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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 adverbial 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, Clallam, 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 modals, since modal auxiliaries are the prime auxiliary category in English and German. However, 'auxiliary' is more than modal. At least four criteria should be considered in defining 'auxiliary':¹

- (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 marking 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.

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 propounded 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 transcribed 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 the morphemes in question are to be classed as auxiliaries (Gerdt's includes forms for 'come' and 'go' in Halkomelem, Beaumont excludes them for Sechelt, even though usage of them in the two languages appears similar); however, the facts of their usage overall is much more complex than can be discussed here. Examples to be given will exhibit typical cases of their use as auxiliaries; other examples can easily be found with these same morphemes in other positions in sentences, and possibly in other functions. Because third person subjects in sentences such as those given here would be zero, examples are given with non-third person subjects. Examples are given here for only a few of these other Salishan languages.

2.1. Halkomelem. One of the clearest cases can be made for Halkomelem, where "there are four auxiliaries in two classes; each occurs as a main verb as well" (Gerdt's 1988:22). These classes are (a) *ʔi* 'here (and now)' (cf. *ʔi* 'be located here') and *ni* 'there (and then)' (cf. *ni*? 'be located there'), and (b) *mʔi* 'come' (cf. *ʔəmʔi* 'come') and *nəmʔ* 'go' (cf. *nəmʔ* 'go'). Examples below are from my Field Methods class notes from 1975-76 (primarily Cowichan [Cw] dialect) and 1986-87 (primarily Musqueam [Ms] dialect).

- (1) *ʔi cən ʔiʔmix*. 'I am walking.' (Ms)
- (2) *ni ct ʔiməs*. 'We walked.' (Cw)
- (3) *mʔi cə-p ʔəwəstəx kʷqaʔ*. 'Bring some water! (pl.)' (Cw)
- (4) *nəmʔ cən (wəʔ) ʔəʔtən*. 'I'm going to eat now.' (Cw)

Gerdt's notes that "(a)uxiliaries are extremely frequent although not obligatory. . . . A predicate can contain an auxiliary from either class or one from each class. . ." (1988:23). However, Gerdt's 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)

The first two auxiliaries illustrated here, *ʔi* and *ni*, are extremely common, and occur in countless numbers of elicited sentences as well as in texts. *mʔi* 'come' and *nəmʔ* 'go' are much more likely to occur as true predicates than *ʔi* or *ni*.

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 *ʔi* 'fact (visible or invisible)' and *kʷu* 'fact (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) *ʔi cən xʷəxʷ ʔəw*. 'I got lost.' (1985:44)
- (6) *kʷu cən xʷəxʷ ʔəw*. 'You guessed it.' (1985:217)

Although Beaumont does not classify *cú* 'come' and *mí* '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 *mí* less readily so than *cú*.

- (7) *cú cən kʷáyát-cut*. 'I'm going away/leaving/getting out of the way.' (1985:212)

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 *ti*, and **c* has become *θ*. Because of this similarity, examples from Pentlatch may be given with no further commentary needed.

- (8) *ti cə lámənəx*. 'I find him again.'
- (9) *kʷu cə ʔuʔúnəx*. 'I invite him to come in.'
- (10) *θu cə ʔəwála ti smí*. 'I leave the country.'
- (11) *misi cə xʷi TúluK*. 'I shall return soon.'

These Pentlatch data are my retranscriptions of data found in Boas (1886, 1886a). (In this retranscription T and K represent indeterminate phonemes; they may be ejectives or not, velar or

uvular.)

2.4. **Squamish.** In Squamish, the relevant forms are not called auxiliaries in Kuipers' grammar; the only thing he gives that label is the *č*-element to which pronominal suffixes are added to create the set of subject clitics *čn*, *čx*, *čt*, and *ča*(*yap*) (he derives this element from the root *ča*(?) 'do, act, make'; 1967:223-224). However, this *č*-would not qualify as an auxiliary under the criteria given above. Instead, one can find appropriate likely candidates among his various predicative clitics, especially those labelled deictic and directional (and possibly others):² *ʔi* 'here-now' (1967:157,208), *m*(*ʔi*) 'come' (1967:161-162,207), *nam*(*ʔ*) 'go' (1967:161-162,207).

(12) *ʔi čn wa yəlxətálm* 'I am looking for something to eat' (1967:208)

(13) *mi čx sət-šit-c* 'give it to me!' (1967:162)

(14) *nam ʔu čx tų* '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 *ʔi* in its usage.

2.5. **Thompson (nfe?kepmxcín).** Thompson and Thompson (1992) also cite a category of auxiliaries in Thompson:

Another expansion of predicates involves AUXILIARIES, which add modal-aspectual notions. A few words occur only in this function: *//čú//* 'somewhat, in limited fashion, a little more'. . . *//k'eʔzut//* 'unless, (waiting) until', *//wék'è//* 'almost', *//yəč'ux//* 'just now, immediate PAST'. But the most common AUXILIARIES are major words adapted to this use with specialized meanings. One, *//k'ú//* '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: *//k'ek//* 'arrive; continue on: CONTINUE (doing something), persevere'. . . , *//nés//* 'depart, go toward: INCIPIENT'. . . , *//(w)ʔex//* (often shortened) 'exist, be located, reside, stay: persistent, progressive, ACTUAL'. . . (sometimes 'habitual' or 'frequentative'), *//nə/wén//* 'old, aged, former(ly), long ago: perfective, completive, already', *//čímè//* 'be first, be the first time, make a beginning: first, at first, in the beginning, begin to..., incipient', *//kémè//* 'be last, the last one, the only remaining one: last, at last, only'. (1992:31.3)³

Many of these glosses are clearly adverbial notions, however, and quite different from what occurs in Halkomelem, Sechelt, Pentlatch, and Squamish. Why, then, call them auxiliaries? The answer is because some do have clear modal-aspectual reference and because of their syntax: "When first, they take the pronominal enclitics, and often other elements as well" (1992:31.3). This distinguishes them from forms that the Thompsons wish to consider (true) adverbs, a category limited to a few words; only *x'ú/ce?* 'again', *ʔé-í* 'now', and *pew(č)l* '(if one does s.t. there will be) adverse effects' are cited (1992:33.41). However, the "auxiliaries" do *not* always occur initially in a clause, and a difference in implication can be detected when they occur later: "Auxiliaries, one per predicate, appear either before or after the predicate head. When they follow they are slightly more emphatic." (1992:31.3). The ways these two groups of morphemes (auxiliaries and adverbs) are used are clearly different, and a terminological distinction does need to be made. I will make no attempt to resolve any of the problems here. However, at least *some* of the forms called auxiliary fit that category better than others. In particular, (we)?ex often functions in a true auxiliary-like

² It is not my intent to reanalyze the function of these Squamish clitics here, only to demonstrate that some of them can be seen to be auxiliaries in the sense the term is being used here. My selection of morphemes for reinterpretation as auxiliaries may prove to be wrong, and others may qualify as well or instead. Kuipers gives several examples where these "auxiliaries" occur after subject clitics, as well as before, making their classification even more complicated.

³ Quotations from Thompson are from a pre-publication version of Thompson and Thompson 1992, hence section numbers are given rather than page numbers.

fashion, and indicates imperfective aspect when it does.

(15) *(w)éx kt méwe-me* 'we are gossiping' (*v/méw* 'gossip')

Two others, *x'ú/* and *nés*, may also be closer to Halkomelem auxiliaries in function than the others listed by the Thompsons.

(16) *x'ú/ k' n' nés* 'will you go?'

(17) *nés k' n' táxi* 'are you getting cold?'

All the others in this groups may be seen as similar in distribution and meaning to the Upper Chehalis forms to be described below.

(18) *yč'ux kn k'ət séw-tn* 'I just now inquired (about it)'

I do not mean to imply here that I think the Thompsons' description of Thompson is wrong, only that there may be other ways to view the situation in regard to these types of morphemes. Furthermore, it is clear that the various Salishan languages do not treat them all in the same way, nor do precisely the same categories exist in all the languages.

2.6. **Lillooet.** Van Eijk (1985) also identifies categories of both auxiliary and adverb, and for much the same reasons as the Thompsons have done for Thompson. According to van Eijk, "[v]irtually every intransitive stem that is temporal, aspectual, or modal in character may be used as an auxiliary" (1985:178). 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"), *kóla?* "first" (as auxiliary: "very"), *stəx* "true, real" (as auxiliary: "truly, really, very"), *huz* "to be about to do smt.", *wa?* "to be (busy with, involved in)", *k'ak* "to go along" (as auxiliary: "keep going at it, to get ..er"), *n'as* "to go", *k'iq* "to arrive (here)", *cix* "to arrive (there)", *c'as* "to come" (as auxiliary: see *k'ak*), *papt* "always", *cáma* "to do smt. with effort" (usually *cáma* *x'u?* . . .), *ʔálas* "really, very", *ʔilpaʔt* "barely, just about", *páwəf* "finally", *tqit* "almost" (usually *tqit* *x'u?*). We also have two conjunctions which function as auxiliaries: *zámas* *x'u?* "but", *más* *x'u?* "but". (1985:266)

About adverbs van Eijk says, "Full word adverbs usually appear after the first word in a sentence, like adverbial enclitics. . . . However, unlike the enclitics, they do not enter into one stress-unit with the word they follow, but they retain their own stress. Semantically, full word adverbs are about as heterogeneous as the adverbial enclitics, expressing modal or temporal-aspectual notions" (1985:213). He then goes on to identify and illustrate the following adverbs: *múta?* "again", *séna?* "unfulfilled", *núk'un* "again", *nuk'ʔ* "(not) a bit", *k'it* "also, too", *kaʔt* "for a while, once more, again", *zam* "after all, as things are now, as things turned out to be", and *ʔayt* "next, this time, and then" (the last also "used as an auxiliary"; 1985:216). There is clearly overlap in these classes.

2.7. **Spokane.** Carlson (1972) identifies six words as auxiliaries in Spokane, because "although they occurred where predicative words do in a compound sentence, they did not, in addition, serve as predicates in simple sentences" (1972:70). However, unlike regular predicates, they "do not occur with the particles associated with full word predicates" (1972:67). The forms he lists are *təʔé* 'it's here', *tšé?* 'it's there', *ʔaxi* 'finally', *čəmíš* 'only', *xíən'é* 'almost', and *níʔap* 'still, yet'.

2.8. **Clallam.** Another instance where forms like Thompson *//wék'è//* 'almost', *//yəč'ux//* 'just now, immediate past', etc. are called auxiliaries is for Clallam in Poggi (1981). The arguments are much like those given above for Thompson: Poggi remarks that the "pattern of sentences with auxiliaries is: Auxiliary phrase Predicate (Argument) (Oblique argument)" (1981:63). Among her features distinguishing these predicates are (1) "(a)n auxiliary precedes an open-class predicative . . . and bears the enclitics which regularly appear on open class predicatives in sentences without auxiliaries", (2) "(a)n auxiliary does not bear affixes(:) (t)hese are carried by the open-class predicative which follows", (3) "(a)n auxiliary will not occur followed by either a predicate closing demonstrative or an argument without an intervening open-class predicative", and (4) "(a)n auxiliary will not stand alone as a complete sentence" (1981:64). She recognizes three auxiliaries: *mán* 'very', *ʔəhá* 'not yet', and *čúʔín?* 'even'.

(19) mán' ?u cx' ?u? x'á?əm ?ə čì 'álúm'. 'Are you awfully (very) hungry for smoked salmon?' (1981:64)

(20) ?u ?əha? cən c táyəŋ ?ə čì stúq'əŋ. 'I haven't got over the cold yet.' (1981:64)

(21) ču'ín' cx' yu? qí'nú'ŋət. 'Even you are made at me.' (1981:65)
Poggi also discusses a "possible fourth auxiliary k'áy(?)" 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 mán', ?əhá, and ču'ín' (22 below), as well as being an open-class predicate (23 below).

(22) k'áy (?)u cx' ?u? x'čít. 'Do you know too?'

(23) k'áy?-tə u? sx'k'áq't. 'Leave it open.'

