

The Grammar of Body-Directed Action Verbs in Kwakwala*

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Abstract: This essay explores the grammar of body-directed action verbs like *kusa* ‘to shave’ and *kuxwtsud* ‘to dress’ in Kwakwala. Topics covered include the formation of reflexive and transitive sentences, implicit objects, and the use of body part suffixes.

Keywords: reflexives, transitives, body part suffixes, Kwakwala, Wakashan

1 Body-directed action verbs

The verbs in Table 1 can all be used to describe actions that are directed at the body.

Table 1: Some body-directed action verbs in Kwakwala

Verb	English Translation	Morpheme Analysis
<i>dix'id</i>	‘to wipe’	<i>dgy-</i> ‘to wipe’ <i>-(x)'id</i> ‘inchoative’
<i>kusa, kus'id</i>	‘to shave’	<i>kus-</i> ‘to shave’ <i>-a</i> ‘final vowel’ <i>-(x)'id</i> ‘inchoative’
<i>tsuxwa, tsuxw'id</i>	‘to wash’	<i>tsuxw-</i> ‘to wash’ <i>-a</i> ‘final vowel’ <i>-(x)'id</i> ‘inchoative’
<i>la'stax'id</i>	‘to bathe’	<i>la-</i> ‘to go’ <i>-(')sta</i> ‘liquid’ <i>-(x)'id</i> ‘inchoative’
<i>lusand</i>	‘to undress, get naked’	<i>lus-</i> ‘to uncover, to open curtain or roof’ <i>-(k)'an</i> ‘body’ <i>-(x)'id</i> ‘inchoative’ ¹

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¹ After body part suffixes, the suffix *-(x)'id* takes one of the forms {*-d, -ud, -nd*} according to a complex set of rules (Boas 1947:365). Contemporary speakers also tend to omit *d* when this segment is syllable final.

<i>kux'tsud</i>	'to dress'	<i>kux'</i> 'to be dressed' <i>-tsq̄w</i> 'in' <i>-(x)'id</i> 'inchoative'
<i>kuxgamult'sud, kuxwalt'so</i>	'to undress'	<i>kux'</i> 'to be dressed' <i>-qm</i> 'nominal suffix' <i>-wql/-ul²</i> 'reverse direction' <i>-tsq̄w</i> 'in' <i>-(x)'id</i> 'inchoative'

The rest of this essay will describe basic features of the grammar of these verbs. The essay is divided into four sections:

- Basic sentence types
- Implicit objects
- Interaction with body part suffixes
- Conclusion

2 Basic sentence types

Two kinds of basic sentences can be constructed using body-directed action verbs: reflexive sentences like in (1), and transitive sentences like in (2). Reflexive sentences lack an object, while transitive sentences have an object in the accusative case.³

(1) Reflexive sentences:⁴

- a. kusux Eddiyax
 kus =ux Eddie =(a)x
 shave =D2 Eddie =V2
 'Eddie is shaving (himself).' (20191205-RDC VF)
- b. la'stax'idux Shellyax
 la -(')sta -(x)'id =ux Shelly =(a)x
 go -liquid -BEC =D2 Shelly =V2
 'Shelly bathed (herself).' (20191205-RDC VF)
- c. lus'andux Shellyax
 lus -(k)'an -(x)'id =ux Shelly =(a)x
 uncover -body -BEC =D2 Shelly =V2
 'Shelly got undressed.' or 'Shelly undressed (herself).' (20191205-RDC VF)

² This suffix is realized as *-ul* after plain resonant consonants {*m, n, l, y, w*} and elsewhere as *-wql*.

³ Accusative case is marked with =*x* in the third person. First and second person pronouns in the accusative include *gaxan* 'first person ACC', *gaxan's* 'first person plural inclusive ACC', *gaxanu'xw* 'first person plural exclusive ACC', and *lol* 'second person ACC'.

⁴ A list of abbreviations used in the analysis of sentences can be found at the end of this paper.

d. $l\grave{a}'m\underset{x}{u}\underset{x}$ $Shel\underset{liya}\underset{x}$ $\underset{k}{u}\underset{x}t\underset{sox}'ida$
 $l(a) = 'm = u\underset{x}$ $Shel\underset{ly} = (a)\underset{x}$ $\underset{k}{u}\underset{x} - tsaw - (x)'id - a$
AUX =VER =D2 $Shel\underset{ly} = V2$ $dress -in -BEC -A$
‘Shelly got dressed.’ or ‘Shelly dressed (herself).’ (20191205-RDC VF)

e. $l\grave{a}'m\underset{x}{u}\underset{x}$ $\underset{k}{u}\underset{x}w\grave{a}t\underset{sud}{u}\underset{x}$ $Monic\underset{a}\underset{x}$
 $l\grave{a} = 'm = u\underset{x}$ $\underset{k}{u}\underset{x} - w\grave{a}t - tsaw - (x)'id = u\underset{x}$ $Monica = (a)\underset{x}$
AUX =VER =D2 $dress -REV -in -BEC =D2$ $Monica = V2$
‘Monica is undressing.’ (20200622-VB VF)

