

A Comparison of Preverbs in Kutenai and Algonquian<sup>1</sup>

Matthew S. Dryer  
SUNY Buffalo

1. Introduction

In Dryer (1992), I described an obviation system in Kutenai, a language isolate spoken in southeastern British Columbia and adjacent areas in Montana and Idaho, that bears a striking resemblance to the obviation system found in Algonquian languages. In that paper, I suggested that these similarities were unlikely to be due to accident and that the most likely explanation was contact at some point between Kutenai and Algonquian. In this paper I describe another similarity, though one that is not nearly as striking and which could well be accidental.

Kutenai has a set of words that I call preverbs and that resemble preverbs in Algonquian languages in a number of respects. Most of this paper is devoted to describing preverbs in Kutenai, with occasional comparisons to preverbs in Algonquian languages. While the discussion of Algonquian languages is rather brief, it is hoped that the discussion of preverbs in Kutenai may lead to deeper examination of analogous issues relating to preverbs in Algonquian languages.

2. The Verbal Complex in Kutenai

Clauses in Kutenai can be characterized as consisting of an obligatory verbal complex preceded and/or followed by nominal expressions, though nominal expressions normally follow the verbal complex. The only element that is obligatory in the verbal complex is the verb itself. The example in (1) illustrates a simple sentence with one nominal expression preceding the verb, and two nominal expressions following the verb.

- (1) taxa-s      n<sup>2</sup>ik-maʔ-ni                      xaʔi-ʔis      niʔ-s      kaʔtat-s  
then-OBV    INDIC=eat-ASSOC-INDIC    son-3POSS    the-OBV    shrew-OBV  
Nom        Verb (Verbal Complex)        Nom                Nom  
‘Then he and his son ate the shrews’ (Boas Text 56, line 85)

The verbal complex consists of the verb itself, preceded optionally by a number of grammatical morphemes or words that are loosely attached to the verb and which Morgan (1991) analyses as clitics. At least five different positions can be distinguished among these preverbal elements in the verbal complex, according to the formula in (2).

- (2) Verb Complex =  
(Early Particles)\* + (Subord) + (Pro) + (Indic Proclitic) + (Preverbs)\* + Verb

The example in (3) illustrates a sentence in which the verbal complex consists of three words, a subject pronominal *hu* indicating a first person subject, a preverb *qa-k-iʔ* ‘there’, and the verb *ʔiʔwani* ‘shoot’.

- (3) hu            qa-k-iʔ            ʔiʔwa-ni            kiʔqaʔi            ʔa-kwukʔiʔit-s  
1,SUBJ    there-PRVB    shoot-INDIC    elk                mountain-OBV  
PRO        PREVERB        VERB  
‘I shot (and killed) an elk [prox] on the mountain [obv].’

In (3), the verbal complex is followed by two nominal expressions. The example in (4) is an example in which there are no nominal expressions, where the clause consists only of the verbal complex, but where the verbal complex consists of six elements, two early particles, *ɸin* ‘just’ and *ma* ‘past’; the subordinative clitic *k-*; two preverbs *sɨ* ‘durative’ and *ʔaɸmaɨ* ‘for a short time’; and the verb *ʔin* ‘be’.

- (4)  $\begin{array}{cccccc} \text{ɸin} & \text{ma=} & \text{k=} & \text{s-ɨ} & \text{ʔaɸma-ɨ} & \text{ʔin} \\ \text{just} & \text{PAST=} & \text{SUBORD=} & & \text{DUR-PRVB} & \text{short.time-PRVB} \\ \text{be} & & & & & \\ \text{EARLY} & \text{EARLY} & \text{SUBORD} & \text{PREVERB} & \text{PREVERB} & \text{VERB} \\ \text{‘[he forgot that] he just turned into one for a short time (subordinative)’} & & & & & \\ & & & & & \text{(Tape 71, Second Part, line 97)} \end{array}$

What I will call preverbs in Kutenai occur in the fifth position in the verbal complex, immediately preceding the verb. I will first briefly discuss the elements that occur in the first four positions in the verbal complex and then discuss preverbs in depth. The first position in the verbal complex contains what I call ‘early particles’ because they occur early in the verbal complex. There can be more than one early particle, as in (4). Although they are not the subject of this paper, the kinds of meanings they have are somewhat similar to those of preverbs and some of them correspond in meaning to preverbs in Algonquian languages. The next three positions in the verbal complex can contain at most one element. The middle of these three positions is the position for the pronominal clitics associated with first and second person. These elements specifically code person and not number, since expressions of first or second person plural are expressed by a combination of a preverbal clitic and a verbal suffix, as in (5).

- (5)  $\begin{array}{cccccc} \text{qapsin} & \text{ɸin} & \text{k=in} & \text{s-iɨ} & \text{ɸi-kat-ap-kiɨ} & \\ \text{why} & \text{just} & \text{SUBORD=2} & & \text{DUR-PRVB} & \text{look.at-1SG,OBJ-2PL} \\ \text{‘why are you [plural] looking at me?’} & & & & & \text{(Boas Text 63, line 44, p. 188)} \end{array}$

The subject in (5) is represented by two morphemes, the preverbal subject clitic *in*, which combines in this example with the subordinative clitic *k-* to form the third word *kin* in (5), and the second person plural suffix *-kiɨ*, which occurs at the end of verb. The general form of the preverbal second person subject clitic is *hin*, but the /h/ is deleted after consonants, in this case after the subordinative clitic *k-*.

The second and fourth positions in the verbal complex are for two morphemes, the subordinative clitic and the indicative clitic, which are in complementary distribution, indicating two moods in Kutenai (a third mood is the imperative). Although these two morphemes are in complementary distribution, they occur in different positions in the verbal complex, the subordinative clitic preceding subject clitics, the indicative clitic following subject clitics. The subordinative mood is used in subordinate clauses (as in (1) above) and in questions (as in (5) above). The indicative clitic takes the form *n-* before /h/ or /ʔ/, but is otherwise null. When either the subordinative clitic or the indicative clitic occurs before /ʔ/, they coalesce with the /ʔ/ to form an ejective consonant, *ḳ-* in the case of the subordinative clitic, *ṇ-* in the case of the indicative clitic. The example in (6) illustrates an instance in which the indicative clitic is nonnull, preceding the durative preverb *ʔupsiɨ*, with the resultant form *ṇupsiɨ*. In dividing these forms into morphemes in the examples cited, I place the ejective symbol above the hyphen, as in *ṇ=upsiɨ*, since it goes with the following word morphologically but goes with the preceding clitic phonologically.

- (6)  $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{ṇ=ups-iɨ} & \text{suk-iɨ} & \text{kqaɸ-i} \\ \text{INDIC=“DUR”-PRVB} & \text{good-PRVB} & \text{travel-INDIC} \\ \text{‘His trip went well all the way.’} & & \end{array}$

### 3. Two Initial Comparisons with Algonquian

The position of the subject clitics in Kutenai, before preverbs, is one respect in which preverbs in Kutenai resemble preverbs in Algonquian languages. Compare the Kutenai example in (7), with the first person subject clitic *hu* preceding the future preverb  $\phi xa\ddot{t}$ , with the Passamaquoddy-Maliseet example in (8), with the third person subject prefix *w-* preceding the preverb *tapi* ‘be back’.

(7) hu  $\phi xa\ddot{t}$              $\text{?itkn-ik}\phi\text{-iski}\ddot{t}\text{-ni}$   
1 FUT-PRVB    fix-BENEF-2PL-INDIC  
PRO PREVERB            VERB  
‘I will fix it for you’ (Tape NS.28, No. 6, line 3)

(8) w-tap-i                    nutephal  
3-be.back-PRVB            take.out  
PRO PREVERB                VERB  
‘he is back from taking him out’ (Leavitt 1985: 75)

On the other hand, a difference between preverbs in Kutenai and preverbs in Algonquian is that the latter can be separated from the verb by other material, as in the Passamaquoddy-Maliseet example in (9).

(9) n-kot-i            na nil    nac-i            epeskom  
1-want-PRVB    too 1SG    go-PRVB    play.ball  
‘I, too, want to go play ball’ (Leavitt 1985: 76)

This does not appear to be possible in Kutenai.

### 4. Preverbs: Words or Affixes?

The question of whether preverbs should be considered separate words is not a straightforward question in either Kutenai or Algonquian. Previous work on Kutenai is not consistent on this question. Boas (1918) represents preverbs as bound to the verb, apparently treating them as prefixes, and Garvin (1948a,b,c) is explicit in analysing them as prefixes (although he is not entirely consistent in this respect). Morgan (1991), in contrast, calls them ‘adverbs’ and represents them as separate words, a practice followed in the modern orthography and in this paper. One reason for calling them ‘preverbs’ rather than ‘adverbs’ is that what are called adverbs in most languages normally do not have to occur adjacent to the verbs. Many preverbs have meanings corresponding to adverbs in European languages, as discussed below, but the range of meanings associated with preverbs is broader than that typically associated with word classes in other languages called ‘adverbs’.

