL middle voice, MOD modal, NAME character name, NCPASS non-control passive, NOM nominalizer, OBJ object, OBL oblique, PASS passive, PAST past, PERF perfective aspect, PL plural, POSS possessive, Q question, QA quasi-antonymous/adverb, RECIP reciprocal, REL relational, RFL reflexive, sg singular, ST stative aspect, Subj subject, SUBPASS subordinate passive, TO topical object, UNR unrealized aspect, YET still/yet. Phonologically predictable -a-, -a-, -a-, as well as some cases of prefixed s- when its specific role is unclear, are given as such in morpheme-by-morpheme gloss lines.

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4 This functional shift can also serve to explain why imperfectives have subject suffixes, rather than the subject clitics found on perfectives. Dependent clauses in Salish typically have subject suffixes.
lacUy in an auxiliary-type function, nothing can be said about other possible syntactic uses, although it must be remarked that its meanings do not seem like the sort of thing one would expect for an auxiliary.

3.1.2. k'aq" well!, let's!, better!, good, all right' (143). The meaning of k'aq" was probably originally 'good', although in Upper Chehalis it has become somewhat of an all-purpose exhortative. Subject clitics occur fairly freely either after k'aq" (in about 23% of the sentences with it) or after the following main predicate (45% of its occurrences). Two pairs of sentences occur in the texts with virtually the same morphemes throughout, but with the subject clitic in different positions:

(29) k'aq" čn tanin 1it yāk'.
QA I now PERF go.home
't'd better go home now.'
(30) k'aq" čn tanin 1it yāk'.
QA now PERF go.home I
't'd better go home now.' X&K
(31) wi k'aq" čn tanin 1it yāmm.
and QA I now PERF die
'And I'd better die now.' X&R
(32) 10' čn k'aq" 1it yāmm čn.
oh maybe QA PERF die I
'Oh, maybe I'd better die.'

The extra particle tanin 'now' in 31 has no effect on word order, and there is considerable freedom on where it can occur itself; the fact that both 29 and 30 have it is further indication that it is not the cause of the difference between 31 and 32. Such variation suggests either that there is free variation as to where the subject clitic can be placed when a QA is present, or there are stylistic or emphasis differences that cannot be detected from a written text. To add to the confusion, five of these sentences in the whole QA corpus with double subject marking have this QA:

(33) k'aq" čn ?dy u čn t čil=ō-fap-n.
QA I just YET I UNR PERF ?=intercourse-30bj
'Let me just make love to her (have her as mistress).' X&R
(34) wi k'aq" čn 1it hwi-x čn tu fā 1it qšy=ō-q".
and QA we PERF come=30bj from on DEF cradle
'And we should take him from the cradle.'
(35) k'aq" čn s-qši=ō-na-cf u an=t fā t s=1qš=ō-q"mi.
and QA we PERF come+30bj from on DEF cradle
'And we should take him from the cradle.'
(36) k'aq" č s=šûnalš 1 t cāçiyá'ta.
QA you/sg make=DET=2sgSubj OBL INDEF basket
'It is good that you make baskets.' X&K
(37) k'aq" č s-tisk'a-ta-stawt 1 psa=t 1it smaniči.
QA we IMPF-fetch=30bj-1sgSubj INDEF monster in DEF mountain
'We'd better go after a monster in the mountains.'

One way of explaining these sentences is that the QA + subject clitic constitutes a separate clause from what follows; however, this makes little sense given the number of sentences like 38-40 in which the subject clitic clearly applies to what follows, because otherwise this later main predicate would have a third person subject.

(38) k'aq" č t=awd t fā t s=×qš yu=čččs.
QA we leave in DEF MOD-NOM-crooked=river-3Poss
'We'd better leave him at the next turn in the river.'
In sentence 45 'say' is nominalized with s., has second person singular possessive inflection, and is preceded by a definite article. The main predicate, however, is k'aq', and the nominalized phrase 'that which you say' has been foregrounded in relation to it; this foregrounding is indicated by the copula wi, which is obligatory following a foregrounded argument (the nominalized phrase). Given all this, it is not clear what function k'aq' has in this sentence. In 46, tay k'aq' may simply be an adverbial phrase preceding the main clause, although this is clearly subordinated through possession (n- 'my'). It is usual for modal clauses with qa and future clauses with k'a to have their subjects indicated by possessive affixes. It is not clear why the main predicate in 48 has possessive inflection.

k'aq' is followed in four sentences by prepositional phrases:

(49) tít k'aq' sáñ çaq s-páfuw-ci sít nutamán
PERF QA into MOD NOM-go-through-RFL-3Poss INDEF person

(50) k'aq' tu tít t-sáñ wi k'áll sít tuáp.
QA of on INDEF ST-?=spirit.power for begin-3Poss

In this first of these, the preposition is tít 'to, into, on'; the reason for the initial tít is unknown. In 50, tu tít is 'from' and tít is 'for' (both are compound prepositions; meanings of prepositions have very different ranges from any specific English equivalent); tuáp- 'begin, start' may be the main predicate here. The k'aq' in 51 may be the main predicate of the sentence rather than tiyápa you, pt.; it is followed by the interrogative enclitic. In 52 stáñ/ñici is the main predicate, and is in a sequence of two QAs, both preceded by subject clitics. In this case the preposition sáñ is part of the idiomatic phrase sáñ t 's forever', which is certainly adverbial.

This QA occurs several times with another QA. In instances where the second QA is xáwàs 'first', k'aq' also occur once each with tóy u 'just' and sáñ 'very' (see 48 above).

(53) k'aq' ñ inan tóy u k'a t-sáñ/ñici-ci.
QA I now just YET ST watch-IND-2Obj

't'd better just watch you now.' X&W

(54) tó lI. k'aq' inan xáwàs t tóq =inwat-m ci.
OH QA now first UNR INDEF promise=mind-MDL we

'Ooh, now first we'd better make a plan.'

(55) k'aq' inan xáwàs s-xáñ =i-timt.
QA now first IMPF-look.for=LNK=food-1plSubj

'First let's go fishing now.' X&W

There are too few examples of these multiple QA constructions to detect patterns of the use of subject clitics with them; indeed, not many of them even have subject clitics. However, note sentence 33, which has two QAs, both followed by subject clitics. If one views these QAs as adverbs, then a sequence of two QAs is simply a sequence of two adverbs. The two following sentences are very similar to 53-55, and here the second word is clearly adverbial; the main predicate comes after that:
Relatively few do not

Here mi’ta laws seems to function as a separate negative phrase modifying the rest of the sentence, but once again the main predicate (I-w-s-t-s) is possessed. The notable thing about sentences like 64 and 65, however, is that Ka’aq” precedes the negative clause. This suggests that in these cases Ka’aq” is a main predicate (or quasi-auxiliary) of the entire sentence, with everything else subordinate to (or an argument of) it.

Most sentences of 78 y u in a clause with a perfective subject clitic have this clitic after the QA:

\( \text{I didn’t just stay in my house.} \)
\( \text{You are just waiting for you.} \)
\( \text{You will just have paddles.} \)

Relatively few do not (70, 71), although imperfective forms, as usual, also require the subject marker to follow the main predicate (72, 73).

\( \text{We are just waiting for you.} \)
\( \text{I am just going home to my house.} \)

One peculiarity of 78 y u, unlike other PAs that may be followed by (70)(71)”still, yet,” is that this is not a tightly bound sequence, and the two parts are often separated by the subject clitic and/or tan “now.” This last piece is a reduced form of tanin “now,” when the full form is used it and the subject clitic follow u: 78 y u tanin, 78 y u tanin, 78 y u tanin (with stress shifted to 6 for unknown reasons). The subject clitic alone sometimes follows 78 y u:

\( \text{I just gathered it for me to eat.} \)
\( \text{I am just going home to my house.} \)

All sentences with an imperfective predicate following 78 y u have s- before the main predicate.

A subordinated main predicate with possessive affixes frequently follows 78 y u, with or without x’a ‘future’ or qa’ ‘modal.’

\( \text{They just stay in the house.} \)
\( \text{You come just to eat.} \)
\( \text{I am just feeding you.} \)

This may be an error; everything else in this sentence is possessed as well: ‘start,’ ‘just,’ and ‘dream.’ Alternatively, subordination, along with possession, may be required (or permitted on both the QA and the main predicate following a subordinator. This appears to be what happens in 78, where both are subordinated with s-.