(2) *Transitive sentences:*

a. $kus\underset{x}$ $Eddi\underset{ya}\underset{x}$ $gugame'\underset{x}$
 $kus = u\underset{x}$ $Eddie = (a)\underset{x} = \underset{x}$ $= u(')s$ $gugame' = (a)\underset{x}$
 $shave = D2$ $Eddie = V2$ $= ACC = 3.REFL.POSS$ $face = V2$
‘Eddie is shaving his face.’ (20191205-RDC VF)

b. $l\underset{x}$ $Shel\underset{liya}\underset{x}$ $la'sta\underset{x}'i$ $\underset{xu}\underset{x}$ $Simon\underset{x}$
 $l(a) = u\underset{x}$ $Shel\underset{ly} = (a)\underset{x}$ $la - (')sta - (x)'id = \underset{x} = u\underset{x}$ $Simon = (a)\underset{x}$
AUX =D2 $Shel\underset{ly} = V2$ $go -liquid -BEC = ACC = D2$ $Simon = V2$
‘Shelly bathed Simon.’ (20181127-MC VF)

c. $l\grave{a}'am\underset{xo}'o\underset{x}$ $Shel\underset{liya}\underset{x}$ $lus'and$
 $l(a) = 'm = \underset{x}a = u\underset{x}$ $Shel\underset{ly} = (a)\underset{x}$ $lus - (k)'an - (x)'id$
AUX =VER =ADD.FOC =D2 $Shel\underset{ly} = V2$ $uncover -body -BEC$
 $\underset{xu}\underset{x}$ $Monic\underset{a}\underset{x}$
 $= \underset{x} = u\underset{x}$ $Monica = (a)\underset{x}$
 $= ACC = D2$ $Monica = V2$
‘Then Shelly undressed Monica too.’ (20191205-RDC VF)

d. $l\grave{a}'am\underset{xo}'o\underset{x}$ $\underset{k}{u}\underset{x}t\underset{sox}$ $Monic\underset{a}\underset{x}$
 $l(a) = 'm = \underset{x}a = u\underset{x}$ $\underset{k}{u}\underset{x} - tsaw = \underset{x}$ $Monica$
AUX =VER =ADD.FOC =D2 $dress -in = ACC$ $Monica$
‘Then she dressed Monica too.’ (20191205-RDC VF)

e. $l\grave{a}'m\underset{an}$ $\underset{k}{u}\underset{x}w\grave{a}t\underset{sud}$ $\underset{xu}\underset{x}$ $Monic\underset{a}\underset{x}$.
 $l\grave{a} = 'm = \underset{an}$ $\underset{k}{u}\underset{x} - w\grave{a}t - tsaw - (x)'id = \underset{x} = u\underset{x}$ $Monica = \underset{x}$
AUX =VER =1 $dress -REV -in -BEC = ACC = D2$ $Monica = V2$
‘I am undressing Monica.’ (20200622-VB VF)

The reflexive sentences in (1) all describe situations where the subject of the sentence does something to their own body. Note that there are no reflexive object pronouns (‘himself’, ‘herself’, ‘myself’, etc.) in the Kwakwala sentences.⁵ While reflexive sentences lack a grammatical object,

⁵ There is only one reflexive pronominal in Kwakwala, $=u(')s/=i(')s$, the third person reflexive possessive pronoun, which is exemplified in (2a) and (3). The only other reflexive-like element in the language is a predicate, $\underset{k}{w}alis-$ ‘to do something oneself’, which is used in approximately the same situations as intensive pronouns in English.

speakers understand them as having an implicit object corresponding to the subject's body or body part (this is discussed in Section 3).

The transitive sentences in (2) all have an overt object in the accusative case which specifies where the action is directed. There are several possibilities when it comes to the semantics of the object in transitive sentences.

With all of the verbs in Table 1, the object in a transitive sentence can refer to a person who is distinct from the subject. This is exemplified in (2b), (2c), (2d), and (2e) above. In (2b), for instance, the object is *xux Simonx* 'Simon (ACC)'.

