

Michael E. Krauss

A Grammar of Eyak

Edited by
Kevin Baetscher and Gary Holton

In collaboration with Sophie Borodkin, Anna Nelson
Harry, George Johnson, Lena Saska Nacktan,
Mike Sewak and Marie Smith

DE GRUYTER
MOUTON

Contents

Editors' introduction — XIX

Acknowledgments — XXV

Abbreviations — XXIX

Part I: Introduction

1 Introduction to the grammar — 3

- 1.1 The name Eyak — 4
- 1.2 Typological overview — 5
 - 1.2.1 Sound system — 5
 - 1.2.2 Verbs — 7
 - 1.2.3 Nouns — 12
 - 1.2.4 Postpositions and preverbs — 14
 - 1.2.5 Adjectives — 15
 - 1.2.6 Person-marking and alignment — 16
 - 1.2.7 Valency-changing operations — 18
 - 1.2.8 Negation — 20
- 1.3 Orthography and writing system — 21
- 1.4 Conventions — 23
 - 1.4.1 Exemplification and listing — 25
 - 1.4.2 Identification of sources of examples — 26
 - 1.4.3 Example glossing — 28
- 1.5 Priorities — 29
- 1.6 Comparative-historical approach, philology — 31
- 1.7 Evaluation, critique — 34
- 1.8 Organization of the grammar — 38

2 The Eyak language — 39

- 2.1 History of the Eyak language — 39
 - 2.1.1 Eyak language prehistory — 39
 - 2.1.2 Late prehistory — 44
 - 2.1.3 History of Eyak as a spoken language, 1800 to present — 45
- 2.2 Eyak dialectology — 53
- 2.3 Eyak in the Alaska Native Language Archive — 59

3	History of Eyak language documentation and study — 63
3.1	The Pre-Russian period, 1778–1791 — 63
3.1.1	Anderson 1778 — 64
3.1.2	Walker and Strange 1786 — 65
3.1.3	Colnett 1788 — 66
3.1.4	Malaspina 1791 — 67
3.2	The Russian period — 69
3.2.1	Purtov and Kulikalov 1794 — 70
3.2.2	Shelikhov 1796 — 71
3.2.3	Tarkhanov 1796–1797 — 74
3.2.4	Davydov 1802–1806 — 75
3.2.5	Rezanov 1805 — 76
3.2.6	Anonymous 1810 — 83
3.2.7	Baranov 1812 — 85
3.2.8	<i>Mithridates</i> 1816 and Gallatin — 86
3.2.9	Khromchenko 1823 — 87
3.2.10	Wrangell 1839 — 87
3.2.11	Veniaminov 1840 — 88
3.2.12	Radloff 1857 — 89
3.2.13	Buschmann 1855–1863 — 91
3.2.14	Furuhjelm 1862 and Gibbs — 92
3.2.15	Verman 1863 — 94
3.2.16	Summation of Russian period — 95
3.2.17	Eyak names in church and other records — 95
3.3	The American period — 96
3.3.1	Jacobsen 1883 — 97
3.3.2	Krause 1885 and Boas — 98
3.3.3	Harriman 1899 — 100
3.3.4	Frederica de Laguna — 101
3.3.5	Harrington 1940 — 110
3.3.6	Hoijer 1946 — 113
3.3.7	Li 1952 — 113
3.3.8	Austerlitz 1961 — 115
3.3.9	Krauss 1961–2019 — 117
3.4	Speakers in Eyak documentation 1961–2007 — 127
3.4.1	Anna Nelson Harry — 128
3.4.2	George Johnson — 129
3.4.3	Lena Saska Nacktan — 130
3.4.4	Marie Smith Jones — 132
3.4.5	Sophie Borodkin — 134
3.4.6	Mike Sewak — 135
3.5	Summary to 2006 — 135

