

APPOSITION AND RELATIVIZATION IN KWAKWALA

Robert D. Levine
British Columbia Provincial Museum

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ABSTRACT: *Kwakwala possesses a set of constructions which appear analogous to English relatives. It is certainly possible to represent these constructions as arising from underlying sentences. Internal evidence suggests, however, that relatives are better described as nominal even in their underlying form, and are appositionally related to any nominal with which they are associated. The concept of apposition is not restricted in usefulness to relatives; arguments are given to demonstrate that subordinate constructions are also linked to their matrix sentences through apposition. The discourse function of subordinate forms vis-a-vis their morphological characteristics raises serious questions about the absolute validity of the lexical labels NP and S in Kwakwala grammar. These questions refer not merely to the well-known freedom of stems with respect to morphological frames but to whether or not the notions S, V and NP can be well-defined in a non-trivial way in Kwakwala. Some speculations are offered on the relation of these issues to Kwakwala historical development.*

Apposition and Relativization in Kwakwala¹

O. Students of Kwakwala, and of Northwestern languages generally, owe a debt to Franz Boas and George Hunt so great that it almost defies assessment. There is no lack of lip-service to the extraordinary quality of their contribution, but to fully appreciate the value of their work it is necessary to be aware of the difficulties one encounters in the fine details of analysis in Kwakwala. Boas is known for his programmatic statements on linguistic relativity, but unlike its earlier advocates he pursued this doctrine in writing grammars of a language whose structural plan, from the European's point of view, is forbiddingly remote and inaccessible.

There can be no doubt of the difficulty Boas faced. Serious work on Kwakwala had only been carried out by Hall, the Anglican missionary in Alert Bay from 1877 to 1910. In a letter from Alert Bay written in late summer of 1889 Boas wrote:

"Hall, the missionary here, was unfortunately very [?], a thing I could have guessed from his so-called grammar. I have stumbled upon a few problems which were very obvious but which he did not recognize during all the twelve years he has been here."

(Rohner, 1969, p. 112.) One such problem was the status of the person/deictic system, outlined below. A glance at Hall's grammar reveals only the haziest understanding of this system which so thoroughly pervades Kwakwala. Boas thus had no guide to the system, and was forced to work it out almost from scratch. Among other difficulties, he had to overcome the various false leads that Kwakwala presents in its deictic paradigms. These paradigms show considerable overlap in the formal shape of person

suffixes, and the separation of these suffixes into indicative, possessive and subordinate categories seems to me to represent one of the outstanding intellectual achievements of Amerindian linguistics. Of the work itself Boas comments,

"the language [Kwakwala] is terribly hard and complicated. The Chinook and Tsimshian are easy in comparison... the Kwakiutl is much harder than I thought. It is the first Indian language I have worked with which has irregular verbs, etc. and they are terribly difficult to handle... I think it is even harder than Eskimo."

(Rohner 1969, pp. 248-251.)

In his 1911 sketch Boas observes that "since pronominal representatives of all nouns that form part of the sentence are used for expressing their syntactic relations, the discussion of the syntactic structure of the sentence is essentially a discussion of the pronoun." (p. 527.) This of course represents a conception of the domain of syntax different from current ideas, and in this paper I offer some suggestions about Kwakwala syntax in terms of these more recent concerns. In particular, I propose in the discussion below that of the two competing transformational-generative models most widely invoked during the past decade--to which I will refer as transformationalist and lexicalist, respectively--only one seems compatible in a non-ad hoc way with the facts of Kwakwala relative formation.

The issue of models is important to the field linguist working with non-Indo-European languages who is unsure of how the meta-language of grammatical description is to be applied to the facts observed. Those theoreticians who opposed the movement in the late '60s and early '70 toward highly abstract underlying represent-

ations insisted on a much tighter parallelism between underlying and surface syntactic representation than the *Aspects* model had required (e. g., Chomsky 1970), a principle which has significant implications for the status of descriptive work in the Northwest. Northwestern languages often prove so refractory to the applications of certain metatheoretical concepts--particularly those arising from transformationalist approaches--that syntactic formulations based on these concepts frequently seem devoid of empirical content. The fact that increasingly researchers rely on lexical relations rather than transformations to capture generalizations about the behavior of related constructions means that we no longer have to treat such constructions as arising from identical or nearly identical sources simply because they *are* in some sense related.

In this context, I hope to show that the label "relativization," while convenient, is not fully appropriate to the description of a class of constructions in Kwakwala which, on the basis of their English translations, do appear to correspond to English relative clauses. I shall also suggest that neither "passivization" nor "topicalization" are appropriate descriptions of a type of relation between sentences which elsewhere has been designated by one or both of these rubrics. An apparent connection between these two types of construction requires explanation and makes it necessary to discuss them together.