Phonological evidence is ambivalent with respect to the question of whether preverbs are separate words phonologically. On the one hand, preverbs are part of the phonological word as far as stress is concerned. Stress is penultimate and occurs on the preverb if the verb is monosyllabic. This can be illustrated by reference to segmental phonology. There is a phonological rule in Kutenai (Morgan 1991) that deletes a glottal stop when it follows an unstressed vowel and precedes a consonant, except in the final syllable of a word. The effect of this is there are a number of underlying glottal stops that

only surface in penultimate (or final) syllables, but are otherwise absent. Most preverbs in Kutenai end in a suffix which is underlyingly  $-(i)(?)\text{ʔ}$ . But the glottal stop in this suffix normally only surfaces in penultimate syllables, because of the rule just mentioned. For example, the preverb  $hu(?)\text{ʔ}$  ‘finish’ normally occurs without the glottal stop, as in (10).

- (10) s-iʔ          hu-ʔ          ʔitkin-i          taxa-s          skinkuɕ  
 dur-PRVB    finish-PRVB    make-INDIC    then-OBV    coyote  
                   kiʔ=suʔk-s                    qapsin-s  
                   SUBORD=good-OBV                    thing-OBV  
 ‘Then Coyote finished making things good.’ (Boas Text 63, line 36)

However, when the preverb  $hu(?)\text{ʔ}$  occur before a monosyllabic verb, the glottal stop surfaces, as in (11).

- (11) k=in          hu-ʔʔ          ɕxa ʔ  
 SUBORD=2    finish-PRVB    talk  
 ‘Are you through talking?’

This contrast can only be accounted for if we assume that the preverb combines with the verb as far as stress assignment is concerned: in (10), the preverb  $hu\text{ʔ}$  ‘finish’ combines with the verb  $ʔitkini$  ‘make’ for the purposes of stress assignment and the glottal stop thus follows a vowel which is in the fourth syllable from the end of the word, while in (11) the glottal stop is in a penultimate syllable in the preverb + verb sequence  $hu\text{ʔʔ} \text{ɕxa}$ .

On the other hand, although the preverb combines with the verb for the purposes of stress assignment, segmental phonological rules do not cross the boundary between a preverb and a verb. For example, as mentioned above, /h/ is deleted when it follows a consonant within a word. But this rule does apply to an /h/ occurring at the beginning of a verb following a preverb ending in a consonant, as in (12).

- (12) sak-iʔ          hanukwasxuʔ-mik.  
 still-PRVB    breathe-“REFL”  
 He is still breathing.

This shows that preverbs in Kutenai have a status intermediate between that of a prefix and a fully separate word.

It should be noted that while the boundary between preverbs and the verb blocks the application of segmental phonological rules, the same is not necessarily the case for the boundary between preverbs or the boundary between elements in the verbal complex preceding preverbs and preverbs. For example, as noted above, when the subordinative and indicative proclitics combine with preverbs beginning with /ʔ/ or /h/, phonological rules apply ( $k + ʔ \rightarrow \bar{k}$ ,  $k + h \rightarrow k$ ). Furthermore, preverbs sometimes combine with each other or with elements preceding them to form single phonological words when one of them is nonsyllabic. For example the durative preverb  $si\text{ʔ}$  is often reduced to  $s\text{ʔ}$  or just  $s$ , in which case its nonsyllabicity means that it must attach to an adjacent word. For example, in (13), the first word  $\text{ʔin}s\text{ʔ}$  is a combination of the preverb  $\text{ʔin}$  ‘must’ with the durative preverb  $s\text{ʔ}$ .

- (13) ʔin=s-ʔ                    qaʔwiy-ni          k=ɕ=ɕikam                    na-s  
 must=DUR-PRVB          want-INDIC          SUBORD=FUT=come          this-OBV  
 ‘he must want to come here’ (Tape 20, second part, line 17)

But the example in (13) shows that the same thing happens with preverbs attaching to verbs: the phonological word *kɕʔikam* begins with the subordinative proclitic *k-* followed by the short form *ɕ-* of the future clitic *ɕxaʔ*.

There are various other ways in which preverbs in Kutenai behave more like separate words than affixes, though it is not clear that any of these are definitive arguments. First, there is no apparent upper bound on the number of preverbs that can occur in the verb complex. The example in (14) is an example from a text containing five preverbs.

- (14) *taxa-s*      *ʔin=s*      *ʔisi-ʔ*      *ʔaɕtk-iʔ*      *ʔa*  
 then-OBV    must=DUR    very-PRVB    for.long.time-PRVB    again  
*ʔit-aʔtit-ni*      *ka*      *papa*  
 without-marriage-INDIC    1POSS    grandfather  
 ‘Then my grandfather must have stayed single for a long time’ (Tape 146, Story 2, line 16)

The five preverbs in (14) are *ʔin* ‘must’, *s* ‘durative’, *ʔisiʔ* ‘very’, *ʔaɕtkiʔ* ‘for a long time’, and *ʔa* ‘again’.

Second, preverbs sometimes combine with each other to form syntactic constituents. For example, in (14), the preverb *ʔisiʔ* ‘very’ is modifying the immediately following preverb *ʔaɕtkiʔ* ‘for a long time’ to yield a preverb phrase *ʔisiʔ ʔaɕtkiʔ* ‘for a very long time’ rather than directly modifying the verb. Third, preverbs do not occur in a grammatically fixed order, though the principles governing their order are not understood at this time. The examples in (15) and (16) illustrate how the preverbs *qa* ‘not’ and *isiʔ* ‘very’ occur in both orders with respect to each other.

- (15) *qa* ‘not’

*hiy qa ʔisi-ʔ wiʔ-kiʔ-ni*  
 yes not very-PRVB big-speak-INDIC  
 ‘Yes, he was not very loud’ (Monster with Seven Heads Text, line 322)

- (16) *hu n<sup>2</sup>isi-ʔ qa ʔupx-ni ʔupuŋqamik*  
 1 INDIC=very-PRVB not see-INDIC PROPER.NAME  
 ‘I never saw Joe Kootenay there’ (Tape 146, Story 2, line 46)

Fourth, it is possible to get two occurrences of the same preverb within the same verbal complex. The example in (17) contains two occurrences of the negative preverb *qa*.

- (17) *taxa-s qa ta-ʔ ʔa qa ʔiʔa-ni misquʔuʔwum*  
 then-OBV not can-PRVB again not cry-INDIC PROPER.NAME  
 ‘then Misquʔuwum could not help crying’ (Boas Text 56: Coyote and Dog, line 81)

The possibility of two occurrences of the negative preverb in (17) arises because each negative is negating the word that immediately follows it: the first negative is negating the preverb *taʔ* ‘can’, while the second negative is negating the verb *ʔiʔani* ‘cry’. A literal translation of (17) would be ‘then Misquʔuwum was not able to not cry again’.

A fifth way in which preverbs are different from normal affixes is that the majority of preverbs end in a morpheme *-(i)(ʔ)ʔ*, which can be viewed as a derivational suffix forming preverbs. Some preverbs are derived from verbs by the addition of this suffix. For example, the preverb *ɕʔinaʔ* ‘go and’ is derived from the verb stem *ɕʔinax*. The example in (18) illustrates the preverb *ɕʔinaʔ* and (19) illustrates the verb from which it is

derived.

(18) hu=‡      ɕina-‡      ʔaʔnam  
1=IRREAL    go.and-PRVB    hunt  
'let me go hunting' (Boas Text 63, line 7)

(19) hu=‡      ɕinax-a‡a    ni‡tukp    ʔa.kit‡a-ʔis  
1=IRREAL    go-1PL      antelope    tent-3SG,POSS  
'let us go to Antelope's tent!' (Boas Text 20, line 21)

The extent to which preverbs in Algonquian languages should be viewed as separate words rather than affixes is a controversial issue and the full situation is not clear to me from the literature that I am familiar with. Goddard (1988) argues that they are not separate words, but his arguments depend on theoretical assumptions that I would question, and preverbs in Kutenai are sufficiently similar to preverbs in Algonquian languages that it is probably fair to say that if his arguments are valid for preverbs in Algonquian languages they are also valid for preverbs in Kutenai. Because of the complexity of the theoretical issues involved, I will not discuss this issue further here, but leave it for future discussion.

However, I will make a few informal observations of ways in which preverbs in Algonquian languages are similar to preverbs in Kutenai. First, they are typically written as forming single words with the verbs that follow them, but the fact that they are different from typical prefixes is often noted. For example, the fact that other material may intervene between the preverb and the verb, as illustrated above in (9), is clearly not typical of prefixes. Second, preverbs in Algonquian languages commonly end in a morpheme whose function is quite analogous to the morpheme *-(i)(?)‡* that marks preverbs in Kutenai, such as the Passamaquoddy-Maliseet suffix *-i* in the preverb *koti* 'want' illustrated in (9) above.