Part II: Phonology

4 Phonemes — 141

- 4.1 Obstruents — 141
- 4.1.1 Obstruent system and practical orthography — 142
- 4.2 Sonorants — 144
- 4.2.1 Sonorant system and practical orthography — 147
- 4.3 Vowels — 147
- 4.3.1 Nasal vowels and nasal sonorants — 152
- 4.3.2 Reduced vowel contrasts in stems — 154
- 4.3.3 Reduced stem vowel contrasts and the status of labialization in velar obstruents — 158
- 4.3.4 Excursus: contrast between rounded and unrounded velars next to full vowels — 160
- 4.3.5 Reduced vowel contrasts in prefixes — 163
- 4.3.6 Vowel system and practical orthography — 169

5 Prosody — 171

- 5.1 Syllable definition and structure — 171
- 5.2 Stress — 173
- 5.3 Intonation — 177

6 Morphophonemics — 180

- 6.1 Umlauting nasalization — 180
- 6.2 *w ~ m* alternation — 182
- 6.3 *l ~ n* alternations — 183
- 6.3.1 *ʔw* and *ʔl* plus *-X* plus *-d* — 185
- 6.3.2 *l ~ n* alternations in verb prefixes — 185
- 6.3.3 Qualifier *l ~ n* with postpositions — 188
- 6.3.4 *l ~ n* qualifiers plus *l ~ n* (syllabic) stem-initials — 190
- 6.4 Denasalization adjacent to *n*; *-nʰA-* > *-ʔlA-*; *-ny-*; *-nl-* — 195
- 6.5 Denasalization across *ʔ* and *h*; *ny* and *nl* — 196
- 6.6 Combinations and expansion of reduced vowels in verb prefixes — 198
- 6.6.1 *CV+ʔi-* — 198
- 6.6.2 Delabialization of **CwA-* — 199
- 6.6.3 Expansion of qualifier vowel in pre-stem syllable in future and directive — 201
- 6.7 Verbal prefix *AN-* — 202
- 6.7.1 Possible relationship between *AN-* and *ʔi-* — 204
- 6.8 *ʔA- ~ Ø* — 204
- 6.9 *CV+yʔi-* — 205
- 6.10 Vowel harmony — 206

6.11	Vowel fronting —	207
6.12	Morphophonemics for <i>ʔ:lih-</i> —	208
6.13	Morphophonemics of the qualifier combination <i>d+l</i> (> <i>dlɑ:-</i> ~) —	208
6.14	Consonant morphophonemics —	210
6.14.1	Anomalous <i>gu-k-a:</i> —	213
6.14.2	Glottal stop sequences —	213
6.15	“Sandhi” —	213
6.16	Structure and morphophonemics of prefixes and of preverbals —	215
6.17	Epenthetic schwa —	217
6.17.1	Epenthesis in noun plus adjective —	217
6.17.2	Epenthesis in compounds —	221
6.17.3	Epenthesis in complex preverbals and phrasal nouns —	223
6.17.4	ʔ in deverbalizations —	224
6.17.5	Metathesis of <i>-qʔ-dA-</i> , and the possibility of double epenthesis —	225
6.17.6	Post-sonorant non-epenthetic schwa —	226
6.17.7	“Epenthetic” <i>i-</i> —	226
6.17.8	Synopsis for epenthesis —	227
7	Stem Structure and Variation —	229
7.1	Stem structure —	229
7.2	Statistical analysis of stem structure —	232
7.2.1	Number of stems altogether and for each onset and coda —	232
7.2.2	Correlations in place and manner of articulation between onset and coda —	234
7.2.3	Full vowel nucleus timbre and correlations with onset —	236
7.2.4	Nucleus timbre correlated with coda and onset obstruent series —	238
7.2.5	Stigma and coda manner of articulation —	240
7.3	Stem variation —	244
7.3.1	Inflectional stigmatic verb stem variation —	245
7.3.2	Variable open stems —	245
7.3.3	Invariable open stems —	249
7.3.4	Variable closed stems —	250
7.3.5	Expansion, status of stigma —	253
7.3.6	Derivational stigmatic stem variation —	255
7.3.7	Other types of stem variation —	260
7.4	Disyllabic and sonorant-final stems —	263
7.4.1	Disyllabics —	263
7.4.2	“Sesquisyllabics” and sonorant codas in Russian sources —	271
7.4.3	Variation involving coda sonorants and disyllables —	276
7.4.4	Variation between disyllables and monosyllables —	278
7.5	Stem-final CC clusters —	279