With the verbs *dix'id* 'to wipe', *kusa/kus'id* 'to shave', and *tsuxwa/tsuxw'id* 'to wash', the object in a transitive sentence can also refer to a body or body part. This can either be the subject's own body or body part as in (2a) above and (3a) and (3b) below, or can be the body (4a) or body part (4b) of a being distinct from the subject.

(3) *Subject's body (part) as object:*

a. *la'mux* *dix'idux* *Shelliyax* *xi's*
 I(a) =m =ux day -(x)'id =ux Shelly =(a)x =x =i(')s
 AUX =VER =D2 wipe -BEC =D2 Shelly =V2 =ACC =3.REFL.POSS
awikwine'
awikwine'
body
 'Shelly wiped off **her body**.' (20191205-RDC VF)

b. *kusux* *Shelliyax* *xi's* *gugwa'yu*
 kus =ux Shelly =(a)x =x =i(')s *gugwa'yu*
 shave =D2 Shelly =V2 =ACC =3.REFL.POSS **leg**
 'Shelly is shaving **her legs**.' (20191205-RDC VF)

(4) *Other being's body (part) as object:*

a. *la'mux* *Shelliyax* *dix'ix* *awikwine's*
 I(a) =m =ux Shelly =(a)x day -(x)'id =x *awikwine'* =s
 AUX =VER =D2 Shelly =V2 wipe -BEC =ACC **body** =3.POSS
Monica
Monica
Monica
 'Shelly wiped off **Monica's body**.' (20191205-RDC VF)

b. *kusux* *Shelliyax* *xux* *gugama'yexs* **Eddie**
 kus =ux Shelly =(a)x =x =ux *gugame'* =(a)x =s **Eddie**
 shave =D2 Shelly =V2 =ACC =D2 **face** =V2 =3.POSS **Eddie**
 'Shelly is shaving **Eddie's face**.' (20191205-RDC VF)

The distinction between objects referring to the subject's body part versus a non-subject's body part is indicated by using different possessive determiners and is not marked on the verb.

The verbs *la'stax'id* 'to bathe', *lus'and* 'to undress', *kuxtso* 'to get dressed', and *kuxwatsud / kuxamultsud* 'to undress' cannot take objects referring to body parts. Sentences like those in (5) with *kuxt'sud* 'to get dressed' are judged as ungrammatical.

- (5) *Context: Eddie is hanging out in his underwear when the doorbell rings. He puts clothes on his bottom half to answer the door.*

*kux̣tsudi Eddie x̣i's gugwa'yu
kux̣ -tsaw -(x)'id =i Eddie =x̣ =i(°)s gugwayu
dress -in -BEC =D3 Eddie =ACC =3.REFL.POSS leg
kas le' ax̣studax̣ tax̣ala
k(a) =i(°)s la =i' ax̣ -'stu -(x)'id =x̣ tax̣ala
PREP =3.REFL.POSS go =NMZ do -eye -BEC =ACC door

Intended: 'Eddie dressed his legs to go open the door.'

Speaker's comment: "You would say kax̣sidzandi Eddie ('Eddie put his pants on.')."

(20200614-JN JF)

Two verb roots from Table 1, *tsuxw-* 'wash' and *day-* 'wipe', cannot be used to form plain reflexive sentences like those exemplified in (1). When read out to Kwakwala speakers, the sentences in (6) do not sound like complete sentences.

- (6) *Reflexives with tsuxw- and day-, no body part suffix:*

a. ?tsuxw'idi Simon
tsuxw -(x)'id =i Simon
wash -BEC =D3 Simon

Literally: 'Simon washed.'

Speaker's comment: "What did he wash?"

(20200614-JN JF)

b. ?dix'idi Monicax̣
day -(x)'id =ux̣ Monica =(a)x̣
wipe -BEC =D2 Monica =V2

Literally: 'Monica wiped.'

*Speaker's comment: "For example, you could say *didagam* ('to face-wipe')."*

(20200614-JN JF)

According to the speaker, the problem with the sentences in (6) is that it is not clear what Simon washed in (6a), or what Monica wiped in (6b). This is because unlike the other verbs in Table 1, the verbs *tsuxwa*, *tsuxw'id* 'to wash' and *dix'id* 'to wipe' can be used to describe actions directed at objects other than the body. For instance, the verbs *tsuxwa* and *tsuxw'id* can also be used to describe washing things like salmonberries (7), clothes, or dishes, while *dix'id* can also be used to describe wiping different kinds of surfaces, such as floors (8), windows, or tables.