## 5. Semantic Categories of Preverbs

A final striking property of preverbs in Kutenai and preverbs in Algonquian languages is the broad range of meanings associated with them. Both cover a range of meanings that is quite different from any word class in European languages: some correspond to adverbs in European languages, some correspond to verbs, and some correspond to words in other word classes in European languages. The meanings of preverbs can be described in many cases as intermediate between those of function words and those of lexical words, with basic adverbial or verbal meanings. The common semantic element seems to be that they what might be called verbal operators, morphemes which modify or combine with verbs to form more complex verbal meanings.

Much of the remainder of this paper will be devoted to illustrating the broad range of meanings associated with preverbs in Kutenai, with observations of preverbs with similar sorts of meaning in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet, taken from Leavitt (1985) or Levitt and Francis (1984) (LeSourd's dictionary). In many cases, the only information I have on the Passamaquoddy-Maliseet preverb is a brief gloss from which one cannot get a clear picture of how it is used and how close it is in meaning to the Kutenai preverb, and in a couple of instances where I have pursued the use of a Passamaquoddy-Maliseet preverb in detail, it turned out that its meaning was more different from that of the Kutenai preverb than the brief gloss might have suggested. The semantic categories I will employ in this discussion are chosen purely from convenience, without theoretical significance, and other

categories would probably serve equally well. In addition, the semantic classification I assume for a number of preverbs is subject to alternative classifications.

### 5.1. Manner Preverbs

The following examples illustrate preverbs in Kutenai which denote manner, corresponding to meanings that are often represented by adverbs in other languages.

(20)  $\text{ɕi}^{\text{h}}$  ‘to do rapidly’

$\text{ɕi}^{\text{h}}\text{-i}^{\text{h}}$              $\text{ɕxa-ni}$ .  
rapid-PRVB    speak-INDIC  
‘He spoke rapidly.’

(21)  $\text{suki}^{\text{h}}$  ‘in a good way, well, nicely’

$\text{suk-i}^{\text{h}}$              $\text{qumni}^{\text{h}}\text{-ni}$   
good-PRVB    sleep-INDIC  
‘He slept well.’

(22)  $\text{sa-ni}^{\text{h}}$  ‘to do something improperly, to do something in a bad way or manner’

$\text{sa-n-i}^{\text{h}}$              $\text{ha}^{\text{h}}\text{wa}^{\text{h}}\text{-ni}$ .  
bad-PRVB    gamble-INDIC  
‘He gambled improperly (not according to rules).’

(23)  $\text{ɕunquqa}^{\text{h}}$  ‘with head towards center’

$\text{hin}$      $\text{ɕxa}^{\text{h}}$              $\text{ɕunquqa}^{\text{h}}$              $\text{qumni-k}^{\text{h}}\text{-ni}$ .  
2    FUT-PRVB    head.to.center-PRVB    sleep-2PL-INDIC  
‘You will sleep with your heads toward the center.’ (Chief and Ogress Text, line 69)

In (24) are preverbs in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet that cover similar sorts of meaning.

(24) -nokomasi ‘easily’  
wiwisa ‘in a great hurry’  
wiwoni ‘around in a circle’  
wapoli ‘wrong, improperly’  
cipoki ‘loud’  
sehta ‘backwards’  
woli ‘good, well’  
menakaci ‘slowly’  
moconomewi ‘messily’  
wolitahasuwi ‘happily’  
wolomahtuwi ‘kindly’

## 5.2. Locative Preverbs

The following examples illustrate preverbs in Kutenai which denote locations, corresponding in meaning to locative adverbs or prepositions in other languages.

(25) ?aǰasaǰ ‘near’

na hin ɸxaǰ      ?aǰasaǰ      qa·minuxiǰqa?-ni  
here 2      FUT-PRVB near-PRVB land??-INDIC  
‘you will land and stay against the wall.’ (The Coyote, Mole, and Thunders  
Text, line 97)

(26) ?iǰqaǰ ‘far away’

hu qaǰwiy-ni      hu=ǰ      wiǰqa, ?at      hu=ǰ      ?iǰqaǰ      wukat-ǰi?tit.  
1 want-INDIC 1=IRREAL big HABIT 1=IRREAL far-PRVB see-place  
‘I wish to be tall so that I can see far off.’ (Tape NS.21, Story 6, line 16)

(27) yuxaǰ ‘on top’

taxa-s      yuxaǰ      ?isaknu-ni      miɸǰqaqas  
then-OBV on.top-PRVB sit-INDIC chickadee  
‘Then chickadee got on it’ (Tape 20, Second Part, line 30)

(28) maniǰ ‘across path’

maniǰ      snaxu-ni      ?akiɸǰa?in      ?akmanam-is.  
across.path-PRVB fall-INDIC tree      road-OBV  
‘A tree fell down across the road.’

(29) qa·kiǰ/qakiǰ ‘at a certain place’

qa·k-iǰ      ?ik-ni      ka      akitaǰ-miǰ  
there-PRVB eat-INDIC 1POSS house-OBV  
‘He ate at my house.’

(30) qanaǰ ‘to that place, along there’

?i-s      qanaǰ      waqayqa?-ni      ni?      k=ǰuxu      ?aqay  
there there-PRVB roll-INDIC the SUBORD=fell wheel  
‘The wheel that fell off went rolling up there.’

In (31) are analogous sorts of preverbs from Passamaquoddy-Maliseet.

- (31) kse ‘in, inward, into’  
pisi ‘into, out (through a boundary in either direction)’  
sapi ‘through’  
spiqi ‘upward’  
yali ‘around, within an area’  
sonuci ‘along the edge’



### 5.3. Associated Motion Preverbs

The following examples illustrate preverbs with meanings that can be characterized as directional or associated motion.

(32)  $\text{ɕina}\text{ł}$  ‘to go and do, to start going’

taxa-s  $\text{ɕina}\text{ł}$   $\text{ʔi}\text{ɕki}\text{ł-ni}$   $\text{kya}\text{q}\text{nuka}\text{ʔt}$   $\text{nu}\text{ʔk}\text{łana}\text{na-s}$   
then-OBV go-PRVB search-INDIC eagle pine.pitch-OBV  
‘Then Eagle went in search of pine pitch’ (Tape 21, line 70)

(33)  $\text{ɕika}\text{ł}$  ‘to come and do, to do something while coming, to start coming’

taxa-s  $\text{ɕika}\text{ł}$   $\text{haqwi}\text{ł-nam-is-ni}$   
then-OBV come-PRVB dance-INDEF.SUBJ-OBV-INDIC  
‘Now they started dancing toward him’ (Tape 71, First Part, line 16)

(34)  $\text{ʔa}\text{łqana}\text{ł}$  ‘to go across and’

$\text{ni}\text{ɕtaha}\text{ł-ni}\text{ni}\text{tik}$   $\text{ʔat}$   $\text{qana}\text{ł}$   $\text{ʔa}\text{łqa}\text{-na}\text{ł}$   $\text{yu-xax-i}$   $\text{ʔi-s}$   $\text{yunu-s}$   
young.men-PLUR HABIT there-PRVB across-go-PRVB top-go-INDIC that-OBV top-OBV  
‘The young men used to go across there and up that hill’ (Tape NS.21, Story 11, line 9)

(35)  $\text{ʔana}\text{ł}$  ‘to go out and’

$\text{n}^{\text{z}}\text{a-na}\text{ł}$   $\text{kqanwisqa}\text{ʔ-ni}$   
INDIC=out-go-PRVB just.stand.around-INDIC  
‘He went out and stood around.’

(36)  $\text{łaxa}\text{ł}$  ‘to arrive and do something’ (most common with  $\text{ʔupxa}$  ‘see’)

$\text{łaxa}\text{ł}$   $\text{ʔupx-ni}$   $\text{kuku-nana-s}$   
arrive-PRVB see-INDIC toad-DIMIN-OBV  
‘She found a baby toad’ (Chief and Ogress Text, line 263)

Similar sorts of preverbs are listed in (37) from Passamaquoddy-Maliseet.

(37)  $\text{ckuwi}$  ‘toward here’  
 $\text{nute}$  ‘out, going out, coming out’  
 $\text{olomi}$  ‘away’  
 $\text{poli}$  ‘moving away, moving out of the way’ ( $\text{poli luhse}$  ‘he walks away’)  
 $\text{api}$  ‘be back from’  
 $\text{naci}$  ‘go and’

### 5.4. Temporal Preverbs

The following examples illustrate preverbs that denote times, corresponding to temporal adverbs in other languages.