1. Kwakwala, and Wakashan generally, belongs to the southern

typological sub-area within the Northwest which also includes Chemakuan, Salishan and to some extent Tsimshian. The characterization VSO is not entirely appropriate for a number of these languages, though it is frequently given. In the case of Kwakwaka the correct formula is VSX, where X is a non-subject constituent, indicating that there is some freedom in the arrangement of these constituents.

Sentence constituents belong to one of three morphological classes whose membership can, for the most part, be precisely defined in terms of both syntagmatic and inflectional possibilities. These classes are *stems*, *auxiliaries* and *particles*; the latter appear to derive historically from stems. Inflection is marked by either suffixation or, in the case of particles, quasi-suffixal treatment akin to the appearance of final -m on English object pronouns. Stems are morphemes or morpheme sequences which permit suffixation referring to subject noun phrases. Auxiliaries do not permit such suffixation, but do take tense and person markers and invariably precede the stems with which they form constituents. Auxiliaries have very restricted derivational suffixation compared with stems. Particles do not take tense or derivational suffixation; they usually precede stems, forming constituents which I will refer to as NPs on the basis of the case marking function of the particles.

The major grammatical constituents of the sentence are

inflected according to criteria of discourse centrality (primary or non-primary), mediated or unmediated status, visibility, proximity and person. The distinction mediated/unmediated encompasses possessive and foregrounding constructions; the traditional division between indicative and possessive classes of suffixes does not take sufficient account of the wide range of grammatical contexts in which mediated inflection occurs. Some of these contexts will be described below. Discourse centrality is the parameter which separates what is usually described as nominal inflection from predicate inflection and which also separates subordinate from non-subordinate constructions. The advantage of the notion of discourse centrality is that it helps account for the fact that certain constructions in Kwakwaka appear to have *simultaneously* nominal and sentential force (see below, Sec. 6.)

Proximity is defined with respect to the speech situation: near the speaker, near the hearer(s), near neither. However, there is some evidence that proximity may be defined not only according to the deixis of the actual speech situation but also with respect to the subject of the sentence vis-à-vis other participants in the situation, at least in narrative discourse.

Person is defined according to the speech situation as speaker, hearer, other, speaker plus hearer, speaker plus other. The person markers referring to the latter two categories are possibly historically derived from collocation of the person marker for speaker (-jn) and, respectively, the person marker for hearer (-s) and the deictic suffix for other proximate to hearer (-ux^h) (see

Person Markers

	Subject	Object	Oblique
1st sg.	-ənə	unmarked	-ənə
2nd	-s	-uə	-us
3rd	unmarked	-q	-s
1st incl.	-əns	unmarked	-əns
excl.	-ənux ^w	unmarked	-ənux ^w

Deictic Markers (Third Person)

prox.	visible	Subject	Object	Oblique
1st	+	-k	-qək	-sək
	-	-ga	-xga	-sga
2nd	+	-ux ^w	-q ^w	-sux ^w
	-	-u?	-q ^w ~ -qu?	-su?
3rd	+	-iq	-q	-s
	-	-i?	-qi	-si

Deictic Markers (NPs)prox

1st	(-)gada	-xgada	-sgada
2nd	-ux ^w da	(-)x ^w a ~ -xux ^w da	(-)sux ^w
3rd	-ida	(-)xa	(-)sa

Postnominal Deictic Suffixesprox. visible

1st	+	-k
	-	-ga
2nd	+	-ix
	-	-ax ~ -a ^q
3rd	+	unmarked
	-	-a

Unmediated or
Fig. 1: Direct Reference

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<u>mediated by</u>	<u>prox</u>	<u>visible</u>	<u>verbal*</u>	<u>nominal</u>
1st singular	1st	+	-gən	-g + verbal oblique person
		-	-gən	-ga "
		+	-ən	-q "
	2nd	-		-q̇ "
		+	-ən	-φ "
		-		-a "
2nd	1st	+	-gas	-g "
		-		-ga "
		+	-us	-q "
	2nd	-		-q̇ "
		+	-is	-φ "
		-		-a "
1st incl	1st	+	-gens	-g "
		-		-ga "
		+	-əns	-q "
	2nd	-		-q̇ "
		+		-φ "
		-		-a "
excl	1st	+	-gənu _x ^w	-g "
		-		-ga "
		+	-ənu _x ^w	-q "
	2nd	-		-q̇ "
		+		-φ "
		-		-a "

Fig. 1: mediated status markers for
1st and 2nd person.

*An empty space in this column indicates
the same suffix as that given immediately
above.

Figure 1; the glottal stop Boas recorded for the first person exclusive category is variable, and the fricative, which he recorded as velar, is definitely uvular.)

Visibility is defined with respect to the speaker's ability to see something or someone in the situation referred to.