Part III: Morphology

- 8 Introduction to the morphology — 289**
 - 8.1 Morphological categories — 289
 - 8.2 Order of presentation — 290
 - 8.3 Constraint against duplication of prefixes — 291
- 9 Pronouns — 293**
 - 9.1 Personal pronoun prefixes — 293
 - 9.2 Independent personal pronouns — 298
 - 9.3 Notes on reciprocal and reflexive — 300
 - 9.4 Demonstrative pronouns — 301
- 10 Verb morphology — 303**
 - 10.1 Introduction to verb morphology — 303
 - 10.1.1 Treatment of verb morphology in this grammar — 305
 - 10.1.2 Verb theme, verb word — 306
 - 10.1.3 The concept of verb base — 307
 - 10.2 Verb prefix zones — 307
 - 10.2.1 Zone A — 308
 - 10.2.2 Zone B — 309
 - 10.2.3 Zone C — 314
 - 10.2.4 Zone D — 315
 - 10.3 Verb suffix sequence — 317
- 11 Classifiers — 321**
 - 11.1 Classifier morphophonemics — 322
 - 11.2 Classifier system and order of presentation — 323
 - 11.3 Regular processes entailing use of the classifier *dA-* — 324
 - 11.3.1 *D-* with direct reflexives, direct reciprocals, and passives — 324
 - 11.3.2 *D-* with indirect reflexives and reciprocals — 326
 - 11.3.3 *D-* with perambulatives — 328
 - 11.3.4 *D-* with iterative *q'e'* — 328
 - 11.3.5 *D-* with covert reciprocals — 330
 - 11.3.6 *D-* with detransitivization with indeterminate direct object *'i-* — 331
 - 11.3.7 *D-* with detransitivization with indefinite object *k'u-* — 337
 - 11.3.8 *D-* with errative₂ and 'stagger' — 338
 - 11.4 Regular processes entailing the use of the classifier *L-* — 339
 - 11.4.1 Causative — 340
 - 11.4.2 *L-* with intensives — 344
 - 11.4.3 *L-* with postpositional phrase *o-X* — 345
 - 11.4.4 *L-* with acquisitionals — 348

- 11.4.5 *L-* with comparative — 349
- 11.4.6 *L-* with transitive classificatory verbs — 349
- 11.5 Regular derivational use of combined *L-* and *dA-* (> *LA-*) — 350
- 11.6 Thematic or lexically determined classifiers — 352
- 11.6.1 Ø- classifier statives limited to Active perfective — 352
- 11.6.2 Statistical survey — 353
- 11.6.3 “Middle voice” — 355
- 11.6.4 Classifier in denominal verbs — 356

- 12 Conjugation and mode-aspect — 366**
 - 12.1 “Core” system of imperfective and perfective aspects — 367
 - 12.1.1 “Core” system prefixes and morphophonemics — 367
 - 12.1.2 Movement of the *s-* perfective prefix, and negatives — 371
 - 12.1.3 Active imperfective — 373
 - 12.1.4 Active perfective (*s-* perfective) — 374
 - 12.1.5 Inceptive imperfective (future) — 378
 - 12.1.6 Inceptive perfective (progressive) — 380
 - 12.1.7 Neuter imperfective and Neuter perfective — 381
 - 12.2 Excursus: verb theme classes — 385
 - 12.3 Conditional aspect; imperative, optative, desiderative modes — 387
 - 12.3.1 Conditional aspect — 387
 - 12.3.2 Imperative mode — 392
 - 12.3.3 Optative mode — 409
 - 12.3.4 Desiderative mode — 419
 - 12.4 Prefixation pattern through mode-aspect — 427
 - 12.4.1 Mode vs. aspect — 430
 - 12.4.2 Meaning of conjugation prefixes through mode-aspects and in derivations — 431
 - 12.4.3 Conspectus — 438
 - 12.4.4 Combination of *ʔa-* and *GA-* — 439