(38) ʔaǫmaʔ ‘for a short time’

hu=ʔ      ʔaǫma-ʔ      tinaxam̃  
1=IRREAL short.time-PRVB go.in  
‘I’ll just stop in for a short while.’ (Tape 21, line 262)

(39) ʔaʕtkiʔ ‘for a long time’

taxa-s    ʕin    ʔisiʔ-ʔ    ʔaʕtk-iʔ    qa    ʔitkin-ʔ-is-ni  
then-OBV must very-PRVB long.time-PRVB not do-PASS-OBV-INDIC  
‘they must have put off doing this’ (Tape 146, Story 3, line 30)

(40) ʔaqsɑqɑʔiʔ ‘to do something several times’

n=ɑqsɑqɑʔ-iʔ      ʔumiʕ-xu    niʔ-s    ʕaʔn-is  
INDIC=several.times-PRVB break-body the-OBV shoe-3POSS  
‘After several times of putting holes in his moccasins ’ (Tape 20, Second Part,  
line 62)

(41) haǫaʔiʔ ‘at some time’

k=in      haǫaʔ-iʔ    ʔik    niʕnapku    ʔakuʔak?  
SUBORD=2 ever-PRVB eat    moose    meat  
‘Have you ever eaten moose meat?’

(42) ʕiʔmitiʔ ‘at night’

ʕiʔmit-iʔ      ʕinax-i    ʔakikʔunam-is.  
nighttime-PRVB go-INDIC town-OBV  
‘He went to town in the nighttime.’

(43) kanmaʕiʔ ‘to do all night long’

kanmaʕ-iʔ      ʔuwi-ni    xaʔʕin.  
all.night.long-PRVB bark-INDIC dog  
‘A dog barked all night long.’

(44) haǫmaʔ ‘for a while, for a moment, to take a moment to, to take a little time out to’

haǫma-ʔ      ʔiʕkiʔ-in      ka    huki  
for.a.while-PRVB look.for-IMPER,2SG    1POSS flea  
‘Look for lice on me for a while.’ (Chief and Ogress Text, line 201)

(45) ʕitǫaʔ ‘never’

ʕitǫa-ʔ      ʔupx-ni.  
never-PRVB find.out-INDIC  
‘They never found out.’ (Chief and Ogress Text, line 49)

(46) qaʔsaǫaʔiʔ ‘three times’

n=aqan      qaʔsaǫaʔ-iʔ      ǫunt-qaʔ-qaʕ  
INDIC=maybe three.times-PRVB around-??-travel  
‘She circled the area about three times.’ (Tape NS.21, Story 12, line 52)

(47) sakiŋ ‘still’

sak-iŋ      waŋuŋkukut-ni.  
still-PRVB rain-INDIC  
‘It's still raining.’

(48) ʔuŋniŋ ‘suddenly’

taxa-s      n<sup>2</sup>uŋn-iŋ                      huqnaniy-am-ni  
then-OBV INDIC=suddenly-PRVB move.camp-INDEF.SUBJ-INDIC  
‘Then they suddenly moved camp.’ (Coyote and Yawukiykam Text, line 9)

(49) ʔupsŋaty-iŋ ‘continually’

ʔat      xma      k=ɕxa-ŋ                      ʔupsŋaty-iŋ                      ʔupŋ-aps  
HABIT might SUBORD=FUT-PRVB continually-PRVB kill-INVERSE  
‘It might always kill them.’ (Boas Text 63: Coyote and Deer, line 13)

Analogous preverbs in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet are given in (50).

(50) ahtoli ‘over and over’ (ahtoli ikotohom ‘he keeps on yawning’)

askomi ‘forever’  
nokosa ‘quickly, without delay’  
sawe ‘often, many times’  
spote ‘during the day’  
woli ‘right away’

### 5.5. Tense-Aspect Preverbs

This category of preverb could well be collapsed with the previous one, temporal preverbs, but I distinguish them because their meanings are more analogous to those of grammatical morphemes denoting tense or aspect in other languages.

(51) ɕxaŋ ‘future’

waha      ɕxa-ŋ                      ʔa      ʔupŋ-is-ni  
no      FUTURE-PRVB      again      kill-2OBJ-INDIC  
‘No, they will kill you again ’ (Tape 71, First Part, line 49)

(52) skikiŋ ‘durative’

skik-iŋ                      ʔu-nŋama-xa-s-i                      ʔkam-niŋtak-is  
DUR-PRVB      not.exist-head-with.mouth-OBV-INDIC      child-PLUR-OBV  
‘She was biting all the children's heads off.’ (Chief and Ogress Text, line 90)

(53) siŋ ‘durative’

taxa-s      s-iŋ                      qaŋwiy-ni      k=ɕxa-ʔŋ                      wak                      ʔa.knuŋʔuŋamŋ  
then-OBV DUR-PRVB try-INDIC SUBORD=FUT-PRVB                      bald.eagle  
‘Then Bald Eagle was trying to take possession of it’ (Tape 71, Second Part, line 32)

Analogous preverbs in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet are listed in (54).

- (54) *toli* ‘is ...-ing’  
*kisi* ‘(indicates completion or past time)’  
*nuci* ‘do something on a regular basis or as an occupation’

### 5.6. Anaphoric Preverbs

This type of preverb in Kutenai corresponds less closely to preverbs to Algonquian languages, though they bear a functional resemblance to relative roots in Algonquian languages. I call this type of preverb ‘anaphoric’, though this label is not self-explanatory. I use this label because the preverbs in this class all could be translated literally into English with adverbial expressions containing the word ‘that’ (used anaphorically rather than deictically), such as ‘at that place’, ‘at that time’, ‘in that way’, ‘for that reason’. For example, the preverb *?aqaʔ* ‘in that way, for that reason’ is used in clauses with the meaning ‘X is named Y’ in a way that could be translated more literally ‘X is named in that way Y’, as in (55).

- (55) *s-iʔ*            *?aqa-ʔ*                      *?at-iʔ-ni*                      *?inʔak-s*  
 DUR-PRVB    in.that.way-PRVB    name-PASSIVE-INDIC    chicken.hawk-OBV  
 ‘Therefore he was called Chicken Hawk.’ (Boas Text 66, line 116)

The example in (56) illustrates the same preverb used with the meaning ‘for that reason’.

- (56) *taxa-s*    *paʔ*    *?at=s-ʔ*                      *?aqa-ʔ*                      *qa*  
 then-OBV    PTCL    HABIT=DUR-PRVB    for.that.reason-PRVB    not  
*wunikit-s-i*  
 take.a.long.time-OBV-INDIC  
 ‘For that reason, it would only take her a short time’ (Tape Skinkuʔ, line 30)

These preverbs are much more commonly used in combination with some other expression to form a content question (a question analogous to a wh-question in English) or some sort of subordinate expression. The example in (57) illustrates this for the preverb *?aqakiʔ* ‘at that place’.

- (57) *?aqakiʔ* ‘at that place’
- ka?*            *xm*            *k=u*                      *?aqak-iʔ*                      *?ik*  
 WH,OBL    MODAL    SUBORD=1    at.that.place-PRVB    eat  
 ‘Where would I eat’ (Tape 126, Side A, line 14)

The first word in (57), *ka?*, is an interrogative word that is used where what is being questioned is not a direct argument of the verb, but what might be labeled adverbial in function, which does not specify more specifically the particular adverbial meaning involved. It is the locative preverb *?aqakiʔ* ‘at that place’ that gives the sentence a meaning that is expressed in English with the word ‘where’. The example in (58) is similar, but with the preverb *?aqaʔ* ‘in that way, for that reason’ used with the interrogative word *ka?* to yield a meaning expressed in English by the word ‘how’.

(58) *ʔaqaʔ* ‘in that way, for that reason’

kaʔ-s            hu   *ɸxaʔ*   *ʔaqa-ʔ*                    ʔu.kit  
 WH,OBL-OBV   1     FUT   in.that.way-PRVB     kill.all  
 ‘How can I kill all of them?’ (Tape 71, Second Part, line 248)

The preverb *ʔaqasusaʔ* ‘at that time’ is used in questions to express the meaning ‘when’, but without the interrogative word *kaʔ*, as in (59).

(59) *ʔaqasusaʔ* ‘at that time’

k=in            *ʔaqasusa-ʔ*                    haqaʔ  
 SUBORD=2   that.time-PRVB            be.born  
 ‘When were you born?’

Note that the use of the subordinative mood in a main clause in (59) gives the sentence an interrogative rather than declarative meaning.

What I have called an interrogative word, *kaʔ*, is also used occasionally noninterrogatively, with a meaning ‘some’, and these preverbs sometimes combine with *kaʔ* to give an indefinite meaning, as in (60).

(60) kaʔ-s                    n<sup>2</sup>=aqahak-iʔ                    haʔqat-i            ʔawiyat-s  
 INDEF,OBL-OBV     INDIC=at.that.place-PRVB     pick-INDIC     huckleberries-OBV  
 ‘They were picking huckleberries somewhere.’  
 (Tape NS.21, Story 1, line 9)

A further noninterrogative use of these preverbs occurs in subordinate clausal expressions functioning nominally. Most of these uses correspond to English indirect questions or ‘free’ relatives introduced by interrogative words. In Kutenai these clauses are introduced either by the definite article *niʔ* or by the interrogative/indefinite word *kaʔ* mentioned above. The example in (61) illustrates a subordinate clause containing the preverb *ʔaqaʔ* ‘in that way, for that reason’. This clause is introduced by *kaʔ* and is functioning as the object of the verb *ʔupxni* ‘know’.