(7) la'misux̣ tsuxw'i x̣ada ḳamdzakw
l(a) ='m =(w)is =ux̣ tsuxw -(x)'id =x̣ =a =da ḳamdzakw
AUX =VER =and.so =D2 wash -BEC =ACC =D4 =DET salmonberry
'They washed **the salmonberries.**'

(20160722-MC VF)

- (8) $l\bar{a}'misux$ Shelly \bar{x} $dax'i$ $\bar{x}a$
 l(a) =m =(w)is =u \bar{x} Shelly =(a) \bar{x} da -(x)'id = \bar{x} =a
 AUX =VER =and.so =D2 Shelly =V2 take.in.hand -BEC =ACC =D4
 $digam'yu$ $k\bar{a}s$ ha'naxw'ide'
 $digam'yu$ $k(a)$ =i(')s ha'nakw -(x)'id =a =i'
 tea.towel PREP =3.REFL.POSS quick -BEC =EMBED =NMLZ
 $dix'id$ $\bar{x}ada$ $\bar{a}wi'na'gwil$
 day -(x)'id = \bar{x} =a =da $\bar{a}wi'na'gwil$
 wipe -BEC =ACC =D4 =DET **floor.in.house**
 'Shelly picked up a cloth to quickly wipe up **the floor.**' (20160728-MC VF)

To construct reflexive sentences with *tsuxw-* and *dgy-* verbs that refer to body-directed actions, the verb requires a body part suffix in order to make it clear for the listener what is being washed or wiped (see the speaker's comment for (6b)). Body part suffixes will be discussed in Section 4.

In summary, the verbs in Table 1 can be used to form both reflexive and transitive sentences, with *tsuxw-* and *dgy-* being exceptional when it comes to forming reflexives. All the verbs in Table 1 can take accusative objects referring to persons distinct from the subject, while a few of the verbs can also take objects referring to particular body parts. Something to note about the basic sentences discussed in this section is that there is no marking on the verb to differentiate reflexive sentences from transitive sentences. In this respect Kwakwala differs substantially from neighbouring Salish languages, in which intransitive and transitive sentences are distinguished from each other by suffixes on the verb.

3 Implicit objects

Reflexive sentences lack grammatical objects. Nevertheless, when a listener hears one of the sentences in (1), he or she will still form an understanding of which body or body part the action is directed at. In other words, reflexive sentences have *implicit objects*.

In reflexive sentences with some of the verbs in Table 1, the implicit object can receive a default interpretation. For instance, in reflexive sentences with the verbs *kusa* and *kus'id* 'shave', the implicit object is typically understood to be the subject's face (9).

- (9) *Reflexive sentence with kus'id, face as implied object:*

- lux $kus'idux$ Eddiy \bar{x} $latux$
 l(a) =u \bar{x} kus -(x)'id =u \bar{x} Eddie =(a) \bar{x} la =t =u \bar{x}
 AUX =D2 shave -BEC =D2 Eddie =V2 go =FUT =D2
 $la\bar{x}$ Gwa'dzi
 la = \bar{x} Gwa'dzi
 PREP =ACC Port.Hardy
 'Eddie is shaving (*implicit*: his own face). He's gonna go to Port Hardy.'
 (20181127-MC VF)

In transitive sentences with *kusa* and *kus'id*, when the accusative object refers to a person distinct from the subject, it is this person's face, more specifically, which is typically understood to be the target of the action (10).⁶

(10) *Transitive sentence with kus'id, face as implied object:*

kus'idu _x	Eddiy _x	xu _x	Bill _x	kì'su _x
kus -(x)'id =u _x	Eddie =(a) _x	x =u _x	Bill =(a) _x	kì's =u _x
shave -BEC =D2	Eddie =V2	=ACC =D2	Bill =V2	NEG =D2
tlu'am	k'otłala			
tlu ='m	k'otł -(a)la			
really =VER	know -CONT			

'Eddie shaved Bill (*understood*: Bill's face). He (Bill) doesn't really know how.'

(20181127-MC VF)

Rather than being a rigid property of each verb, the interpretation of implicit objects is shaped to some extent by the context sentences are spoken in. For instance, in a context where we know that Shelly is shaving her legs, a speaker might say *kusu_x Shellyy_x* 'Shelly is shaving', and a listener would understand the implicit object to be Shelly's legs. In other words, while implicit objects may be interpreted in a particular way by default, this rule of interpretation is not rigid; the way implicit objects are understood by listeners is also shaped by the context the sentence is uttered in.

In reflexive sentences with the verbs *la'sta_x'id* 'to bathe', *lus'and* 'to undress, get naked', *kixtsud* 'to get dressed', and *kixamatsud/kixwats'o* 'to undress', the implicit object (what is 'bathed', 'undressed, or 'dressed') in a reflexive is the subject's whole body. For instance, the interpretation of sentence (1b) with *la'sta_x'id* 'to bathe' is that Shelly bathed her whole body.⁷

The remaining verbs *tsuxwa*, *tsuxw'id*, and *dix'id* cannot be used to form plain reflexive sentences, and thus do not take implicit objects. The body part that is targeted by washing or wiping action must be specified overtly — either by using a body part suffix on the verb, or by expressing an overt grammatical object.