- 13 Conjugation tables — 442**
 - 13.1 Limitations of conjugation tables for Eyak — 442
 - 13.2 Third-person conjugation table — 444
 - 13.3 Subject-mode-aspect conjugation tables — 444

- 14 Verb theme classes — 456**
 - 14.1 Eyak verb theme classes as a system — 456
 - 14.2 Class 1. Action themes — 457
 - 14.3 Class 2. Motion themes — 458
 - 14.3.1 Class 2a. Locomotion — 458
 - 14.3.2 Class 2b. Postural — 460

14.3.3	Class 2c. Classificatory — 460
14.4	Class 3. Stative themes — 461
14.4.1	Class 3a. Neuter imperfective stative — 462
14.4.2	Class 3b. Inceptive perfective stative — 462
14.4.3	Class 3c. Active perfective stative and 3d. Neuter perfective stative — 462
14.5	Multiple membership vs. primary membership in verb theme classes — 463
14.6	Comments on statives generally — 465
14.7	Neuter imperfective stative verb themes and derivations — 466
14.7.1	Verbs of being, 'have' — 467
14.7.2	Dimensionals and verbs of extent — 469
14.7.3	Quality descriptives — 472
14.7.4	Verbs of perception and aversion — 474
14.7.5	Nouns from verbs otherwise unattested as Neuter imperfective — 475
14.7.6	Neuter imperfective derivations — 477
14.8	Inceptive perfective stative — 482
14.9	Semantic subgroupings of Inceptive perfective statives — 483
14.10	Active and Neuter perfective statives — 490
14.10.1	Basic function of Active perfective and Neuter perfective — 491
14.10.2	Active perfective pole — 492
14.10.3	Neuter perfective pole — 495
14.10.4	Intermediate types — 497
14.10.5	Nominalizations with Active and Neuter perfective statives — 498
14.10.6	Active perfective and Neuter perfective statives derived from noun stems — 499
14.10.7	Overlap with Inceptive perfective stative — 501
15	Verb derivations — 503
15.1	"Prefix strings" — 504
15.2	Usitative — 505
15.2.1	Non-relativized use of the usitative — 505
15.2.2	Usitative in relativizations — 509
15.3	Repetitive — 512
15.3.1	Morphology of the repetitive — 512
15.3.2	Semantics of the repetitive — 513
15.4	Persistent — 528
15.4.1	Morphology of the persistent — 529
15.4.2	Semantics of the persistent — 530
15.5	Customary — 539
15.5.1	Semantics of the customary — 539
15.5.2	Customary with o-ya:X 'lest o' — 540
15.5.3	Morphology of the customary — 542
15.5.4	Usage of the customary — 545

- 15.6 *qAXA*- 'multiple' — 556
- 15.7 *yAX* perambulative — 558
- 15.7.1 Semantics — 559
- 15.7.2 Morphology — 560
- 15.7.3 Mode-aspects with *yAX* perambulative — 561
- 15.7.4 Combination with other derivations — 564
- 15.7.5 Nominalizations with *yAX* perambulative — 565
- 15.7.6 Restricted *yAX* perambulative, 'reversal of motion' — 566
- 15.7.7 Restricted *lah*-Perambulative — 567
- 15.8 Progressive — 568
- 15.8.1 Semantics and function of the progressive — 569
- 15.8.2 Locomotion — 570
- 15.8.3 Durativity — 571
- 15.8.4 Transition, inceptivity — 574
- 15.8.5 Subtypes of progressive in contrast — 575
- 15.8.6 Relativizations with progressive — 576
- 15.9 Directive — 577
- 15.9.1 Morphology of the directive — 578
- 15.9.2 Derivational function, semantic groups — 579
- 15.9.3 Eyak directive compared with the Athabaskan — 590