\( \text{You just always eat people.} \)

In another instance 78 y u is itself possessed:

\( \text{You just come to eat.} \)

This also follows a prepositional phrase:

\( \text{You come just to eat.} \)

The QA in this case modifies ‘(to) eat’ (literally ‘for your future eating’). Such usage as a modifier is not uncommon for 78 y u; it readily modifies a number (80-81), ‘thus’-also a QA (82), a nominal (83), or another modifier (84-86).
...because of its abstract use; it is the following predicate that is possessed. Again, this QA may occur separately as with a prefix; it can occur separately as with a suffix on the main predicate or the clause as a whole.

As a modifier, it may occur later in the clause, in 87 probably to ensure that 'once' is modified rather than 'screams'.

Even when followed immediately by a subject clitic, ʔay u may be seen as an adverbial modifier of the main predicate or the clause as a whole. ʔay u readily combines with other QAs; it occurs before ?amná and qícʰx, before or after siw, or after ?ám u, kʰácʰ, or tákʷl.

When ʔay u follows immediately by a subject clitic, it may occur later in the clause, in 87 probably to ensure that 'once' is modified rather than 'screams'.

Two examples of ʔay u occur followed by a negative: (91) wi t?ay u míʔta X'a-sa-s-yap Ɂeʔ?. and QA YET not FUT-2sgPoss Nom-walk to far 'And you will just not go far away.' X&W (92) wi t?ay u míʔta laws kʰáʔ-p, tá sáʔ-s-awm¾ táʔc u tá siti-tm Ɂt táls. and QA YET not even right-h, PAST make-3Poss-3pl that so PAST change-PASS by INDEF chief 'And (it was) just not right then, what they did therefore it was changed by a chief.'

Neither of these is particularly unusual in terms of what follows the negative; 92 lacks a possessive suffix on kʰáʔp because of its abstract use; it is the following predicate that is possessed. Again, as with kʰácʰ, having ʔay u precede the negative clause makes the QA more predicative than it usually is.

3.1.4. ĉás 'always' (61). All the sentences in the Secena texts with ĉás⁹ which are perfective aspect (or, more commonly, stative because of the meaning of ĉás) have the subject clitic following the QA.

9. The form is most commonly t ĉás. This may in fact be the correct form; the t is easy to miss because of the following ĉ. The t is definitely a distinct piece, and does not occur in the derivations of ĉás. I have always thought it is the indefinite article, but how that works syntactically is unclear.

(84) wi t?ay u tǎwá t máʔn-s. and QA YET big-4 INDEF head-3Poss 'And his head is just big.' (85) ʔay u tʰikʰap'sʔ-ʔeʔ-tilinhaʔ-aní. QA YET no good IMPF-sing-1sgSubj 'I am singing just unimportantly.' (86) ʔay u tʰáux-ʰt-s'áw Ɂt sáʔ-s-awm¾. QA YET different-ʔ=appearance INDEF make-3Poss-3pl 'They will just get different shapes.'

As a modifier, it may occur later in the clause, in 87 probably to ensure that 'once' is modified rather than 'screams'.

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3.1.4. ĉás 'always' (61). All the sentences in the Secena texts with ĉás⁹ which are perfective aspect (or, more commonly, stative because of the meaning of ĉás) have the subject clitic following the QA.

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In sentence 108 the clause beginning with t’a*) is not simply an interruption of a longer clause beginning with t’u’s unless one assumes that the predicate that goes with t’u’s is elided. That may be; this is the entire answer to a question by another character. Apart from this elliptic use, there are no clear instances of t’a) used as a main predicate.

It is common for t’a) to occur in idiomatic phrases. The usual (and common) one is for it to follow the preposition s’at ‘to, into, on’; the phrase means ‘forever’.

3.1.5. T’am u ‘unless, so, when’ (45). This is unlike most of the others in that it functions to a great extent as a subordinator, and introduces dependent clauses. It is certainly related to, and probably derived from t’am ‘if, whenever’, which is a conjunction. Nevertheless, it does occur with perfective subject clichics following. In the available examples from the Secena texts, a second person singular subject follows t’am u (112-113), while a first person singular subject follows the main predicate (114-115). With the limited number of examples available, it is not possible to determine if this is the usual pattern; such a split according to person would be unusual and unlike their use after other QAs.

(112) ?am u ̀t tanin ?ac=t’ams tit lów, n ̀t?upál-s.
Qa yuet yu/s no st=inside def hollow,tree, and unR eat-2sgSubj
(113) wi ?am u ̀t ?ac-qín-s-wákt’u’s sín’-s-
and qa yuet yu/s st=want-s-go there-df
‘And if you want to go there. . . ’ X&c
(114) ?am u ̀t iyq ̀cn, wí qát k’ána-y-má tuláp=t-cani n-qát s-pálúw-cá.
when yuet mod jump I, and mod catch-7-1sgObj begin-LNK-he 1sgposs-mod
nom=go.through-REL-RFL
‘When I can jump, and it would get me before I can get through.’

(115) ?am u qát tit khá-tux’t’i cn tit n-qé-q.
qa yet mod def give-ind I def 1sgposs-camas
‘If I should give him my camas.’
Subjects are usually indicated by a following possessive affix; this is not surprising since clauses beginning with t’am u are usually subordinate. Examples are in 116-118.

(116) ?am u n-qá’t màk’á-cá, wí qát q’cá-tí mn ̀t tit támá.
qa yuet 1sgposs-mod try-rfl, and mod smash-pass I by def earth
‘If I shake you, I could be crushed by the earth.’
(117) ?ám u ̀t la-há’ Hín ̀t tít xít tít qé-q, wí mít’a ̀s-wák’á=lan-c.
qa yuet in-2sgposs eat obl this def camas, and not 2sgposs-nom-uncover=cover-obj
‘So when you eat this camas, don’t unwrap it.’
(118) wí t’am u ̀t ci’s t mé-y-dawt ját t’sinay, wí t ̀t Síi’an-awmá.
and qa yet unR arrive-poss-3poss in_def begin.to-grow to def INDEF woman, and UNR INDEF eat-3pl
‘And when a young man comes to a woman, and they will eat.’

Another indication that t’am u introduces subordinate clauses is three sentences like 119 with a subordinate passive.

(119) ?ám u t q’á’t-s-awmá t Síi’an-awmá, wí mít’a k’a sit-wall-s-awmá.
qa yuet unR find-subs-pass-3pl by def woman, and not FUT change-to-3poss-3pl
‘If they are found by a woman, and nothing will bother them.’ X&c

The use of prepositional phrases after t’am u also fits with its subordinating function:

(120) wí t’am u tu ját t ̀a-nédw=cl qát t ‘iw’á’ t ci tu ac=t’alas.
and qa yet from on in_def 2sgposs-big=body move-off-3plobj you/us from
st=inside
‘And so from your body you can take it out from inside.’

(121) ?ám u ját t k’a s’ilf-séw-m-á.
qa yuet FUT DIF-3poss-far-INCH-MDL-1plposs
‘So when we will get far away. . . ’

The preposition t’a) often serves a subordinating function by itself. Because of its conjunctive-like function, it is not surprising that t’am u does not occur as a main predicate, a modifier, or in any derivations, and that it regularly comes at the beginning of its clause, although there is one example of it following another QA.

(122) t’u’s t’am u n’k’á Síi’an-n, n’k’a cí-clé-p.
INADEF always qa yuet eat-3subj, hab st=glad+d-
‘Always when he eats, he is happy.’ X&c

In other examples with two QAs, t’am u is first.

(123) ?ám u ̀t t’a’k’a n’k’á s’qá’ t Síi’an-
qa yuet you/us INDEF always FUT one-gather to INDEF woman
‘always when you are together with a woman. . . ’

See also sentence 90.

Negative sentences with t’am u are like those with k’áq’ and ibu. u.

(124) t’am u mít’a k’a-la-s k’a’-sá, tit xít, wí t sím=uni-cl cn.
qa yuet not fut-2sgposs be.quiet, def bad, and unR INDEF
grab=face-2sgobj I
‘If you don’t be quiet, bad one, I’ll grab you on your face.’
(125) wí-n-n t’am u ját mít’a t s-pálúw-t s t sí‘íamá-amá.
COP-n-3Subj qa yet not PAST nom-known-SUBPASS by def INDEF man-3pl
‘When she has not been known by men. . . ’

As usual, a subordinate clause follows the negative, and the QA seems more predicative when it
This has the s- and is completely regular. No other instances of subordination or prepositional phrases were found to follow šwičiʔ.

These uses of šwičiʔ seem quite adverbial, even when a subject clitic is present. It also occurs elsewhere in a sentence, and is then even more clearly adverbial.

(135) wiq'amayal-q'at-inaš qit iš=ataq
spread.out-PL-30pl-IMPER PA DEF 2sgPoss-leg
'Spread your legs wider!'