In situations where it is necessary to clarify what the target of a body-directed action is, Kwakwala speakers have two strategies available to them: they can either make the object explicit using a transitive sentence, or they can use a body part suffix on the verb. This second strategy is discussed next.

4 Interaction with body part suffixes

Kwakwala has a set of suffixes which refer to body parts. Some body part suffixes are listed in Table 2, along with notes about their phonology and example derivations.

⁶ In work with modern speakers, I have only come across uses of *kusa* and *kus'id* with the meaning 'to shave'. However, it is possible that the verbs *kusa* and *kus'id* can occur in a wider range of contexts with different implicit objects, especially since these words are given the more general translation 'to scrape off (scales), to scrape with sharp knife' in Boas (1948:270).

⁷ The original meaning of the verb *la'sta_x'id* seems to be tied to the traditional Kwakwaka'wakw practice of bathing in open water, though at least some modern speakers also use this verb to describe bathing indoors.

Table 2: Examples of body part suffixes

Suffix	Translation	Phonology	Example
-(g)am	‘face’	Loses initial <i>g</i> after non-resonant consonants	/kus-/ + /-(g)am/ + /-(x)’id/ → [kusamd] ‘to face-shave’
-ilba	‘nose’	Softens a previous consonant	/tsuxw-/ + /-ilba/ → [tsugwiłba] ‘to nose-wash’
-(x)tsana	‘hand, arm’	Loses initial <i>x</i> after non-resonant consonants	/ax-/ + /-(x)tsana/ + /-(a)la/ → [axtsanala] ‘to be on hand’
-(g)it(a)	‘body’	Loses initial <i>g</i> after non-resonant consonants	/day-/ + /-(g)it(a)/ → [dagita] ‘to body-wipe’
-(k)’an	‘body’ ⁸	After a non-resonant consonant, this suffix loses its initial <i>k</i> ; then, either the non-resonant consonant hardens or a glottal stop is realized	/lus-/ + /-(k)’an/ + /-(x)’id/ → [lus’and] ‘to undress, get naked’
-’stu	‘eye’ or ‘round opening’	The initial glottal stop is sometimes missing	/max-/ + /-’stu/ + /-(x)’id/ → [maxstud] ‘to strike in eye’

Verbs describing actions directed at the body constitute one domain within the language where body part suffixes occur quite often. Body part suffixes contribute meaning to the predicate in a few different ways.

To begin with, the verb *lus’an* ‘to undress, get naked’ is made up of a verb root, *lus-*, together with the body part suffix *-(k)’an* ‘body’ (see Table 2). Without a body part suffix, the verb does not refer specifically to a body-directed action. This is because the verb root *lus-* has a more abstract meaning. It is translated as ‘to uncover’ or ‘to open curtain or roof’ in Boas (1947:357), and the word *lus’id* (/lus-/ + /-(x)’id/) can refer to clouds opening up and exposing a clear sky (First Voices 2009). One of the functions of body part suffixes, then, is in *creating* body-directed action verbs such as *lus’an*.

Verbs formed from the roots *kus-* ‘shave’, *day-* ‘wipe’, and *tsuxw-* ‘wash’ can refer to a body-directed action whether or not they have a body part suffix. When a body part suffix is present on the verb, it functions to specify which region of the body the action is directed towards. In reflexive sentences, body part suffixes specify a region of the *subject’s* body (11).

⁸ Regarding the difference between *-(g)it(a)* and *-(k)’an* Boas (1947:357) writes: “Fundamentally, *-k’an* seems to indicate a long body, particularly its surface; *-git* a round body as a whole. The distinction is not always clear. In some cases, either form may be used [as with, for example,] *tsux’wand* or *tsuxwitid* ‘to wash body’.

