# Musqueam Reference Grammar

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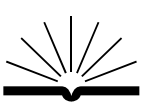
First Nations Languages

# Musqueam Reference Grammar

Wayne Suttles



UBCPress · Vancouver · Toronto

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10 09 08 07 06 05 04 5 4 3 2 1

Printed in Canada on acid-free paper

**National Library of Canada Cataloguing in Publication**

Suttles, Wayne, 1918-
Musqueam reference grammar / Wayne Suttles

(First Nations languages, ISSN 1206-9531)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0-7748-1002-5

1. Stalo language – Dialects – Grammar. I. Title. II. Series.

PM2381.S81S97 2004 497'.94 C2004-900532-4

Canada

UBC Press gratefully acknowledges the financial support for our publishing program of the Government of Canada through the Book Publishing Industry Development Program (BPIDP), and of the Canada Council for the Arts, and the British Columbia Arts Council.

This book has been published with the help of a grant from the Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences, using funds provided by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Financial support has also been received from the UBC Killam General Fund.

UBC Press
The University of British Columbia
2029 West Mall
Vancouver, BC V6T 1Z2
604-822-5959 / Fax: 604-822-6083
E-mail: info@ubcpress.ca
**www.ubcpress.ca**

*To the memory of*

*Andrew and Christine Charles*
*James Point*
*Della Kew*
*Arnold Guerin*

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# Preface and Acknowledgments

The Musqueam people are now largely the residents of the Musqueam Indian Reserve on the North Arm of the Fraser River, adjacent to the city of Vancouver, British Columbia. Their language, which they call hən̓q̓əmín̓əm̓, is one of the Downriver dialects of the language known to anthropologists and linguists as Halkomelem. This latter term is based on the Upriver form of the name, and the Musqueam see it as inappropriate for the Downriver and Island forms of the language. I will have to use it, however, when referring to the language as a whole.

A "reference grammar" is said to be one written for laymen rather than for linguists, describing the language with as little technical jargon as possible, illustrating its various features with abundant examples, and cross-referencing and indexing so that readers with some knowledge of the language can indeed look something up and find an answer. I have tried to follow these principles in the hope that this grammar will be useful not only to linguists specializing in Salishan languages but also to interested non-linguists, students of Salish literature, and above all the Musqueam and speakers of other dialects of the language.

In writing this grammar I have not been able to dispense with all technical jargon. As much as possible, I have tried to use traditional terms, which reflect a rather traditional sort of analysis. In organization, however, I have not been traditional, placing morphology largely after syntax. For placing syntax before morphology, I have the Thompsons' sketch of Clallam (Thompson and Thompson 1971) as a precedent. I was probably also influenced by my early exposure to the teaching method of Professor Henry S. Tatsumi, who began his course in Japanese with an outline of syntax, allowing the students to create Japanese sentences with a largely English vocabulary, or, in the case of nisei who were already doing this at home, making them aware of the principles they were using. But perhaps my choice was made largely on the basis of the feeling that tables and lists of affixes and particles are pretty dull anyway, especially if one does not yet know where and how these things are likely to be encountered.

Once the choice was made, however, it turned out to have a practical consequence. In the chapters on syntax, the sentences used as examples are graded according to what has already been introduced; I have tried to use no sentence with a construction that has not been previously accounted for. In the chapters on morphology, however, coming afterwards as they do, I have laboured under no such constraint and have been able to illustrate an affix, particle, or word with a special function in a construction of any sort.

This grammar is based on work I have engaged in from time to time over a period of many years. (For a history of the work, see Appendix 3.) Primarily it reflects the speech of Christine Charles (1894-1968) and James Point (1881-1979), as exemplified in elicited sentences and dictated texts. Some of the texts dictated by Mrs. Charles originated with her husband, Andrew Charles (1893-1961).

I reviewed all the texts dictated by Mrs. Charles with Mr. and Mrs. Charles's daughter, Della Kew (1929-1982), getting some additional material from her. Later I worked with Arnold Guerin (1910-1987), checking on many features of the language and going over many of the texts dictated by Mr. Point. Mr. Guerin's speech was, as he readily acknowledged, influenced by long residence in the Cowichan dialect area and so may be less representative of Musqueam. But working with him was doubly rewarding because he was a linguist in his own right and a colleague in the enterprise of exploring the language. I am profoundly grateful for all of the help these speakers of the language have given me and for the great pleasure it has been to work with them.