(136) wi ŋat'a c'wo-s 't aš-q'atš-m yal=ac-ci šwičiʔ t'a-ci,
and again ST-have INDEF ST-settle-MDL beside=LNK=water PA down=water
'And they have a camp/house beside the river far downstream.'

Because of its strongly adverbial nature, it is not always clear that šwičiʔ is serving one syntactic function (e.g. quasi-auxiliary) rather than another (e.g. pure modifier).

Although many QAs sometimes appear to function as main predicates, šwičiʔ does so very clearly, as in 137-140. It takes inflection, and can comprise the entire utterance.

(137) šey-áš na, našuš šwičiʔ na.
slowly Q, or PA Q.
'Slowly? Or hard?'

(138) šaqa n šwičiʔ-t-š c'wiš-m aš-š miś-t-št ilai šata šaš laq'amayal q'il-š l's t x'anés=one
now and very-t-3Subj INDEF offsprings-3Poss INDEF NAME near=MDL-3pISubj to DEF daughter-PL-3Poss INDEF NAME
'Now very much (is) the daughter(s) of Malé, they are getting near the daughters of x'anés=one.'

(139) tášiš t'šwičiʔ-t-il, wi mišta šaš s'awas-xawms t t ŋax.
although IMPF-PA-t-3pSubj, and not INDEF MOD NOM-walk-3Poss-3pl at INDEF fast
'Although they try hard, and they cannot walk fast.' X&c

(140) šwičiʔ-t-il, PA-t-IMPER
'Hard!'
The preposition requires that what follows be a nominal, and this is indicated by the use of the definite article. Both phrases mean 'very much, lots', although translations can vary by context. These phrases can occur anywhere in a sentence, but are not usually initial. At least two derivations of *xwich* occur. It can occur with a middle voice suffix, as in 144:

(144) *xwich*/*mit-n

IMPF-PA-MDL-3Subj

'increase, become more'

Here it has full imperfective inflection: *s*, the imperfective form of -m 'middle voice', and -n 'third person subject'. It may also occur with what I interpret as the lexical suffix *ta* = 'instrument', as in 145:

(145) tá-mit-n *tu s-k'ic"-* = *aw* tac *xwich*-t-n-s *c xasitl.

rumble-MDL-3Subj from above=house with NOM-PA-t-3Subj-3Poss INDEF NOM-rain

'The roof hums/rumbles from the hardness of the rain.'

The form, with the lexical suffix, is then nominalized with *s* and has a third person possessive suffix -n. This same form is also used idiomatically in 146-147.

(146) wac=tíq'-mit-tít *q'i*c' *u *t *xwich*-t-n-s.

dance=foot-MDL-3plSubj thus YET at PAST NOM-PA-t-3Subj-3Poss

'They dance as hard as they can.'

(147) tá-m-t-n tit sów *q'i*c' *u *t *xwich*-t-n-s.

tie-3Obj-tSubj def arrowhead thus YET at PAST NOM-PA-t-3Subj-3Poss

'Then rain an arrowhead as tightly as he can.'

The phrase *q'i*c' *u *t *xwich*-t-n-s, literally 'thus just with past its hardness' (or whatever adverb is appropriate in the context for 'hard'), is the idiomatic way of saying 'as X as' (see below, section 3.1.16).

3.1.7. *xwaw* 'at first' (202). This is the most frequently occurring QA in the Secena texts; this frequency is not surprising in mythic narrative--it is very common to mention that something happens as a prelude to something else. In spite of its great frequency, only two sentences occur with the subject clitic immediately following *xwaw*:

(148) *xwaw* caps?it k'ol-c.

QA you/pl PERF stop-RFL

'You first stop.'


QA you/pl now PERF sing in DEF night

'First now you will sing tonight.'

Both have a second person plural subject (the least common person marker). That in itself is not significant, since *cap* is also attested later in a clause:

(150) *xwaw* + *t?it?in caps.

QA UNR INDEF eat you/pl

'First you will eat.'

Many sentences have the subject clitic in this position, as in 151-153.

(151) *xwaw* ságq'-n čn *t?it?in mawiy-at.

QA put.away-3Obj I DEF NOM-you.sg-POSS

'First I will put yours on.'

(152) *xwaw* č ?it yá?k' ča cic ?a-kóy.

QA UNR DEF go.home you/ag with DEF 2sgPoss grandmother

'First you will go home with your grandmother.'


QA now PERF get.out-t we on INDEF earth

'First we will go ashore on the land.'

There are 31 sentences with the subject clitic following the main predicate, as opposed to the two cited above with it following *xwaw*, suggesting that the strongly preferred position is later. Many of the imperative sentences with *xwaw* do not have *s* prefixed to the main predicate; this is notably different from imperatives following other QAs, where *s* is the norm, and there are very few exceptions. One possibility is that Boas simply missed this *s* because *xwaw* ends in *s*; however, he does write a number of imperative predicates with *s*, so he was aware of the difference. More importantly, there are a few particles which can intervene between *xwaw* and the main predicate, and the mixed pattern of *s*- occurrence is reflected in such sentences. Examples 154-156 contain the particles *fa* 'again', *ta* 'past', and *tanin* 'now', with *s*- unmistakably present on the following predicate.

(154) *xwaw* fa s-wáq'-' and ?it k'ol?y.

and QA again IMPF-run-1sgSubj to DEF 1sgPoss-mother

'And first I will run again to my mother.'

(155) *xwaw* ta s-mák"- = *iyaq-and *t tit q's-áq'ya.

and QA PAST IMPF-taste=mouth-1sgSubj to DEF thimbleberry

'And first I eat the thimbleberries from the bushes.'

(156) *xwaw* tanin *s-ýk'á-w-anf.

QA now IMPF-go.home-w-1sgSubj

'First I will go home now.'

Analogous sentences with *fa* and *tanin* are given in 157-158 where no *s* is present.

(157) *xwaw* fa s-wáq'-' and ?it k'ol?y.

QA again sing-3Subj again DEF people

'First the people sing once again.'

(158) *xwaw* tanin *k'át=ul=í-tín *?it t q'd-?.

QA now look.for=LNK=food-3Subj in INDEF river/water

'First he goes salmon fishing in the river now.'

Most imperatives after *xwaw* do not have *s*; the ratio is about eight with one without. It is not clear what difference the presence or absence of the *s* makes after *xwaw*; I assume its use is not arbitrary.

Six occurrences of *xwaw* with another QA occur; all six have *k'ac"* as the other (and preceding) QA:

(159) *k'ac"* č *xwaw* ?it?it?in nè-x'a-uq'-'-?inim.

better you QA PERF eat one-gather-t we

'First you'd better eat together with us.'

(160) *k'ac"* tanin *xwaw* + *t?it nax=ínwat-m č.

oh better now QA UNR INDEF promise=mind-MDL we

'Oh, now first we'd better make a plan.' (54)

(161) *k'ac"* wi *xwaw* sálm-cí-stawt.

better and QA ready-RFL-1plSubj

'First we'd better get ready.'

In 159 the subject clitic follows the first QA, in 160 it follows the main predicate, and in 161 the subject is indicated by an imperfective suffix on the main predicate.

Other uses of *xwaw* are far less common than the types given above. Only three instances of
In both sentences, the main predicate has third person marked by a possessive suffix. Both are also modal.

The third of this group, q"o-c-, occurs most commonly in these sentences as q"o-canin, which is a fusion of q"o-c- and tanin 'now'. It is a diminutive form, although it seldom occurs in its augmentative form (Boas cites q"acanin 'almost, soon'). There is only one instance of a perfective subject clitic in a sentence with q"o-c-, given in 172.

(172) q"o-canin (q"o-s) t ka-s-4awsim qa <<-t su-mi-tanin laws qa-wi=m ci.

QA-now UNR arrive-1pl to INDEF NOM-be-3Poss not-now even fast=INDEF LNK=water

'They almost got to where there are no more rapids.'

Most sentences with this QA have third person subjects or are imperfective, as in 173-175.

(173) qa q"o-canin + t qa-s-4awsim qa-s-m "iqa t min=s-s.

because QA-now UNR become-burst.out=eye-PASS INDEF eye-PL-3Poss

'His eyes had almost popped out.'

(174) q"o-canin (q"o-s) t ka-s-an=m-tuk.

QA-now UNR take-IND

'She almost grabbed him away.'