Synchronically, -da is always used in non-subordinate contexts to mark a subject NP in conjunction with preceding Stem-^{ga}_iux^v- (except in a very restricted set of contexts; see Boas 1911, p.543.) In contemporary Kwawala, the "postnominals" are formations which seem to exhibit concord with person suffixes in the predicate, but it seems likely that originally they represented stem-suffix constructions which became fixed in final position. In any case, the term "postnominal" is not an entirely appropriate label, since it implies that the forms to which postnominals are attached do not have predicative status. As I shall suggest below, subordinate constructions represent an instance in which the nominal/predicate and even nominal/sentential distinction is morphosyntactically untenable, and therefore a different sort of distinction is required to describe the situation.

2. One of the most typical Kwakwala predicate constructions consists of the sequence _v[Stem - ^{ga}_iux^v - da]_v NP. Following this construction there may be an NP following the first, with the form _{xa} NP or _{sa} NP; both may be present, depending on the syntactic possibilities of the verb. The immediately postverbal NP is identified as agent if the predicate is transitive; _{xa} NP designates the object and _{sa} NP an oblique constituent. (In all such statements I use

xa and sa to stand for their respective *series* of particles.)

Usually there is no difficulty in eliciting two other sentence types related to the one just described according to the following pattern:

- (1) a. Stem-deictic-da NP₁ xa NP₂ sa NP₃

nəpid-i-da gənanəm xa guk^w sa t̥isəm

throw-remote-da child obj house obl rock

"The child hit the house with a rock (by throwing.)"

- b. Stem-su(?) -deictic-da NP₂ sa NP₁ sa NP₃

nəpid-su(?) -i-da guk^w sa gənanəm sa t̥isəm

throw-su(?) -remote-da house obl child obl rock

"The house was hit by a rock (thrown by) the child."

- c. Stem-ayu-deictic NP₃ xa NP₂ sa NP₁

nəpid-ayu-i-da t̥isəm xa guk^w sa gənanəm

throw-ayu-remote-da rock obj house obl child

"The rock was what the child threw at the house."

The use of -su(?) and -ayu permits the topicalization--that is, the apparent promotion to subject status--of xa and sa NPs. The term "topicalization" seems clearly preferable to "passivization" because the type of construction represented by (c) is hardly a candidate for the designation "passive," and (c) and (b) are morphologically parallel and therefore ought to be approached as much as possible as instances of a single phenomenon. -ayu, moreover, also is used to produce instrumental NPs with the form stem - ayu.

This productive possibility of -ayu suggests that there is a certain derivational character to the use of these suffixes, which I prefer to label "focus" elements. -su(?) and -ayu seem to occur in a spectrum of focus affixation, which includes suffixes whose derivational character is quite clear. In the case of -əm, which seems to add the meaning "that which is the source or cause of---" to stems, the patterning of constituents is much the same as in the case of -ayu, with one obvious difference:

(2) a. kəʔəlida ɡənanəma sa bəɡʷanəm

"The child is afraid of that man."

kəʔ-l-i-da ɡənanəm sa bəɡʷanəm

be afraid of-con-remote-da child sa man

b. kəʔəmida bəɡʷanəma ɣa ɡənanəm

"The man frightens that child."

kəʔ-əm-i-da bəɡʷanəm ɣa ɡənanəm

be afraid of -source -remote -da man ɣa child

The use of -əm permits what would otherwise be a sa NP to appear as subject but, unlike -ayu, requires that the NP which is subject following a predicate with the shape $V[Stem]_V$ be preceded by ɣa, as in the above example, when the predicate is $V[Stem-əm]_V$. -əm has a very narrow distribution, applying only to a limited range of stems with meanings like "be afraid of," "be surprised at" and so on. In general, then, -əm exhibits a distinctly derivation type of co-occurrence pattern.

Thus, while definitive evidence on the point is not yet available, there is some reason to think that topicalization, or focus-shifting, is an essentially *lexical* process, by which predicates are created which impose a certain case interpretation on their subjects and on other NPs associated with the clause. We may gloss -ayu as "means of," on the basis of its use as both a predicate formant and as a nominal formant, and in parallel fashion we may assign the gloss "goal of" to -su(?). It is worth noting that -ayu and -su(?) themselves exhibit between them the continuum-nature of focus affixation. On the one hand, -su(?) is far more general syntactically than -ayu in that it can be used to topicalize any NP preceded by xa, while -ayu can only topicalize non-agentive NPs. On the other hand, -su(?) is restricted to predicates of action or condition; -t must be used for xa-focus when the predicate refers to the senses or to some mental function such as knowing.

It is worth pointing out that a foregrounding process superficially similar to topicalization exists in Kwakwala: in both cases constituents are moved to the left. Foregrounding, however, involves selection of a constituent for special emphasis and assignment of verb status to this constituent through the use of mediated status suffixes. Thus note the parallelism of (3) and (4):

(3) ʔəxqʉs ʔəmpaqʉs

"Your father is sick."