(11) *Reflexive sentences with body part suffixes:*

- a. $l_{\underline{a}}$ =u \underline{x} **kus** **-(g)am** **-(x)'id** =u \underline{x} Eddiy \underline{a}
 AUX =D2 **shave** **-face** **-BEC** =D2 Eddie =V2
 ‘Eddie shaved his face.’ (20181127-MC VF)
- b. $l_{\underline{a}}$ =’m =i Monica gwał la’stax’ida $l_{\underline{a}}$ =’am
 AUX =VER =D3 Monica gwał la -(‘)sta -(x)’id -a $l_{\underline{a}}$ =’am
 AUX =VER
 ’walas **digitabidu** k’walis’ma
 ’walas **day** **-(g)it(a)** =bidu k’walis =’m =a
 big/very **wipe** **-body** =DIM do.oneself =VER =A
 ‘Monica finished taking a bath. Then she dried herself off.’
Literally: ‘Then she wiped off her body, by herself.’ (20181127-MC VF)
- c. **tsugwilbu \underline{x}** Shelly \underline{a}
tsu \underline{x} w **-ilba** =u \underline{x} Shelly =(a) \underline{x}
wash **-nose** =D2 Shelly =V2
 ‘Shelly is washing her nose.’ (20191205-RDC VF)
- d. **tsutsaxwtsan \underline{x}** Shelly \underline{a} ⁹
CV~ tsu \underline{x} w **-(x)tsana** =u \underline{x} Shelly =(a) \underline{x}
RED~ wash **-hand** =D2 Shelly =V2
 ‘Shelly is washing her hands.’ (20191205-RDC VF)
- e. $l_{\underline{a}}$ =u \underline{x} Monica \underline{x} =’walas
 AUX =D2 Monica =V2 big/very
tsutsaxwam laxada la’sta’atsi
CV~ tsu \underline{x} w **-(g)am** la = \underline{x} =a =da la’sta’atsi
RED~ wash **-face** PREP =ACC =D4 =DET water.tub
 ‘Monica really washed her face in the tub.’ (20181127-MC VF)
- f. $l_{\underline{a}}$ =’m =(w)is =an ’nula k’walis’am
 AUX =VER =and.so =1.POSS older.sibling do.oneself =VER
tsutsaxwanda
CV~ tsu \underline{x} w **-(k)an** **-(x)'id** **-a**
RED~ wash **-body** **-BEC** **-A**
 ‘And then my older brother washed his body all by himself.’ (20140324-RDC VF)

A more literal English translation of the Kwak’wala verbs in these sentences would be ‘face-shave’ (11a), ‘body-wipe’ (11b), ‘nose-wash’ (11c), ‘hand-wash’ (11d), ‘face-wash’ (11e), and ‘body-wash’ (11f).

⁹ In examples (11d), (11e), (11f), (13d), (13e), (13f), and (16a), the verb root *tsu \underline{x} w*- ‘wash’ undergoes CV reduplication along with reduction of the stem vowel. I do not know the meaning associated with this particular type of reduplication.

Verbs with body part suffixes can also be used to form transitive sentences with the same sorts of objects we saw in Section 2. In (12a), the object refers to the subject's body, while in (12b), the object refers to the body of a person distinct from the subject.

(12) *Transitive sentences with body part suffixes, body (part) as object:*

a. $l\bar{a}'mu\bar{x}$ $digita$ $\bar{x}u's$ $uk'wine'x$
 $l(\bar{a}) = 'm = u\bar{x}$ day $-(g)it(a) = \bar{x}$ $=u(')s$ $uk'wine' = (\bar{a})\bar{x}$
 AUX =VER =D2 wipe -body =ACC =3.REFL.POSS **body** =V2
 'She wiped **her body** off.' (20181127-MC VF)

b. $lu\bar{x}$ $Shelliy\bar{x}$ $digita$ $\bar{x}u\bar{x}$
 $l(\bar{a}) = u\bar{x}$ $Shelly = (\bar{a})\bar{x}$ day $-(g)it(a) = \bar{x}$ $=u\bar{x}$
 AUX =D2 $Shelly = V2$ wipe -body =ACC =D2
 $uk'wine'exs$ **Simon**
 $uk'wine' = (\bar{a})\bar{x} = s$ **Simon**
 $body = V2 = 3.POSS$ **Simon**
 'Then Shelly wiped off **Simon's body**.' (20181127-MC VF)

A more literal English translation of (12a) would be 'She body-washed her own body', and of (12b) would be 'Then Shelly body-wiped Simon's body'. Note that the body part which serves as the target of the action in these sentences is mentioned twice — once by the suffix, and again by the accusative object.

Transitive sentences with the roots *kus-* 'shave', *day-* 'wipe', and *tsuxw-* 'wash' which include a body part suffix can also have an accusative object that refers to a person other than the subject. In these sentences, the body part suffix specifies the part of the *object's* body that the action is directed towards (13).

