

On the classification of Wakashan lexical suffixes

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1. The problem

- Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka) is a Southern Wakashan language spoken on Vancouver Island in British Columbia, Canada.
- Nuu-chah-nulth has over 100 locative lexical suffixes which are used to describe the location of an argument of a sentence (Rose 1981, Davidson 2002).

- (1) a. šušuwishtah
 šuwis-qhta[+R]-h
 shoes-**on.foot**-3.Q
 Is he wearing shoes?
- b. m̓uksʔiqisʔiš
 m̓uksʔi-is-ʔiš
 rock-**on.beach**-3.IND
 There's rocks on the beach.

- there is a contrast between two different classes of locative suffixes (Davidson 2002: 181; Rose 1981; Sapir and Swadesh 1939)
- some locative suffixes attach to the element which is located (the locatum), while others attach to the location

- (2) a. haʔum-ču-ʔiš qaʔuuc-ʔi
 food-**in.container**-3.IND burden.basket-DET
 There's food in the burden basket. (*suffix to locatum*)

- b. *qaʔuuc-ču-ʔiš haʔum
 burden.basket-**in.container**-3.IND food

- (3) a. qaʔuuc-či-ʔiš ʔama
 burden.basket-**in**-3.IND salal.berries
 The salal berries are in the burden basket. (*suffix to location*)

- b. *ʔama-či-ʔiš qaʔuuc
 salal.berries-**in**-3.IND burden.basket

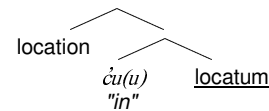
Question: what determines the combinatory properties of locative suffixes in Nuuchah-nulth?

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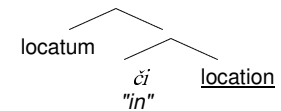
1.1 The proposal

- claim: locative suffixes in Nuuchah-nulth are a sub-type of affixal predicate
- affixal predicates in Nuuchah-nulth productively incorporate their direct objects (Yiu and Stonham 2000, Davis and Sawai 2001, Wojdak 2003)
- claim: the combinatory properties of lexical suffixes fall out from the argument structure of their predicate class (eg. unaccusative, transitive, location, locatum)
- claim: locative affixal predicates in Nuuchah-nulth fall into two classes: locatum and location predicates (terminology is from Hale & Keyser 2002).

(4) a. *locatum predicate*



b. *location predicate*



- locatum predicates incorporate only their direct object locatum (theme) argument; location predicates incorporate only their direct object location argument.

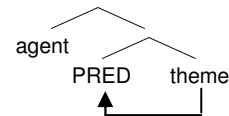
outline of the talk

- § 2 Syntactic diagnostics for argument structure
- § 3 An alternative proposal: governing/restrictive lexical suffixes
- § 3 Problems for the governing/restrictive analysis
- § 4 Conclusion & implications for the "areal feature" of lexical suffixes

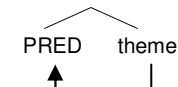
2. Syntactic diagnostics for the argument structure of affixal predicates

- claim: the combinatory properties of affixal predicates fall out from the argument structure of their predicate class (eg. transitive, unaccusative, location, locatum)
- affixal predicates incorporate their direct object:

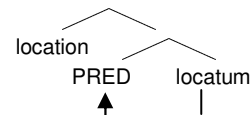
(5) a. *transitive affixal predicate*



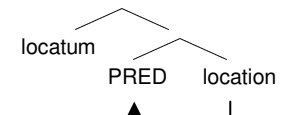
b. *unaccusative affixal predicate*



c. *locatum affixal predicate*



d. *location affixal predicate*



- in the absence of incorporation, all classes of affixal predicates attach to the expletive morpheme *ʔi-*

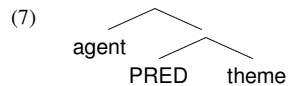
- (6) a. $\dot{c}isiicumwikʔi\dot{s}$
 $\dot{c}isiicum-wik[+L]-ʔi\dot{s}$
 headband-on.head-3.IND
 S/he's wearing a headband.
- b. $ʔuuwikʔi\dot{s}$ $\dot{c}isiicum$
 $ʔu-wik[+L]-ʔi\dot{s}$ $\dot{c}isiicum$
 \emptyset -on.head-3.IND headband
 S/he's wearing a headband.