ʔəxqʉ-us ʔəmp-q-us

sick-your (hearer prox/vis) father-hearer prox/vis-hearer obl

(4) čik^wus doG^wjaqus

"It's a gull you see."

čik^w-us doq^w-ž-q-us

gull-your (hearer prox/vis) see-goal focus-hearer prox/vis-hearer obl

The gloss "your" in (3) and (4) is convenient, but a more accurate interpretation would be "second person mediates between verb and subject." The association of both possessive and agent/experiencer meanings is characteristic of the morphology of both verbs and NPs; depending upon grammatical context, the nature of this mediation involves either possession or participation, a situation which, as W. S. Allen has illustrated, is not at all uncommon amongst the world's languages (Allen 1964.) It is particularly significant in this light that the possessive suffixation following the deictic elements in NPs is, as indicated in Fig. 1, identical with the oblique person markers in the verb, since the oblique case refers to non-objects and is frequently used to specify the agent in topicalized constructions.

3. In the following discussion I use the term "relative" rather than "relative clause" for reasons which will become evident. Constructions containing relatives appear to be analogous to English relative constructions in which the relative pronoun is absent, as in "I saw the man John plays cards with:"

(5) doq^wɔlənɬa ɬa bog^wanəm hɔpidaʔs sa tɪsəm

"I saw the man who threw the rock."

doq^w-l-ɔnɬ ɬa bog^wanəm hɔp-xʔid-aʔs sa tɪsəm

see-experience-I obj man throw-transition-third per obl rock

Phrases such as hɔpid(-aʔs) sa tɪsəm are generally used following

an.NP, as in example (5). However, they also appear as NPs themselves, with no preceding NP. NPs appear within clauses as subject, object, oblique and/or indirect constituents. For each of these statuses there is a construction in which stem (-focus) (-mediated) appears positionally and morphologically as an NP:

(6) a. qolkux^wda məxʔidix

"The one who hit it is tired."

qolk-ux^w-da məx-xʔid-x

be tired-prox-da hit-transition-proximate

b. doq^wɔlonla x^wa məxʔid(sow)ix

"I see the one who (got) hit."

doq^w-l-ɔnla x^wa məx-xʔid (-suʔ)-x

see-experience-I obj (hearer prox) hit-transition-
(goal focus)-prox

c. ʔoswənla sa məxʔidsu

"I was given (it) by the one who was hit."

ʔo-suʔ(-ɔnla sa məx-xʔid-suʔ)

give-goal focus-I obl hit-transition-goal focus

d. ʔowonla sa gəldas lax^wa məxʔidsowix

"I gave the box to the one who got hit."

ʔo-ɔnla sa gəldas lax^wa məx-xʔid-suʔ(-x)

give-I obl box indirect (hearer prox) hit-transition-
goal focus-proximate

There are some other important clues to the proper description of Kwakwala relatives. In the first place, and most obviously, there are no sentential markers in relative constructions. In the second place, the forms used to refer to a past setting for the

relative is not the normal past suffix -xd but the form -xde, which Boas glosses as "transition from present to the past, or rather from existence to non-existence." (Boas 1911, p. 486.) The resemblance between the two suffixes is somewhat misleading, for at the time of Boas' early work the ordinary past tense suffix seems to have had the shape -x?id, identical with the transitional aspect suffix. The reason for Boas' emendation of the first part of his gloss may be due to the universally nominal character of the formations produced by the use of -xde: *gol* "first," *golxde* "what had been first;" *xəsała* "disappear," *xəsałaxde* "one who had disappeared and was no more heard," and so on. There is thus considerable significance in the fact that (NP) stem (-focus) receives -xde rather than -xd as "tense" inflection.

4. To the best of my knowledge, Stephen Anderson was the first to note an important property of Kwakwaka relative formations which sheds light on the status of the grammatical description of the relative vis-à-vis an immediately preceding NP. Note that one can say

(7) *hi?əm bogʷanəm məx?idsewa?s sa čədaq*

"That is the man the woman hit."

hi-?əm bogʷanəm məx-x?id-su?-a?s sa čədaq

distal-old information man hit-transition-goal focus-third per obl woman

but not

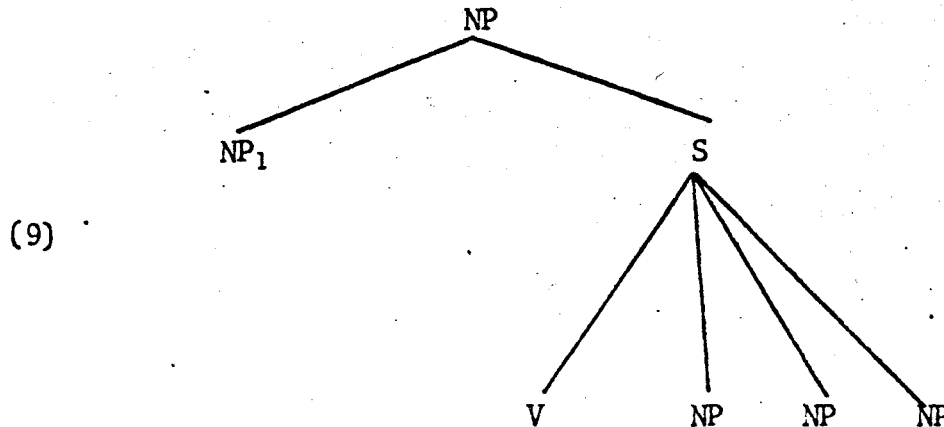
(8) **hi?əm bogʷanəm məx?idida čədaq (xə)*