(61) hu   qa   ʔupx-ni            kaʔ            hu   n<sup>2</sup>=aqa-ʔ                    qawsaqa   na  
 1     not   know-INDIC     some,OBL 1     INDIC=in.that.way-PRVB     live     here  
 ‘I don’t know how I came to be here ’ (Tape 71, Second Part, line 178)

This example can be viewed as an indirect question, analogous to the direct question in (58). The example in (62) also involves the preverb *ʔaqaʔ* ‘in that way, for that reason’ in a subordinate clause introduced by the interrogative/indefinite word *kaʔ*, but this example is probably best not viewed as an indirect question.

(62) hu   ʔaxam=ɸ            hu   *ɸxa-ʔ*                    ʔiɸkiʔ-ni  
 1     arrive=and     1     FUT-PRVB            look.for-INDIC  
          kaʔ-s                    hu   *ɸxa-ʔ*                    ʔaqa-ʔ                    ʔupiʔ  
          INDEF,OBL-OBV     1     FUT-PRVB            in.that.way            kill  
 ‘I [will] arrive and I will look for a way to kill him ’  
 (Tape 71, Second Part, line 247)

The subordinate clause *kaʔs hu ɸxaʔ ʔaqaʔ ʔupiʔ* in (62) is functioning as the object of the verb *ʔiɸkiʔni* ‘look for’. Its form is a common one in Kutenai, a nominal expression consisting of a determiner-like element (such as *kaʔ* or the definite article *niʔ*) followed by

a clause. This is the form, for example, of nominal expressions involving relative clauses, as discussed by Dryer (1998). Relative clauses in Kutenai are “head-internal”, and the denotation of nominal expressions of this sort can be anything denoted within the relative clause (except that the element in the relative clause and the nominal expression itself must agree in obviation). The subordinate clause in (62) can be analysed in the same way. A very literal translation of the second clause in (62) would be something like ‘I will look for some [I will kill him in that way]’ where the nominal expression is interpreted as some *x*, where *x* is something in the clause ‘I will kill him in that way’. It cannot be the first person subject or the third person object because the form *kaʔ* specifically indicates something that is not a direct argument of the verb in the clause. While in principle it might be some other nonargument in the clause, these anaphoric preverbs often function as signalling what the nominal expression denotes: since the preverb is the one meaning ‘in that way’, the nominal expression denotes the way in which the action referred to in the clause is performed, in this case what we would express in English by ‘the way that I will kill him’.

A similar example, but with the anaphoric preverb *ʔaqakiʔ* ‘at that place’, is given in (63).

- (63) ʔat n=ukqa-ʔ ɕinax-i  
 HABIT INDIC=one.at.a.time-PRVB go-INDIC  
 kaʔ-s ɕxa-ʔ ʔaqakiʔ hanquxuʔ-is  
 INDEF,OBL-OBV FUT-PRVB at.that.place do.sundance-OBV  
 ‘[then every spring] they go one at a time to wherever a sun-dance is to be held’  
 (Tape NS.21, Story 10, line 15)

The nominal expression *kaʔs ɕxaʔ ʔaqakiʔ hanquxuʔis* in (63) is functioning as the goal of the motion verb *ɕinaxi* ‘go’ and a literal translation of (63) would be something like ‘they go one at at time to some [they will do the sundance at that place]’ where the denotation of the nominal expression ‘some [they will do the sundance at that place]’ is some place that they will do the sundance.

As noted above, anaphoric preverbs in Kutenai seem to more closely resemble relative roots than preverbs in Algonquian languages, as in the Fox example *i:ni=meko=ne:h=ni:na e:ye:ki e:ne:nemena:ni* ‘That is also how I think of you too’ (Goddard 1988: 66). However, the Passamaquoddy-Maliseet preverb *kehsi* ‘X much’ seems somewhat analogous to the extent that its meaning requires that it combines with a separate word.

- (64) Passamaquoddy-Maliseet

tan tehc kehs-alk-iyin naka tan kehs-i  
 how FUT X.MUCH-dig-2SG,CHNG.CNJCT and how X.MUCH-PRVB  
 ksomon-ot wot opos, kat tehc k-moson-iw  
 push-2SG,3SGCHNG.CNJCT this,ANIM tree not FUT 2-catch-INDIC,1SG  
 ‘however much you (sg.) dig and however much you push on this tree, you (sg.)  
 will not catch me’ (Leavitt and Francis 1984: 24)

## 5.7. Quantifier Preverbs

The next category of Kutenai preverbs are quantifier preverbs, including numerals. This includes the preverb *qapiʔ* ‘all’, which is common way in which the meaning ‘all’ is expressed in Kutenai, rather than a quantifier word functioning like a pronoun or as a modifier a noun, even though there may be reason to say that the quantifier preverbs have

to be semantically associated with a particular nominal element, as in (65), where it is associated with the postverbal object *ka ni#ku* ‘my money’.

(65) *q̣api#* ‘all’

hu *q̣api-#* huqa#-ni ka ni#ku ni? k=u ha#waq̣  
 1 all-PRVB lose-INDIC 1POSS money the SUBORD=1 gamble  
 ‘I lost all my money when I gambled.’

It can even be associated with the necessarily unspecified actor in a passive clause, as in (66).

(66) taxa-s *q̣api-#* ?uni#-i#-ni  
 then-OBV all-PRVB fear-PASSIVE-INDIC  
 ‘Then everyone was afraid of him (Rabbit)’ (Tape 146, Story 1, line 198)

It should be noted that it is also possible to express the meaning of ‘all’ by means of nominal word, used either by itself (pronominally), as in (67), or as a modifier of a noun, as in (68).

(67) *q̣api* *ɕxa-#* ?itkin-i taxa-s *ɕxa-#* xatknu#-ni  
 all FUT-PRVB do-INDIC then-OBV FUT-PRVB recover-INDIC  
 ‘They will all do it and they will be cured’ (Tape NS.21, Story 3, line 21)

(68) qaki#-ni *q̣api?-s* watak-s  
 say-INDIC all-OBV frog-OBV  
 ‘He said to all the Frogs.’ (Boas Text 29: line 24)

The use of a preverb for ‘all’ is slightly more common in my text data, outnumbering the pronominal/modifier constructions by 41 to 35.

Kutenai also uses preverbs as a way to express numerals. The examples in (69) to (71) illustrate preverbs meaning ‘one’, ‘two’, and ‘three’.

(69) ?u#ki# ‘one’

?at hin *ɕxa-#* ?u#k-i# hamat-ikɕ-ap-ni  
 HABIT 2 FUT-PRVB one-PRVB give-BENEF-1SG.OBJ-INDIC  
 ‘you will hand me one of them’ (Tape 71, Second Part, line 331)

(70) ?asi# ‘two’

n#as-i# ?upi#-i#-ni ?a-q#makni# Indian  
 INDIC=two-PRVB kill-PASS-INDIC  
 ‘Two Indians were killed.’ (Garvin Tape 3, line 11)

(71) qa#sa# ‘three’

qa#sa-# wax-i  
 three-PRVB arrive-INDIC  
 ‘Three of them came.’

Additional preverbs in this category are given in (72) to (74).

(72) *ʔitiʔ* ‘none of them’

*ʔit-iʔ ʔiʔqnaʔ-ni.*  
none-PRVB willing-INDIC  
‘None of them wanted to.’

(73) *xaʔniʔ* ‘both, both of them’

*hu-ʔ xaʔn-iʔ ʔupiʔ-ni*  
1-FUT both-PRVB kill-INDIC  
‘I will kill the both of them.’ (The Coyote, Mole, and Thunders Text, line 68)

(74) *wiʔiʔ* ‘a great deal, much, a lot’

*ʔat hin wiʔ-iʔ ʔukat-i ʔa-ʔaʔaʔaʔaʔaʔaʔ*  
HABIT 2 a.lot-PRVB take-INDIC burlap.sacking  
‘You always get a lot of burlap sacking’ (Tape NS.28, No. 1, line 13)

There are a number of preverbs in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet that cover quantificational meanings, listed in (75).

(75) *kceyaw* ‘much, many’  
*mili* ‘many, various, in a variety of ways’  
*pehki* ‘all, completely’  
*sesomi* ‘completely’  
*tepi* ‘enough’

It seems fair to say, however, that Kutenai employs preverbs in quantifier function more than Passamaquoddy-Maliseet does. While one of the Passamaquoddy-Maliseet preverbs in (75) is glossed ‘all, completely’, it apparently is used primarily in the sense of ‘completely’, a particle *psi* ‘all’ being the primary way of expressing ‘all’ in the way that the Kutenai preverb *ʔapi* is. And Passamaquoddy-Maliseet does not have preverbs expressing the meaning of numerals.

On the other hand, it is worth noting that the use of quantifier preverbs can also be said to resemble other instances in Algonquian languages in which quantifiers or numerals occur in preverbal position separate from the nominal expressions they go with, but where the words in Algonquian languages are not actually preverbs, being either particles or verbs. For example, (76) from Passamaquoddy-Maliseet illustrates the particle *psi* ‘all’ in preverbal position associated with a postverbal nominal expression.