(175) wi t q"o-canin + t fa f"u-w-an=si.

and INDEF NOM-QA and UNR again arrive-w-1sgSubj

'And in a little while, and I will come back.' X&\W

None of the examples with imperfective predicates following q"o-c- have s- on the predicate, unlike the use with most QAs. This may be explained by sentences like 175, which has the conjunction n 'and' before the main predicate. The presence of this conjunction suggests that 175 has two independent clauses (where s- does not usually occur in texts). If this is so, then q"o-c- must also be considered a main predicate, both in this type of sentence and in general. Another sentence where q"o-canin is strongly predicative is 176.

(176) wi t q"o-canin qa t qa-s-4awsim qa-s-m "iqa t min=s-s.

and QA-now to DEF MOD-NOM-gather=middle-3Poss DEF earth

'And continuously where the earth is coming together.'

Here it is followed by a prepositional phrase consisting of qa "to, into, on' and a nominalization of s"aq=s"aq=tawis 'come together'.

There are only two sentences where a possessive construction follows the QA.

(177) t qa-s-4awsim t qa-wa=si-s qa-w=si.

INDEF NOM-QA tap-3Obj-3Poss and again go-3Subj to house-3Poss

'He hammers lightly for a little while and he goes back to his house.'

(178) t qa-s-4awsim t qa-wa=si-s qa-w=si-s qa-w=si.

INDEF NOM-QA YET INDEF NOM-go DEF NOM-send-s

'Soon the messengers go.'

However, these sentences are quite different in that q"o-c- is nominalized with s- and preceded by an indefinite article (as it is in 175). Sentence 177 has an independent clause following n 'and', and there is no lexical subject for the first clause. Sentence 178 has 'the messengers' as lexical subject. Neither sentence, however, has an independent main predicate if t qa-s-4awsim and the following possessed form are nominalizations. These sentences are quite unlike any that have been discussed so far.

In one sentence q"o-canin occurs finally. It is strongly adverbial here.

(179) k'a q"o-canin + t qa-s-4awsim.

arrive-1sgSubj QA-now

'He almost gets there.'

It also occurs non-initially in the idiom t qa-s-4awsim 'a little while, almost, soon' as in sentences 180 and 181.
Although 180 has an initial QA, it has nothing to do with sq"o-c in this idiomatic usage. Sq"o-c also occurs in one derivation, sq"o-c 'a (little) while, a short time'.

(183) Mq-s-o-n t q"o-c t 1 s-q"o-c t lqf-m.

Again the prepositional phrase t t sq"o-c is idiomatic. 11

There are few instances of nax*t in the Seneca texts, and they present no new issues. A subject c1itic follows nax*t in only two sentences:

(183) nax*t 1 lqf nwtàm-às.

QA you/sq strong person 'You resemble a strong person.'


I be QA YET I ST=-?=spirit.power 'I really have power.'

The 'I at the beginning of 184 is a foregrounded emphatic form, and is followed by the copula wi. This has no effect on the rest of the sentence. Two sentences occur with a perfective main predicate, and two with an imperfective one; the latter are given here as 185 and 186.

(185) nax*t u qalkW-*m-it-n, qi?c 1 t q’sâli s-qalkW-*m-s ntuwàm-às.

QA YET make.noise-MDL-3Subj, thus to INDEF MOD NOM-make.noise-MDL-3Poss INDEF person 'It sounds like hammering, like a person could be hammering.'

(186) ?atu nax*t u tâm-cît-t nà ntuwàm-às.

then QA YET shrink-RFL-1-Subj DEF earth 'Then indeed the earth shrinks.'

These imperfective predicates again lack an initial 'I, like the many imperfective predicates following sâwàs. This may reflect greater predicative independence than for other QAs. This is further suggested by the one case of a possessed form following nax*t:

(187) nax*t 1 tit la-s-tâk*t-làs.

QA YET DEF 2sg-NOM-dream-AUT 'Your dream is true.'

In this case, 'dream' is nominal, as indicated by the definite article tit. This would make nax*t the main predicate of the sentence. In the remaining sentences with nax*t, it has a strongly adverbial meaning, modifying a following modifier, although these also serve as predicates.

(188) nax*t 1 ìt ìt n-xàs.

QA YET GOOD 1sgPoss-house 'My house is certainly good.'

(189) nax*t uk*a k’sâp-t ìpàs.

QA suppose real-t monster 'It is indeed a real monster.'

11 The meaning or function of 'I is unknown. The only other place is has been found to occur is with 'I, a general interrogative predicate; with 'I it means 'which'.

25
There is no close connection with this tāxʷ that the negative, however.

No other significant sentence types occur with tāxʷ and it undergoes no further derivation or inflection.

3.1.11. walāš 'very' (13). Few examples of walāš turned up, although in four of the thirteen instances it was followed by a subject clitic, as in 200-201 (200 occurred twice, and a third time without tanin).

(200) walāš čin tanin ?ac-qa-šɑ'ɑ'-i.
QA I now ST-hungry+i
'Very much now I am starving.'

Sentence 201 is one of the rare instances in which there are two subject markers, and furthermore the second is imperfective, rather than matching the perfective čin. In this case, walāš čin may well constitute a separate clause because walāš has a stative prefix. QAs do not ordinarily bear aspectual affixes, suggesting that walāš here is fully predicative. As can be seen in 201 and again in 202, the imperfective predicate following walāš begins with s-.

(202) walāš tanin s-ɑɑ'ɑ'-ɑɑ'n.
QA now IMPF-bad=weather-MDL-3Subj
'It is a strong gale now.'

If walāš is a main predicate in 201, why not in 202, and with all other initial QAs? The difficulty is that predicates are normally marked for aspect (adjectival predicates are a common exception)—?i?it for perfective, s- and/or a subject suffix for imperfective, and ?ac- for stative. QAs rarely have any of these markers.

Sometimes walāš looks adverbial, appearing to modify a following adjectival predicate.

(203) walāš tanin x'ɑ'-qɑ' ɑI-wɑ-qa.
QA now little DEF 1sgPoss-camas
'I have very little camas now.'

(204) wi walāš ɑx=sɑ=ɑwɑ t=mI=ɑ.
and QA bad=appearance on INDEF eye-3Poss
'And his eyes (face?) are very ugly.'

Since these "adjectives" are the main predicates in these sentences, the role of walāš is really no different from sentences 200-202. A different adverbial use occurs in 205.

(205) x'ɑɑ'ɑ'ɑɑ'ɑɑ'n ɑɑ't=qɑ'ɑɑ'ɑɑ'ɑɑ'n nuHɑɑ'ɑɑ'ɑɑ'ɑɑ'n.
QA talk=spirit-power-MDL INDEF QA now different-i person
'First a foreign person talks very much about his spirit power.'

This translation agrees with Boas' glossing of the text and the situation in which it occurs. An alternate reading, apparently incorrect, would have to modify walāš by ɑq'ɑɑ-foreign', which in turn modifies the lexical subject nuHɑɑ'ɑɑ'ɑɑ'ɑɑ'n 'person'. One could see this complex subject as an imbedded sentence like those of 203-204 meaning 'he is a very foreign person'.

However, if walāš modifies the predicate ɑq'ɑɑ'ɑɑ'ɑɑ'n, as seems to be the case, then one must conclude that there is some freedom as to where walāš may occur in a sentence. This is confirmed by sentence 206, where an alternate reading is not available.

(206) ?ɑɑ'ɑ'-walāš tit nɑɑ'ɑ>sɑ'ɑ'ɑ'-ɑɑ'n tit x=yɑ'ɑ'-ɑɑ'n.
different-i QA DEF earth/land-3Poss suppose PL-NOM=?salmon
'The land of the salmon is very different.'
(215) t*s'q*x-7 t s-2=7=t-s =a=t s qa=t s-pa=t-s-2=a-t.
QA INDEF NOM-long=instrument-3Poss to INDEF MOD NOM-go.through=RFL-3Poss
'this length is enough so he can go through.'

(216) t*s'q*x-7 tan=t s-k'i-s-a=t s p=t=t'q-s.
QA now INDEF NOM-cold-3Poss at INDEF night
'its coolness is all right at night now.'

(217) t*s'q*x-7 tan=t s qa=t s k'ana=t=a-t=s t tic sq*ay=t=
QA now to MOD NOM-take-IND-3Poss at DEF baby
'Enough now so they can get the baby from them.'

As was the case with other QAs in these uses, t*s'q*x has predicative nature here.

No idiomatic use of t*s'q*x occurred in the Secena texts. However, elsewhere in Boas’ texts and notes a possessed form occurs: t*s'q*x-na ‘it's being enough’. This QA may itself be derived from the QA k’q*x-‘well, let’s’, better!, good, all right, although a semantic connection is not obvious.12

3.1.14. t*?i go to, go into(3); h*?y then, well(1). Neither t?i nor h*?y occurs often enough as QAs to draw any conclusions about them. The one instance of h*?y is given in 218:

(218) wi h*?y t= t le- ?aw?w.
and QA we past far behind
‘And then we were too far behind.’