The second form would be formally comparable to English "That's the man the woman hit," while the first sentence is analogous to "That's the man hit by the woman." One could summarize the pattern illustrated in (7)-(8)--which applies to topicalization with -ayu and other suffixes as well as to -su(?)--as a constraint permitting only subjects to be moved out of lower Ss under relativization. This characterization of the pattern in question presupposes a process of relativization comparable to that usually proposed for English, involving deletion of an NP in a lower S just in case this NP is coreferential with the NP with which this lower S forms a constituent, or some variant of this rule, such as replacement of the lower NP by a wh-form.

The constraint accounting for (7) and (8) as formulated above accounts for the data, but doesn't tell us very much. It does not explain the fact that the form of the relative clause after various "clean-up" transformations have applied is precisely the same as the form of a constituent which has a nominal distribution. We could account for this resemblance by supposing that the relatives in (6) are actually clauses attached to an unspecified higher NP which is then obligatorily deleted, leaving the postnominal deictic marking free to "float" onto the relative stem. This further assumption would also impose an ordering: deletion of the unspecified NP must precede the rule by which deictic suffixes are attached to stems.

Arguments of this sort are often unsatisfying because of ad hoc

devices, such as the unspecified NP just alluded to, which must be introduced, to make the analysis work. In this instance we can go beyond such general arguments and show why a structure such as (9) is empirically unsatisfactory as a way of generating Kwakwala relatives:



where relativization can only occur when the NP coreferential with NP₁ is the subject of S. Consider the following sentences:

(10) a. hi[?]əm G^wigilasa[?]s sa bəg^wanəm

"That's what the man did."

hi-[?]əm G^wi-gil-as-a[?]s sa bəg^wanəm

distal-old information identity-do-der suf-third per obl man

b. ɬəɬəlamənəx G^wi[?]stəwasa[?]s sa goldas

"I know the color that that box is."

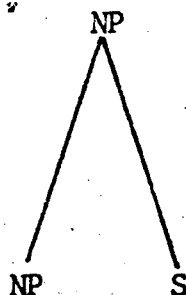
ɬəɬ-l-a-[?]əm-ənəx x G^wi-[?]stu-as-a[?]s sa goldas

know-experience-lex-old in-I.obj identity-color-der suf-third per

corresponds to "it" in "He did X to it." Thus there is no structure $S[{}_V[G^{wi-x?id}_{gil}-X]{}_V NP_1 \dots n]_S$ in which an NP_i exists which could be coreferential with some abstract or unspecified NP outside this structure representing the product or outcome of the action. Obviously, then, (9) cannot be the source of (11). Therefore it appears that at least one class of forms exists which requires a different treatment from those which *are* compatible with the transformationalist approach, and if the solution which fits this special class also fits the rest of the data, then it seems preferable to the transformationalist solution, all other things being equal.

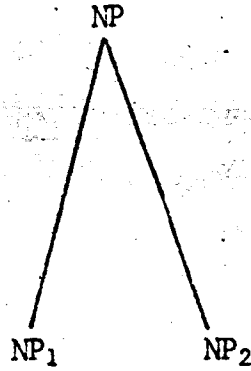
I suggest that we can account for the apparent subject specificity of relative formation in a less ad hoc way than the transformationalist version provides if we accept the description of relatives as NPs at some level. The issue of whether or not NPs can have subjects is not pertinent here, because there is no evidence, as far as I am aware, that transformations are required to account for similar NPs. The arguments in the preceding paragraph, moreover, seem to suggest that in at least some cases one cannot derive NPs from underlying Ss. The relative construction will not, therefore, be described as

(12)



but rather as

(13)



or something similar. There is no subject in NP₂; hence there is nothing to be raised and/or deleted. NP₂ is connected *appositionally* to NP₁ and the shape of the stem in the former identifies the preceding NP as means, goal or agent. Hence it is natural that (8) is ungrammatical, since the constituent following the first NP cannot apply appositionally. This solution is completely compatible with the distributional and morphological evidence for the status of NP₂ which has already been alluded to and with the derivational character of focus suffixation. The latter consideration makes the label "topicalization" somewhat infelicitous, since it suggest movement of NPs out of some original order, and the terms should therefore be restricted to identifying a particular word-building process utilizing focus suffixes to create predicate forms.