I should also express my gratitude to Professor Melville Jacobs for introducing me to the Native languages of our region and to Professor Harry Hawthorn for making my work at Musqueam possible. There are many others who have also given me help and encouragement in my work. In its early stages, Aert Kuipers generously gave me many hours of much-needed guidance. W.W. Elmendorf shared a summer's work with the Charleses and provided the concept and motivating force behind our joint paper on Halkomelem dialect differences (Elmendorf and Suttles 1960). Over the years, William H. Jacobsen, Laurence and Terry Thompson, Thomas Hess, and M. Dale Kinkade, among others, have shared insights and given advice. I have learned much about Halkomelem from the work of Brent Galloway on the Chilliwack dialect and of Thomas Hukari, Adrian Leslie, and Donna Gerdts on Island dialects. I must thank Barbara Efrat and Robert Levine, then of the Linguistics Division of the (then) British Columbia Provincial Museum, for inviting me to write this grammar for a projected series. Through no fault of theirs, the series did not materialize, but without their invitation and encouragement, I might not have completed the work. I thank Randy Bouchard and David Rozen for sharing information and references, Brent Galloway for computer help, and Mercedes Hinkson for suggestions on formatting. To Donna Gerdts I am especially indebted for her time and patience in reading and criticizing drafts of this work

and for her efforts to keep me from blundering in logic and usage. I thank Dale Kinkade for carefully reading and correcting the version prepared for the museum. I thank Patricia Shaw for catching a number of errors in the present version, and Francis Chow for catching still more errors and inconsistencies in the course of his meticulous copy-editing. Remaining errors and inconsistencies are, of course, mine.

I am grateful to the University of British Columbia Press for agreeing to publish this work, to Holly Keller-Brohman for her guidance, and to Charles Ulrich for the use of his Straight font and his long work in preparing the manuscript for publication. I thank my son Cameron for his frequent advice and help with my computer and for the maps. And finally to Shirley, who has cheerfully lived with this for an unconscionably long time and unfailingly given good advice on style and sense, my heartfelt thanks.

I must also express gratitude for financial support for my work with Halkomelem from the Leon and Thea Koerner Foundation in Vancouver, the President's Committee on Research at the University of British Columbia, the American Council of Learned Societies, the Phillips Fund of the American Philosophical Society, the Desert Research Institute in Reno, the Faculty Committee on Research and Publications at Portland State University, the Royal British Columbia Museum, and the Melville and Elizabeth Jacobs Research Fund.

# Introduction

## Halkomelem

Halkomelem is one of the twenty-three languages that belong to the Salish Family of Northwestern North America. It is the language of the Native peoples of southeastern Vancouver Island from the west shore of Saanich Inlet northward to somewhere beyond Nanoose Bay, and of the mainland from the Fraser Delta eastward upriver as far as Harrison Lake and the lower end of the Fraser Canyon. These peoples are known by a number of names – in their English forms, Malahat, Quamichan, Penelekuts, Nanaimo, Musqueam, Kwantlen, Katzie, Chilliwack, Tait, and many more. These are names that once designated single villages or clusters of villages. Many have come to designate "bands," the administrative units established by the colonial and later federal authorities in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Within the Halkomelem area, the language is spoken with some marked differences in phonology, lexicon, and even grammar. Three main dialect groups are distinguishable: (1) an Island group, spoken by people whose old winter villages were on Vancouver Island and in the Gulf Islands, including the Cowichan, Chemainus, and Nanaimo dialects, with differences especially between Nanaimo and the rest; (2) a Downriver group, spoken by people whose old winter villages were around the mouth of the Fraser and upstream to the Stave River, including Musqueam, Tsawwassen, Kwantlen, and Katzie; and (3) an Upriver group, spoken from Matsqui on upstream, including Matsqui-Sumas (which shares some features with Downriver), Chilliwack, Chehalis, and Tait (Elmendorf and Suttles 1960; Galloway 1977, xii; Gerdts 1977). The Musqueam dialect, described in the present work, belongs in the Downriver group.

The language is identified in Island dialects as *həl̓q̓əmín̓əm̓,* in Downriver dialects as *hən̓q̓əmín̓əm̓* or *hən̓q̓əmín̓əm,* and in Upriver dialects as

*hɛ́lq̓əmɛ́yləm*.[1] James Point identified *həńq̓əmíńəm* as the language as "all as far as understand one another, on the Fraser River and the Island." The term is thus the Musqueam equivalent of "Halkomelem." This name (pronounced hælkəméyləm in English) is an anglicization, first used by Charles Hill-Tout (1903), of the Native term for the language in its Upriver form. About the same time, the Downriver form was anglicized as "An-ko-me-num" by Crosby (1907). Wilson Duff used Hill-Tout's version of the term in his ethnography of the Upper Stalo Indians (Duff 1952, 11), and the term has been in general use among anthropologists and linguists since then.[2]

The Halkomelem language and its speakers were formerly often identified as "Cowichan" (spelled variously), as by Boas (1890, 806; 1897, 320), Hodge (1910, 1:355), and the Department of Indian Affairs (Canada 1970, 28-35), but this usage runs counter to others. On the one hand, in Native usage the name "Cowichan" (or its native form) is restricted to the people of the Cowichan River and environs on Vancouver Island; on the other hand, some writers (Tolmie and Dawson 1884; Newcombe 1909; Goddard 1934) at one time extended the name "Cowichan" to all of the contiguous Coast Salish north of Puget Sound, including speakers of as many as seven Salishan languages. All in all, it seems best to restrict "Cowichan" as in Native usage.