It has the subject clitic between the QA and the main predicate; even though the later is adjectival in meaning, h*?y does not seem to be modifying it in any adverbial way.

Two of the three instances of t?i are given in 219-220.

(219) t?i-?a=t tan=t t?i=f.t.
QA you(pl) now PERF eat
‘Go now and eat.’

(220) t?i en t t 'i?i=t s-qa=y a.
QA I UNR INDEF start UNR INDEF make basket
‘I will go start to make basket.’

In both cases the subject clitic following t?i applies both to it and to the following main predicate; they are rather like English ‘go eat’ and ‘go start’, but with a more literal meaning of ‘go’ than is usually intended in English. Sentence 221 is a little different, although the sense of t?i is the same:

(221) t?i-?a=t t la'aff-s s-7aq-n-s.
QA to INDEF disc-3Poss NOM-see-3Obj-3Poss
‘He goes in order to see his wheel.’

Here t?i seems to be more predicative than in 219-220, and is followed by a prepositional phrase in which ‘his seeing’ is the nominal object of the preposition qa=t and ‘his wheel’ is the direct lexical object of 7aq-n-‘see it’.

Neither t?i nor h*?y is common as a QA; t?i is rare in any case. The semantic and functional parallels with ‘come’ and ‘go’ as auxiliaries in Halkomelem and other northern languages is worth noting. On the other hand, h*?y has several other, unrelated functions. It serves as a common discourse marker in texts, where it means simply ‘and then’. It is also used for ‘goodbye’, where it takes a second person subject clitic (singular or plural, depending on the number of people being said goodbye to); h*?y, h*?y aap.

3.1.15. *s'q*x (u) ‘all’ (94). The remaining five QAs strike me as having stronger predicative qualities than most of the others (t*?i=tic may belong with these). In addition to uses as a main

predicate, *s'q*x is very commonly a lexical argument (subject or object) or a modifier. It does, however, appear in initial position with a subject clitic following, as in sentences 222-224.

(222) *s'q*x-7 u qa=t s-pa=t-s-2=a-t.
PA YET we thus=?-appearance-DF
‘All of us look alike.’

(223) wi *s'q*x-7 u yam=t s-7i=t=s-n t ?i=t=k'=7i.
and QA YET 3pl take.part-sing-3Subj INDEF moon/sun
‘And among them all sings Moon.’

(224) wi *s'q*x-7 u yam=t wi ?i=tic m=ak=s-s=t a=t=N=s-n.
and QA YET 3pl COP very desire=?-n-3Obj DEF NOM-blue=LNK=blanket blanket
‘And all of them and they greatly wished for the blue blanket.’

Both 223 and 224 have confusing syntax. In 223 *s'q*x-7 u yam=t may be adverbial; since ?i=t=s- is intransitive, that is about the only role left for ‘all’ (‘among’ is expressed by t=t- in the first half the verbal compound). In 224 the role of the second wi is unclear. The first is a discourse marker best translated ‘and’. The second may be this, in which case there are two independent clauses here. It may also be the copula, in which case *s'q*x-7 u yam=t is the foregrounded subject of the main clause; this is a less likely analysis because yam=t marks third person on predicates, not arguments (although there are similar partitive plural suffixes on arguments, but without the initial y).

When *s'q*x (u) precedes an imperfective predicate, s- is present, as in 225, again suggesting that it is functioning here like other QAs, although this and sentences 223 are the only clear examples of this combination.

(225) *s'q*x-7 (u) s-?am-d-7i=an=
QA (YET) IMPF-kill-3Obj-1sgSubj
‘I kill them all.’

Here *s'q*x is also the direct object of ‘kill’, indexed to the object suffix -7i. Other examples of *s'q*x in s-argument roles are:

(226) wi mi=t t qa=t s-t=s-qa=x-7s'q*x u...
and not INDEF MOD-able.go.through-3Poss QA-YET
‘And all of them cannot go through.’

(227) s-?am-ci-n-an's-7s'q*x-u.
IMPF-give-2sg-Obj-n-1sgSubj
‘I give you all of it.’

It is subject in 226 and object in 227. This QA can also head a clause with a prepositional phrase in which ‘his seeing’ is the nominal object of the preposition qa=t and ‘his wheel’ is the direct lexical object of 7aq-n-‘see it’.

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‘All of us look alike.’

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‘And among them all sings Moon.’

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and not INDEF MOD-able.go.through-3Poss QA-YET
‘And all of them cannot go through.’

(227) s-?am-ci-n-an's-7s'q*x-u.
IMPF-give-2sg-Obj-n-1sgSubj
‘I give you all of it.’

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3.1.15. *s'q*x (u) ‘all’ (94). The remaining five QAs strike me as having stronger predicative qualities than most of the others (t*?i=tic may belong with these). In addition to uses as a main
There are numerous instances of $q'íč's$ (u) followed by a question word to create forms meaning 'everything', 'everyone', and the like.

(234) jk's $dáax-n t t $qáš+s $táq ča t $sáq'u $wítam.

HAB gather-30bj OBL INDEF many-t NOM-bracken.root and INDEF QA YET something
'He can gather many bracken roots and everything.'

(235) čání wi $sáq'u u wát- $uč-s-phíx*.

he COP QA YET who ST-stop-3Obj
'He defeats everyone.'

(236) ... $xák'=ilax*c $sáq'u u $áš-n-m.

brushy= ? QA YET where-n-MDL
'... a rough, steep place everywhere.'

(237) $sáq'u $wít-ni t $qí-s-fáwuy'i-t $támam/álaáx*.

QA YET how INDEF MOD-NOM-DO SUBPASS INDEF people
'The people play in every way.'

(238) $sáq'u u $uč-ni t $qát sťátn-t t t $tú'y u mťútánm.

QA YET ST-X-OVERMOD MOD SUBPASS by INDEF good INDEF person
'In every way this can be done by a good person.' X&C

Derivations of $sáq'u$ (u) also occur. The commonest is sá*$sáq'u*(u)tn 'all of them'. The initial s- nominalizes, =tn is a lexical suffix indicating an instrument (in a very general sense); it usually has a third person possessive suffix -s.

(239) čúst-nax-n $uč-s-phíx* $xán-tíw $támam/álaáx*....

say-DF-3Subj to INDEF NOM-QA=instrument-3Poss Def people
'He says to all of the people....'

(240) támam=li-t-íntač t $sáq'u u $tn-amwi.

take.to.o=? -30bj-3pSubj with INDEF NOM-QA=instrument-3Poss-3pl
'They carry away (home) all of them.'

(241) xámam-čl-t-ínti $qíč's u t sá*$sáq'u*$tn-amwi.

ready-RFL-t-3pSubj thus YET in INDEF NOM-QA=instrument-3Poss-3pl
'As many of them as there are get ready.'

This last sentence is the sort to be discussed below concerning the idiomatic usage of $qíč's$ (see section 3.1.16).

3.11. $qíč's$ thus, so'? (56). Although $qíč's$ is used in a number of sentences as if it were a main predicate, its status is rather difficult to analyze. It most commonly occurs with the suffix -s 'define'; however a few sentences in the Secená texts occur without it, and there are a few derivatives of $qíč's$ that show that the -s is not part of the root. Two sentences occur with a subject clitic following immediately:

(242) t $qíč's cn $tánca. nk's yúc-s-ën-t $k'c=csé.

again QA 1 I, HAB kill-30bj-1sgSubj INDEF witch
'Jacqueline is the one for that. I continuously kill witches.'

(243) wi náwí tanín wi ta $qíč's ča $tínin t n-ta $pášn.

and yuqí now COP PAST QA you/qg now at 1sgPoss-PAST younger.sister
'And you will be like my younger sister now.' X&W

In both 242 and 243 $qíč's$ may be taken as the only predicate in its clause. In 242 $tánca$ can be seen as the lexical subject. In 243 there is no lexical argument in the same clause as $qíč's$; 'younger sister' is oblique, and the emphatic 'you' is foregrounded and removed from the clause. In two other sentences with another predicate, the subject clitic follows that predicate:

(244) $qíč's $áć-qín-s-pút-n čn.

QA ST-want-s-know-30bj I
'You see what I want to know.'

(245) $qíč's $táć-qín-m-n čč.