- diagnostics for the syntactic position of arguments in Nuuchah-nulth

- (i) incorporation: only objects incorporate
- (ii) person inflection: matches subject
- (iii) possessor-raising: marking on predicate corresponds to subject
- (iv) word order: neutral VSO

2.1 Transitives

- structure for transitive affixal predicates:



diagnostic #1: only objects incorporate

- (8) a. $maḥʔiiʔamitʔi\dot{s}$ $\dot{c}akup$
 $maḥʔii-ʔaap-mit-ʔi\dot{s}$ $\dot{c}akup$
 house-buy-PST-3.IND man
 A man bought a house.
- b. * $\dot{c}akup-ʔaap-mit-ʔi\dot{s}$ $maḥʔii$
 man-buy-PST-3.IND house
 A man bought a house.

diagnostic #2: person inflection matches subject

- (9) $taanaquʔaaʔsi\dot{s}$
 $taana-yuʔaaʔ-si\dot{s}$
 money-find-1sg.IND
 I found money.

- (10) $ʔuuḥ\dot{c}iisi\dot{s}$ $\dot{c}isqmis$
 $ʔu-h\dot{c}ii[+L]-si\dot{s}$ $\dot{c}isqmis$
 \emptyset -cook-1sg.IND meat
 I am cooking meat.

diagnostic #3: possessor-raising corresponds to subject

- a possessive marker on the predicate refers to the subject, not to the object (Davidson 2002, Ravinski *in prep*).

- (11) $ʔu-yuʔaaʔ-uk-si\dot{s}$ $\dot{c}iniit\dot{c}$ $hupkumʔ$
 \emptyset -find-POSS-1sg.IND dog ball
 My dog found the ball.

(unavailable interpretation: "The dog found my ball.")

diagnostic #4: neutral VSO word order (Ahousesht dialect)

- (12) $ʔuʔuuʔukʔi\dot{s}$ Ken Kay
 $ʔu-yuk[+R]-3.IND$ Ken Kay
 \emptyset -cry.for-3.IND Ken Kay
 Ken is crying for Kay.

(unavailable interpretation: Kay is crying for Ken)

2.2 Unaccusatives

- this class of predicates has a single argument:

- (13) $ʔuḥiiʔi\dot{s}ʔaʔ$ $paastinʔaḥ$
 $ʔu-hii-ʔi\dot{s}-ʔaʔ$ $paastinʔaḥ$
 \emptyset -arrive-3.IND-PL Americans
 The Americans arrived.

- (14) a. $quʔacathʔi\dot{s}$
 $quuʔas-ʔaḥ-ʔi\dot{s}$
 people-reside-3.IND
 There's people living there.

- b. * $quuʔas-ʔaḥ-ʔi\dot{s}$ $maḥʔii$
 people-reside-3.IND house
 There's people living in the house.

- to the best of my knowledge, there are no unergative affixal predicates in Nuuchah-nulth. Unergative predicates in the language are non-affixal.

- (15) $nunuuk-wiʔas-ʔi\dot{s}$ $\dot{c}akup-ʔi$
 $nunuuk-sing-FUT-3.IND$ man-DET
 The man is going to sing.

- structure for unaccusative affixal predicates



diagnostic #3: possessor-raising corresponds to subject

- with **locatum** predicates, the possessor marker on the predicate can only refer to the location, not to the locatum.

(27) $\eta\text{-}\eta\text{a}\text{t}\text{-uk-}\eta\text{i}\text{s}$ $\eta\text{im}\text{t}\text{i}\text{i}$ Lucy $\text{č}\text{u}\text{p}\text{č}\text{u}\text{p}\text{s}\text{u}\text{m}\text{t}$
 \emptyset -**on.surface**-POSS-3.IND name Lucy sweater
 There is a name on Lucy's sweater.
 (consultant's comment: "could be ANY name, like a team name")

= ✓ A name is on Lucy's sweater. (possessive = location)

= * Lucy's name is on a sweater. (possessive = locatum)

(28) * $\eta\text{-}\eta\text{um}\text{t}\text{-uk-si}\text{s}$ $\text{sac}\text{k}\text{a}\eta\text{s}$ Lucy
 \emptyset -**on.head**-POSS-1sg.IND comb Lucy
 (cannot mean "Lucy has my comb(s) in her hair." (possessive= locatum))

- with **location** predicates, the possessor marker on the predicate can only refer to the locatum, not to the location.