## Halkomelem within Salish

In the most recent classification of the Salish languages (Thompson 1979, 693; Thompson and Kinkade 1990, 34-35), Halkomelem is one of the ten members of the Central Salish branch, which includes all of the Salish languages of the Strait of Georgia–Puget Sound Basin. There are four other branches of the family: Tsamosan, consisting of four languages in southwestern Washington; Interior Salish, consisting of seven languages in the Fraser and upper Columbia river drainages east of the mountains; Bella Coola, a single language on the central coast of British Columbia; and Tillamook, a single language on the northern Oregon coast. Bella Coola and Tillamook are geographically isolated from the rest; the other three branches are contiguous. The speakers of the Central and Tsamosan languages are identified in the ethnographic literature as "Coast Salish."

---

1 My phonetic recording of the word in the Tait area was [hælq̓əméləm] ~ [hælq̓əbéləb]. The Island form has been written "Hul'qumi"mum"" by Hukari and Peter (1995). The name is said, perhaps only in the Upriver area, to be derived from *ləq̓éməl* or *nəq̓émən*, a village on Nicomen Slough, below Chilliwack (Duff 1952, 22; Galloway 1977, xviii). It is a progressive form with the suffix *-əm* 'intransitive.' My guess is that if indeed it is derived from 'Nicomen,' its literal meaning is 'be Nicomening,' i.e., 'be speaking in the Nicomen manner.' There is a close parallel in the Northern Straits term for that language, given to me in the late 1940s by Samish and Lummi people as ləḵʷəŋínəŋ, from ləḵʷáŋən, the name of the people around Victoria.

2 The term *Stalo* is from *stálə́w̓* (Downriver) or *stá·lo* (Upriver) 'river.' James Point believed that as a term for the peoples of the Fraser Valley it was first used by the early priests. Duff (1952) used the term "Upper Stalo" for the Halkomelem-speaking peoples from Chilliwack upstream. The spelling *Stó:lō* was adopted by the Coquileetlza Education Training Centre in the late 1970s.

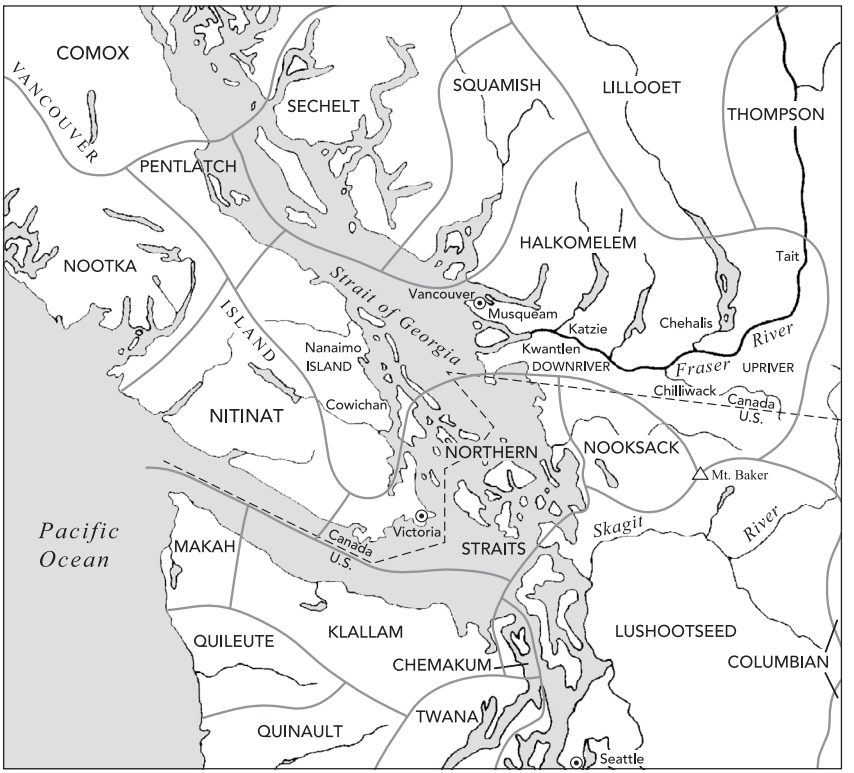
In spite of the linguistic differences, the Coast Salish region appears to have been, before European settlement, a social and biological continuum within which speakers of each language had ties of marriage with their neighbours and participated with them in joint social and ceremonial activities (Elmendorf 1960; Suttles 1987b; Kennedy 1993, 2000). Nevertheless, there were cultural differences, and on the basis of these differences, four segments of the continuum have been distinguished: Northern Coast Salish, consisting of the speakers of Comox, Pentlatch, and Sechelt; Central Coast Salish, consisting of the speakers of Squamish, Halkomelem, Nooksack, Northern Straits, and Clallam; Southern Coast Salish, consisting of the speakers of Lushootseed and Twana; and Southwestern Coast Salish, consisting of the speakers of the Tsamosan languages, Quinault, Lower Chehalis, Upper Chehalis, and Cowlitz (Suttles 1990). Thus, the Halkomelem language belongs to the *Central Branch* of the Salish Family, while the traditional cultures of the Halkomelem-speaking peoples belong to the *Central Coast Salish* group of Coast Salish cultures.[3]