(76) *psi tehç ʔtiyultiniya naksq-iyik*  
all FUT be.there young.woman-PLUR  
‘all the young girls will be there’ (Leavitt & Francis 1984: 76)

But *psi* is a particle, not a preverb. The Ojibwa example in (77) is an analogous example with a numeral word preceding the noun but associated semantically with a nominal expression following the verb.

(77) ... *nangim go iw aazhəgo nshwaaso eni-wnihaawaad*  
until 3INAN already eight lose,CNJUNCT,3PL,3OBV  
*niw binoojiinyan*  
that,OBV child,OBV  
‘[they lived only one year,] until they lost eight children’ (Nichols 1988: 91)



But again, the numeral word *nshwaaso* ‘eight’ in Ojibwa is not a preverb.

### 5.8. Degree Preverbs

This next category of preverb is perhaps semantically similar to the preceding one. These are preverbs that denote degree and that are used with words that are scalar in meaning. A common one is *?isi?#* ‘very’, illustrated in (78).

- (78) *taxa-s      #xa-#      ?is-i?#      huwas-ni      k=wista#a?-#am#*  
 then-OBV    FUT-PRVB    very-PRVB    hungry-INDIC    SUBORD=seven-head  
 ‘then the seven headed monster will be very hungry’  
 (Tape 71, Second Part, line 300)

A preverb with similar meaning, *#mak-i#* ‘very, too’ is illustrated in (79).

- (79) *#mak-i#      wi#ku-ni.*  
 very-PRVB    snow.deep-INDIC  
 ‘The snow is too deep.’

A distinctive property of preverbs in this class is that they can apparently modify not only verbs, but other preverbs. This was illustrated above in (12) for *?isi?#*. The example in (80) illustrates this for *#mak-i#*, where it is apparently modifying the negative preverb *qa*.

- (80) *?at      hin      #mak-i#      qa      #i.kat-ki#-ni*  
 HABIT 2    very-PRVB    not    look.at-2PL-INDIC  
 ‘you never ever pay any attention to him’  
 (Literally: ‘you always very not take care of him’)  
 (Tape 126, Side B, line 19)

Other examples of degree preverbs are given in (81) and (82).

- (81) *huki#* ‘the most’

*n=i-ni      ni?      k=u#-i#      #aquna*  
 INDIC=be-INDIC    the    SUBORD=most-PRVB    small  
 ‘It was the smallest one’ (Tape 71, Second Part, line 326)

- (82) *qayaqana#* ‘much too, much more than’

*hin      #mak-i#      qayaqana-#      sik-ni*  
 2    very-PRVB    too-PRVB    fat-INDIC  
 ‘You are much too fat.’

Passamaquoddy-Maliseet has preverbs with very similar meanings, as illustrated in (83).

- (83) *piyemi* ‘the most’ (e.g., *piyemi wasisuwiw* ‘he is the youngest’)  
*qasi* ‘quite’ (e.g., *qasi piluwocossu* ‘he is quite a different colour’)  
*#sami* ‘too much’  
*wisoki* ‘very’

## 5.9. “Higher verb” Preverbs

I call these preverbs “higher verb preverbs” only because their meanings are ones that are often expressed in other languages (like English) by matrix verbs taking clausal or predicate complements. Examples are given in (84) to (88).

(84)  $\phi xaki\ddot{z}$  ‘to begin doing something and to continue doing it for a time’

taxa-s s-i $\ddot{z}$   $\phi xak-i\ddot{z}$   $\text{?ik-ni}$  ni?-s  $\#kam-ni\dot{n}tak-is$   
then,OBV dur-PRVB begin-PRVB eat-INDIC the-OBV child-PLUR-OBV  
ni? ti $\dot{n}namu$ .  
the old.woman

‘Then the old woman started eating the children.’ (Chief and Ogress Text, line 110)

(85) hu $\ddot{z}$  ‘to finish doing something, through doing’

k=in hu- $\text{?}\ddot{z}$   $\phi xa \text{ ?}$   
SUBORD=2 finish-PRVB speak  
‘Are you through talking?’

(86) qaaqasi $\ddot{z}$  ‘to stop doing something’

qaaqasi- $\ddot{z}$   $\text{?i}\dot{t}a-ni$ .  
stop-PRVB cry-INDIC  
‘He stopped crying.’

(87) ta $\ddot{z}$  ‘be able to, can’

k=in ta- $\ddot{z}$  wukin ?  
SUBORD=2 able-PRVB reach  
‘Can you reach it?’

(88)  $\text{?uniyi}\ddot{z}$  ‘know how’

k=in  $\text{?uniyi-}\text{?}\ddot{z}$   $\phi xa$  suyapi ?  
SUBORD=2 know.how-PRVB speak white.man  
‘Do you know how to speak English?’

Preverbs from Passamaquoddy-Maliseet with similar sorts of meanings are listed in (89).

(89) cuwi ‘must, should, have to’  
ehqi ‘stop’ (e.g., ehqi kolusku ‘he stops lying’)  
mace ‘start’  
peci ‘become’  
siwi ‘be tired of ...’  
'tawi ‘know how, be good at’ ('tawi kotunke ‘he knows how to hunt’)  
koti ‘want’

## 5.10. Adjectival Preverbs

The preverbs I call adjectival preverbs are ones with meanings expressed by adjectives in English that are used to modify nouns being used as verbs, with verbal

morphology. In (90), for example, the preverb *ɕaɬ* ‘small’ is modifying a noun bearing the verbal indicative suffix *-ni*, and thus apparently functioning here as a verb.

(90) *ɕaɬ* ‘small’

*ɕa-ɬ*            *pus-nana-ni*.  
 small-PRVB    cat-DIMIN-INDIC  
 ‘He is a small kitten’.

This example is particularly interesting in that the root in the word for ‘kitten’ is *pus*, one of the few borrowings in Kutenai from a European language, showing that the process of using nouns as verbs is apparently somewhat productive.

There are only a small number of examples in my data like (90), in which what is normally a noun bears verbal morphology. Normally, nominal predicates in Kutenai occur with a copula verb *?in* ‘be’, as in (91).

(91) *ɕutapɕiɕ*    *n<sup>2</sup>in-i*                    *na?uti*  
 Q            INDIC=be-INDIC            girl  
 ‘Qutapɕiɕ was a girl.’ (Boas Text 56, line 11)

Two further examples of adjectival preverbs modifying verbs with the indicative suffix are given in (92) and (93).

(92) *sa-n-iɬ* ‘bad’ (cf. “manner adverb” uses above)

*sa-n-iɬ*        *na?uti?-s-i*  
 bad-PRVB    girl-OBV-INDIC  
 ‘She was an ugly girl’ (The Coyote, Mole, and Thunders Text, line 20)

(93) *wiɬiɬ* ‘big’ (cf. “quantifier” uses above)

*wiɬ-iɬ*        *titqat-ni*  
 big-PRVB    man-INDIC  
 ‘He is a big man.’

It should be noted that the preverbs in both (92) and (93) are ones that are listed above in other preverb categories: *sa-niɬ* ‘bad’ is illustrated as a manner preverb in (22) above, while *wiɬiɬ* ‘big’ is illustrated as a quantifier preverb in (74) with the meaning ‘a great deal, much, a lot’.

The adjectival preverb *wiɬiɬ* ‘big’ also occurs in one example in my text data directly modifying a noun, given in (94).

(94)    *ɬa?psuɕwu-ni*    *ni?-s*        *k=wɬiɬ-iɬ*                    *?iyamu-s*  
 ??-INDIC            the-OBV    SUBORD=big-PRVB    game-OBV  
 ‘he had killed and was packing this elk.’ (Tape NS.21, Story 5, line 7)

Strictly speaking, the form *?iyamu-s* ‘game-obv’ in (94) could be either a noun or a verb. It could not take the indicative suffix in (94) because indicative suffix does not co-occur with the subordinative proclitic, which is attached to the preverb *wiɬiɬ* in (94). Both verbs and nouns take the same obviative suffix *-s*, verbs for obviative subjects, nouns when the noun phrase itself is obviative. If *?iyamu* were functioning as a verb in (94), it would mean ‘it is a game animal’ and hence the nominal expression *kwiɬiɬ ?iyamus* could, in

principle, mean ‘the one who is a big game animal’ with *?iyamus* as a verb, which has the same meaning as ‘the big game animal’. The presence of the subordinative clitic in this expression provides a possible argument that *?iyamus* in this actually a verb, since the subordinative proclitic does not otherwise occur without a verb. Under such an analysis, this example would provide no evidence of a preverb modifying a noun.

I am aware of two other examples in my data, however, in which a preverb is modifying a noun, and in these examples there is no subordinative clitic to provide reason to analyse the noun as a verb. In the first example, given in (95), the preverb *ɸmakɨ* ‘very’ is modifying the noun *piɰakniɰ* ‘people from long ago’.