(29) $\text{qa}\eta\text{uuc-}\text{č}\text{i-}\eta\text{ak-si}\text{s}$ $\eta\text{a}\eta\text{a}$
 basket-**in**-POSS-1sg.IND salal.berries
 = ✓ my salal berries are in the burden basket. (possessive= locatum)
 = * the salal berries are in my burden basket (possessive= location)

(30) $\eta\text{-}\text{ca}\eta\text{tak-uk-si}\text{s}$ $\text{q}^{\text{a}}\eta\text{uuc}$ $\text{maku}\eta\text{was}$
 \emptyset -**go.to**-POSS-3.IND grandchild store
 = ✓ My grandchild is heading towards the store. (possessive= locatum)
 = * Grandchild is heading towards my store. (possessive= location)

diagnostic #4: neutral VSO word order (Ahousesht dialect)

- in ambiguous contexts, speakers prefer fixed VSO word order.
- for **locatum** predicates, we predict default **predicate-location-locatum** word order.

(31) $\eta\text{u}\text{uq}\eta\eta\text{i}\text{s}$ $\text{č}\eta\text{a}\eta\text{aq}\eta\eta\text{ak}\eta\text{i}$ $\text{ci}\eta\text{x}\text{sac}$
 $\eta\text{-}\text{aq}\eta\text{-}\eta\text{i}\text{s}$ $\text{č}\eta\text{a}\eta\text{aq}\eta\eta\text{ak}\eta\text{-}\eta\text{i}$ $\text{ci}\eta\text{x}\text{sac}$
 \emptyset -**inside**-3 oven-DET frying.pan
 There's a frying pan in the oven.
 (consultant's comment: "you have to use this order, or else it sounds like the oven is in the frying pan")

- for **location** predicates, word order is standardly **predicate-locatum-location**:

(32) $\eta\text{uk}^{\text{w}}\eta\text{i}\text{s}$ $\eta\text{a}\eta\text{a}\eta\text{i}$ $\text{qa}\eta\text{uuc}$
 $\eta\text{-}\text{č}\text{i-}\eta\text{i}\text{s}$ $\eta\text{a}\eta\text{a-}\eta\text{i}$ $\text{qa}\eta\text{uuc}$
 \emptyset -**in**-3.IND salal.berries-DET burden.basket
 The salal berries are in a burden basket.

2.4 Summary

- affixal predicates in Nuu-chah-nulth fall into four classes:

- (i) transitive
- (ii) unaccusative
- (iii) locatum
- (iv) location

- affixal predicates suffix to (incorporate) their direct object

3. An alternative proposal: governing or restrictive lexical suffixes**Question:**

what determines the combinatory properties of locative suffixes in Nuu-chah-nulth?

- the traditional means of classifying lexical suffixes in Wakashan is to divide them into two main classes (Sapir and Swadesh 1939, Swadesh 1939, Rose 1981, Nakayama 1997, Davidson 2002):
 1. a root-like class of "**governing**" suffixes
 2. a modificational class of "**restrictive**" suffixes
- under the governing/restrictive analysis, locative suffixes belong to different classes (Davidson 2002: 181):

- (a) "location" suffixes like $-\text{č}\eta$ "in" are "governing" (root-like)
- (b) "locatum" suffixes like $-\text{č}\eta\text{u}$ "in a container" are "restrictive" (modifiers)

problems for the traditional "governing" vs. "restrictive" distinction

- §3.1 Similar syntactic distributions as predicates (Boas 1947, Wojdak 2003b)
- §3.2 Non-modificational uses of "restrictive" suffixes
- §3.3 Absence of unergative suffixes
- §3.4 Lack of uniformity within the "restrictive" class

3.1 Problem #1: Similar syntactic distributions as incorporating predicates

- Boas (1947: 237) rejected the governing/restrictive distinction in Wakashan, noting that it is not "based on internal evidence, but rather on our European classifications" (see Nakayama 1997 and Davidson 2002 for discussion).
- in Wojdak (2003b), I present evidence for syntactic similarities between "governing" and "restrictive" suffixes:

- (i) subject-object asymmetry in incorporation (cf. §2.1, 2.3)
- (ii) suffixation to the expletive $\eta\text{-}$ in the absence of incorporation
- (iii) suffixation to a *wh*-pronoun & relative pronoun objects

- in the absence of incorporation, both "governing" and "restrictive" suffixes attach to the morpheme *ni-*, which I analyse as an expletive (Wojdak 2003a)

(33)	a.	maḥtiʔiʔamitʔiʃ maḥtiʔi- <u>ʔaap</u> -mit-ʔiʃ house- <u>buy</u> -PST-3.IND A man bought a house.	čakup čakup man		("governing" suffix)
	b.	ʔuʔaamitʔiʃ ʔu- <u>ʔaap</u> -mit-ʔiʃ Ø- <u>buy</u> -PST-3.IND man A man bought a house.	čakup maḥtiʔi čakup maḥtiʔi house		
(34)	a.	haʔumčũʔiʃ haʔum- <u>čũ</u> -ʔiʃ food- <u>in.container</u> -3.IND There's food in the pot.	niisʔakʔi niisʔak-ʔi pot-DET		("restrictive" suffix)
	b.	ʔu- <u>čũũ</u> -ʔiʃ Ø- <u>in.container</u> -3.IND There's food in the pot.	niisʔak-ʔi pot-DET	haʔum food	

- both "governing" and "restrictive" suffixes attach to *wh-* & relative- pronoun objects

(35)	a.	ʔaqiʔamith ʔaqi- <u>ʔaap</u> -mit-ḥ what- <u>buy</u> -PST-3.INT What did Louis buy?	Louis Louis Louis		("governing" suffix)	
	b.	ʔaqičũḥ ʔaqi- <u>čũ</u> -ḥ what- <u>in.container</u> -3.Q What's in this pot?	ʔah ʔah DEIC	niisʔakʔi niisʔak-ʔi pot-DET	("restrictive" suffix)	
(36)	a.	ḥačumsiqsaksisḥ ḥačumsiqs-ak-sisḥ older.sibling-POSS-1sg.IND DEIC The man who Mary is waiting for is my older brother.	ḥaa ḥaa man-DET	čakupʔi čakup-ʔi REL- <u>wait.for</u> -3.REL	yaʃinḥiʔitq yaq- <u>ʔinḥi</u> -ʔitq Mary Mary	("governing" suffix)
	b.	ḥuʔčũuʔakʔiʃ ḥuʔ-čũu-ʔak-ʔiʃ good-result-POSS-3.IND The hat that lady is wearing is very nice.	ḥiʔičũmʔ ḥiʔičũmʔ REL- <u>on.head</u> -3.REL	yaquxsʔitq yaq- <u>uxs</u> -ʔitq DEIC	ḥaa ʔuucmaʔi ḥaa ʔuucma-ʔi woman-DET	("restrictive" suffix)

3.2 Problem #2: Non-restrictive uses of "restrictive" suffixes

- restrictive suffixes are proposed to have a less influential effect on the stem, neither determining its core semantics (Rose 1981) nor its syntactic class (Davidson 2002).
- it is claimed that "restrictive" affixal predicates do "not determine the class of the resultant word" (Davidson 2002). This claim corresponds to the following interpretational possibilities:

(37)	qaʔuuc- <u>čũ</u> pack.basket- <u>in.container</u> = 'pack-basket (that is) in a container' * 'in a pack-basket' (Tseshaht dialect: Davidson 2002: 181 ex. 275b)
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- problem:** my fieldwork on Nuu-chah-nulth has shown the opposite pattern:

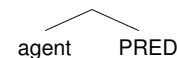
(38)	wikũm wik-ʔum NEG-2sg.IMP(F)	ʔuyii ʔuyii give	haʔumčũʔi haʔum- <u>čũũ</u> -ʔi food- <u>in.container</u> -DET Don't give her the one with food in it! (does not mean "Don't give her the food that's in a container.")
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- this interpretation is unexpected under the governing/restrictive hypothesis.²

3.3 Problem #3: Absence of unergative suffixes

- unergative suffixes appear to be systematically absent in Nuu-chah-nulth
- all unergative predicates in Nuu-chah-nulth are non-affixal
- the governing/restrictive hypothesis does not predict the absence of unergative suffixes
- the absence of unergative suffiixes follows from an analysis where Nuu-chah-nulth lexical suffixes are predicates which incorporate their objects: unergatives predicates would not have an object they could incorporate.