QA INDEF ST-want-REL-30bj we
'We will do thus.' X&C

In both these sentences, $qíč's$ seems to be either an object of the main predicate or a sentential adverbial.

(246) $qíč's n-ču-s-fáwuy'i.

QA 1sgPoss-Mod-NOM-play
'That is the way I play.'

(247) $qíč's $k'a $sá-t $wítam $qák $tut $awt-m.

QA FUT do-3Poss INDEF Indian in to behind-MDL
'Thus Indians will do from now on.'

By far the commonest use of $qíč's$ is before a possessed predicate. It may be preceded by ču's 'always' (248-249) or $tú'y u 'just' (250) or a negative (251).

(248) t ċu's $qíč's $k'a-la s-nítn.

INDEF always QA FUT-2sgPoss NOM-eat
'You will eat thus.' X&W

(249) $sá t $ču's $qíč's $k'a $sárt-ap.

to INDEF always QA FUT do-2plPoss
'You will do thus forever.'

(250) wi $tú'y u $qíč's tanín $k'a yúe-ns $xáq'u $sá mariálaax*.

and just YET QA now FUT work-3pl all YET people
'And just thus now will be the work of all people.'

(251) mítá laa $qíč's $sárt $t ču'tn.

not even QA INDEF do-3Poss INDEF fish.trap
'He will not make a fish trap thus any more.'

Nominalized with the indefinite article, it may follow an initial preposition, and then have the same predication:...

...
Precisely the same kinds of constructions occur with a main predicate marked as a subordinate passive.

(233) s-k’as”ana-t-t t s-anex”one q’ic’q-t k’as”ana-t-t t s’at’i sk’as”at’i.

IMPF-hold-3obj-3subj INDEF NAME QA MOD hold-SUBPASS INDEF tiny mouse.

‘She is holding X’anex”one just like she would be handling a tiny mouse.’ X&C

(254) t’ay u q’ic’x’ k’a-sa-t t t’it’imad tit c’ih ?at’i t’ut’w’at’i-m.

just YET QA FUT do-SUBPASS by INDEF Indian DEF food in to behind-MDL.

‘Just thus will food be made by Indians from now on.’ (= 82)

(255) mH-tanin q’at’ s-a-t-t s’am’alax”.

not even QA MOD do-SUBPASS people

‘He cannot use people thus any more.’

What these share, of course, is that both this passive and the possessed predicate are subordinate constructions. The negative mH-tanin seems to have no effect on what follows different from the effect of q’ic’x’.

In some cases, it is simply not clear how to interpret the function of q’ic’x’. These sentences are listed in 256-261.

(256) t’a q’ic’x u ?i’ana.

again QA YET I

‘The same with me.’ X&C

(257) mH-tanin t’am q’at’ t’a q’ic’x’ ?at’i ?inik.

not-now what MOD again QA to we

‘There is nothing like it for us.’ X&C

(258) mH-tanin t s-wi-na q’ic’x’ q’at’ t’i’ana.

not INDEF NOM-be-3poss QA MOD monster

‘She doesn’t act like as though she were a monster.’ X&W

(259) s’ku wi mH-tan t’au-s-x’an q’ic’x’ t t’uk’u’ s’tanday.

you/sg COP not INDEF 2poss-NOM-tired to INDEF other woman

‘You don’t get tired like other women.’ X&R

(260) wi t’i’n’ tanin q’ic’x’.

and past-3poss now QA

‘And never mind that now.

(261) mH-tanin t’w-d’ s’tanday q’ic’x’ t k’as”e’ k’a t s’apal-n t s’am’alax” ?at’i t’ut’ w’at’i-m.

not-now INDEF who woman QA at witch FUT PAST IMPF-eat-3Subj INDEF people in to behind-MDL.

‘No one (will be) a woman now like Witch to eat people from now on.’

It might be either as adverbial or as a lexical argument in some of these sentences.

There are also a number of sentences where q’ic’x’ occurs following an indefinite article, and where it sometimes is an argument (262-263), sometimes the object of a preposition (264-265), sometimes a modifier (266), and sometimes not clearly either (267-269).

(262) ‘ca-ca t’i’tu q’at’ w-i’n’ s’anex”one t s’a-t-t t q’ic’x’.

maybe=7 then MOD be-n-3Subj NAME INDEF DO-3OBJ-3SUBJ INDEF QA

‘It might then have been X’anex”one who is doing this.’

(263) wi k’a”q? hit t t t’iw u t’at’i t’am”t q’ic’x’.

and better PERF? UNR INDEF REMOVE FROM on INDEF earth INDEF QA

‘I’d better remove such from the earth.’

(264) wi n’k’s t’a-sa-t-t’an t q’ic’x’ t’i’ti’ti.

and HAB use-3obj-lsgsubj on INDEF QA in this

‘And I always use it for such as this.’ X&C

(265) mH-tanin t’w-d’ 7ac’-x’at’ t t q’ic’x’.

not INDEF who ST-house in INDEF QA

‘no one has a house like this.’

(266) wi s-riw-s-wi-an t q’ic’x’ p’sayq? t’at’i t’i’m’.

and IMPF-REMOVE-Caus-lsgSubj INDEF QA MONSTER on DEF earth

‘And I take off that kind of monster from this world.’ X&C

(267) n’q’i-s-i’i’n t c’i’q t q’ic’x’.

1sgPoss-MOD-NOM-eat INDEF always INDEF QA

‘I (can) eat always thus.’

(268) t’o mH-tanin y’u”a t q’ic’x’.

oh not suppose INDEF QA

‘Oh, it’s not like that, I guess.’

(269) mH-tanin t q’ic’x’.

not INDEF QA

‘Not thus.’ X&C

Sentence 264 is missing an object suffix on t’iw; -x’ would be expected. The use of t t t q’ic’x’, as in sentence 265, may be idiomatic.

A few derivations of q’ic’x’ have been recorded, although they did not occur in the Secena texts.

These are: q’ic’x’ u ‘then’ (a diminutive), q’ic’x’mx ‘act in the same way’, q’ic’x’s ‘now’, and (with a lexical suffix) q’ic’x’mwix ‘it looks like, look alike’. It is idiomatic in ta q’ic’x’ similar, like.’

3.1.17. siw ‘too’ (37). The status of siw is ambiguous. In some constructions it is ungrammatical to associate with an auxiliary-like function, and others it appears adverbial. Among its clearest predicative uses is in sentence 270.

(270) s’aw na siw’ t t p’ana? c’pac?’u? t s’q’at’ t’n’.

maybe ST-too=4 at INDEF ten INDEF HUNDRED INDEF NOM-MANY=INSTRUMENT-3poss.

‘They are) maybe over a thousand in quantity.’

Here siw has two specific markers of a regular predicate: the stative prefix ?ac- and an intransitive suffix -1.14 Although stative forms often serve as nominalizations, they then require a definite article; since none is present in 270, this can only be a predicate. The -1 suffix, however, does occur on siw in some of the sentences from the Secena texts where it does not seem to be the main predicate. The reason for this is not understood; analogy with apparently common usage of siw as a main predicate may be the explanation. Other examples of siw as a main predicate will be given shortly.

Instances of siw with subject clitics following, and in auxiliary-like roles are given in 271-273.

(271) siw’ t’i’ inan’ ?ac’-a”q? t’4.

QA t’now ST-hungry+4

‘Too much now I am hungry.’

(272) siw’ t’i’ t’i’ inan’.

QA you/sg now big=voice

‘You are too loud now.’

(273) siw’ t’i’ yawms q’i’al t’awt’-m.

and QA + 3poss many=voice

‘And they are too many.’ X&R

14 This presence of this suffix is actually phonologically conditioned, but occurs only on predicates (or derivatives of them). It occurs on CVC roots which have no further suffixes, yielding a CVCC stem. Upper Chehalis seems to have a requirement that a predicate stem have at least three consonants; in order for a CVC root to meet this requirement, a third consonant is added. In periphrastic (or stative) forms -1 is added. In imperfective forms, the third consonant is =w, and only imperfective subject suffixed may follow it.
In all three sentences, it is difficult to see how the subject clitic cannot be construed as other than the subject of the following predicate. Note the -t in 273, where the sentence structure is identical to 271 and 272. Virtually identical sentences, but with the subject clitic following the main predicate, also occur:

(274) siw tanin tac-yo-tn-č. QAnow ST-tired-4 I 'I am too tired now.'

(275) siw tanin lé-či tāwut. QAnow far we behind 'We were now too far behind.'

Two sentences with imperfective main predicates following siw occur:

(276) siw tanin sák'-u-stawt. QAnow wet-w-1pSubj

'Getting too wet.'