In (23), inflection occurs on k'áy?, 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: ?án 'very, too much', ?á? 'if, yás 'always', k'é? 'again', mák' 'all, every', hís 'a long time', and č'éyn 'straight, all right, very'. All of these attract the subject clitic, so that it follows them rather than the ensuing main predicate. Montler (1986) lists no such class for Saanich. 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: təwə 'still, yet' and ?í?wəwə 'perhaps, maybe'. Neither attracts the subject clitic, though, so there is no reason to consider them auxiliaries. Although Raffo (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 adverbial (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'el 'also' in Lummi, and labels it 'adverb'. Leslie (1979:137-143) lists k'e? 'also, too', yaθ 'always, often', k'im 'very much so', nan 'very much so', ta?x' 'soon', and mək' 'all, every, both' as adverbs in Cowichan. Hess (1976) and Hess and Hilbert (1975-77) give as Lushootseed adverbs cick' 'very' (Northern), cay 'very' (Southern), day? 'very, really, especially' (Snohomish, Sauk), dá?x' 'just now', didí? 'still', (hə)lá?b 'really, very', híqab/hí?áb '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 Clallam 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 descriptions of other Salishan languages: about to, again, all, all right, almost, already, also, always, arrive, at first, at last, barely, be (busy with, involved in), begin, both, but, come, do with effort, even, every, finally, first, formerly, frequentative, go, going to, habitual, if, incipient, it's here, it's there, just now, just about, keep going at it, last, a little more, long ago, long time, not yet, often, only, persist, really, somewhat, soon, still, straight, to get .er, too, too much, truly, until, very, very much so, will, yet. As will be seen, these match very well the kinds of meanings of the Upper Chehalis forms to be discussed directly. In addition to these adverb-like morphemes, all languages have several additional particles which serve a variety of functions, including many translated as adverbs, but which do seem to belong in a separate category; their positions tend to be much more fixed, and they are often enclitics rather than particles. They will not be discussed here.

3. Upper Chehalis. Upper Chehalis has several morphemes which are generally translated into English as adverbs, and which function in a number of different ways in sentences. Because each morpheme seems to have a somewhat different set of functions, I will discuss each morpheme separately, then make some generalizations about it. All examples are taken from the texts written down in 1927 by Franz Boas from Jonas Secena (this includes as primary source one enormous text taking up well over 200 of Boas' notebook pages). The morphemes that will be considered are the following (the numerals following each is the number of attestations of the morpheme in the Secena texts; the extreme variation in their frequency makes it difficult to say much about the functions of some and makes generalization somewhat tenuous): ?acú(y) 'after a while, when' (11), ?ám u 'unless, so, when' (45), ?amná 'sometimes, occasionally' (10), ?áy u 'just, good, properly' (104), ?ix'áq' 'enough' (6), č'ús 'always' (61), k'áq' 'well, let's!, better!, good, all right' (143), náx' (u) 'true, sure, like' (12), q'iniš 'even, thus' (2), q'wó-c- 'soon, almost' (38), táx' 'although' (17), waláš 'very' (13), xáwas 'at first' (202), xíwics 'very, hard' (78). There are five more morphemes with the same type of meanings; however, they seem to be more strongly predicative: k'wáp 'right, very, straight, real' (30), q'ic 'thus, so' (56), né-č (u) 'like, seem' (22), siw 'too' (37), x'wáq' (u) 'all' (94). Three more such morphemes have so few attestations that they are not yet classifiable: ?it 'go to, go into' (3), hýy 'then, well' (1), yaqs 'so that not' (1). Yet other such particles simply do not occur in the Secena texts (some are in texts in the upriver dialect); brief reference will be made to these in 3.2.

I have so far avoided calling these morphemes either particles or predicates. In fact, most of them can be either one; furthermore, in spite of their adverbial meaning, many display a wide range of usage, from something that looks like an auxiliary (hence the 'pseudo-auxiliary' of my title), through adverbial particle to inflectible root. It is this great variation in the usage of these forms that leads to problems in their classification in Upper Chehalis, as well, I believe, as in other languages. They may not constitute a single class; for convenience, I will assume that they do, and will assign them the label QA, which can be interpreted either as 'quasi-auxiliary' or 'quasi-adverb', reflecting their ambiguous status.

The principal uses of QAs in Upper Chehalis seem to be the following, although not all QAs are attested in all usages, and some may not be allowed in more than a few of them:

(1) All but three of the QAs (q'iniš, q'wó-c-, yaqs) are attested in the Secena texts in clause initial position followed by a subject clitic, with the main predicate following this. This is the expected auxiliary position (which is not to say that QAs are auxiliaries). Since the perfective aspect third person subject is zero, clauses with a third person singular subject do not demonstrate this auxiliary-like function clearly, and examples with overt (i.e. third plural or first or second person) subject marking will always be given for this type of clause. However, there is great variation as to where the subject clitic will occur; except for k'áq' and xáwas, examples are about evenly divided between sentences with the subject marker immediately following a QA and those where it follows the main predicate. There are even a few cases where it occurs in both places.

(2) In many cases where the QA is initial, the subject clitic may follow the main predicate, or there may be no overt subject marker at all, because third person is often zero (all imperfective aspect third person subjects are indicated by a suffixed -n; because this suffix, as well as other imperfective subjects, is bound to the predicate, it cannot shift to a preposed QA, which cannot be inflected). When there is an initial QA, it does not seem to matter whether the main predicate is transitive or

⁴ The particle (?)u(?) which follows several of the PAs means something like 'still, yet, as soon as', but is really so non-specific that it is usually best left untranslated; in these collocations I consider the gloss given to apply to the PA + u as a whole.

⁵ Perfective 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.⁶ 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 *ʔacúy*, *ʔamná*, *ʔit*, *húy*, *táxʷl*, *waláš*, or *yaqs*, although none of these occurs often.

(4) There are also several cases of an initial QA followed by a dependent clause without possessive marking; at least *ʔám u*, *ʔáy u*, *q'íc'*, and *q'wó-c-* 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.

(5) An initial QA is often followed by a preposition introducing a subordinate clause. Once again these QAs may be main predicates. Occurrences are found following *ʔamná*, *ʔám u*, *ʔáy u*, *ʔik'áqʷ*, *ʔit*, *k'áqʷ*, *né-t*, *q'íc'*, and *q'wó-c-*.

(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 *ʔáy u*, *č'ús*, *k'wép*, *náxʷt*, *síw*, *waláš*, *xáwas*, *xíwics*, and *x'wáqʷ* 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 instances of two consecutive 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 *ʔamná*, *ʔám u*, *ʔáy u*, *k'áqʷ*, *q'íc'*, *síw*, *táxʷl*, *xáwas* and *xíwics* 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 inflection.

(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 *č'ús*, *k'áqʷ*, *né-t*, *q'wó-c-*, *xáwas*, *xíwics*, and *x'wáqʷ*.

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.

⁶ 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.

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. ʔacú(y) 'after a while, when' (11). Of all the QAs for which there is more than one attestation, only *ʔacú(y)* 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 *x'a*, and all the others by *t* 'unrealized aspect', which indicates future as well.⁷

(24) *ʔacúy čt t ʔit ʔáys sáʔ-n q'íc'x u t ta s-sáʔ-s.*

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.'

(25) *ʔacwi č t t pút-n.*

QA you/sg UNR INDEF know-3Obj

'After a while you will find out.'

(26) *ʔacú čap x'a ʔac-ʔáx-ni-tm t t k'wúy-ap.*

QA you/pl FUT ST-see-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.

(27) *ʔacú čn t tit č'is.*

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 *ʔacúy*, *ʔacúwi*, *acwi*, or *ʔacú*; twice a variant *ʔacúť* occurs.

(28) *ʔacúť čn t tit č'is-mi-ci.*

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 *ʔacúy* and *ʔacúť*.

Although this QA does not occur often, it is remarkably consistent. Because all examples show

⁷ Sentences taken from the Secena story *x'wənc'wəné* and Crane are designated X&C, those from *x'wənc'wəné* and Witch are X&W, and those from *x'wəni* and Rocks are X&R. The majority are from the long cycle of *x'wənc'wəné* stories, and are not labelled. The change in the name of *x'wənc'wəné* to *x'wəni* in *x'wəni* and Rocks is unexplained. One possibility is that it was not told by Secena; the notebooks do not make 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/descriptive, AUT autonomous, CAUS causative, COP copula, DEF definite article, DETR detransitive, DF definite, FUT future, HAB habitual, IMPER imperative, IMPF imperfective aspect, INCH inchoative, IND indirective, 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-auxiliary/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 -n-, -t-, -t-, -w-, as well as some cases of prefixed *s-* when its specific role is unclear, are given as such in morpheme-by-morpheme gloss lines.

3.1.2. *ʰáqʷ* 'well!, let's!, better!, good, all right' (143). The meaning of *ʰáqʷ* was probably originally 'good', although in Upper Chehalis it has become somewhat of an all-purpose exhortative. Subject clitics occur fairly freely either after *ʰáqʷ* (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:

- 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 six sentences in the whole QA corpus with double subject marking have this QA:

- 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.

- 9

- There is a further, and much more serious, anomaly in sentences 35-37. Whereas in 33 and 34 the subject clitics agree in aspect (both are perfective forms), in 35-37 the first subject marker is perfective aspect and the second subject marker (a suffix this time) is imperfective aspect. Such a switch in aspect is totally unexpected. On the other hand, *ḵáqʷ* can be used as the head of a clause, although this can also be seen as a case of ellipsis:

- This sentence is quoted speech, and it is the entire utterance. It is in response to the other character in the scene, who says, 'Let's go to the burnt-over berry patch.'

(43) *ḵ'áq'* tanin sɣ'élmitstawt yá?čmš ɿ cáps̃.
QA now IMPF-take-1sgSubj to far-MDL
'I'd better take them far away now.'

(44) x'áq^{rw} tanin tú'ali-mit-stawt.
QA now start.out-MDL-1plSubj
'Let's start out now.' X&C

There are only four or five sentences with $\lambda'áq^{TW}$ followed by a possessed main predicate, one of which has two QAs.

- 10

- (48) X^{aq} $\text{x}^{\text{iwic}} \text{t}$?a-táptap-n. . .
 QA very INDEF 2sgPoss-tap-3Obj
 'Well, you tap hard. . .'

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 $\text{K}^{\text{w}} \text{ápt}$, 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 X^{aq} has in this sentence. In 46, ?ay X^{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 q^{at} and future clauses with X^{a} to have their subjects indicated by possessive affixes. It is not clear why the main predicate in 48 has possessive inflection.

X^{aq} is followed in four sentences by prepositional phrases:

- (49) ?it X^{aq} šat q^{at} s-páfuw-cš-i-s t nu $\text{t}^{\text{am}} \text{š}$
 PERF QA into MOD NOM-go-through-RFL-3Poss INDEF person
 'enough so a person can go through'
 (50) X^{aq} tu ?at t ?ac-?áxt= $\text{K}^{\text{w}} \text{lš}$ tu t túlap.
 QA of on INDEF ST-?=spirit.power for begin-3Poss
 'One who has spirit power had better be first.'
 (51) X^{aq} na šat ?ilápa.
 QA Q to you/pl
 'Was it good for you?' X&C
 (52) X^{aq} šat t čús ?ó· n- X^{a} s-?áyšni-ci.
 QA to INDEF always oh 1sgPoss NOM-accompany-2sgObj
 'Well, oh, I'll go along with you forever.' X&W

In the first of these, the preposition is šat 'to, into, on'; the reason for the initial ?it is unknown. In 50, tu ?at is 'from' and tu t is 'for' (both are compound prepositions; meanings of prepositions have very different ranges from any specific English equivalent); túlap- 'begin, start' may be the main predicate here. The X^{aq} in 51 may be the main predicate of the sentence rather than ?ilápa 'you, pl.'; it is followed by the interrogative enclitic. In 52 s?áyšnici is the main predicate, and is in a possessed phrase (indicated by n- X^{a}), like the sentences in 45-48; in this case the preposition šat is part of the idiomatic phrase šat t čús 'forever', which is certainly adverbial.

This QA occurs several times with another QA. In most instances the second QA is xawás 'first'; X^{aq} also occur once each with ?áy u 'just' and $\text{x}^{\text{iwic}} \text{š}$ 'very' (see 48 above).

- (53) X^{aq} čn tanin ?áy u X^{a} ?ac-?é?x-ni-tu t .
 QA I now just YET FUT ST-watch-IND-2plObj
 'I'd better just watch you now.' X&C
 (54) ?ó· X^{aq} tanin xawás t t na x =inwat-m čt.
 oh QA now first UNR INDEF promise=mind-MDL we
 'Oh, now first we'd better make a plan.'
 (55) X^{aq} tanin xawás s- X^{a} ?=úl=i t n-stawt.
 QA now first IMPF-look.for=LNK=food-1plSubj
 'First let's go fishing now.' X&C

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:

- (56) X^{aq} xáx^{w} t s-yúca- X^{w} čt.
 QA fast INDEF NOM-kill-3obj we
 'We'd better kill her quickly.' X&C
 (57) X^{aq} šáwk^{w} -m-x c tú f al-m čt.
 QA that.way-MDL-DEF INDEF start-MDL we
 'We'd better start off to there.'

There is no evidence as to whether the subject clitic could come earlier in such sentences.

It is not clear that X^{aq} can serve as a main predicate, other than in probably elliptical sentences like 41, or in a sentence like 51. Boas does occasionally translate X^{aq} as 'good', and in one such case there seems to be no ellipsis:

- (58) ?ó· X^{aq} . háy ?ó· s-wáks-tawt t t xáx^{w} .
 oh QA. hey oh IMPF-go-1plSubj to INDEF fast
 'Oh, good! Hey, oh, we will go quickly.'