(39) argument structure for the non-affixal predicate *nunuuk* "sing"



² The interpretation follows from the predicate/argument flexibility which characterizes Wakashan languages. Any predicate can be converted to an argument in Nuu-chah-nulth via the addition of the enclitic determiner *-ʔi* (Wojdak 2001).

3.4 Problem #4: Lack of uniformity within the "restrictive" class

- "restrictive" suffixes in Nuu-chah-nulth include (Davidson 2002):
 - (i) a large class of "spatial disposition" suffixes
 - (a) path-orientation, eg. *-ʔaʔ* "attached on"
 - (b) locative
 - locale type*, eg. *-ʔas* "on the ground"
 - site type*, eg. *-cʰu(u)* "in a container"
 - (ii) a small miscellaneous class
 - (a) degree suffixes, eg. *-(q)aq* "very"
 - (b) plural suffixes, eg. *-mih*, *-t* "plural"
- claim: functional elements & lexical predicates do not form a unified class
- functional "restrictive" suffixes do not have the distribution of predicates:

- (40) a. * ʔu-minh-ʔiʃ quuʔas
 Ø-PL-3.IND person
- b. * ʔu-qaq-ʔiʃ qʷaçaʔ
 Ø-very-3.IND beautiful

- claim: even the predicative "restrictive" suffixes do not form a unified class
- predicates listed as "restrictive" (Sapir and Swadesh 1939, Rose 1981, Davidson 2002) fall into 3 classes:³

- (i) locatum predicates, eg. *-cʰuu* "in a container" (example 20)
- (ii) unaccusative, eg. *-ʔath* "reside" (example 14)
- (iii) transitive, eg. *-hçii* "cook" (example 9)

	Transitive	Unaccusative	Locatum	Location	Non-predicate
"restrictive"	✓ <i>-hçii</i> "cook"	✓ <i>-ʔath</i> "reside"	✓ <i>-cʰuu</i> "in"		✓ eg. <i>-mih</i> "PL"
"governing"	✓ <i>-ʔaap</i> "buy"	✓ <i>-iij</i> "arrive"		✓ <i>-çj</i> "in"	

3.4 Conclusion

- the governing/restrictive analysis is unsuccessful in capturing the predicative properties of Nuu-chah-nulth suffixes.
- the governing/ restrictive hypothesis should be abandoned for Wakashan languages (see also Boas 1947)

³ This is true for the Ahousaht dialect. I have yet to test the other dialects.

4. Conclusion

Question:

what determines the combinatory properties of locative suffixes in Nuu-chah-nulth?

Summary:

- locative suffixes in Nuu-chah-nulth are affixal predicates which incorporate their objects
- locative suffixes show two different argument structures:
 - (1) *locatum predicates* which take a locatum argument as object
 - (2) *location predicates* which take a location argument as object
- the traditional governing/restriction distinction for Wakashan lexical suffixes does not adequately treat the predicative properties of locative suffixes.

Typological implications

- lexical suffixation has long been treated as an areal feature of languages of the Pacific Northwest (see, for example, Sapir 1911, Swadesh 1948, Gerdts and Hinkson 1996, Kinkade 1998, Mithun 1999).
- like Wakashan languages, Salish languages have "locative" lexical suffixes that denote body parts.

- (41) ni cən kʷəs-cəs
 AUX 1sub. burn-hand
 I burned my hand. (Halkomelem Salish: Gerdts 1998: 95 ex. 41)

- it has been proposed that Salish lexical suffixes derive historically from nouns (Carlson 1989) and have undergone differing degrees of grammaticalisation as modifiers (Gerdts and Hinkson 1996).
- Gerdts (1998: 97) notes that there is support for the notion that "lexical suffixes can be regarded as incorporated nouns that have lost their status as free-standing nominals".
- In Wakashan, however, the inverse is true: lexical suffixes pattern productively as incorporating predicates in Nuu-chah-nulth.
- lexical suffixes in Wakashan are only superficially similar to their counterparts in Salishan languages.