16 Preverbals — 597

- 16.1 Internal composition of preverbals — 598
- 16.2 Preverbal initials and qualifiers — 601
- 16.3 Augments or preverbal stem nuclei — 602
- 16.4 Preverbal finals, and compounding — 603
- 16.5 Eyak preverbals compared with Athabaskan — 605
- 16.6 Postpositions, derivations, and possessed nouns — 606
- 16.6.1 Derivations of postpositions — 608
- 16.6.2 Postpositions and possessed nouns — 610
- 16.7 Order of preverbals, internal syntax — 610
- 16.8 External syntax of preverbals — 615
- 16.9 Preverbals in dictionary and grammar — 616
- 16.10 Presentation of preverbals — 616
- 16.10.1 Preverbals with initial element *d*- — 617
- 16.10.2 Preverbals with initial element *X*- — 621
- 16.10.3 Preverbals with initial element *ch*'- — 623
- 16.10.4 Preverbals with initial element *y*- — 625
- 16.10.5 Preverbals with initial element *l*- — 627
- 16.10.6 Preverbals with initial element *w*- — 629
- 16.10.7 Preverbals beginning with *Ca*'- and *Cah*- — 630
- 16.10.8 Preverbals with initial *tl*'- and *q*'- — 635

- 16.10.9 Preverbal *tʂa'* ~ — **638**
- 16.10.10 Open-stem preverbals with front vowel — **639**
- 16.10.11 Open-stem preverbals with vowel /u/ — **644**
- 16.10.12 Preverbals with schwa nucleus and uvular coda — **645**
- 16.10.13 Comparative postpositions — **649**
- 16.10.14 Preverbals with initials ' and -Ø — **650**
- 16.10.15 Remaining miscellaneous preverbals — **652**
- 16.11 Compounding of preverbals — **653**
- 16.12 Preverbals incorporated into the verb word, and the reverse — **655**

17 Qualifiers — 660

- 17.1 Summary description and listing — **661**
- 17.1.1 Special traits of C3 qualifiers in multiple positions — **664**
- 17.1.2 Special traits of C4 qualifiers — **665**
- 17.2 Athabaskan qualifiers compared with Eyak — **667**
- 17.2.1 Eyak cognates of Athabaskan *q^wə- and *qə- — **668**
- 17.3 Constraint against qualifier duplication — **670**
- 17.4 Constituent hierarchy — **671**
- 17.5 Degree of productivity — **672**
- 17.6 History of study; coverage in this grammar — **673**
- 17.7 Intrinsic and extrinsic qualifiers — **674**
- 17.8 Primary and secondary qualifier combinations — **675**
- 17.9 Manner and order of presentation — **676**
- 17.10 The individual qualifiers and their combinations — **679**
- 17.10.1 'i:lih- ~ 'mental' — **679**
- 17.10.2 q- 'plurality' — **680**
- 17.10.3 d- qualifier — **684**
- 17.10.4 l- qualifier — **705**
- 17.10.5 G- qualifier — **735**
- 17.10.6 X- qualifier — **747**
- 17.10.7 g- qualifier — **757**
- 17.10.8 ti:-l- qualifier (combination) — **776**
- 17.10.9 qi:- qualifier(s?) — **777**
- 17.10.10 lX- qualifier — **783**
- 17.10.11 ku:-l- ~ ku:n- qualifier — **787**
- 17.10.12 Xu:-l- qualifier — **788**
- 17.10.13 k'ush- qualifier — **789**
- 17.10.14 ch'a:n-d- qualifier (combination) — **790**
- 17.10.15 djAXA- qualifier — **791**
- 17.10.16 tsin'- qualifier — **791**
- 17.10.17 qu:(l)- qualifier — **793**
- 17.10.18 y- qualifier — **793**

- 17.10.19 s- qualifier — **801**
- 17.10.20 w- as a possible qualifier — **803**