This is not clearly predicative, however, and may be some sort of adverbial interjection. The following pose the same problem:

- (59) X^{aq} ?ánca tu t c'úq w -i-t-n tit $\text{X}^{\text{šš}} \text{X}^{\text{š}}$.
 QA I for set.up-3Obj-3Subj DEF stick
 'Well, I am the one to set the stick up.'
 (60) X^{aq} ?énca, t s-túlap-anš.
 QA I, INDEF IMPF-begin-1sgSubj
 'Well, I am the one, I will begin.'

In these sentences, ?ánca is an "emphatic pronoun" (actually a predicate), and is not the subject of what follows. In 59 what follows is the prepositional phrase 'for setting up the stick' which needs no subject; in 60 the subject -anš is suffixed to the following predicate. The last clause of sentence 61 is the best example I can find where X^{aq} might best be considered a main predicate.

- (61) ?ám u č t čús X^{a} s-?í t n-stw-n tit x^{t} ?a-sáfi=tn X^{am} -m t =n ča t sšic,
 cu t wiwa X^{aq} č.
 when YET you/sg INDEF always FUT NOM-eat-CAUS-3Subj this 2sgPoss-two=instrument
 chip-DETR=instrument and INDEF meat, so UNR ?? QA you/sg

'When you always feed this your partner chips and meat, then it will be good for you.'

It is not entirely clear what wiwá is; Boas translates it 'will be', and it seems to be derived from the copula *wi*. This is not copular usage, however, and may be an independent particle. The notion of 'future' is actually expressed here by the particle t 'unrealized aspect'.

A derivative of X^{aq} occurs twice; I cannot analyze this form:

- (62) ?ó· X^{aq} =as tit ?a-mús.
 oh QA=? DEF 2sgPoss-eye
 'Oh, your eyes are good.'
 (63) ?ó X^{aq} =as n-?ímc.
 oh QA=? 1sgPoss-grandchild
 'Oh, all right, my grandson.'

X^{aq} can also occur with a middle voice suffix -m, and then means 'get well'. In this derivation (inflection?) it has regular predicative use.

One syntactic construction that should be noted is the use of QAs in negative clauses. For the most part, those beginning with a negative show nothing unusual; the usual pattern in Upper Chehalis is for the negative mí^{t} ta to be sentence-initial, followed by a nominalized predicate with possessive affixes. With one exception (beside one where the entire sentence is X^{aq} mí^{t} ta 'better not!'), this is precisely the construction that occurs following X^{aq} :

- (64) k'áq^w mít-tanin n-k'a s-?úm-n.
QA not-now 1sgPoss-FUT NOM-feed-3Obj
'Well, I will not feed him now.'
(65) k'áq^w mítta n-s-qíq=tna-cš.
QA not 1sgPoss-NOM-choke=throat-RFL
'I'd better not hang myself.' X&R

The one exception is sentence 66:

- (66) mítta laws k'áq^w q'a t'iw-st-s ta s-?ac=?ífalís t nuítámš.
not even QA MOD come.off-CAUS-3Poss PAST NOM-ST=insides INDEF person
'It is not very good if the inside of a person can be taken out.'

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

3.1.3. ?áy u 'just, good, properly' (104). This QA has about equal numbers of occurrences with the subject marker just after ?áy u and those where it follows the main predicate; most of the latter are imperfective forms, where the subject is a suffix, and must stay with the main predicate.⁸ Except in two instances where it is subordinated with s-, ?áy u does not occur as a main predicate, nor does it undergo derivation. It may itself be a derivative of ?áy 'good', which is regularly a main predicate, by semantic and syntactic reduction.

Most instances of ?áy u in a clause with a perfective subject clitic have this clitic after the QA:

- (67) ?áy čn tan u k'a ?ac-wé-x ?at tit nxáš.
QA I now YET FUT ST-stay in DEF 1sgPoss-house
'I will just stay in my house.' X&W
(68) ?áy čt u ?ac-?á-m'aq-n cic nówi.
QA we YET ST-wait-3Obj DEF you/sg
'We are just waiting for you.' X&C
(69) ?ilápa wi ?áy u čap k'a ?ac-xó-mt.
you/pl COP QA YET you/pl FUT ST-paddle
'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).

- (70) ?áy u nk^ws ?úla-x-n čn šat n-k'a s-?ítn.
QA YET HAB gather-3Obj I to 1sgPoss-FUT NOM-eat
'I just gather it for me to eat.'
(71) ?áy tan u ?ac-wé-x yawmš ?at t xáš.
QA now YET ST-stay 3pl in INDEF house
'They just stay in the house.' X&W
(72) ?áy u s-yək'á-w-anš š?at t n-xáš.
QA YET IMPF-go.home-w-1sgSubj to INDEF 1sgPoss-house
'I am just going home to my house.'

⁸ One peculiarity of ?áy u, unlike other PAs that may be followed by (?)u(?) '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: ?áy u čn tanin, ?áy u čt tanin (with stress shifted to ú for unknown reasons). The subject clitic alone sometimes follows ?áy u: ?áy u čn, ?áy u čt, and ?áy u čap all occur. Otherwise the pattern is ?áy čt u, ?áy čt u, ?áy čn tan u, ?áy čt tan u, ?áy čt tan u, and ?áy tan u. Curiously, no instances of *?áy čn u or of *?áy u č occur. Two other PAs, x^wáq^w u and né-t u, allow tan to intervene between the two parts.

- (73) wi ?áy u? nk^ws ?upál-ítí t sšam'ála-x^w.
and QA YET HAB eat-3plSubj INDEF people
'And they just always eat people.' X&C

All sentences with an imperfective predicate following ?áy u have s- before the main predicate. A subordinated main predicate with possessive affixes frequently follows ?áy u, with or without k'a 'future' or q'at 'modal'.

- (74) ?áy u n-s-?úm-ci.
QA YET 1sgPoss-NOM-feed-2sgObj
'I am just feeding you.'
(75) ?áy u k'a sá?-s t sšam'ála-x^w ?at tit ?áwt'-m.
QA YET FUT do-3Poss INDEF people in DEF behind-MDL
'Just so the people will do from now on.'
(76) ?áy u q'a-la-t s-mó-fuk^w-n yawmš.
QA YET MOD-2sgPoss NOM-cheat-3Obj 3pl
'You can just fool them.'

In another instance ?áy u is itself possessed:

- (77) šan n-s-túlap ?at t n-s-?áy u n-ta s-túk^wš.
there 1sgPoss-NOM-start on INDEF 1sgPoss-NOM-QA YET 1sgPoss-PAST NOM-dream
'There is where I started when I was just dreaming.'

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-.

- (78) nám-š-n k'a s-?áy u? k'a s-?ítn-stawt ?at t pé-tq^wix^wu
done-IND-3Obj FUT NOM-QA YET FUT IMPF-eat-1plSubj in INDEF morning
'(it is) ready so that we can just eat in the morning' X&C

In 77 the preposition ?at 'in, on, at' requires a following nominal, and in 78 k'a requires subordination.

In one sentence ?áy u is followed by a prepositional phrase:

- (79) tit s-čís-ap ?áy u? šat k'a s-?ítn-ap.
DEF NOM-come-2plPoss QA YET for NOM-eat-2plPoss
'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 ?áy u; it readily modifies a number (80-81), 'thus'--also a QA (82), a nominal (83), or another modifier (84-86).

- (80) ?áy u cílč=t=ašn t s-k'úq^w-ma-s-awmš.
QA YET five=LNK=times INDEF NOM-dip-MDL-3Poss-3pl
'They dip only five times.' X&C
(81) ?áy u k^win=ála-xn t s-cíx^w-t-s.
QA YET how.many=thing INDEF NOM-stab-3Obj-3Poss
'He stabs him just a few times.'
(82) ?áy u qíc'x k'a sá?at t t ?ílamš tit cítn ?at tu? ?áwt'-m.
QA YET thus FUT make-SUBPASS by INDEF Indian DEF food in for behind-MDL
'Just thus will food be made by Indians from now on.'
(83) wi ?áy tan u k'a cítn-s tu? sšam'ála-x^w ?at t k'a ?áwt'-m.
and QA now YET FUT food-3Poss for people in INDEF FUT behind-MDL
'And it will just be food for people from now on.'

(84) wi ʔáy u táwt t mátn-s.
and QA YET big-1 INDEF head-3Poss
'And his head is just big.'

(85) ʔáy u ʔik'áp' s-ʔé·ʔilan-anš.
QA YET no.good IMPF-sing-1sgSubj
'I am singing just unimportantly.'

(86) ʔáy u ʔux'ux'-t=álwn t sáʔ-s-awmš.
QA YET different-?=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'.

(87) ʔaxás-t-n t t ʔáy uʔ náč=ušn.
scream-t-3Subj OBL INDEF QA YET one=times
'She screams only once.' X&W

Even when followed immediately by a subject clitic, ʔáy u may be seen as an adverbial modifier of the main predicate or the clause as a whole.

ʔáy u readily combines with other QAs; it occurs before ʔamná and q'íc'x, before or after síw, or after ʔám u, k'áq'w, or táx'w.

(88) ʔáy u ʔamná-ʔ k'a ʔac-k'w'ayix'w.
QA YET sometimes FUT ST-tapeworm
'Just sometimes there will be tapeworms'

(89) síw tanin ʔáy tan u s-šáw'aw-stawt.
too how QA now YET IMPF-play-1plSubj
'We are just playing too much now.' X&C

(90) ʔám u ʔáy ʔu t máy-šawt wi k'a s-ʔík'w'at-q-n šat t ʔáy q'ámayt, ʔáy u k'a sáʔ-s.
when YET QA YET INDEF begin.to-grow COP FUT NOM-steal-3Subj to INDEF good girl,
QA YET FUT make-3Poss

'When a youth just will steal to a good girl, he will just do it.'

These may again reflect a difference on what specifically is being modified.

Two examples of ʔáy u occur followed by a negative:

(91) wí ʔáy uʔ mίtta k'a-la s-yóp š lé-ʔ.
and QA YET not FUT-2sgPoss Nom-walk to far
'And you will just not go far away.' X&W

(92) wí ʔáy u mίtta laws k'w'óp-1, ta sáʔ-s-awmš táx cu ta síti-tm t t ʔals.
and QA YET not even right-1, 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 k'w'óp-1 because of its abstract use; it is the following predicate that is possessed. Again, as with k'áq'w, having ʔáy u precede the negative clause makes the QA more predicative than it usually is.

3.1.4. Čús 'always' (61). All the sentences in the Secena texts with čús⁹ which are perfective aspect (or, more commonly, stative because of the meaning of čús) have the subject clitic following the QA.

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

(93) síw t čús čn ʔac-č'ayá-č-1.
too INDEF QA I ST-sleepy-1
'I am much too sleepy.' X&C

(94) wí t čús čap k'a ʔac-q'w'ul=ínut.
and INDEF QA you/pl FUT ST-happy=mind
'And you will always be happy-minded.'

(95) wí t čús yawmš k'a ʔac-q'w'ó-l-1.
and INDEF QA 3pl FUT ST-happy-1
'And they will be happy forever.'

There are, of course, perfective/stative sentences without overt subject clitics (third person; 96), and imperfective sentences with subject suffixes on the main predicate (97).

(96) wí t čús tanin k'a ʔac-q'álx-tači t sšam'álax'w.
and INDEF QA now FUT ST-light-NCPASS INDEF people
'And the people will be shone on now forever.'

(97) čús nk's 1át-t-anš t tit cé·tn.
QA HAB catch.fish-3Obj-1sgSubj OBL DEF little.fish
'I'm always catching little fish.'

Two sentences have a second subject on an imperfective main predicate:

(98) čús č nk's mó·fuk'w'i-cal-š.
QA you/sg HAB cheat-1sgObj-2sgSubj
'You are always cheating me.'

(99) wí t čús-awmš nk's ʔupál-n t sšam'álax'w.
and INDEF QA-3pl HAB eat-3Subj INDEF people
'And they are always eating people.'

The imperfective predicates in 97-99 are given here without an s- prefix; it can occur separately from the s of the preceding nk's 'habitual', although they are usually merged phonologically.

This QA can occur before a possessed predicate, usually when a modal morpheme or k'a 'future' is present.

(100) t čús wí t n-q'i-s-yús.
INDEF QA COP? UNR 1sgPoss-MOD-NOM-work
'I always work this way.'

(101) wí t čús k'a s-tx'w-sít-s.
and INDEF QA FUT NOM-get-change-3Poss
'And always it will be transformed.' X&C

There are few examples of this sort.

There are a few instances of čús in a local adverbial role, as in 102.

(102) t čús ʔáy t ʔa-sq'álm.
INDEF QA good INDEF 2sgPoss-heart
'Your heart will always be good.'

Whether in this role or as a sentence modifier, it may come later in the clause.

(103) n-q'i-cítn t čús t q'íc'x.
1sgPoss-MOD-eat INDEF QA INDEF thus
'I (can) eat always thus.'