(13) *Transitive sentences with body part suffixes, person object:*

a. $l\bar{a}'mu\bar{x}$ $Eddiy\bar{x}$ $kusamd$ $\bar{x}u\bar{x}$
 $l(\bar{a}) = 'm = u\bar{x}$ $Eddie = (\bar{a})\bar{x}$ kus $-(g)am$ $-(x)'id$ $=\bar{x} = u\bar{x}$
 AUX =VER =D2 $Eddie = V2$ **shave** **-face** **-BEC** =ACC =D2
 $Bill\bar{x}$
 $Bill = (\bar{a})\bar{x}$
 $Bill = V2$
 'Eddie shaved **Bill's** face.' (20181127-MC VF)

b. $lu\bar{x}$ $Shelliy\bar{x}$ $digita$ $\bar{x}u\bar{x}$ $Simon\bar{x}$
 $l(\bar{a}) = u\bar{x}$ $Shelly = (\bar{a})\bar{x}$ day $-(g)it(a) = \bar{x}$ $=u\bar{x}$ $Simon = (\bar{a})\bar{x}$
 AUX =D2 $Shelly = V2$ **wipe** **-body** =ACC =D2 $Simon = V2$
 'Shelly wiped **Simon** down [after a bath].' (20181127-MC VF)

c. $tsugwilbux$ $Shelliy\bar{x}$ $Monica$
 $tsuxw$ $-ilba = u\bar{x}$ $Shelly = (\bar{a})\bar{x} = \bar{x}$ $Monica$
 $wash$ $-nose = D2$ $Shelly = V2 = ACC$ $Monica$
 'Shelly washed **Monica's** nose.' (20191205-RDC VF)

- d. $\text{t}'\text{su}\text{xw}\text{t}'\text{sanaux}$ Shelly x xus
 CV~ $\text{t}'\text{su}\text{xw}$ **-(x)t'sana** =u x Shelly =(a) x = x =u(')s
 RED~ **wash** **-hand** =D2 Shelly =V2 =ACC =2.POSS
 xwanukw Monica
 xwanukw Monica
 child Monica
 'Shelly is washing her child Monica's hands.' (20191205-RDC VF)
- e. lux Shelly $\text{t}'\text{su}\text{xwam}$ xux Simon x
 l(a) =u x Shelly CV~ $\text{t}'\text{su}\text{xw}$ **-(g)am** = x =u x Simon =(a) x
 AUX =D2 Shelly RED~ **wash** **-face** =ACC =D2 Simon =V2
 'Shelly washed Simon's face.' (20181127-MC VF)
- f. $\text{la}'\text{man}$ abamp $\text{t}'\text{su}\text{xwan}$ gaxan
 l(a) ='m =an abamp CV~ $\text{t}'\text{su}\text{xw}$ **-(k)'an** gaxan
 AUX =VER =1.POSS mother RED~ **wash** **-body** 1.OBJ
 'My mother washed me (my body).' (20140324-RDC VF)

A more literal translation of the sentences in (13) would be: 'Eddie face-shaved Bill' (13a), 'Shelly body-wiped Simon' (13b), 'Shelly nose-washed Monica' (13c), 'Shelly hand-washed her daughter, Monica' (13d), 'Shelly face-washed Simon' (13e), and 'My mother body-washed me' (13f). In these sentences, the body part that serves as the target of the action is only mentioned once, in the suffix on the verb.

The sentences in (14) show three alternative ways of using a transitive sentence to describe the same situation, where Shelly washes Monica's nose. In (14a), the verb lacks a body part suffix and 'Monica's nose' is the object; in (14b) the verb has a body part suffix and 'Monica' is the object; and in (14c), the verb has a body part suffix and 'Monica's nose' is the object. An analogous pattern is exemplified in (15), this time with the verb *kus-* 'to shave'.

(14) *Transitive sentences without (a) and with (b)–(c) body part suffixes: t'suxw-*

- a. $\text{t}'\text{su}\text{xw}'\text{idux}$ Shelly x xandzases **Monica**
 $\text{t}'\text{su}\text{xw}$ **-(x)'id** =u x Shelly =(a) x = x xandzas =s **Monica**
 wash **-BEC** =D2 Shelly =V2 =ACC **nose** =3.POSS **Monica**
 'Shelly washed **Monica's nose**.' (20191205-RDC VF)
- b. $\text{t}'\text{su}\text{gwil}'\text{bux}$ Shelly x **Monica**
 $\text{t}'\text{su}\text{xw}$ **-il'ba** =u x Shelly =(a) x = x **Monica**
 wash **-nose** =D2 Shelly =V2 =ACC **Monica**
 'Shelly washed **Monica's nose**.'
Literally: 'Shelly nose-washed Monica.' (20191205-RDC VF)
- c. $\text{t}'\text{su}\text{gwil}'\text{bux}$ Shelly x xandzases **Monica**
 $\text{t}'\text{su}\text{xw}$ **-il'ba** =u x Shelly =(a) x = x xandzas =s **Monica**
 wash **-nose** =D2 Shelly =V2 =ACC **nose** =3.POSS **Monica**
 'Shelly washed **Monica's nose**.'
Literally: 'Shelly nose-washed Monica's nose.' (20200614-JN JF)

do not take body parts as objects (Section 2), I would predict that they cannot take body part suffixes either.