Is it in fact realistic to identify stem (-focus) as NP? At least one fact of Kwakwala makes this uncertain. A rule exists to the effect that independent object markers must immediately follow the subject or an intervening *sa* NP. Thus one cannot say

(14) *čowi sa goldas kesəwa sis ʔompus gaxən

but rather

(15) ʔowi sa gɔldas gaʔon kesəwa sis ʔompus

"He gave me the box your father made."

ʔo-i sa gɔldas gaʔon ke-su(?) sis ʔomp-us

give-third per remote/invis obl box me carve-goal obl/hearer father-

If we insist on representing the full relative construction as (13), then (15) violates the A-over-A constraint, since a string dominated by a label NP is moved out of a string itself dominated by NP. One way around this difficulty would be to assume that NP₁ and NP₂ are *not* dominated by NP, but, say, directly by S. In other words, it may be that NP₁ and NP₂ do not form a constituent. On the whole, however, I am not convinced that NP is necessarily the proper label for such constituents at all.

5. To complete this review of arguments pertaining to relativization, it will prove useful to survey briefly some morphosyntactic properties of subordinate constructions in Kwakwaka. Boas distinguished two forms of subordination, *temporal* and *causal* (e.g., Boas 1911, p. 547), but it is obvious that the latter is distinguished from the former only by virtue of the stem with which the subordinate construction is associated. In causal subordination subordinated material is associated with the stem qa-, "in order to/because," which is not the case in temporal subordination. If we examine the structure of *embedded* subordinate material, such as

(16) ǰoʎ-lux^ugon ǰolkik

"He knows I'm tired."

ǰoʎ-l-ux^u-xgon ǰolk-ik

know-experience-third per-speaker sub tired-speaker sub

we observe that the verb/NP subordinate suffix pair, -xgon... -ik, is just what we encounter in causal and temporal subordination.

There is good reason to believe, then, that we have a single grammatical entity which we may, for the time being, label subordination generally, with the particular interpretation supplied by features of the context.

The actual relationship between ǰolkik and the verb in (16) is not obvious, because the morphological link between them, -xgon, is formally different from any of the case-marking particles or mediated-status suffixes, although there certain similarities to both. Two pieces of evidence strongly suggest, however, that ǰolkik is not the object of ǰoʎ-l- in (16).

In the first place, ǰolkik cannot appear as the predicate subject when $\sqrt{[ǰoʎ-l-]}$ is topicalized. There is no pair of sentences comparable to English "He knows that I am tired"/"That I am tired is known by him." Instead, one can say

(17) ǰoʎ-tixgon ǰolkik

"(It is) known I'm tired."

ǰoʎ-t-xgon ǰolk-ik

know-goal-speaker sub tired-speaker sub

Boas suggests that the \dot{x} in $-x\dot{g}\dot{e}n$ is related to the \dot{x} which forms the basis of object markers (Boas 1911, p. 547.) Both object and oblique particles have anaphoric functions corresponding to English "it." If, therefore, $q\dot{o}lkik$ is not the object in (16) but is related to the verb in some way analogous to "I'm tired" in English "He knows it, I'm tired," then the topicalized form of $q\dot{o}k-1$ will naturally give rise to a structure analogous to "It is known (by him), I'm tired."

Confirmation of this analysis may be found in a second Kwakwala paraphrase of (16) using a topicalized verb:

(18) $q\dot{o}l\dot{o}t\dot{e}n\lambda asa\ bax^w\dot{e}sax\dot{g}\dot{e}n\ q\dot{o}lkik$

"They know I'm tired."

$q\dot{o}k-t\dot{e}n\lambda\ sa\ bax^w\dot{e}s-x\dot{g}\dot{e}n\ q\dot{o}lkik$

know-goal-speaker obl people-speaker sub tired-speaker sub

There seems to be some preference for use of a plural third person subject form when an experience predicate is topicalized, a fact which lends further support to the description of topicalization as a lexical process. What is important about (18), however, is that not even the anaphoric "tag" which \dot{x} may provide for $q\dot{o}lkik$ is topicalized; instead first person is topicalized. The sense of (18) is something like "They know me, I'm tired." $-x\dot{g}\dot{e}n$ is no longer attached to the verb but to an oblique NP, $bax^w\dot{e}s$. Here there is no room, grammatically speaking, for an object NP, since the structure $S[_V[stem-focus-X] _V\ sa\ NP\ x\dot{a}\ NP] _S$ does not exist in Kwakwala.