(104) nk's ʔíʔan-i-ti t čús.
HAB sing-3plSubj INDEF QA
'They sing continuously.'

The last shows that this QA has great freedom as to its position in a sentence.

There are a few instances of čús occurring with another QA:

- (105) ʔá· síw tanin t ʔús šʔú-mit-ap.
oh too now INDEF QA cry-MDL-2plSubj
'Oh, too much now you are always crying.'
(106) ʔám u ʔ t ʔús k'a s-ʔitn-stw-n titxti ʔa-sáfi=tn. . .
when YET you/sg INDEF QA FUT NOM-eat-CAUS-3Subj this 2sgPoss-two=instrument
'When you always feed this your partner. . .'
(107) t ʔús ʔam u nkʷs ʔitn-n. . .
INDEF QA when YET HAB eat-3Subj
'Always when he eats. . . ' X&C
(108) t ʔús, táxʷl síw k'íš.
INDEF QA, although too cold
'Always, although it is too cold.'

In sentence 108 the clause beginning with táxʷl is not simply an interruption of a longer clause beginning with t ʔús unless one assumes that the predicate that goes with t ʔús 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 ʔús used as a main predicate.

It is common for ʔús to occur in idiomatic phrases. The usual (and common) one is for it to follow the preposition šat 'to, into, on'; the phrase means 'forever'.

- (109) šat t ʔús tanin ʔac-wé·x tuł s-yáp-mn-čt tit támš.
to INDEF QA now ST-stay for NOM-walk-REL-1plPoss DEF earth
'It will stay forever now for our walking on/in the earth.'
(110) šat t ʔús q'ícx k'a sáʔ-ap.
to INDEF QA thus FUT make-2plPoss
'You will do thus forever.'

This phrase may occur anywhere in the sentence; in 111 it is sentence final.

- (111) k'a ʔa s-t'úw-itti šat xás-s-awmš šat ʔús.
FUT again IMPF-arrive-3plSubj to house-3Poss-3pl to QA
'They will always get back to their houses.'

There are also a few derivations of ʔús. Particularly common are t ʔó-sač'a 'often, continually, over and over' and t ʔúsač'a 'still, keep on, steadily, all the time'. It also occurs with VC reduplication as ʔúsus 'at once, immediately'.

3.1.5. ʔám u 'unless, so, when' (45). This QA 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 ʔama 'if, whenever', which is a conjunction. Nevertheless, it does occur with perfective subject clitics following. In the available examples from the Secena texts, a second person singular subject follows ʔám 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) ʔám u ʔ tanin ʔac=ʔíals tit lúwx, n t ʔupál-š.
QA YET you/sg no ST=insides DEF hollow.tree, and UNR eat-2sgSubj
'When you are inside the hollow stump now, and you will eat it.'
(113) wi ʔám u ʔ ʔac-qín-s-wákʷs šín-x. . .
and QA YET you/sg ST-want-s-go there-DF
'And if you want to go there. . . ' X&C
(114) ʔám u q'at ʔiqq čn, wi q'at k'óna-y-mš tuláp-t-cəni n-q'at s-páluw-cš.
when YET MOD jump I, and MOD catch-ʔ-1sgObj begin-LNK-he 1sgPoss-Mod
NOM-go.through-RFL
'When I can jump, and it would get me before I can get through.'

- (115) ʔam u q'at tit čát-tuxʷt čn 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 ʔám u are usually subordinate. Examples are in 116-118.

- (116) ʔám u n-q'at mák-cš, wi q'at q'w'ic'i-tm čn t tit támš.
QA YET 1sgPoss-MOD try-RFL, and MOD smash-PASS I by DEF earth
'If I should try, and I could be crushed by the earth.'
(117) ʔám u ʔa-la-t ʔitn t titxti tit qé·q, wi m'íta ʔa-s-wáč=lac-n.
QA YET in-2sgPOSS eat OBL this DEF camas, and not 2sgPoss-NOM-uncover=cover-3Obj
'So when you eat this camas, and don't unwrap it.'
(118) wi ʔám u t ʔú-s t mé·y-šawt šat t stánay, wi t t ʔitn-awmš.
and QA YET UNR arrive-3Poss INDEF begin.to-grow to INDEF woman, and UNR INDEF eat-3pl

'And when a young man comes to a woman, and they will eat.'

Another indication that ʔám u introduces subordinate clauses are three sentences like 119 with a subordinate passive.

- (119) ʔám u t ʔúqʷi-t-awmš t t stánay, wi m'íta k'a sít-wali-s-awmš.
QA YET UNR find-SUBPASS-3pl by INDEF 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 ʔám u also fits with its subordinating function:

- (120) wi ʔám u tu ʔat t ʔa-náw=c'í q'at t ʔiw-xʷ č tu ʔac=ilals.
and QA YET from on INDEF 2sgPoss-big=body MOD INDEF come.off-3Obj you/sg from ST=insides

'And so from your body you can take it out from inside.'

- (121) ʔám u ʔat t k'a s-liʔ-áw-m-čt. . .
QA YET on INDEF FUT NOM-far-INCH-MDL-1plPoss
'So when we will get far away. . . '

The preposition ʔat often serves a subordinating function by itself.

Because of its conjunction-like function, it is not surprising that ʔám 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 ʔús ʔam u nkʷs ʔitn-n, nkʷs ʔac-cé·p-t.
INDEF always QA YET HAB eat-3Subj, HAB ST-glad-t
'Always when he eats, he is happy.' X&C

In other examples with two QAs, ʔám u is first.

- (123) ʔám u ʔ t ʔús k'a nč-xʷúqʷ t t stánay. . .
QA YET you/sg INDEF always FUT one-gather to INDEF woman
'always when you are together with a woman. . . '

See also sentence 90.

Negative sentences with ʔám u are like those with k'áqʷ and ʔáy u.

- (124) ʔám u m'íta k'a-la-s k'a·ʔ, tit xás, wi t t xím=usi-ci čn.
QA YET 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 ʔám u? m'íta ta s-púti-t t c stámis-amš. . .
COP-n-3Subj QA yet not PAST NOM-know-SUBPASS by 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

precedes the negative.

3.1.6. *xíwics* 'very, hard' (78). This QA has more freedom of movement than most, and occurs initially in fewer than half its attestations from the Secena texts. When it is initial, the following predicate is most commonly in the stative aspect. Of these, only five have a subject clitic following (all the others have third person subjects), as in 126 and 127.

(126) *xíwics* čn ta ?ac-qín-m-n tit nuk³.

PA I PAST ST-want-REL-3Obj DEF others
'Very much I would like another/the others.'

(127) ...qas *xíwics* yawmš ta ?ac-x³áq³-t.

because PA 3pl PAST ST-hungry-t
'...because they are very hungry.' X&C

One sentence occurs with mixed aspect, that is *xíwics* with a perfective subject clitic and a main predicate in imperfective aspect.

(128) ?ó· *xíwics* čn s-?áys-mit-n.

oh PA I IMPF-sick-MDL-3Subj
'Oh, I am getting very sick.'

This sentence is somewhat odd because the main predicate suffix is -n 'third person' rather than the expected -anš 'I'. The only other sentence with *xíwics* and an imperfective main predicate is 129; this and 128 are the only sentences with *xíwics* as an initial QA with non-stative (or unpossessed) main predicates.

(129) wi *xíwics* máq³s-či-n-n tit s-q³ix=ul=ic'a táxtn.

and PA desire=?-n-3Obj DEF NOM-blue=LNK=blanket blanket
'And they greatly wished for the blue blanket.'

It is not clear if this absence of imperfectives following *xíwics* is a general constraint on this QA, or if it is rather in the nature of the meaning of *xíwics* that a stative main predicate is more likely. It is also worth noting that the main (imperfective) predicate in 129 lacks the prefixed s- that usually occurs after QAs, although it is present in 128.

The only other type of clause found to follow an initial *xíwics* is possessive. There are a dozen instances, examples of which are given in 130-132.

(130) *xíwics* t ?a-s-lóm³k³=iyaq-m.

PA INDEF 2sgPoss-NOM-rumble=foot-MDL
'Make a lot of noise with your feet!'

(131) *xíwics* t s-tún-mal-ap.

PA INDEF NOM-push-DETR-2plPoss
'You (pl.) push hard.'

(132) *xíwics* tanin yá-q'is ?at t sq'itači.

PA now late.evening in INDEF day
'It is very late in the day now.' X&C

In another instance of a following possessed form, the expected prefix s- is absent:

(133) x'áq³ *xíwics* t ?atáptapn.

well PA INDEF 2sgPoss tap-3Obj
'Well, you tap hard.' (= 48)

This may well be a transcription error, although there is no obvious reason for it. The fact that two QAs are present is surely irrelevant to the lack of s-. The only other sentence with *xíwics* and a second QA is 134.

(134) wi síw *xíwics* t s-qálx-ma-s tit q'ált.

and too QA INDEF NOM-light-DETR-3Poss DEF pitch
'And the pitch gives too much light (brightness).' X&R

This has the s-, and is completely regular. No other instances of subordination or prepositional

phrases were found to follow *xíwics*.

These uses of *xíwics* 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) wáq-a-n-a? *xíwics* tit ?a-cút.

spread.out-PL-3Obj-IMPER PA DEF 2sgPoss-leg
'Spread your legs wide!'

(136) wi řa c-wé-x t ?ac-xátš-m yal=ác=či *xíwics* tá=či.

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 *xíwics* 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, *xíwics* does so very clearly, as in 137-140. It takes inflection, and can comprise the entire utterance.

(137) ?é·y'ns na, na?u *xíwics* na.

slowly Q, or PA Q
'Slowly? Or hard?'

(138) ?áqa n *xíwics*-t-n c mán-s t malé yá·čmš-mit-iti šat tit q'ámayat-q³lal-s t x³ənəx³əne.

now and very-t-3Subj INDEF offspring-3Poss INDEF NAME near-MDL-3plSubj to DEF
daughter-PL-3Poss INDEF NAME

'Now very much (is) the daughter(s) of Malé, they are getting near the daughters of x³ənəx³əne.'

(139) táx³l s-*xíwics*-t-iti, wi mítta t q'at s-yáp-s-awmš t t xáx³.

although IMPF-PA-t-3plSubj, and not INDEF MOD NOM-walk-3Poss-3pl at INDEF fast
'Although they try hard, and they cannot walk fast.' X&C

(140) *xíwics*-t-ila?

PA-t-IMPER
'Hard!'

In sentence 137, *xíwics* is exactly to parallel to *?é·y'ns* in the first clause; this statement is made in response to a command to tap on a canoe. The sentence could be seen as elliptical, although such things as 'do slowly' are normal predicates in Upper Chehalis. In sentence 138 a new clause begins with *yáčmšmititi* 'they are getting near', and 'the daughter of Malé is the subject of *xíwics*tn, which is inflected for an imperfective subject (-n 'third person'; the -t- is intrusive between š and n). Note that this imperfective predicate lacks an s- prefix, as is typical of imperfectives as main predicates in texts.¹⁰ On the other hand, this s- is present in sentence 139, where *xíwics* (this time with a third person plural imperfective ending) follows another QA, where s- is usually present. The imperfective subject inflection means that *xíwics* is the main predicate in both of these sentences, as it is in 140, which is the entire utterance. The ending this time is plural imperative; X³ənəx³əné is instructing his "daughters" to paddle the canoe vigorously.

xíwics also occurs in idioms and has derived forms. It is very common after the prepositions t 'in, to, at, into, with, by' and ?at 'in, on, at', as in 141-143.

(141) xáwas ?it řáp³=us-m čt t *xíwics*.

at.first PERF shut=eye-MDL
'First we will close our eyes tight.'

¹⁰ This analysis may be incorrect. In the context where it occurs, this sentence ought to mean 'Now the daughters of x³ənəx³əne are getting very near the daughter of Malé'. However, I cannot get this reading from the sentence as given, because c mánš t malé 'daughter of Malé' cannot be the direct object in this position preceding the main predicate *yáčmšmititi*. Furthermore, this predicate has a plural subject (-iti), and is intransitive (-mit- 'middle voice'). To confuse matters further, tit q'ámayat-q³lals t x³ənəx³əne 'the daughters of x³ənəx³əne' is here the object of the preposition šat.

- (142) ʔítu xasíl-n t t xíwíčš.
then rain-3Subj at INDEF PA
'Then it rains a lot.'
- (143) ʔít-n-iłti tanin ʔat t xíwíčš tanin.
eat-3plSubj now on INDEF PA now
'They eat a lot now.' X&C

The preposition requires that what follows be a nominal, and this is indicated by the use of the indefinite article t. 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 xíwíčš occur. It can occur with a middle voice suffix, as in 144:

- (144) s-xíwíčš-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 =tn 'instrument', as in 145.

- (145) tám-mit-n tu x'úk"=ax" tač s-xíwíčš-t-n-s c s-xasíl.
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 -s. This same form is also used idiomatically in 146-147.