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APPENDIX: Complex predicates in Nuu-chah-nulth

- in addition to their use as main predicates in a clause, locatum predicates also participate in the formation of complex predicates (Wojdak *in prep*):

(42) a. $\text{ʔik}^{\text{c}}\text{itum}^{\text{s}}\text{siš}$ Ken
 $\text{ʔik}^{\text{c}}\text{-}\underline{\text{c}}\text{itum}^{\text{u}}\text{-}\text{u}^{\text{s}}\text{-}\text{siš}$ Ken
 punch-**side.of.head**-PERF2-1sg.IND Ken
 I punched Ken on the side of the head.

b. $\text{ʔik}^{\text{c}}\text{-}\underline{\text{aksut}}^{\text{t}}\text{-}\text{it}^{\text{c}}\text{-}\text{ʔiš}$ Ken $\text{ʔuk}^{\text{w}}\text{i}^{\text{c}}\text{qsak}$
 punch-**on.mouth**-PST-3.IND Ken y.sibling-POSS
 Ken punched his younger sibling on the mouth.

c. $\text{taa}^{\text{q}}\text{ʔin}^{\text{t}}\text{ʔanitsiš}$ Ken
 $\text{taa}^{\text{q}}\text{-}\underline{\text{win}^{\text{t}}}\text{-}\text{ʔat}^{\text{c}}\text{-}\text{mit}^{\text{c}}\text{-}\text{siš}$ Ken
 squeeze-**on.neck**-PAS-PST-1sg.IND Ken
 I was being choked by Ken.

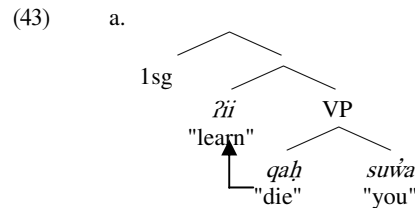
- complex predicates may also be composed of a non-locative predicate (eg. *-maḥsa* "want to") plus the predicate of its sentential complement.

(43) a. $\text{wa}^{\text{t}}\text{aakmaḥsa}^{\text{c}}\text{ʔiš}$ Kay mituuni
 $\text{wa}^{\text{t}}\text{aak-}\underline{\text{maḥsa}}^{\text{c}}\text{-}\text{ʔiš}$ Kay mituuni
 go.to-**want.to**-3.IND Kay Victoria
 Kay wants to go to Victoria.

b. $\text{qaq}^{\text{a}}\text{ḥatu}^{\text{t}}\text{itsiš}$ neen
 $\text{qaḥ-}\underline{\text{atu}^{\text{t}}}\text{[+R]-mit}^{\text{c}}\text{-siš}$ neen
 die-**dream.of**-PST-1sg.IND grandparent
 I dreamt that grandparent passed away.

c. $\text{wik-}\text{p}^{\text{u}}\text{u}^{\text{c}}\text{-}\underline{\text{ma}^{\text{c}}}\text{cuk}^{\text{c}}\text{-}\text{ʔiš}$ $\text{m}^{\text{a}}\text{m}^{\text{i}}$
 NEG-pay-**talk.about**-3.IND older.sibling
 Your older sibling is talking about getting paid nothing.

- the complex predicates in (43) can be analysed as cases of restructuring (a.k.a. reanalysis, clause union; see Wurmbrand 2001). Restructuring predicates in Nuu-chah-nulth take an infinitival complement, and incorporate the embedded predicate (Wojdak *in prep*).



b. $\text{qaḥ-}\text{ʔii}^{\text{c}}\text{-}\underline{\text{c}}\text{i}^{\text{c}}\text{-}\text{it}^{\text{c}}\text{-}\text{siš}$ suw^{a}
 die-**learn**-PERF-PST-1sg.IND you
 I heard that it was you who died.

- for future research:** is it possible to have a unified analysis of complex predicates where both the locative (42) and non-locative (43) cases are analysed as cases of restructuring? (Wojdak *in prep*)
- an alternative is treating the locative cases as compounds.