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If we examine the unmarked correlate of (18),

(19) qo^helida bax^wes ga^xon^hax^hgon qelkik

"Everyone knows I'm tired."

qo^h-l-i-da bax^wes ga^xon^h-x^hgon qelkik

know-experience-third per prox/invis people me-speaker sub tired-speaker sub
we note that the first person object form ga^xon appears and the same remarks apply as those for (18): there are no clause or sentence structures in Kwakwala immediately dominated by the same S node which contain two object NPs. Hence it is clear that -x^hgon does not mark object NPs and that we probably need a different description of qelkik in (16)-(19). I suggest that -x^hgon is in fact a postclitic which establishes an appositional relationship between the subordinate material which follows it and the V NP₁... n which precedes it.

It is worth pointing out that this suggestion gains plausibility from the fact that gon exists as an independent possessive particle. It would be well beyond the scope of this paper to present an internal reconstruction of the person markers, but there is excellent evidence that g- was originally a stem with the meaning "in speaker's vicinity;" unlike other deictic elements this was an independent element which survives as such, in my opinion, in the stem ga^x- "come (toward speaker)." An original sequence *x^h g-on X, with x^h carrying out the anaphoric function alluded to earlier, would be structurally exactly parallel to the sort of construction one finds in

(20) los^wen^haxa sa goldas

"I was given the box."

ʔo-su(?) -ənɬ x sa ɡoldas

give-goal-I obj obl box

which is literally "I was given it, the box."

This line of reasoning, which is quite independent of that followed above in considering relative formation, provides a second instance in which apposition seems to be the most straightforward solution.

6. Apart from its significance for apposition as a grammatical relation in Kwakwaka, the subordinate construction bears directly on the issue, raised at the end of section 5, of the proper lexical label for relatives. There are two facts in particular which demand explanations: (1) there is a formal similarity between the morphological shape of NPs and the shape of subordinate constructions and (2) subordinate constructions can be used independently in discourse, functioning as sentences, despite this NP-like morphology and the absence of the verbal morphology which establishes links between verb and subject in the unmarked, non-subordinate sentences. It must be stressed that such subordinate sentences can be used in the total absence of any grammatically subordinate verbal context.

The morphological facts are fairly straightforward. The subordinate stem (e.g. qəlɬ- in the examples in section 6) takes suffixes which refer to the translation subject, as follows:

1st person: -ik
 -igen

2nd person -aʔaqs

3rd person -(ʔ)as (independent use) or -aʔi (appositional use)

As I have indicated elsewhere (Levine 1977), the status of the -i segment which appears in the first person forms is not clear. There is no question, however, that the rest of the first person morphology, -g and -g-ən, and the second person ending, -q-us, belong to the paradigm of nominal suffixation indicating *mediated status*. It is necessary to make this notion more specific. By mediation I mean a grammatical situation in which the link between a form and the rest of the sentence in which the form appears involves reference to some entity which is identified as in some sense *responsible* for that which the form denotes. Thus, in (3), there is evidence from subordinate constructions that ʔompus is the subject of ʔəxq-, because the postclitic which appears on the leftmost verb in parallel forms such as ʔəxqəlaʔasixs qəlkəʔən ʔomp "you know my father is tired" is -xs, which is appropriate for third person subjects. However, the relationship between ʔəxq- "sick" or qəlk- "tired" and the following NP is not made directly, but is as it were routed through first person. Thus the difference between ʔəlyakʔuxda gukʔix "The house is old" and ʔəlyakʔən gukʔ "My house is old" is that the link between gukʔ "house" and ʔəlys- "old/rotten" is mediated by first person in the latter case but is in some sense absolute in the former. That the nature of this mediation is not necessarily possession is shown in the phenomenon of foregrounding, exemplified by (4). It is quite clear that in (4) second person is not conceived as the *owner* of sight, but rather as the *experiencer* and, more generally, the locus or

origin of the event represented in the subject NP. The mediated status suffixes which show up in NPs are exactly parallel; they refer the NP to a participant who is either possessor or agent associated with the NP. As (4) shows, there is a redundancy in this process in Kwakwala, since both verb and NP call attention to the mediating participant, so that we can approximate (4) by $S[{}_V[\text{gull-via you}]_V {}_{NP}[\text{see-goal-via you}]_{NP}]$. Given what else is known about Kwakwala grammar, we should be inclined to find this redundancy suggestive of what may have been, or indeed still be, a somewhat looser connection between the verb and the following NP than at first appears. I have discussed this possibility elsewhere (Levine 1978) and can do no more in this context than suggest it for consideration.

Now, of the suffixal forms referring to person in the subordinate endings given above, all but the appositional form of the third person subordinate are identical to corresponding elements in the *nominal* mediated status paradigm. This certainly gives the subordinate stems an NP-like appearance, and Boas was of the opinion that such stems "must be considered nominal in their character." (Boas 1911, p. 547.) What is remarkable, then, is that these extremely NP-like forms can be used as independent sentence with no appositional relation to any preceding grammatical material. There is no way, even in such independent uses, to introduce an NP subject directly; one must use a construction such as:

(21) qəlkaʔas sa bəgʷanəm

"The man is tired."

qəl-k-a-ʔas sa bəgʷanəm

tired-sub-third per obl man

which is analogous to "he's tired, the man." Yet in spite of the evidently non-verbal character of subordinate stems, such stems have from the discourse point of view a fully sentential status.