- (146) wac=ič'-mit-iłti q'íc'x u t ta s-xíwíčš-t-n-s.
dance=foot-MDL-3plSubj thus YET at PAST NOM-PA-t-3Subj-3Poss
'They dance as hard as they can.'
- (147) tám-t-n tit slów q'íc'x u t ta s-xíwíčš-t-n-s.
tie-3Obj-3Subj def arrowhead thus YET at PAST NOM-PA-t-3Subj-3Poss
'He ties the arrowheads as tightly as he can.'

The phrase q'íc'x u t ta s-xíwíčštns, 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. xáwas '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 xáwas:

- (148) xáwas čap ʔit x'ál-cš.
QA you/pl PERF stop-RFL
'You first stop.'
- (149) xáwas čap tanin ʔit ʔiln' t tit spátq"x".
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 čap is also attested later in a clause:

- (150) xáwas t t ʔitn čap.
QA UNR INDEF eat you/pl
'First you will eat.' X&C

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

- (151) xáwas t'álp-n čn tit s-náwi-y-ał.
QA put.away-3Obj I DEF NOM-you.sg-POSS
'First I will put yours on.'

- (152) xáwas t t'it yáx' č ča cic ʔa-káy.
QA UNR DEF go.home you/sg with DEF 2sgPoss grandmother
'First you will go home with your grandmother.'
- (153) xáwas tanin ʔit c'áw-t čt šat t támš.
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 xáwas, suggesting that the strongly preferred position is later.

Many of the imperfective sentences with xáwas do not have s- prefixed to the main predicate; this is notably different from imperfectives following other QAs, where s- is the norm, and there are very few exceptions. One possibility is that Boas simply missed this s- because xáwas ends in s; however, he does write a number of imperfective predicates with s-, so he was aware of the difference. More importantly, there are a few particles which can intervene between xáwas and the main predicate, and the mixed pattern of s- occurrence is reflected in such sentences. Examples 154-156 contain the particles t'a 'again', ta 'past', and tanin 'now', with s- unmistakably present on the following predicate.

- (154) wi xáwas t'a s-wáq"-anš šʔat tit n-k"úy.
and QA again IMPF-run-1sgSubj to DEF 1sgPoss-mother
'And first I will run again to my mother.'
- (155) wi xáwas ta s-mák"=iyaq-anš t tit q"áʔx".
and QA PAST IMPF-taste=mouth-1sgSubj to DEF thimbleberry
'And first I eat the thimbleberries from the bushes.' X&W
- (156) xáwas tanin s-yk'á-w-anš.
QA now IMPF-go.home-w-1sgSubj
'First I will go home now.'

Analogous sentences with t'a and tanin are given in 157-158 where no s- is present.

- (157) xáwas t'a ʔit'an-n čsa tit sšam'álox".
QA again sing-3Subj again DEF people
'First the people sing once again.'
- (158) xáwas tanin x'aʔ=úl=iłn-n ʔat t qá'ʔ.
QA now look.for=LNK=food-3Subj in INDEF river/water
'First he goes salmon fishing in the river now.'

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

Six occurrences of xáwas with another QA occur; all six have x'aq" as the other (and preceding) QA.

- (159) x'áq" č xáwas ʔit ʔitn nč-x"uq"-t-ʔinim.
better you QA PERF eat one-gather-t-we
'First you'd better eat together with us.'
- (160) ʔó· x'áq" tanin xáwas t t naɣ=ínwat-m čł.
oh better now QA UNR INDEF promise=mind-MDL we
'Oh, now first we'd better make a plan.' (= 54)
- (161) x'áq" wi xáwas xálm-cš-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 xáwas are far less common than the types given above. Only three instances of

it preceding a possessed predicate turned up:

- (162) hóy n t'a xáwas t'aq^w=ik^wal-s-áwmš tit ?ac-?íxat=k^wlš.
and.then and again QA speak=spirit.power-3Poss-3pl DEF ST-?=spirit.power
'And then again first the shamans talk about their spirit power.'
(163) wi šán-x q'i-s-xáwas s-?ítn-s t t'uk^wát.
and there-DF MOD-NOM-QA NOM-eat-3Poss INDEF moon/sun
'And there Moon first eats.'
(164) náx^wt-q^wulati tit s-xáwas ?ítn-ap.
true-? DEF NON-QA eat-2plPoss
'Thank you for your eating at first.'

Both 163 and 164 are unusual in that xáwas has a prefixed s-, and 163 has modal q'i- as well. In 164 xáwas and the main predicate must constitute a phrase, preceded by a definite article. It is not clear why the s- is on the QA rather than the main predicate, however. One other instance of s- attached to xáwas is 165.

- (165) málq-ni-stš t t'uk^wat q'at s-xáwas ?ítn-stš tit k^wanátwiwi-s.
forget-IND-PASS by moon/sun MOD NOM-QA eat-PASS DEF weapon-3Poss
'It is forgotten by Moon that his 'weapon' should first be fed.'

This is similar to 163 and 164 except that instead of a possessive ending on ?ítn- 'eat' (here 'feed') the form is imperfective passive.

These uses seem more adverbial than in examples 148-161. Other instances are even more strongly adverbial; in some of these cases xáwas can occur later in the sentence.

- (166) ?é-x-ni-t-n xáwas t qá-?.
see-IND-3Obj-3Subj QA INDEF river/water
'He looks first at the river.'
(167) cíč-n-š xáwas t ?a-čálš t t sq'axáy tu ?at tit s-yal=ác=či-s tit qá-?.
rub-3Obj-2sgSubj QA INDEF 2sgPoss-hand in INDEF mud from on DEF
NOM-beside=LNK=water-3Poss DEF river/water
'First rub your hands with mud from the bank of the river.'
(168) s-wé-n-n'ax-anš né?-x xáwas t t cilács sq'ítači.
IMPF-n-DF-1sgSubj here-DF QA in INDEF five day
'I'll stay here first for five days.' X&R

In 166 and 167 xáwas comes between the main (transitive) predicate and its lexical object.

No instances of clear predicative use were found for xáwas, and no derivations of it have been noted, apart from four occurrences with s- (see 163-165 above).

3.1.8. q^wó-c- 'soon, almost' (38); q'iniš 'even, thus' (2); yaqs 'so that not' (1). These three QAs are included on the basis of their meaning and because they usually occur in initial position and are followed by a main predicate. None occur in the Secena texts with a subject clitic following the QA, and none occur with another QA. The third, yaqs, only occurs once:

- (169) ?áy u? n-s-ta?iči-ci, yaqs t t táč-s-x^wq^w č.
just YET 1sgPoss-Nom-help-2sgObj, QA UNR INDEF attack-s-hungry you/sg
'I will just help you, so that you won't starve.'

Here the subject clitic follows 'starve', the main predicate.

The QA q'iniš occurs only twice:

- (170) q'iniš q'i-s-šálč-t-s wi mítta t q'at s-p'á-s.
QA MOD-NOM-drag-3Obj-3Poss and not INDEF MOD NOM-wake.up-3Poss
'He even drags her and she doesn't wake up.' X&C
(171) q'iniš q'i-s-p'ál-t-s-awmš.
QA MOD-NOM-wake.up-3Obj-3Poss-3pl
'They even try to awaken her.' X&C

In both sentences, the main predicate has third person marked by a possessive suffix. Both are also modal.

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

- (172) q^wó-c-anin t k^wax^w-t-awmš šat t s-wi-ns mít-tanin laws xaw=í=či.
QA-now UNR arrive-t-3pl to INDEF NOM-be-3Poss not-now even fast?=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) qas q^wó-c-anin t t'x^w-t-ax^wác'=s-tm t mús-a-s.
because QA-now UNR become-burst.out=eye-PASS INDEF eye-PL-3Poss
'His eyes had almost popped out.'
(174) q^wó-c-anin t k^waná-tux^wt.
QA-now UNR take-IND
'She almost grabbed him away.'
(175) wi t s-q^wó-c n t t'a t'ú-w-anš.
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^wó-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^wó-c- must also be considered a main predicate, both in this type of sentence and in general. Another sentence where q^wó-canin is strongly predicative is 176.

- (176) wi q^wó-c-anin šat tit q'i-s-x^weq^wx^weq^w=šlwis tit támš.
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 šat 'to, into, on' and a nominalization of x^weq^wx^weq^wšlwis 'come together'.

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

- (177) t s-q^wó-c téptap-t-s n t'a wák^w-s-n šat xátt-s.
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 s-q^wó-c u t s-wák^ws ta[t] s-čé-l=uk^wn.
INDEF NOM-QA YET INDEF NOM-go DEF NOM-send-?
'Soon the messengers go.'

However, these sentences are quite different in that q^wó-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 s-q^wó-c and the following possessed form are nominalizations. These sentences are quite unlike any that have been discussed so far.

In one sentence q^wó-canin occurs finally. It is strongly adverbial here.

- (179) k^wx^wá...w-n q^wó-c-anin.
arrive-w-3Subj QA-now
'He almost gets there.'

It also occurs non-initially in the idiom t t sq^wó-c 'a little while, almost, soon' as in sentences 180 and 181.

(180) xáwas ?é·x-ni-ti t s-q^wó·c.
first see-IND-3Subj to INDEF NOM-QA
'First they watch a little while.'

(181) wák^ws-n t q^wcx^wé t t s-q^wó·c š léf-m.
go-3Subj INDEF witch to INDEF NOM-QA to far-MDL
'Witch goes outside a little while.' X&W

Although 180 has an initial QA, it has nothing to do with sq^wó·c in this idiomatic usage.
q^wó·c- also occurs in one derivation, čsq^wó·c 'a (little) while, a short time'.

(182) t t m'ús-m č t t čs-q^wó·c, n t t'a p'ála-ci-nš.

UNR INDEF sleep-MDL you/sg to INDEF ?-QA, and UNR again wake.up-2sgObj-1sgSubj
'You will sleep a little, then I'll wake you again.' X&C

Again the prepositional phrase t t čsq^wó·c is idiomatic.¹¹

3.1.9. náx^wt (u) 'true, sure, like' (12). There are few instances of náx^wt in the Secena texts, and they present no new issues. A subject clitic follows náx^wt in only two sentences:

(183) náx^wt č č'áp nułtámš.

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

(184) ?ónca wi náx^wt u čn ?ac-?áxt=k'š.

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) náx^wt u qólk^w-mit-n, q'ic t t q'at s-qólk^w-m-s t nułtámš.

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) ?ítu náx^wt u t'úmi-čs-t-n tit tэмš.

then QA YET shrink-RFL-t-3Subj DEF earth
'Then indeed the earth shrinks.'

These imperfective predicates again lack an initial s-, like the many imperfective predicates following xáwas. This may reflect greater predicative independence than for other QAs. This is further suggested by the one case of a possessed form following náx^wt.

(187) náx^wt u tit ?a-s-túk^wl-š.

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 náx^wt the main predicate of the sentence.

In the remaining sentences with náx^wt, it has a strongly adverbial meaning, modifying a following modifier, although these also serve as predicates.

(188) náx^wt u ?áy tit n-xáš.

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

(189) náx^wt uk^wa k^wáp-t pása.

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

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

(190) ?áx-t-i-ti náx^wt u qáx-t tit mánc.
see-3Obj-3plSubj QA YET many-tDEF fry
'They see really many trout fry.' X&C

(191) ?ó· náx^wt u. xáx^w n-q'at s-ta'íci-ci.
oh QA yet, fast 1sgPoss-MOD IMPF-help-2sgObj
'Oh, indeed. I can help you quickly.'

The first period in 191 was put there by Boas in his original transcription. It suggests that the role of náx^wt is indeed ambiguous; it may be a main predicate, as 191 would indicate, or this sentence may rather be analogous to 188-190, where náx^wt appears to modify what follows. Sentence 190 differs in having a transitive main predicate, and náx^wt clearly forms a phrase with the lexical object 'many trout fry'; it would be difficult to make a case for this náx^wt being a main predicate, other than as the predicate of a clause nominalized as the object.

náx^wt is apparently the basis of words for 'thank you': náx^wtq^wulati and náx^wtq^wulas. These forms are not further analyzable, however. The root náx^w- is cognate with, for example, Columbian wənáx^w 'true, real'.

3.1.10. táx^wl 'although' (17). Again there are only two sentences with táx^wl followed by a subject clitic.

(192) q'a t'iw-stš ta s-?ac=?ifali-s t nułtámš, táx^wl čn q'at t wínwən-x.

MOD come.off-PASS past NOM-ST=insides-3Poss INDEF person, QA I MOD INDEF do-DF
'If the inside of a person can be taken out, even if I can do that.'

(193) čé·fi-t-n tit sáli míy'i-šawt, táx^wl yawmš táw-a-t-ti stámíš-amš.

pack-3Obj-3Subj DEF two begin.to-grow, QA 3pl big-PL-t-PL man-PL
'She packs the two youths, although they are big men.' X&C

This time, however, following imperfective predicates do have a prefixed s-.