5 Conclusion

Verbs describing body-directed actions in Kwakwala are broadly similar in their grammar. These verbs can all be used to construct both reflexive sentences and transitive sentences, with the caveat that *t'suxwa*, *t'suxw'id*, and *dix'id* require a body part suffix to form a reflexive that refers to a body-directed action. Table 3 summarizes the types of sentences encountered in this essay and classifies them into types.

Table 3: Summary of example sentences

Reflexive sentences	Example #s
Basic reflexive	1a, 1b, 1d, 1e, 9
Reflexive with body part suffix	1c, 11a, 11b, 11c, 11d, 11e, 11f, 16a, 16b
Transitive sentences	
Transitive + body part as object	2a, 3a, 3b, 4a, 4b, 14a, 15a
Transitive + non-subject person as object	2b, 2d, 2e, 10
Transitive with body part suffix + body part as object	12a, 12b, 14c, 15c
Transitive with body part suffix + non-subject person as object	2c, 13a, 13b, 13c, 13d, 13e, 13f, 14b, 15b

Reflexive sentences lack an object and receive an interpretation where the subject is directing the verbal action towards an implicit object. The implicit object in reflexive sentences always corresponds to the subject's body or a part of their body. Some verbs impose a default reading on an implicit object in reflexives while others do not, with context helping to shape the interpretation of implicit objects. Transitive sentences have an object marked in the accusative case and describe actions directed at this object. The object may correspond to the subject's own body or body part, or to the body or body part of a person distinct from the subject. Kwakwala does not mark the difference between reflexive and transitive sentences on the verb, differing from nearby Salish languages in this regard.

At least some body-directed action verbs can take suffixes referring to body parts. When present on the verb, body part suffixes specify the location on the body where the action of the verb is directed. In reflexive sentences this location is necessarily on the subject's body, while in transitive sentences, this location is on whichever body the object refers to. In transitive sentences, the target of the action can be specified by using an overt object, by using a body part suffix, or by using both devices simultaneously.

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Glossing Abbreviations

Gloss	Morphs	Notes
-		affix boundary
=		clitic boundary
~		reduplicant boundary
()		indicates a segment that is omitted in certain phonological environments
1.OBJ	<i>gax̣an</i>	first person singular object, accusative case (“me”)
1.POSS	= <i>an</i>	possessed by first person
2.POSS	= <i>u(‘)s</i>	possessed by second person
3.POSS	= <i>s</i>	possessed by third person
3.REFL.POSS	= <i>u(‘)s, =i(‘)s</i>	possessed by third person who is coreferent with the sentential subject or topic; = <i>u(‘)s</i> is used for medial referents, = <i>i(‘)s</i> is used for distal referents
A	- <i>a</i>	default stem-final vowel
ACC	= <i>x̣</i>	accusative case
ADD.FOC	= <i>x̣a</i>	additive focus

AUX	<i>l(a)</i>	auxiliary verb
BEC	<i>-x'id, -x'i, -'i, -'id, -d, -ud, -nd</i>	become operator, momentaneous aspect, inchoative
CV		a consonant followed by a vowel
CONT	<i>-(a)la</i>	continuative aspect
D2	<i>=ux</i>	third person medial deictic determiner (“this, close by”) (Nicholsen and Werle 2009)
D3	<i>=i</i>	third person distal deictic determiner (“that, over there”) (Nicholsen and Werle 2009)
D4	<i>=a</i>	existential deictic determiner (Black 2011)
DET	<i>=da</i>	determiner, ostensive marker
DIM	<i>=bidu</i>	diminutive
EMBED	<i>=a</i>	embedding vowel (Littell 2016:604–606)
FUT	<i>=tʰ</i>	future
NEG	<i>(k)ɨ's</i>	negation
NMLZ	<i>-am, =i'</i>	nominalizer
PREP	<i>la, k(a)</i>	preposition; <i>la</i> introduces locative arguments (“at”, “to”, “from”, etc.) while <i>k(a)</i> introduces causes, reasons, and purposes (“because”, “for”, “in order to”)
RED	<i>CV</i>	reduplication
REV	<i>-wqʰ, -uʰ</i>	reverse directional
VER	<i>= 'm, = 'am</i>	verum focus (Littell 2016)
V2	<i>=(a)x</i>	third person medial visible