(277) siw tat tanin sāta-cal-n q'at-to-lm-tm t s'om=š'one. QA+ now make-lgObj-3Subj MOD-pity-ADV INDEF NAME

'Too much now he is making me suffer, is X"on=šone.'

It is impossible to tell in either of these whether or not the main predicate has a prefixed s-, such as has been the case after most other QAs, because this prefix common (not always) merges with a root-initial s.

A number of sentences similar to these occur where the subject is third person and the main predicate occurs with no inflection. These are a subclass of predicates that correspond to English adjectives, hence the QA has the appearance of an adverb, even though the two need not be adjacent. Examples are examples 278-280.

In sentence 279 tawat is a plural form; this pluralizing -ti occurs only on this class of forms. Sentences 280 shows that possessive affixes may occur here, but without other signs of nominalization.

siw occurs with several other QAs, čwicči, č'as, and tāy y; these sequences occur with siw either preceding or following the other QA, as in the following pairs of sentences. Sentence 286 has three different layers of derivation involved, with the outer QA added last. This could explain sentence 287, where there is a subject clitic present, and it occurs after the second QA.

This issue is discussed further below in 3.3.

Additional sentences where siw seems best considered the main predicate (in spite of the absence of -t in both cases) are the following:

(288) siw tanin miHta t s-pūt-n-či č'a-n-m ta s-wāk"s t tūk"k. QAnow not INDEF IMPF-know-3Obj-1pSubJ where-n-MDLPAST NOM-go INDEF MOON/sun

'Too much we don't know to where Moon has gone.'

(289) siw tanin miHta laws tāy t q's-cūn-taw-il s 't'i-caw'. QAnow not even good DEF MOD-NOM-say-TO-3P0sslPl-Pl-wife

'Now it is too much not very good when he says to us "wives".'

Both these sentences have siw followed by a negative clause. The negative miHta is always initial in clauses where it occurs; this means that it cannot be head of the clause that begins with siw. Alternatively, siw might be considered to be modifying the entire following clause.

siw also occurs in a few derivations and with inflections. Elsewhere than in the Secena texts, the following can be found:

(290) siw=cx too-RFL

'(Tenino dialect) got too much.'

(291) sē=wi-ci=t-n too(dimin.-)-RFL-t-3Obj 'he gets a little too much'

(292) sētu, sētu 'a little too much' (dimin.)

(293) siw=1=1Hn too=LNK=food

'ate too much food'

(294) tś tę-siw PERF become-too

'he went too far!'
294, where the ?it at the beginning is the usual way of indicating perfective aspect—again marking this form as predicative.15 All these forms suggest strongly that siw is fully predicative.

3.1.18. k"ap 'right, very, straight, real' (30). Although k"ap is the most strongly predicative of all the QAs, it does have some uses where it is like the others. Like siw, it requires a clitic follows the QA rather than the following main predicate.

(295) k"ap-t 'right, very, straight real.'

'And Heron comes right to the love-making.'

In sentences 296 and 297 wi appears to be adjectival:

Here the subject that 'like, seem' (22). As a QA, nè+t occurs consistently with a following u; tan 'now' can intervene. It occurs in the Secena texts only once with a following subject clitic:

(304) nè+t u è a na t fàwè +t.

QA YET you/sg Q INDEF leave

'It looks like you are deserted?'

Like most other QAs, a following imperative predicate has a prefixed s-

(305) nè+t u t s-sawq-mít-n tu ?at tit s-sàwd-w-n.

QA YET at INDEF IMPF-talk-MDL-3Subj from on DEF IMPF-fly-w-3Subj

'It seems like talking from the flyers.'

(306) nè+t u k'è qàl s-sàd6-mít-n.

QA YET evidently MOD IMPF-cry-MDL-3Subj

'It looks like he is crying, evidently.'

The presence of the evidential particle k'i (which ordinarily occurs after a predicate) suggests that nè+t u has auxiliary-like functions here.

It may be possible to consider all QA uses of nè+t u as adverbial. In all cases it is followed either by the preposition t (plus an article and oblique argument; 307-308), one of the modal qàl of q't (309), or both (310-311).

(307) k'è qàl-n-t nè+t u t t' mà n.

long-PL-PL QA YET at INDEFSnake

'They are long like a snake.'

(308) wî-n-n nè+t tan u t s-àmís-a.

be-n-3Subj QA now YET at INDEFST-eye-PL

'they become eyes like he has eyes.'

(309) nè+t u anà qàl s-s?6-mít-n.

QA YET Q MOD house hit=face-REL-3Subj

'like a house he bumps his face on.'

(310) nè+t u t t' qàl s-s?6-mít-n.

QA YET at INDEF MOD different-t

'It seems strange.'

(311) nè+t u t qì-s-s?6-mít-n.

QA YET at INDEF MOD.NOM-storm.cloud-3Poss DEF here-DEF EA earth/land

'It looks like storm clouds here in this land.'

A sentence that at first appears to have neither t nor a modal is 312:

(312) nè+t u t sàf6-t qì t t' qàl s-lhàny.

QA YET UNDEF make-3Poss at INDEF MOD woman

'It is formed like a woman.' X&}

Here t sàf6-t intrudes between nè+t u and the following phrase beginning with t; it is the lexical subject of the sentence, meaning literally 'its forming'. This suggests an alternative analysis: nè+t u is not adverbial in these cases, but is the main predicate of the sentence with a prepositional or modal phrase following. The use with t can be made more like English if nè+t u is translated '(be)
It is clear that nê-t can be a main predicate:

(313) nê-t-ac-š tâna ṭ t s-yâp-w-n ṭ ḡâa-m.
like-ʔ-2sgSubj Q at INDEF IMPF-walk-w-3Subj to far-MDL

'It looks like (you) are walking from afar.'

Here it has a reflexive suffix, which can only occur on predicates. Again a prepositional phrase beginning with ṭ follows. It can also occur with lexical suffixes, as in 314:

(314) nê-t=č qâ'at čâwâto-mā.
like=voice YET MOD girls

'It sounded like girls.'

The u is present again here, and a modal phrase again follows. Outside the texts instances of nê-t occur where it is transitivized or is the first member of a compound, both sure signs of predicative use.

3.2. Other possible QAs. Another ten or so morphemes may also function as QAs. However, none occurred in the Seneca texts, and examples that are readily available do not give sufficient evidence to classify them as such. When it has been possible to analyze other texts from other narrators, evidence may be found. Some are used only in the upperer dialect (Tenino Chehalis), and so would not appear in the Seneca texts in any case. I list these possibilities below, with an occasional example. In several cases, meanings are very much like identified QAs, which is one of the reasons to think these might be too.

Six have adverbial meanings very much like many identified QAs.

(315) is'u 'yet'?
that's 'still, yet' (with ?ac- 'stative aspect')

(316) lâwa 'even, more, very'

(317) mâq'a 'yet, nevertheless'

(318) q'iiq'a's 'even, including, although'

(319) q'tânu' 'just, only, but, not really'

(320) tâlax' 'only, although'

wi ta 'they will, when'

(321) q'it 'like'

(322) tâna 'if, when'

(323) qit 'like'

(324) yâs'ni 'and when (?)

However, ṭâm u 'unless, so, when' is also conjunction-like, and is a QA.

These provide no information on the role of QAs because subject suffixes cannot be moved. If the subject clitic is simply shifted forward to the first possible element in a sentence, the clitic should occur after the first of two. In two cases, the subject clitic does not shift at all, and is found after the main predicate, providing no information on the role of the QAs.

(333) k'âq' tanin šawas s-k'aʔ=úl=HN-stawt.

better now first IMPF-look.for=LNK=food-1pSubj

'First let's go fishing now.' X&C (= 55)

Numbers 331 and 332 are quantifiers, and as such have been noted for each QA. Most such combinations have no overt subject marking (no subject clitics, no imperfective subject suffixes). A limited number do, however, and this raises potential questions about the interpretation of the functions of QAs in terms of where a subject marker will occur. Just over half of such cases have an imperfective main predicate, as in 333-334.

(335) k'âq' tanin, šawas ṭí=naʃ-c=č.

better now, first PERF-rest-RFL we.

'Well, now, first we will rest!'

(336) ṭów- tânu tânu tânu tanin šawas ṭ t nαz=innat-m=č.

better now first UNR INDEF promise=mind-MDL we

'Oh, now first we'd better make a plan.' (= 54, 160)

Four sentences have the subject clitic after the first QA, which is just where it should be if the shift is simply to the first element.