(194) wi táx^wl s-xasılın, wı-n-n t'a s-tácyaq-n.

QA IMPF-rain, be-n-3Subj again NOM-wind-3Subj
'And even though it is raining, the wind is blowing.'

(195) táx^wl q'at s-qólk^w-mit-n, wi mıtta q'at s-wi-ns né·t u q'at nułtámš.

QA MOD IMPF-make.noise-MDL-3Subj, and not MOD NOM-be-3Poss like YET MOD person
'Although it makes noise, and it could not seem like a person.'

These sentences follow patterns like the QAs discussed earlier. Twice táx^wl occurs with another QA:

(196) t č'ús, táx^wl sıw k'ış.

INDEF always, QA too cold
'Always, although it is too cold.' (= 108)

(197) wi šat t č'ús n-x'a s-wé·n-nx-áwmš, táx^wl ?áy u ?ac-káy tit stánay.

and to INDEF always 1sgPoss-FUT INPF-be-n-DF-3pl, QA just YET ST-grandmother DEF woman

'And I will stay with them forever, even though the woman just has a grandmother.'

It was noted earlier in connection with sentence 108 that t č'ús in 196 is probably a separate clause; however, sıw is also a QA, so there are two QAs in the second clause. These two instances of táx^wl with a second QA are not surprising because of its conjunction-like meaning.

One instance occurs with táx^wl within a prepositional phrase.

(198) ?áy u k'a s-čawá-mit-n t ?áls t táx^wl xas=álawn stánay.

just YET FUT IMPF-wife-MDL-3Subj INDEF chief at INDEF QA bad-appearance
'A chief will just marry even if it is an ugly woman.'

This t marks stánay 'woman' as an oblique argument after an intransitive (middle) predicate. One negative sentence begins with táx^wl:

- (199) ʔó· táxʷl míʔta láws ʔáy tit ʔa-yá·nq, wi čʷi-xʷ-aʔ.
oh QA not even good DEF 1sgPoss-necklace, and bring-3Obj-IMPER
'Oh, although your necklace is not very good, and bring it!'

There is no close connection with this táxʷl and the negative, however.

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

3.1.11. waláš 'very' (13). Few examples of waláš 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) waláš čn tanin ʔac-xʷ-šqʷ-ʔ.

QA I now ST-hungry-ʔ

'I am very hungry now.'

- (201) ʔac-waláš čn tanin s-táč-s-xʷ-uqʷ-anš.

ST-QA I now IMPF-attack-s-hungry-1sgSubj

'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 čn. In this case, waláš čn may well constitute a separate clause because waláš has a stative prefix. QAs do not ordinarily bear aspectual affixes, suggesting that waláš here is fully predicative. As can be seen in 201 and again in 202, the imperfective predicate following waláš begins with s-.

- (202) waláš tanin s-xas=ánxʷ-mit-n.

QA now IMPF-bad=weather-MDL-3Subj

'It is a strong gale now.'

If waláš 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)--ʔit for perfective, s- and/or a subject suffix for imperfective, and ʔac- for stative. QAs rarely have any of these markers.

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

- (203) waláš tanin xʷé·č tit n-qé·q.

QA now little DEF 1sgPoss-camas

'I have very little camas now.'

- (204) wi waláš xas=álwn ʔaʔ t músi-s.

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 waláš is really no different from sentences 200-202. A different adverbial use occurs in 205.

- (205) xawas ʔaqʷ=íkʷlaw-m t waláš tanin ʔúxʷ-ʔ nuʔtámš.

QA talk=spirit.power-MDL INDEF QA now different-ʔ 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 to have waláš modify ʔúxʷ-ʔ 'foreign', which in turn modifies the lexical subject nuʔtámš '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 waláš modifies the predicate ʔaqʷ=íkʷlawm, as seems to be the case, then one must conclude that there is some freedom as to where waláš may occur in a sentence. This is confirmed by sentence 206, where an alternate reading is not available.

- (206) ʔúxʷ-ʔ waláš tit tamíš-s ukʷa tit ʔi-s-čan=ánxʷ.

different-ʔ QA DEF earth/land-3Poss suppose PL-NOM-ʔ=salmon

'The land of the salmon is very different.'

Such freedom is in accord with the use of other QAs, as seen above.

Possibly only because few examples turned up, waláš was not found to occur in any other type of constructions (no following possessives or prepositional phrases), nor in idiomatic phrases. The best case for its occurrence as a main predicate is in sentence 201.

3.1.12. ʔamná 'sometimes, occasionally' (10). The few occurrences of ʔamná turned up only one with a subject clitic following:

- (207) ʔó· míʔta n-qʷi-s-xʷ-šqʷ, wi ʔamná čn nkʷs xʷ-ən-ʔ.

oh not 1sgPoss-MOD-NOM-hungry, and QA I HB tired-ʔ

'Oh, I am not hungry, and maybe I am tired.'

When ʔamná is followed by an imperfective predicate, that predicate is again inflected with s-, as in 208-209:

- (208) wi ʔamná ʔa s-ʔay=álaws-t-w-n t sxʷáys-awmš naʔu ʔé·q-c=aws naʔu.

and QA FUT IMPF-trade=middle-t-w-3Subj INDEF hat-PL or tie-ʔ=head or

'And sometimes they will trade their hats or their headbands.'

- (209) ʔa ʔamná·ʔ ʔa s-čəl=ó·ʔap-n c sʔánay.

FUT QA FUT IMPF-ʔ=intercourse-3Subj INDEF woman

'Sometimes he will make love to a woman.'

The initial ʔa in 209 is quite unexpected, and may constitute a slip of the tongue, anticipating its occurring after ʔamná.

Four sentences occur with ʔamná following the QA ʔáy u. Examples are in 210-211:

- (210) ʔáy u ʔamná·ʔ ʔa ʔá·falkʷ t ʔiwát ʔac-kʷayixʷ.

just YET QA FUT cranky INDEF someone ST-tapeworm

'Just sometimes someone with tapeworms will be cranky.'

- (211) wi ʔáy u ʔa s-ʔamná ʔaʔ t qʷi-s-ʔó·qʷ-twa-s t sšamʔálaxʷ.

and just YET FUT s-QA on INDEF MOD-NOM-find-RECIP-3Poss INDEF people

'And just sometimes when people find/mistreat each other.'

The occurrence of ʔa in 211 is not problematic. Here the entire clause beginning with ʔamná is subordinated by the s- prefix, as is appropriate after ʔa. Indeed, ʔamná must be considered the main predicate of this clause, since the following predicate, qʷi-s-ʔó·qʷtwas, is nominalized (with s- and the indefinite article t) and possessed (with -s) and is the object of the preposition ʔaʔ.

The only other occurrence of interest of ʔamná is sentence 212:

- (212) wi nkʷs xʷ-ən=inwat-n tanin ʔamnáʔ t ʔukʷáʔ.

and HAB tired=mind-3Poss now QA INDEF moon/sun

'And sometimes Moon is tired now.'

Here the word order is unexpected; it suggests freedom of word order for ʔamná as an adverb. No derivations of ʔamná were found, although it can occur in the idiomatic expressions ʔámna ú 'maybe so' and ʔámna míʔta 'maybe not'.

3.1.13. ʔixʷáqʷ 'enough' (6). One example of ʔixʷáqʷ has a subject clitic following it (213), and another has the subject clitic after the main predicate (214).

- (213) wi ʔixʷáqʷ čʔ qʷaʔ ʔac-ʔiw-xʷ tu ʔaʔ tit qʷəyó·qʷ.

and QA we MOD ST-come.off-3Obj from in DEF cradle

'And it is enough that we could take him out of the cradle.'

- (214) ʔu, ʔixʷáqʷ. qʷaʔ ʔac-cʷúqʷ-n čn tit n-ʔáššʔ.

oh QA, MOD ST-set.up-3Obj I DEF 1sgPoss-stick

'Oh, enough! I can set up my stick.'

I have retained Boas' punctuation in 214, although ʔixʷáqʷ acts here like any other QA.

The only other uses of ʔixʷáqʷ are preceding subordinate constructions, such as the possessive phrases in 215-216 and the prepositional phrase in 217.

(215) ?ik'áq^w t s-t'úš=tn-s šat t q'at s-páfu-cš-i-s.

QA INDEF NOM-long=instrument-3Poss to INDEF MOD NOM-go.through-RFL-3Poss
'Its length is enough so he can go through.'

(216) ?ik'áq^w tanin t s-k'is-s ?at t páq^wx^w.

QA now INDEF NOM-cold-3Poss at INDEF night
'Its coolness is all right at night now.'

(217) ?ik'áq^w tanin šat q'at s-k'ana-túx^w-t-s t tic sq'ayáit.

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, ?ik'áq^w has predicative nature here.

No idiomatic use of ?ik'áq^w occurred in the Secena texts. However, elsewhere in Boas' texts and notes a possessed form occurs: ?ik'áq^w-ns 'its being enough'. This QA may itself be derived from the QA k'áq^w 'well, let's!, better!, good, all right', although a semantic connection is not obvious.¹²

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

(218) wi húy čt ta lé· ?áwt.

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, húy does not seem to be modifying it in any adverbial way.

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

(219) ?it čap tanin ?it ?itn.

QA you/pl now PERF eat

'Go now and eat.'

(220) ?it čn t t ulap t t sá? cáqiyáč'a.

QA I UNR INDEF start UNR INDEF make basket

'I will go start to make baskets.' X&C

In both cases the subject clitic following ?it 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 ?it is the same:

(221) ?it šat t lá?f-s s-?áx-n-s.

QA to INDEF disc-3Poss NOM-see-3Obj-3Poss

'He goes in order to see his wheel.'

Here ?it 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 šat and 'his wheel' is the direct lexical object of ?áx-n 'see it'.

Neither ?it nor húy is common as a QA; ?it 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, húy 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): húy č, húy čap.

3.1.15. x^wáq^w (u) 'all' (94). The remaining five QAs strike me as having stronger predicative qualities than most of the others (xíwics may belong with these). In addition to uses as a main

predicate, x^wáq^w 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) x^wáq^w u čt q'ic-t=áliwn-x.

PA YET we thus-?=appearance-DF

'All of us look alike.'

(223) wi x^wáq^w u yamš t-é-s-?ílan'-n t t uk^wát.

and QA YET 3pl take.part-sing-3Subj INDEF moon/sun

'And among them all sings Moon.'

(224) wi x^wáq^w u yawmš wi xíwics máq^ws=či-n-n tit s-q^wix=ul=ic'a t áxtn.

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 x^wáq^w u yamš may be adverbial; since ?ílan'- is intransitive, that is about the only role left for 'all' ('among' is expressed by t-é- 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 x^wáq^w u yawmš is the foregrounded subject of the main clause; this is a less likely analysis because ya(w)mš marks third person on predicates, not arguments (although there are similar partitive plural suffixes on arguments, but without the initial y).

When x^wáq^w (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) x^wáq^w (u) s-yucá-y-anš.

QA (YET) IMPF-kill-3Obj-1sgSubj

'I kill them all.'¹³

Here x^wáq^w is also the direct object of 'kill', indexed to the object suffix -y-. Other examples of x^wáq^w in an argument role, although not in initial position, are 226-227.

(226) wi míłta t q'at s-tx'-páx-s x^wáq^w-u.

and not INDEF MOD NOM-get-go.through-3Poss QA-YET

'And all of them cannot go through.' X&C

(227) s-čát-ci-n-anš x^wáq^w-u.

IMPF-give-2sgObj-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, as in 228, where ?at is the preposition, but serving as a conjunction.

(228) wi x^wáq^w u ?at q'i-s-k'áx'-s-awmš yá?čmš t t sšam'álox^w, xáwq'-mit-n t x^wəníx^wəni.

and QA YET on MOD-NOM-arrive-3Poss-3pl near to INDEF people, speak-MDL-3Subj
INDEF NAME

'And when they all arrive near to people, X^wəníx^wəni talks.

One might expect x^wáq^w u to occur within this prepositional phrase; instead it is outside in clause initial position.

One of the most common uses of x^wáq^w is as a modifier of a lexical argument: 'all the X'. The argument may be subject (229) or object (230-231), or it may be object of a preposition (232); in these roles, it is often not initial in the clause.

¹² There are parallel formations with this indefinite formative ?i- in ?itám 'something, anything' (from tám 'what, something'), ?iwát 'someone, anyone' (from wá 'who, anyone'), ?ičá 'somewhere' (from čá 'where'), ?ik^wén 'few, little' (from k^wi 'how many'; the root is k^win-), and possibly ?ik'áp 'no-good, common, free, unimportant' (although a source for this one has not been found).

¹³ This sentence occurs twice within a few lines, once with u, once without.