18 Nominals — 805

- 18.1 Nominal stems vs. verbal stems — **805**
- 18.2 Statistics of nominal types — **807**
- 18.3 Noun-classification by qualifiers — **807**
- 18.4 Stem nouns — **809**
- 18.5 Possessed nouns — **810**
- 18.5.1 Possessed nouns without qualifiers — **810**
- 18.5.2 Possessed nouns with qualifiers — **812**
- 18.5.3 *-n-dAleh* ‘horn’ and *-Xu:nLAYah* ‘tooth’, possessed nouns from verbs — **815**
- 18.6 Part nouns and nouns of the form *-L-STEM-L* — **816**
- 18.7 *t’ahl* ~ *-L-t’ahl* ‘leaf, feather’ — **820**
- 18.8 Nouns attested both possessed and unpossessed — **820**
- 18.8.1 *ts’Al* ~ *-ts’Alih* ‘bone’ — **821**
- 18.8.2 *Xe:* ~ *-Xe* ‘grease’ — **822**
- 18.8.3 *ya:* ~ *-ya* ‘thing’ — **823**
- 18.8.4 Other stem nouns attested both possessed and unpossessed — **823**
- 18.9 Unpossessed nouns — **828**
- 18.9.1 Unpossessed nouns with qualifiers — **829**
- 18.10 Phrasal nouns — **832**
- 18.10.1 Compounds, with unpossessed nouns as head — **832**
- 18.10.2 Compounds, with possessed nouns as head — **836**
- 18.10.3 Phrasal nouns with unpossessed nouns as head with postpositional phrases — **837**
- 18.11 Nominalization of postpositions — **839**
- 18.12 Nominalizations of verbs: lexicalized relativizations — **840**
- 18.12.1 Active imperfective lexicalized relativizations — **842**
- 18.12.2 “Instrumental” relativizations — **846**
- 18.12.3 Lexicalized relativizations of other than Active imperfective — **852**
- 18.12.4 Status of relativizations and morphosyntactic definition of lexicalization — **862**
- 18.13 Nominalizations of verbs: deverbalizations — **865**
- 18.13.1 Gerund — **868**
- 18.13.2 Verbal nouns — **876**
- 18.13.3 Instrumental and descriptive deverbalizations, *-L* suffixation — **883**
- 18.13.4 Object prefixes in deverbalizations — **899**
- 18.13.5 External syntax of deverbalizations — **906**
- 18.13.6 Acquisitional — **909**
- 18.14 Loanwords — **913**
- 18.14.1 Loans from Tlingit — **914**

- 18.14.2 Loans from Chinook Jargon — **922**
- 18.14.3 Loans from Chugach — **923**
- 18.14.4 Loans from Russian — **925**
- 18.14.5 Loans from Ahtna — **927**
- 18.14.6 Diffusions — **928**
- 18.14.7 Loans from English — **930**
- 18.15 Unanalyzable nouns — **931**

19 Adjectives — 934

- 19.1 Dependent use — **936**
- 19.2 Independent use, syntax — **939**
- 19.3 Multiple adjectives — **942**
- 19.4 Adverbialization with *-dah* — **943**
- 19.5 Adjectives with thematic (*'i-*/*Gi-*) — **943**
- 19.6 Adjectives with preverbals — **944**
- 19.7 Adjectives with anatomical and thematic qualifiers — **945**
- 19.8 Epithets and names — **946**
- 19.9 Lexicalizations — **947**
- 19.10 Diminutive *-kih* — **948**

20 Numerals — 950

- 20.1 Morphology of abstract counting — **950**
- 20.2 Morphology of non-abstract counting — **953**
- 20.3 Syntax, ordinals — **955**
- 20.4 Measurement — **955**
- 20.4.1 Time measurement — **956**
- 20.4.2 Distance measurement — **956**
- 20.5 Arithmetic — **957**
- 20.6 Older sources on numerals — **957**

21 Adverbials — 961

- 21.1 Adverbs — **961**
- 21.1.1 Adverbs with adverbializer *-dah* — **961**
- 21.1.2 Other adverbs, without *-dah* — **962**
- 21.2 Areal and demonstrative adverbials — **965**
- 21.2.1 Areal adverbials — **966**
- 21.2.2 Demonstrative adverbials — **968**
- 21.3 Interjections — **971**
- 21.4 Imitatives and poetics — **973**