(337) ṭám u ṭ t šawas s-HN-staw-n tāxti ṭa-âfâ=č=č.

when YET you/sg INDEF always FUT NOM-eat-CAUS-3Subj this 2sgPoss-two=instrument

'When you always feed this your partner. . . .' (= 106)

(338) ṭám u ṭ t šawas s-HN-staw-n tâxti ṭa-âfâ=č=č.

when YET you/sg INDEF always FUT NOM-eat-CAUS-3Subj this 2sgPoss-two=instrument

'When you always feed this your partner. . . .'

(339) k'âq' či tanin ṭâyu xu ṭus-ʔeʃ=ni=tâl.

better I now just YET FUT ST-see-IND-2pObj

'I'd better just watch you now. X&C (= 53)

(340) k'âq' či šawas ṭí=Hi.n=naʃ-ʔeʃ-4=nam.

better you first PERF eat one-gather-4-we

'First you'd better eat together with us.' (= 159)

In one sentence, subject clitics occur after both QAs.
sentences with different word orders might be discoverable. Nevertheless, it is possible to make sentence orderings because not all of them have been found to be used in all the same ways. Although such cases are usually derived directly or indirectly from predicates. Although it was discussed above in a few examples, it is not always possible to be sure whether some of these should be written as affixes (as I usually do tə- and tə-) or as separate clitics; my practice has, in fact, vacillated. These morphemes are listed in 343-345.

4. Adverbial clitics and particles. Besides this group of QAs, Upper Chehalis has several morphemes that share some of the meanings of QAs but do not enter into the same types of syntactic constructions. These are various adverbial, modal, and temporal clitics and particles.16 Although they never occur initially with a subject clitic following, and some of them (especially tanin) have considerable freedom of movement. Some form phonological units with a predicate (hence the label clitic), and it is not always possible to be sure whether some of these should be written as affixes (as I usually do tə- and tə-) or as separate clitics; my practice has, in fact, vacillated. These morphemes are listed in 343-345.

4.1 Pronouns and preposed particles:

4.1.1 Preposed particles:

(a) ‘past’
(b) ‘back, again’
(c) ‘habitual action’
(d) ‘get, become, make’
(e) ‘ought, can, could, able (modal)’
(f) ‘future’

4.1.2 Enclitics and postposed particles:

(a) ‘still, yet’
(b) ‘again’
(c) ‘now, at present’
(d) ‘maybe’

Groups 343 and 344 occur with main predicates, whether in independent clauses or subordinate ones, in fact, some causative subordination. They may also occur with arguments of a predicate, although such cases are usually directly derived from predicates. Although it was discussed above as another possible QA, it is also possible that tə’su ‘yet’ belongs with this group. Examples of these can be seen scattered through the examples above.

5. Conclusions. Several conclusions can be drawn from this discussion of Upper Chehalis QAs. It is somewhat difficult to generalize to all of them because of the range of their functions, and because not all of them have been found to be used in all the same ways. In part this is undoubtedly because of semantic improbability for some uses for some QAs, and in part because too few examples were found to determine the full range of possibilities. Were it still possible to elicit sentences in the language, many of the gaps could be filled in, and distinctions between similar sentences with different word orders might be discoverable. Nevertheless, it is possible to make a case that there is considerable commonality among the QAs and to indicate their basic function and origin.

To review their functions: they appear in auxiliary-like roles with a subject clitic immediately following; they appear in auxiliary-like roles with a subject clitic following the main predicate; they appear preceding subordinate constructions, particularly possessive phrases and prepositional phrases; they serve as modifiers, usually adverbial; and they can be the main predicate of a sentence. Several of the QAs clearly can be main predicates; they can have lexical arguments as subjects. It can be argued that their use before subordinate constructions is as the main predicate of that sentence, with the subordinate construction serving as an argument or subordinate modifier. This is likely to be a secondary development from their original role as main predicates. Their role as modifiers is also secondary to their predicative role. In this use they are very much like those descriptive predicates (as well as many static forms with a donde) that function as adjectives. A distinction between adjectives and adverbs in Upper Chehalis would not be very meaningful because of the frequent derivation of nominal arguments (where modifiers would be adjectival) from predicatives (where they would be adverbial).

This leaves their role as auxiliary-like elements. Of the four criteria given in 1 for something to be a true auxiliary, none holds consistently. As QAs they usually have no tense, aspect, or more markings, yet there are instances when they do. They certainly do not occur in a fixed syntactic position, even when serving as some sort of QA. As QAs they do not take argument marking, although many of them can do so in other roles. They are usually, although not always, inflectionally defective, but then so are other modifiers. Since not one of these criteria holds consistently, QAs cannot be auxiliaries by this definition.

Even in their auxiliary-like role, they can be seen to be modifiers, hence derived from predicatives.17 When in initial position in a sentence, they can be interpreted as modifiers either of the main predicate or of the sentence as a whole. As such, they can be seen as constituting a kind of predicate phrase. It is usual in all Salishan languages for the predicate to be initial in a sentence. In languages like Halkomelem or Sechelt where there are true auxiliaries, those auxiliaries attract both subject and argument markers. Similarly, in Upper Chehalis the semi-predicative (i.e., syntactically derived from a full predicate) words (the QAs) that are initial in a sentence attract the subject clitics. A problem arises for Upper Chehalis because of the development of two sets of subject markers according to aspect; perfectives (and statives) are marked by subject clitics, while imperfectives are marked by auxiliary clitics. The subject clitics cannot move; the same is true of any suffixes in Halkomelem and Sechelt, where subject clitics do move. The Upper Chehalis subject clitics should move, and do. There is then a complex situation in which subjects sometimes follow an initial adverb and sometimes follow the main predicate. It is likely that this complexity is often resolved by resorting to analogy: since subject markers follow the main predicate when it is imperative, because they cannot move, then put the subject clitic in the same position. A count of sentences with a QA and a subject clitic may support this. Excluding occurrence after kəq and səwas where the subject clitic is predominantly after the main predicate, the subject clitic follows the QA almost twice as often (71 times) as it occurs later (37 times). The half dozen sentences where a subject clitic occurs in both positions is probably a result of the confusion resulting from their variable placement possibilities. It is not clear why kəq and səwas are different. Subject clitics occur late after kəq twice as often (65 times) as they occur early (33); five of the six cases of clitic doubling also occur.

16 It is worth noting that others have felt the need to have separate categories for an auxiliary-like group of morphemes and for more specifically adverbial particles. This is the case in van Eijk 1983 and Thompson and Thompson 1992.

17 The development of a main predicate to auxiliary is certain not unusual. Note the development of English ‘going to’ and ‘have to’ into ‘gonna’ and ‘hafta’.

18 I use ‘adverb’ here as shorthand for the complex of the things I have been discussing, and do not intend to claim that there is a separate word-class to be called ‘adverb’. There may be a class that could be called ‘modifier’, however, but that class would not necessarily include these forms.
after K'aqwm. xwas is somehow quite different; the ratio here is 87 to 2 for late placement.

Thus there are no auxiliaries in Upper Chehalis; rather these initial morphemes are syntactically derived from predicates. Yet this may well not be entirely true either. Some of the QAs clearly have developed from true predicates. Some, however, may be developed from particles serving other functions (this seems more likely for ?im u, for example). Their occurrence initially in a clause has put them in a position where they can be perceived to be like the adverbs in this position, and then treated analogically, attracting subject clitics to themselves. QAs, then, are a set of forms with various specific functions which may correspond more or less to functions or categories of English (and similar languages), but which in aggregate do not match more familiar grammatical categories. It is not entirely clear to what extent the QAs even constitute a set, given the differences among them. What is clear, however, is that once again traditional grammatical categories do not fit in less familiar languages.

All this will be of interest to comparative Salishan studies as well. A quick look at various Salishan languages shows that these adverbial elements do not correspond well from language to language. There is undoubtedly much more to be said about the syntax of these QAs, as well as other adverbial forms both in Upper Chehalis and in other languages. They are certainly important elements in a sentence, and are essential for fluent and idiomatic use of a language. This may be partly explained by their development from full predicates (and the potential for phonological reduction), although then cognates for the predicative form should be easier to find than they are. This problem remains to be addressed.

There is undoubtedly much more to be said about the syntax of these QAs, as well as other adverbial forms both in Upper Chehalis and in other languages. They are certainly important elements in a sentence, and are essential for fluent and idiomatic use of a language. One set of very short Upper Chehalis texts recorded by Boas from a speaker who was clearly less proficient at telling stories than Jonas Secena are markedly different from Secena’s narratives, and the differences are most striking in the use of just these adverbial forms. It will be interesting to see if similar differences occur in the speech of speakers of other Salishan languages with varying degrees of fluency.

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