- (95)    taxa-s      qu    ɸmak-iɰ      piɰak-niɰ  
          now-OBV    that    very-PRVB    old.times-person  
          ‘Now those Indians way back ’ (Tape NS.28, No. 4, line 4)

The second example, given in (96), is actually rather similar, since it involves the same preverb *ɸmakɨ* ‘very’ and the noun is the root of the noun in (95), *piɰak* ‘long ago’.

- (96)    ni?    ɸmak-iɰ      piɰak      k=qa-kɰu      ?a.qɰɸmakniɰ  
          the    very-PRVB    long.ago    SUBORD=have.village    people  
          ‘This village was of the Indians way back ’ (Tape NS.28, No. 1, line 2)

These examples of preverbs modifying nouns or nouns functioning as verbs are clearly reminiscent of prenouns in Algonquian languages, and one might wonder why I have not called these Kutenai forms prenouns, since Algonquian prenouns are like preverbs except that they modify nouns. However, the Kutenai cases are different in a number of ways. First, the cases of preverbs modifying nouns in Kutenai are relatively rare. Second, there are only two examples which seem to unambiguously involve the preverb modifying a noun, those given above in (95) and (96). And third, in both of these examples the preverb is one indicating degree (*ɸmakɨ* ‘very, too’) and this makes sense modifying a noun only because the nouns they modify involve the idea of ‘long ago’; in other words, the preverb is not particularly ‘adjectival’ in meaning.

Prenouns in Algonquian languages generally seem to fall into two categories. The first consists of prenouns derived from verbs with meanings corresponding to adjectives in European languages, as in the Passamaquoddy-Maliseet examples in (97) and (98).

- (97)    nomihtun-ol      wisaw-i      pehsuwahsuwesk-il.  
          1,see-INAN,PLUR    yellow-PRE    flower-PLUR  
          ‘I see yellow flowers’ (Leavitt & Francis 1984: 107)
- (98)    pil-i      kisuhs  
          new-PRE    moon  
          ‘new moon’ (Leavitt & Francis 1984: 69)

This is different from the examples from Kutenai with *ɸmakɨ* ‘very, too’, which does not have the kind of meaning associated with adjectives in European languages. We did see Kutenai examples of preverbs with adjectival meanings, like ‘small’, ‘big’, and ‘bad’, but in these examples the word which is modified by the preverb seems to be functioning as a verb rather than as a noun. Other examples of Passamaquoddy-Maliseet examples of this sort are listed in (99).

- (99) cipi ‘ugly’  
 kci ‘big, great, old’  
 moci ‘bad’  
 mokosewi ‘dark, black’  
 pahsi ‘thick’  
 pipuwi ‘thin’  
 sakoli ‘hard’  
 tki ‘cold’

The second sort of prenoun in Algonquian languages is derived from a noun rather than from a verb, as in (100).

- (100) skicin    ’poskuwa    ahkiqew-i    olonakson  
 Indian    3,wear    sealskin-PRE    moccasin  
 ‘the Indian is wearing sealskin moccasins’ (Leavitt & Francis 1984: 1)

Such meanings are never expressed in Kutenai by preverbs.

### 5.11. “Also” Preverbs

I call this class of preverbs “also” preverbs because they share the idea that if the meaning of the clause without the preverb is of the form ‘X did Y’, then there is some presupposition associated with the proposition that someone other than X did Y or that X did something other than Y. Examples are given in (101) to (104).

- (101) hałq̄ał̄ ‘to do too (in addition to someone else doing it)’

taxa-s    n=ałq̄a-ł̄    haqw̄ił̄-ni  
 then-OBV    INDIC=do.too-PRVB    dance-INDIC  
 ‘Now he too was dancing’ (Tape 71, First Part, line 17)

- (102) n̄isinqap̄ił̄ ‘instead’

taxa-s    n̄isinqap̄-ił̄    ?ił̄tax-naps-i  
 then-OBV    INDIC=instead-PRVB    lick-INVERSE-INDIC  
 ‘Then they began licking at her instead (instead of licking what they had been licking)’ (Tape 146, Story 1, line 189)

- (103) ł̄uqał̄ ‘rather, instead of, changing one's mind about doing something, doing something else instead of previous plans’

ł̄uqa-ł̄    qa    ?ik-ni.  
 instead-PRVB    not    eat-INDIC  
 ‘Instead, he didn’t eat. (He changed his mind about eating)’

- (104) ł̄akił̄ ‘either ??’

ha, ?at    k=in    ł̄a    ł̄aki-ł̄    sakniy-awi?-kił̄  
 ah    HABIT    SUBORD=2    again    either??-PRVB    tired.walking-??-2PL  
 ‘Ah, do either one of you feel tired from walking?’  
 (Coyote and Yawukiykam Text, line 179)

The preverb in (104) is one that occurs only once in my data and I am not sure of its general meaning; the gloss given is based on what it appears to mean in this particular example.

A further preverb that can be classed in this set, exemplified in (105), is one whose meaning is similar to that of cleft or focus constructions in other languages.

(105) *ʔisniʔ* ‘to be the one who/which’

k=u            *ʔisni-ʔ*            *ʔitku*  
 SUBORD=1   be.the.one-PRVB   shoot.down  
 ‘It was I shot it down!’ (Tape 21, line 200)

While for many examples it is the subject that is focus with *ʔisniʔ*, as in (105), clauses with this preverb are apparently in principle ambiguous as to which element is focus. In (106), for example, the intended meaning is apparently one in which a locative expression, rather than the subject, is focus, where the intended meaning is apparently only inferrable in the context.

(106) naʔnaʔ   k=ɸxa-ʔ            *ʔisni-ʔ*            ya-nqa-mik  
 sister    SUBORD=FUT-PRVB   be.the.one-PRVB   sit-REFL  
           ka        *ʔaɸawaɸ*            ka        *ʔaxa-miʔ*  
           1POSS   brother.in.law   1POSS   bed.pad-OBV  
 ‘Sister it will be on my bed pad my brother-in-law will sit’ (Tape 21, line 89)

I am not aware of preverbs in Algonquian languages with the sort of meanings associated with Kutenai preverbs of this type; their meanings are apparently expressed in other ways. For example, the meaning of the Kutenai preverb *haʔqaʔ* ‘also, as well’ is expressed in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet by a particle *na* that follows the noun it is associated with, as in (107).

(107) piyel   na   cipokihtaqs-u  
 Peter   also   yell-3SG  
 ‘Peter, too, yells’ (Leavitt & Francis 1984: 50)

### 5.12. Miscellaneous Preverbs

The semantic classification of preverbs I have assumed in the discussion in this paper is not intended to have any theoretical significance, and is provided only to illustrate the diversity of meanings associated with preverbs in Kutenai and to illustrate the extent to which preverbs in Algonquian languages can have similar sorts of meanings. There are many additional preverbs in Kutenai whose meanings do not fall naturally into any of these categories, and I mention a number of those in this section. A number of the most frequent preverbs in Kutenai are discussed in this section.

The first preverb of this sort that I will mention is the negative preverb *qa*, illustrated in (108) and (109).

(108) qa   ɸxa-ni            niʔ   paʔkiy  
 not   speak-INDIC   the   woman  
 ‘the woman did not speak’ (Boas Text 56, line 149)

- (109) hu   ɸxa-ɬ           qa   ʔup-naɬaʔ-ni  
 1   FUT-PRVB   NEG   die-1PL-INDIC  
 ‘we will not die ’ (Tape 71, Second Part, line 230)

Earlier in the paper, I illustrated how it is possible to get two occurrences of the negative preverb within the same verbal complex, as illustrated above in (17) and that the negative preverb can either precede or follow at least some preverbs, illustrated above in (15) and (16).

Negation is expressed quite differently in Algonquian languages. In Passamaquoddy-Maliseet , negation is expressed by a combination of a negative particle plus a negative form of the verb, as illustrated in (110).

- (110) ma   te           n-kis-i           witapehkatomuawon  
 NEG   EMPH   1-able-PRVB   get.to.like.something.of.someone’s,REL,NEG,3SG  
 ‘I can’t get to like the way he is’ (Leavitt & Francis 1984: 107)

Note how the placement of the first person prefix on the preverb *kisi* ‘be able’, but after the negative particle illustrates how the negative word is a particle, not a preverb in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet . Contrast this with the Kutenai example in (111), where the negative word occurs inside the subordinative and second person subject morphemes.

- (111) k-in           qa   ʔupxa   kiʔanqɑɬnana  
 SUBORD-2   NEG   see   buck  
 ‘Didn’t you see Buck?’ (Boas Text 67, line 63)

Another very common preverb in Kutenai is *ɬa* ‘again, back’, illustrated in (112) and (113).