22 Clitics — 975

- 22.1 Proclitics — **975**

22.2 Enclitics — 979

Part IV: Syntax

23 Interrogatives — 991

- 23.1 Content questions — 991
- 23.2 Prefixation, proclitics — 993
- 23.3 Affixation (or compounding) — 993
- 23.4 Syntax of interrogatives — 999
- 23.5 *de:ga'da:Xd* 'when?' — 1005
- 23.6 *k'e:'wAXd* 'why?' — 1006
- 23.7 *tla:* 'where?' — 1007

24 Negation — 1010

- 24.1 Thematic negative — 1011
- 24.2 Cautionary prohibitive — 1012
- 24.3 Full Negation — 1014
- 24.3.1 *dik'* alone, in non-verbal constructions — 1014
- 24.3.2 The frame *dik'* ____-G in non-verbal constructions — 1015
- 24.3.3 The frame *dik'* ____-G in verbal constructions — 1018
- 24.3.4 Negative words *k'udu:*, *k'ude:*, *k'udAX*, *k'ude:dah* — 1023
- 24.3.5 Avoidance of double negatives — 1029
- 24.4 Negative Inceptive perfective, 'not yet' — 1030
- 24.4.1 Negative Inceptive perfective type one — 1032
- 24.4.2 Negative Inceptive perfective type two — 1034
- 24.4.3 Negative Inceptive perfective, mixed type — 1035
- 24.5 Other negative-like constructions — 1036
- 24.5.1 Prohibitive *ya'Xu:* — 1036
- 24.5.2 *k'a:di'da:* 'useless to' — 1037
- 24.5.3 *o-Xda:d* 'without' — 1038
- 24.5.4 *k'uda:d* 'nowhere' — 1038

25 Clause-level syntax — 1039

- 25.1 Basic word order and syntactic structure — 1041
- 25.1.1 Notes on clauses with Complement — 1047
- 25.1.2 Pronouns in the preverbal constituent, especially demonstratives — 1049
- 25.1.3 Relativizer enclitic spread, ambiguities — 1051
- 25.1.4 Demonstratives as determiners and as pronouns, ambiguities — 1060
- 25.1.5 Third person differentiation with o/P — 1061
- 25.1.6 Further ambiguities — 1062
- 25.2 Syntactic structure of noun phrases with possessives — 1064

25.3 Non-verbal clauses — 1069

26 Complex clauses — 1072

26.1 Relative clauses — 1072

26.2 Complex clauses with postpositional subordination — 1078

26.3 Complex clauses with *'ida: ~ 'idA-* — 108426.4 Complex clauses with verb stem *-le()* — 1090

26.5 Complex clauses with subordinate clause in desiderative mode — 1091

26.6 Complex clauses with the preverb *qi'* — 1093

26.7 Other complex clauses, with zero subordinator — 1095

26.8 Mode-aspect in complex clauses — 1098

27 Enclitic series — 1100

27.1 Morphology of enclitic series — 1100

27.2 Syntax of *=q'* enclitics — 110227.2.1 Placement of *=q'* enclitics — 110227.2.2 Choice of reduced demonstrative with *=q'* — 111527.2.3 Reduced demonstratives with *=q'* and verbal enclitics *=inh* and *=inu:* — 1120

27.2.4 Text samples of particular interest — 1121

27.2.5 *q'unhAw*, *q'unhAl*, and other compound enclitic attachments — 112327.3 Enclitics with *=sh* (polar interrogative) — 112427.3.1 *=sh* — 112527.3.2 *=shuh* — 112827.3.3 *=shAw* — 113027.3.4 *=shunh* — 113227.3.5 *=shuhnu:* — 113427.3.6 *=shunhAw* — 113427.3.7 *=inh* and *=inu:* plus *=sh* — 113527.4 Interrogative enclitic *=d* — 113627.5 Exclamatory *=duh ~* — 113727.6 Combinations of *=sh* and *=q'* enclitics — 114127.7 Combinations of *=sh* and *=d* enclitics — 114427.8 Possible combination *=d* and *=q'* enclitics — 1145

27.9 Historical summary for enclitic series — 1145

27.10 Copular uses of the enclitics — 1146

Bibliography — 1151**Index — 1159**