- (229) ʔaxʷá-w-n xʷáqʷ u t ʔális-umš.
pl.run-w-3Subj QA YET INDEF chief-PL
'All the upper-class people run.'
- (230) † t xəxʷaxʷ-n ċn xʷáqʷ u ta-la šáw.
UNR INDEF break.up-3Obj I QA YET PAST-2sgPoss bone
'I will break up all your bones.'
- (231) pʰəč=staqi-t-iiti xʷáqʷ u taš yól-m=axʷ.
light=fire-3Obj-3plSubj QA YET at around-MDL=house
'They set fire to all of it right around the house.' X&C
- (232) q'ícx k'a sáʔ-s t man-ó-mš ʔaʔ xʷáqʷ u qáʔ.
thus FUT do-3Poss INDEF offspring-PL in QA YET river/water
'Thus will be the ways of young people in all rivers.' X&C
- The argument that it modifies may also be a nominalization of a predicate or a whole clause, as in 233:
- (233) wi xʷáqʷ tan u tita s-taʔič-twali-n-n t ʔúqʷa wi tit qʷáfi-tm.
and QA now YET DEF IMPF-help-TO-n-3Subj INDEF snake and DEF wound-PASS
'And all who helped Snake (and) are wounded.'
- Here xʷáqʷ modifies a nominalization (with an article and s-) of taličtwalinn t ʔúqʷa 'they are helping Snake'.
- There are numerous instances of xʷáqʷ (u) followed by a question word to create forms meaning 'everything', 'everyone', and the like.
- (234) nkʷs ʔúla-x-n † t qəx-† s-ʔəq ča t xʷáqʷ u ʔitam.
HAB gather-3Obj OBL INDEF many-† NOM-bracken.root and INDEF QA YET something
'He can gather many bracken roots and everything.'
- (235) cóni wi xʷáqʷ u wá ʔac-xʷál-xʷ.
he COP QA YET who ST-lose-3Obj
'He defeats everyone.'
- (236) ... xaxʷ=ilaxʷc xʷáqʷ u čá-n-m.
brushy=? QA YET where-n-MDL
'... a rough, steep place everywhere.'
- (237) xʷáqʷ u ʔé-nm t q'í-s-šáwuyi-s t sšam'álaxʷ.
QA YET how INDEF MOD-NOM-play-3Poss INDEF people
'The people play in every way.'
- (238) xʷáqʷ u ʔac-ʔi t q'aʔ sáʔa-t † t ʔəy t nuʔtámš.
QA YET ST-Q INDEF MOD do-SUBPASS by INDEF good INDEF person
'In every way it could be done by a good person.' X&C
- Derivations of xʷáqʷ (u) also occur. The commonest is sʷáqʷ(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) cút-na-x-n šaʔ t s-xʷáqʷu=tn-s tit sšam'álaxʷ....
say-DF-3Subj to INDEF NOM-QA=instrument-3Poss DEF people
'He says to all of the people....'
- (240) ʔám=li-t-iiti tač t s-xʷáqʷu=tn-s-awmš.
take.to=?-3Obj-3plSubj with INDEF NOM-QA=instrument-3Poss-3pl
'They carry away (home) all of them.'
- (241) xól-m-cš-t-iiti q'ícx u † t s-xʷáqʷu=tn-s-awmš.
ready-RFL-t-3plSubj 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 q'ícx (see

section 3.1.16).

3.1.16. q'íc' 'thus, so' (56). Although q'íc' 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 -x 'definite'; however a few sentences in the Secena texts occur without it, and there are a few derivatives of q'íc' that show that the -x is not part of the root. Only two sentences occur with a subject clitic following immediately:

- (242) ʔa q'ícx ċn ʔəncə. nkʷs yucá-y-anš t kʷcxʷé.
again QA I /, HAB kill-3Obj-1sgSubj INDEF witch
'I am the one for that. I continuously kill witches.'
- (243) wi nówi tanin wi ta q'íc' ċ tanin † n-ta pásn.
and you/sg now COP PAST QA you/sg now at 1sgPoss-PAST younger.sister
'And you are like my younger sister now.' X&W

In both 242 and 243 q'ícx may be taken as the only predicate in its clause. In 242 ʔəncə can be seen as the lexical subject. In 243 there is no lexical argument in the same clause as q'ícx; '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) q'ícx ʔac-qin-s-pút-n ċn.
QA ST-want-s-know-3Obj I
'That's what I want to know.'
- (245) q'ícx t ʔac-qin-m-n ċt.
QA INDEF ST-want-REL-3Obj we
'We like it thus.' X&C

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

- (246) q'ícx n-q'í-s-šáwuyi.
QA 1sgPoss-Mod-NOM-play
'That is the way I play.'
- (247) q'ícx k'a sáʔ-s t ʔilamš ʔaʔ tuʔ ʔáwt-m.
QA FUT do-3Poss INDEF Indian in to behind-MDL
'Thus Indians will do from now on.'

By far the commonest use of q'ícx is before a possessed predicate. It may be preceded by č'ús 'always' (248-249) or ʔəy u 'just' (250) or a negative (251).

- (248) t č'ús q'ícx k'a-la s-ʔiʔn.
INDEF always QA FUT-2sgPoss NOM-eat
'You will always eat thus.' X&W
- (249) šaʔ t č'ús q'ícx k'a sáʔ-ap.
to INDEF always QA FUT do-2plPoss
'You will do thus forever.'
- (250) wi ʔəy u q'ícx tanin k'a yús-ns xʷáqʷ u sšam'álaxʷ.
and just YET QA now FUT work-3Poss all YET people
'And just thus now will be the work of all people.'
- (251) míʔta laws q'ícx t sáʔ-s t cítpn.
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 sort of possessed predicate follow it:

- (252) tač t q'íc' tanin † titxí k'a-la s-q'é-t-m.
with INDEF QA now at this FUT-2sgPoss NOM-fishing-MDL
'You will fish with the likes of this now.'

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

- (253) s-k^wánk^wana-t-n t x^wánéx^wáne q'íc^x q'at k^wánk^wana-tt t x^wé?l sk^wat'án'.
IMPF-hold-3Obj-3Subj INDEF NAME QA MOD hold-SUBPASS INDEF tiny mouse
'She is holding X^wánéx^wáne just like she would be handling a tiny mouse.' X&C
- (254) ?áy u q'íc^x k'a sá?a-t t ?ílamš tit cín ?at tu? ?áwt'-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) mítta laws q'íc^x q'at sá?a-t sšam'álox^w.
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 mítta seems to have no effect on what follows different from the effect of q'íc^x.

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

- (256) ?a q'íc^x u ?ánca.
again QA YET I
'The same with me.' X&C
- (257) mí-tanin tám q'at ?a q'íc^x šat ?ínim.
not-now what MOD again QA to we
'There is nothing like it for us.' X&C
- (258) mítta t s-wi-ns q'íc^x q'at pása.
not INDEF NOM-be-3Poss QA MOD monster
'She doesn't act like as though she were a monster.' X&W
- (259) náwi wi mítta t ?a-s-x^wán q'íc' t t nuk^w stánay.
you/sg COP not INDEF 2sgPoss-NOM-tired to INDEF other woman
'You don't get tired like other women.' X&R
- (260) wi ta ?ín-s tanin q'íc^x.
and past do-3Poss now QA
'And never mind that now.'
- (261) mí-tanin t wá- stánay q'íc' t k^wc^xé k'a ta s-?úpal-n t sšam'álox^w ?at tu? k'a ?áwt'-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 seen either as adverbial or as a lexical argument in some of these sentences.

There are also a number of sentences where q'íc^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) čan-ca ?ítu q'at wí-n-n x^wánéx^wáne t sá?a-t-n t q'íc^x.
maybe-? then MOD be-n-3Subj NAME INDEF do-3Obj-3Subj INDEF QA
'It might then have been X^wánéx^wáne who is doing this.'
- (263) wi k'áq^w ?ít t t ?íw tu ?at t tэмš t q'íc^x.
and better PERF? UNR INDEF remove from on INDEF earth INDEF QA
'I'd better remove such from the earth.'
- (264) wi nk^ws táłaxi-t-ans ?at t q'íc' t titxtí.
and HAB use-3Obj-1sgSubj on INDEF QA in this
'And I always use it for such as this.' X&C

- (265) mítta t wá- ?ac-xáš t t q'íc^x.
not INDEF who ST-house in INDEF QA
'No one has a house like this.'
- (266) wi s-?íw-stw-ans t q'íc^x pása? ?at tit támš.
and IMPF-remove-CAUS-1sgSubj INDEF QA monster on DEF earth
'And I take off that kind of monster from this world.' X&C
- (267) n-q'í-s-ítn t čús t q'íc^x.
1sgPoss-MOD-NOM-eat INDEF always INDEF QA
'I (can) eat always thus.'
- (268) ?ó- mítta uk^wa t q'íc^x.
oh not suppose INDEF QA
'Oh, it's not like that, I guess.'
- (269) mítta t q'íc^x.
not INDEF QA
'Not thus.' X&C

Sentence 264 is missing an object suffix on ?íw; -x^w would be expected. The use of t t q'íc^x, as in sentence 265, may be idiomatic.

A few derivations of q'íc^x have been recorded, although they did not occur in the Secena texts. These are: q'éc' u 'then' (a diminutive), q'é?c'mx 'act in the same way', q'íc'axs 'now', and (with a lexical suffix) q'íc'tálwnx 'it looks like, look alike'. It is idiomatic in ?a q'íc^x 'similar, like'.

3.1.17. síw 'too' (37). The status of síw is ambiguous. In some constructions it is unquestionably a main predicate, in others it serves auxiliary-like functions, and others it appears adverbial. Among its clearest predicative uses is in sentence 270.

- (270) čan ?ac-síw-t t t pánačs c pánčstumš t s-qáx=tn-s.
maybe ST-too-t at INDEF ten INDEF hundred INDEF NOM-many=instrument-3Poss
'(They are) maybe over a thousand in quantity.'

Here síw has two specific markers of a regular predicate: the stative prefix ?ac- and an intransitive suffix -t.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 -t suffix, however, does occur on síw 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 síwt as a main predicate may be the explanation. Other examples of síw as a main predicate will be given shortly.

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

- (271) síw-t čn tanin ?ac-x^wáq^w-t.
QA-t I now ST-hungry-t
'Too much now I am hungry.'
- (272) síw č tanin táwaq.
QA you/sg now big=voice
'You are too loud now.'
- (273) wi síw-t yawmš qáx-t.
and QA-t 3pl many-t
'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 perfective (or stative) forms -t is added. In imperfective forms, the third consonant is -w-, and only imperfective subject suffixes 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) síw tanin ?ac-x^wán-t čn.

QA now ST-tired-t I

'I am too tired now.'

(275) síw tanin lé- čt ?áwut.

QA now far we behind

'We were now too far behind.'

Two sentences with imperfective main predicates following síw occur:

(276) síw tanin sáx^w-u-stawt.

QA now wet-w-1plSubj

'We are getting too wet.'

(277) síw-t tanin sá?a-cal-n q'at-?úšm-n-t t x^wénéx^wəne.

QA-t now make-1sgObj-3Subj MOD-pity-ADV INDEF NAME

'Too much now he is making me suffer, is X^wénéx^wəne.'

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.

(278) síw tanin xaw=i-t=či tit qá-?

QA now fast?=LNK=water DEF river/water

'The river is too swift now.'

(279) ?áy t n-mús-?a, wi síw táw-a-t-ti.

good INDEF 1sgPoss-eye-pl, and QA big-pl-t-pl

'My eyes are good, but they are too big.'

(280) síw xax'=éla^wc.

QA brushy=?

'It is too steep.'

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

síw occurs with several other QAs, xíwics, čús, and ?áy u; these sequences occur with síw either preceding or following the other QA, as in the following pairs of sentences. Sentence 286 has three consecutive QAs.

(281) wi síw xíwics t s-qólx-ma-s tit q^wáht.

and QA very INDEF NOM-bright-DETR-3Poss DEF pitch

'And the pitch gives too much light (brightness).' X&R (= 134)

(282) wi xíwics síw-t ?ac-t'án'ap.

and very PA-t ST-dark

'And it is very much too dark.' X&W

(283) síw tanin ?áy tan u s-šáw'aw-stawt.

QA now just now YET IMPF-play-1plSubj

'We are just playing too much now.' X&C (= 89)

(284) wi ?áy u síw-t tanin lé-? t s-tán-mul-s t xás čawa+ó-mš.

and just YET QA-t now far INDEF NOM-pass-1plObj-3Poss INDEF bad women

'And just too far now have the bad women passed us.'

(285) ?ó- síw tanin t čús š?ú-mit-ap.

oh QA now INDEF always cry-MDL-2plPoss

'Oh, too much now you are always crying.' (= 105)

(286) t čús, táx^w! síw x'is.

INDEF always, although QA cold

'Always, although it is too cold.' (= 108, 196)

No particular differences in meaning are evident in these varying orders; I assume that there is different emphasis, although it is not clear from the translations. Alternatively, there may be 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.

(287) síw t čús čn ?ac-č'ayá-č-t.