- (112) waha   ɸxa-ɬ           ɬa   ʔupɬ-is-ni  
 no       FUT-PRVB   again   kill-2OBJ-INDIC  
 ‘No, they will kill you again ’ (Tape 71, First Part, line 49)

- (113) ɬa       ɸinax-i   niʔ   niɸtahaɬ-nana  
 back   go-INDIC   the   young.man-DIMIN  
 ‘The little boy went back ’ (Tape 71, Second Part, line 15)

The meaning of ‘again’ is expressed in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet by a particle *apc* , while the meaning ‘back’ is expressed by a preverb *wesuwe*, as illustrated in (114).

- (114) ma   te           wesuw-e   milawoniya                   ʔtahsusuwon  
 NEG   EMPH   back-PRVB   give,REL,NEG,3PL,3           hat  
       wihqehtuwahtit  
       take.from,CHANGED.CONJ,3PL,3OBV  
 ‘they didn’t give him back the hat that they had taken from him’  
 (Leavitt & Francis 1984: 104)

Other miscellaneous Kutenai preverbs are illustrated in (115) to (118).

(115) ʔ ‘would, irrealis’

hu qaʔwiy-ni hu-ʔ wiʔqa  
 1 want-INDIC 1-IRREAL big  
 ‘I wish to be tall’ (Tape NS.21, Story 6, line 16)

(116) haqan ‘maybe’

n=aqan qaʔsaqʔaʔ-iʔ qunt-qaʔ-qaʔ  
 INDIC=maybe three.times-PRVB around-??-travel  
 ‘She circled the area about three times.’ (Tape NS.21, Story 12, line 52)

(117) ʔitkamxuniʔ ‘for no good reason’

saʔ maʔʔ ʔat hin-ʔ ʔitkamxun-iʔ ʔituqʔaʔtiʔ-ik  
 but PROHIB HABIT 2-FUT for.no.good.reason-PRVB dress.up-REFL  
 ‘But you must never dress up in them for no good reason’ (Tape NS.7, Story 1, line 35)

(118) qaqaʔ ‘in this way, this (oblique)’

ʔat qaqa-ʔ qakʔ-aps-i niʔ-s ʔa-kniʔnamu-ʔis  
 HABIT this.way-PRVB tell-INVERSE-INDIC the-OBV sister-3POSS  
 ‘Her half sister would always tell her this’ (Tape 127, Last Part, line 92)

## 6. Status of the stems of preverbs

While preverbs constitute a distinct morphosyntactic category on the basis of their distributional characteristics, there is a separate question as to the status of their stems, and the question of what other functions these morphemes play in the language. For example, as discussed by Goddard (1990), many preverbs in Fox occur independently as initials, as illustrated by the pair of forms in (119).

(119) cf. Fox (Goddard 1990)

ki-ʕi-menowa ‘he has finished drinking’ (with preverb *ki-ʕi*)  
 ki-ʕisenye-wa ‘he has finished eating’ (with initial *ki-ʕ*)

While the stems of many preverbs in Kutenai do not occur in any other context, many do. The stems of some preverbs occur independently as verb stems. For example, the stem *su(?)k* of the preverb *sukiʔ* ‘in a good way, well, nicely’ also occurs as a verb stem. The preverb and verb uses are illustrated in (120) and (121) respectively.

(120) s-ʔ ʔaqa-ʔ suk-iʔ ʔupx-ni  
 dur-PRVB for.that.reason-PRVB good-PRVB see-INDIC  
 ‘she could see well’ (Boas Text 56, line 53)

(121) paʔ s-iʔ suʔk-s-i ma-ʔis  
 PTCL DUR-PRVB good-OBV-INDIC mother-3SG  
 ‘his mother is good’ (Boas Text 56, line 141)



The stem *su(?)k* also occurs as an initial root within verb stems. An example containing a verb stem including this root is *givin* in (122) and a nonexhaustive list of some other examples of such verb stems is given in (123).

(122)    *xa-s*        *hu*    *n=ik-ni=ϕ*                      *suk-ax-ni?-ni*  
           then-OBV 1    INDIC=eat-INDIC=and    good-by.mouth-“stative”-INDIC  
           ‘then I ate it and it was delicious.’ (Tape 72, Story 2, line 9)

(123) *sukiki#wiϕkik* ‘to watch carefully’  
*sukaqna?* ‘to do something good’  
*suki#miyit* ‘for the sky to be clear’  
*suki#qapikimik* ‘to look handsome’  
*suki#quk* ‘to be happy’  
*suki#qukaxamik* ‘to be delighted with food one is eating’  
*sukin#qukupku* ‘to make a fire burn better’  
*suki#t* ‘to own a good horse or car’  
*suk#uk#i?it* ‘for there to be pleasant sounds’  
*sukituk#itit* ‘to make pleasant sounds’  
*suk#a?ma#* ‘to have a nice covering’  
*suk#a#xu?mik* ‘to have good aim’  
*suk#i?it* ‘to be a good place’  
*suk#iknatit* ‘to tidy up’  
*suk#ukpakit* ‘to be amusing to someone’  
*sukmi#i#ik* ‘to have good intentions’

While there is no standard analysis of stem structure Kutenai of the sort that there is in Algonquian languages in terms of initials, medials, and finals, it is at least curious that in all of the Kutenai verb stems that contain the root *su(?)k*, it occurs as the initial root in the stem.

There are many other stems of Kutenai preverbs that do not exist alone as stems of verbs, but which do occur as initial roots within stems. For example, the stem *ϕi-* of the preverb *ϕi#* ‘do rapidly’, illustrated in (124), does not occur alone as a verb stem but occurs as an initial root within verb stems, as illustrated in (125) and (126).

(124) *ϕi-#*                      *ϕxa-ni.*  
           rapid-PRVB        speak-INDIC  
           ‘He spoke rapidly.’

(125) *ϕi-na-k*  
           fast-go-motion  
           ‘to go fast’

(126) *ϕi-qu*  
           fast-on.water  
           ‘to float swiftly’

Similarly, the stem of the preverb *?i#qa-#* ‘far away’ does not occur alone as a verb stem but occurs as an initial root within verb stems. The example in (127) illustrates its use as a preverb; (128) gives a partial list of verb stems containing the root *?i#qa*.

(127) ni? hin=ϕ ya-ki-‡ wanaqnamiki=ϕ n=‡iqa-‡  
 the 2=FUT NOMIN,PLACE-PRVB fight=and INDIC=far-PRVB  
 hak-ni  
 water.be.there-INDIC  
 ‘water is a long ways from where you'll be fighting’ (Tape NS.21, Story 12, line 7)

(128) ?i‡qahaq‡i‡ ‘to be far-sighted’  
 ?i‡qakam ‘to come a long way’  
 ?i‡qakqati‡wiϕkik ‘to see for a long distance’  
 ?i‡qanam ‘to go far, to go away’  
 ?i‡qanmit ‘to throw something away’  
 ?i‡qawsaqapxa ‘to live far from someone’

The stems of most preverbs involving motion exist independently as stems of verbs of motion, except that as verb stems they occur with an additional stem-final morpheme *-m* ~ *-x* that occurs in many verbs of motion. The example in (129) illustrates *c̣ika-* ‘come’ as the stem of a preverb *c̣ika‡*, while (130) illustrates *c̣ikam-* ~ *c̣ikax-* as a verb stem.

(129) ϕ̣ika-‡ ϕ̣ikat-in  
 come-PRVB look.at-IMPER  
 ‘come look at it’ (Tape 71, Second Part, line 133)

(130) xa-s k=‡a ϕ̣ikam  
 then-OBV SUBORD=back come  
 ‘then she came back.’ (Tape 127, Last Part, line 208)

## 7. Conclusion

I have shown in this paper how Kutenai has a category of preverbs that resemble preverbs in Algonquian languages in a number of ways, both morphosyntactically and in the range of meanings they cover. Ives Goddard (personal communication) has commented to me that despite the fact that the general semantic categories covered by preverbs in Kutenai may resemble the general semantic categories covered by preverbs in Algonquian, many of the Kutenai preverbs have *specific* meanings that are not expressed by preverbs in Algonquian languages and that in this sense preverbs in Kutenai may cover a wider range of meanings. We have seen instances in which Kutenai employs preverbs where Algonquian languages employ particles, but it is worth investigating whether there are other ways in which Kutenai expresses meanings with preverbs that Algonquian languages express in some other way. Another matter worth further investigation is whether preverbs are used in texts in different ways or to different extents. It is possible, for example, that the average number of preverbs per clause is greater in Kutenai than in Algonquian, at least if we exclude the most common ones, but I have not investigated this.

I remain agnostic whether the resemblances I have noted here are anything other than coincidence. Certainly, by themselves, they are well within the range of accident, and it is only other grammatical similarities, most notably in the obviation systems (Dryer 1992), that give us reason to even consider the possibility that they are more than a coincidence. But languages in other parts of the world sometimes exhibit categories resembling Algonquian preverbs. For example Walbiri (Nash 1982), spoken in Australia, has a category called ‘preverb’ that resembles Algonquian languages at least to some extent. Without a systematic examination of such systems, there is no way to determine whether

the resemblances described here are greater than those between Algonquian and languages in other families.

#### FOOTNOTES

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