We can combine this observation with one made earlier, that when one wishes to foreground a constituent one makes it the verb of a sentence. Foregrounding in general seems to be a process of special emphasis, underlining or in some sense marking a constituent as the primary information in a stretch of discourse. If, then, the verb in Kwakwala is the status assigned to the most central element in discourse, it is a corollary that non-verbal elements are non-central in some sense.

I suggest that the kinship between subordinate constructions and NPs in structural appearance arises from their common membership in the class of *discourse peripheral* constituents, while verbs represent the *discourse central* element in a sentence. But to some extent such a dichotomy breaks down the syntactic distinction between S and NP-like constituents, since now either type of constituent may be used independently if the discourse conditions are right. For example, if someone is sick and I try to coerce this person into going outside to shovel snow, someone else

may say simply

(22) ʔəxqəʔaʔs

"He's sick"

ʔəx-q-a-aʔs

sick-?-sub-third per

and this sentence will be taken as an objection to my attempts at coercion, even if nothing else is said. The reason is that (22) is a subordinate form, and is peripheral in the discourse context, part of which is unstated--in particular, quite possibly, the central fact of the discourse, that the sick person is someone I am trying to force outside. In other words, use of the subordinate indicates that the person who says (22) does not regard this information as most crucial for its own sake, but only salient because of the fact that it is inappropriate for a sick person to behave as I want him or her to. So the force of (22) is, "But (how can you make such demands?) he's sick." In sentences like (17) or (18), where the subordinate appears in explicit sentential context, the interpretation I have just offered is equally well motivated, because the crucial fact, in terms of the appositional status of the subordinate, is that "It is known by him," which is paired with the less significant itemization of *what* is known.

If the foregoing line of reasoning has any merit, we have to confront the issue posed by the use of labels such as NP and S in Kwakwala. The privilege of independent occurrence is still

an important criterion for assigning sentential status to stretches of discourse; "nominal" elements are not supposed to be able to constitute actual statements except under very restricted discourse conditions. The situation in Kwakwala discourse suggest that the distinction S/NP may not be the best, at least from certain points of view, for the description of the language. Naturally this has implications for the proper lexical labelling of relatives, but, obviously, is of tremendous significance for *all* aspects of grammatical description in Kwakwala.

7. It is impossible within the confines of a paper such as this one to explore subordinate constructions and the discourse central/peripheral distinction in any detail; I have considered these problems at greater length in Levine 1978. Among other matters I have attempted in this latter paper to consider the implications for synchronic Kwakwala morphosyntax of an at least partially clear evolution in the various person-marker paradigms. This evolution appears to have begun at an early stage with a set of independent stems whose meanings were connected to case or deixis. These stems gradually became frozen into particles and--possibly through the workings of rules for vowel epenthesis or deletion--into suffixal and postclitic elements which now dominate the person markers. The history of these processes is complex and much is obscure, but if the reconstruction of what are now case-marking particles and anaphoric suffixes as independent stems is

basically correct, then Kwakwaka at an earlier time did not have structures like $NP[particle[X]_{particle} NP]_{NP}$, but rather $Y[V[X]_V NP]_Y$. The earlier language would appear to have relied *extremely* heavily, perhaps exclusively, upon appositional relations amongst a number of constituents of this latter type, with each such constituent having the form V(erb) S(subject) and with a special morphology reserved for particularly important items--items which have become the sole morphosyntactic V of the modern language.

It is clear that this process of reinterpreting stems as particles has been going on for a long time, but one cannot help speculating on the role played by contact with Indo-European speakers in accelerating such developments. One of the most significant thrusts of contemporary work in Indo-European syntaxes is the body of evidence for a very heavy use of embedding as a feature of the base rules. In addition, such languages seem to require that a stretch of discourse contain at least one form with uniquely predicative morphology in order to qualify as a sentence. In the Northwest, where so many languages give the appearance of omitting either or both of these characteristic features, contact with English may well have resulted in a superficial convergence between English and native linguistic structures.

Certainly this has not been true in all cases. Within the

assimilated to Indo-European syntactic form in any significant way. Kwakwala, and perhaps Northern Wakashan generally, seems to have been pursuing its own particular line of grammatical evolution in a direction rather against the typological grain of the rest of the southern Northwest Coast.

It is inevitable that in a short paper such as this a large number of important points and ideas must be left undiscussed. There is currently a revival of interest in Kwakwala after many years of neglect, and scholars attempting to build on the superb foundation laid by Boas and Hunt will have to adapt many current concepts of grammatical structure to the extremely difficult problems posed by the details of Kwakwala syntax. The arguments given in this paper are offered as a tentative first step toward such an adaptation.

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