QA INDEF always I ST-get.sleepy-t

'I am much too sleepy.' X&C (= 93)

Otherwise one would expect the subject clitic to follow the first QA, if the argument is correct that the subject clitic shifts from the main predicate to the QA because it is the first element in the sentence. This issue is discussed further below in 3.3.

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

(288) síw tanin mítta t s-pút-n-čt čá-n-m ta s-wák^ws t tók^wá.

QA now not INDEF IMPF-know-3Obj-1plSubj where-n-MDL PAST NOM-go INDEF moon/sun

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

(289) síw tanin mítta laws ?áy tit q'i-s-cún-twal-s 'ŕi-čawł'.

QA now not even good DEF MOD-NOM-say-TO-3Pos PL-wife

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

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

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

(290) síwi-cx

too-RFL

'get too much' (Tenino dialect)

(291) sé?wi-cš-t-n

too(dimin.)-RFL-t-3Subj

'he gets a little too much'

(292) sí?u, sé?u 'a little too much' (dimin.)

(293) síw=l=i?t'n

too=LNK=food

'eat too much food'

(294) ?it tx^w-síw

PERF become-too

'he went too far'

Both 290 and 291 have reflexive suffixes, meaning that they are predicative. The forms in 292 are diminutive; no other QA has been noted with diminutive derivation, although q^wó-c- itself is diminutive. In 293 síw is the first half of a compound; no other QA has been found as a member of a compound. Nor has any other QA been found with the prefix tx^w- 'get, become, make', as in

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 síw is fully predicative.

3.1.18. k^wáp 'right, very, straight, real' (30). Although k^wáp is the most strongly predicative of all the QAs, it does have some uses where it is like the others. Like síw, it requires -t to be suffixed when otherwise the predicate would have only two consonants, but this -t also occurs more frequently than with síw when it seems to have a QA function, as in the only case where a subject clitic follows the QA rather than the following main predicate.

(295) k^wáp-t čn ?ac-máq^ws-či-n-n tit ?a-t'é-q'-c=ls.

QA-t I ST=desire=?-n-3Obj DEF 2sgPoss=tie-?=head
'Very much I wish for your headband.'

Here the subject čn 'I' applies to the following predicate.

In nine sentences, k^wáp acts as a modifier to what follows. It may be adverbial, as in 296-299.

(296) mīt-tanin laws k^wáp-t ?it x^walá?-áw-m tit támš.

not-now even QA-t PERF hot-INCH-MDL DEF earth
'The earth doesn't even get very hot now.'

(297) wi táx tanin wi k^wáp-t ?ac-q'ót s-pátq^w.

and that now COP QA-t ST-sweet NOM-night
'And that is a very sweet night.' X&C

(298) k^wáp-t ?áy tit cé-p=min-ap.

QA-t good DEF proud=instrument-2plPoss
'Your fine attire is really nice.' X&C

(299) wi sq^wás wi s-č'is-n k^wáp-t šat tit s-čil=ó-řap-n.

and heron COP IMPF-come-3Subj QA-t to DEF NOM-?=intercourse-3Subj
'And Heron comes right to the love-making.' X&R

In sentences 296 and 297 k^wáp modifies a following predicate ('it is getting hot', 'it is sweet'); in 298 it modifies a following adjective ('good', with no aspect marking, although it constitutes the main predicate of the sentence). In 299 it modifies a following prepositional phrase. Occasionally it appears to be adjectival:

(300) wi cáni wi k^wáp-t pása.

and he COP QA-t monster
'And he is a real monster.'

In this sentence, cáni is foregrounded, separated from the main clause by the copula wi, and has no effect on the syntax of what follows. The main clause consists only of k^wáp pása. This looks a little as if k^wáp is the predicate and pása a complement or the like, although if that were the case an article (definite or indefinite) would be obligatory before pása. Since there is no article, pása is the predicate, and k^wáp is its modifier.

Apart from ten sentences of these sorts, all uses of k^wáp in the Secena texts are as a main predicate. As such, it can have the full range of inflection--transitive, intransitive, all aspects, retransitives, any subject or object inflection, etc. It is also freely derived with lexical suffixes. It will suffice to give here three examples:

(301) hóy n řa k^wáp-w-n.

and.then and again straight-w-3Subj
'And then he gets straightened out again.'

(302) s-k^wáp-t-anš tit támš.

IMPF-straight-3Obj-1sgSubm DEF earth
'I am straightening out the earth.'

(303) řix ?uk^wa t s-k^wáp=tn-s.

that suppose INDEF NOM-straight=instrument-3Poss
'This is the truth, I guess.'

In sentence 301 it is intransitive imperfective, in 302 it is transitive imperfective with a third person object, and in 303 it is nominalized and has the lexical suffix =tn 'instrument' and a possessive suffix.

3.1.19. né-t (u) 'like, seem' (22). As a QA, né-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) né-t u č ana t t ławá-t.

QA YET you/sq Q INDEF leave
'It looks like you are deserted?'

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

(305) né-t u t s-xáwq-mit-n tu řat tit s-wóli-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) né-t u ři q'at s-š?ú-mit-n.

QA YET evidently MOD IMPF-cry-MDL-3Subj
'It looks like he is crying, evidently.'

The presence of the evidential particle ři (which ordinarily occurs after a predicate) suggests that né-t u has auxiliary-like functions here.

It may be possible to consider all QA uses of né-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 modals q'at or q'i- (309), or both (310-311).

(307) řá-q-a-t-ti né-t u t t řúq^wa.

long-PL-t-PL QA YET at INDEF snake
'They are long like a snake.'

(308) wí-n-n né-t tan u t t řac-mús-a.

be-n-3Subj QA now YET at INDEF ST-eye-PL
'It becomes like he has eyes.'

(309) né-t u ana q'at řáš tap=ús-mis-n.

QA YET Q MOD house hit=face-REL-3Subj
'It seems like a house he bumps his face on.'

(310) né-t u t t q'at řúq^wt.

QA YET at INDEF MOD different-t
'It seems strange.'

(311) né-t u t t q'i-s-q^wíř-s tit né-ř tit támš.

QA YET at INDEF MOD-NOM-storm.cloud-3Poss DEF here-DF DEF 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) né-t u? t sář-s t t q'at sřánay.

QA YET INDEF make-3Poss at INDEF MOD woman
'It is formed like a woman.' X&R

Here t sářs intrudes between né-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: né-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 né-t u is translated '(be)

¹⁵ This perfective marker ?it is actually part of the set of deictics. The others occur as markers of perfectivity infrequently, and ?it does not often serve as a pure deictic. Such occurrences can be found, however. These forms mark simultaneously temporal and spatial deixis.

similar to'.

It is clear that né-ŧ can be a main predicate:

- (313) né-ŧ-ac-š ʔana ʔ t s-yáp-w-n š liŧa-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 ʔ follows. It can also occur with lexical suffixes, as in 314:

- (314) né-ŧ=q' u q'aŧ čawaŧó-mš.
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 né-ŧ 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 Secena 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 upriver dialect (Tenino Chehalis), and so would not appear in the Secena 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) iŧ'u 'yet'
ʔac'ix'u 'still, yet' (with ʔac- 'stative aspect')
mítta iŧ'u 'not yet'
(316) laws 'even, more, very'
(317) máŧqa 'yet, nevertheless'
...maŧqa sk'isn tit wít ʔ t xáŧ. '...yet the canoe came fast.' (Tenino dialect)
(318) q'itúq's 'even, including, although'
(319) q'úmu? 'just, only, but, not really'
...q'úmu mítta t sínuts t syawyúwn. '...but the syawywn said nothing.'
(320) tálaŧ 'only, although'
wi ta ʔam táyŧiŧn, taláŧ tanin qá? ta stálaŧitiŧti. ... 'And so they didn't eat, expt
now they used water ...'

This last is very much like the QA táŧ'l 'although, even' in meaning, and its phonological form suggests that they may ultimately be the same morpheme through an odd metathesis.

Four seem to be conjunctions, which usually do not function like QAs, and are probably not QAs.

- (321) ʔala 'if, when'
ʔala ʔ t k'áŧmn t ʔó-c's t máq'm. ... 'When you get to the first prairie. ...'
(322) ʔama 'if, whenever' (cf. 3.1.5)
ʔit k'áŧ ʔ č ʔ čŧáŧ ʔama ʔit wéq' č. 'You'll get there faster if you run.'
(323) qit 'like'
(324) yáŧ'ni 'and when (?)'

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

A few more particles could conceivably also be QAs, although I suspect that they are not. In some cases there is far too little evidence to make an evaluation, in others their known use makes them less likely candidates.

- (325) ʔáyŧix'a 'so that's what it is'
(326) k'aŧ 'so that'

- (327) núk'w, nuk'w 'some'
(328) taws 'when, while (past)'
(329) tiws 'when, while (present)'
(330) nám- 'done, past'
(331) ʔik'én 'few' PRED? (?like x'áq'w 'all')
(332) qáŧ- 'much, many' PRED (?like x'áq'w 'all')

Number 330 is somewhat like k'wáp in being primarily a predicate, but has recently developed other functions, notably as a past tense marker. In this role, however, it is compounded with a following predicate, rather than functioning as a QA. Numbers 331 and 332 are quantifiers, and as such would not be expected to be QAs. However, x'áq'w is also a quantifier, and is also a QA.

3.3. Co-occurring QAs with subject clitics. A limited number of sentences were found with more than one QA. These 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.

- (333) k'áq'w tanin xáwas s-k'a? =úl =iŧn-stawt.
better now first IMPF-look.for=LNK=food-1plSubj
'First let's go fishing now.' X&C (= 55)
(334) ʔó· sŧw tanin t č'ús šŧŧ-mit-ap.
oh too now INDEF always cry-MDL-2plPoss
'Oh, too much now you are always crying.' (= 285)

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.

- (335) k'áq'w tanin, xáwas ʔit náŧa-cš čŧ.
better now, first PERF rest-RFL we
'Well, now, first we will rest!'
(336) ʔó· k'áq'w tanin xáwas ʔ t naŧ=ínwat-m čŧ.
oh 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) ʔám u č t č'ús k'a s-ŧiŧn-stw-n titxí ʔa-sáŧi=tn. ...
when YET you/sg INDEF always FUT NOM-eat-CAUS-3Subj this 2sgPoss-two=instrument
'When you always feed this your partner. ...' (= 106)
(338) ʔám u č t č'ús k'a nč-x'úq'w ʔ t stánay. ...
when YET you/sg INDEF FUT one-gather to INDEF woman
'Always when you are together with a woman. ...'
(339) k'áq'w čn tanin ʔáy u k'a ʔac-ŧéŧx-ni-tulŧ.
better I now just YET FUT ST-see-IND-2plObj
'I'd better just watch you now. X&C (= 53)
(340) k'áq'w č xáwas ʔit ʔiŧn nč-x'úq'w-ŧ-ŧinim.
better you first PERF eat one-gather-ŧ-we
'First you'd better eat together with us.' (= 159)
In one sentence, subject clitics occur after both QAs.

(341) $\chi'áq^w$ čn ʔáy u čn † t čil=ó-ʔap-n.
better I just YET I UNR PERF ?=intercourse-3Obj
'Let me just make love to her (have her as mistress).' X&R (= 33)
Only one sentence was found where the subject clitic follows the second QA.

(342) síw t č'ús čn ʔac-č'ayá-č-†.
too INDEF always I ST-get.sleepy-†
'I am much too sleepy.' X&C (= 93, 287)

It was suggested above in comments on sentence 287 that different layers of derivation may be involved in this sentence. Since this is the only sentence of its type, that argument seems all the more likely to be correct.

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 These 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 ʔa- and tx'-) or as separate clitics; my practice has, in fact, vacillated. These morphemes are listed in 343-345.

(343) PROCLITICS AND PREPOSED PARTICLES:

ta 'past'
ʔa- 'back, again'
nk^s 'habitual action'
tx'- 'get, become, make'
q'a† 'ought, can, could, able (modal)'
ka 'future'

(344) ENCLITICS AND POSTPOSED PARTICLES:

(ʔ)u(ʔ) 'still, yet'
čsa 'again'

(345) MOVABLE:

tanin 'now, at present'
čən 'maybe'

Groups 343 and 344 occur with main predicates, whether in independent clauses or subordinate ones; in fact, some cause 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 ix^u '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

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 1985 and Thompson and Thompson 1992.

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 be inflected or derived, and 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 stative forms with ʔac-) 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 predicates (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 mode 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 predicates.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 subject 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 subject suffixes. These suffixes 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 adverb¹⁸ 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 imperfective 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. Excepting occurrence after $\chi'áq^w$ and $\chi'áwas$ 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 $\chi'áq^w$ and $\chi'áwas$ are different. Subject clitics occur late after $\chi'áq^w$ twice as often (65 times) as they occur early (33); five of the six cases of clitic doubling also occur

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'áq^w . xáwas 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 ?ám 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. 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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