### Diversity within Halkomelem

As we might expect, the differences are greatest between Island and Upriver dialects, with Downriver providing a link between the two other groups. An initial study (Elmendorf and Suttles 1960) suggested that Downriver Halkomelem is closer to Island phonologically and closer to Upriver lexically.

Phonologically, the most obvious differences are: Island has *š* where Mainland dialects have *x*, and Island and Downriver have both *n* and *l*, while Upriver has merged these as *l*. Upriver speakers often use *š*, *č*, and *c̓*, where Island and Downriver speakers have *s*, *c*, and *c̓*. Upriver lacks the glottalized resonants and post-vocalic glottal stops of Island and Downriver, vowel length usually but not consistently appearing where Downriver and Island have post-vocalic glottal stops. Upriver dialects also have greater pitch differences, with some words being distinguished by pitch alone. All of these differences, together with an overall laxness of the voice, make Upriver speech sound remarkably different from Downriver and Island. In this last respect, Downriver falls between the laxness of Upriver and the tenseness of Island speech. Downriver speakers often drop final glottal stops and glottalize resonants more lightly, making them harder to detect.

3 Thus "Central Salish" as a taxon in a linguistic taxonomy should not be confused with "Central Coast Salish" as a taxon in a cultural taxonomy. The linguistic taxonomy, I should add, is based on much solid research, while the cultural taxonomy is somewhat impressionistic and was adopted for Volume 7 of the *Handbook of North American Indians* in part as a means of coping with the task of describing the cultures of the whole Coast Salish region. The term "Central Coast Salish" has been used for some time, however (Suttles 1968, 1977, 1990; Kew 1980; Kennedy 1993), to designate a culturally distinguishable segment of the Coast Salish continuum. The possible confusion of the taxa is unfortunate.




Map 1 *Halkomelem Territory*

Lexically, the most immediately recognizable difference among the major divisions of the language is in the third-person personal word 'he/she/it is the one,' *níɬ* on the Island and *x̌á* on the Mainland, which occurs with great frequency and forms the basis for a set of frequently used demonstratives. But there are many other lexical differences (see Elmendorf and Suttles 1960; Gerdts 1977).

The grammatical differences remain to be worked out, but the detailed grammar by Galloway (1993) suggests to me that at least some of the grammatical differences are the result of phonological changes like the loss of the oblique particle, the merging of the interrogative particle with a preceding auxiliary, and the loss of the locative meaning of the auxiliaries (for examples, see Suttles 1994).

In earlier times, there was probably greater diversity within each of these dialect areas than there has been in the last generation or two. It is said that once every village had some unique features of speech, and even segments of a village

might differ. Some of the differences between my two principal sources at Musqueam were said to reflect such local variation, but even greater differences reportedly once existed there.

The diversity of Halkomelem dialects and the relationships among them (yet to be worked out) must be the products of complex social and economic forces as well as processes of linguistic change. The diversity certainly cannot be seen as simply the result of geographical barriers separating regions or of social and economic self-sufficiency isolating villages as "little communities." On the contrary, during the period for which we have historical and ethnographic information, there were neither geographical barriers nor isolated villages.

### The Regional Social System

In particular, the Strait of Georgia was not a barrier. For the summer runs of salmon, many Island people crossed the strait and camped along the Fraser River, mainly in the Downriver area, while both Downriver people and Island people went on up the river to fish in the Upriver area. Northern Straits and Squamish speakers were also involved in this activity (Duff 1952, 25-26; Suttles 1998, 172-74). Thus, the Lower Fraser seasonally drew people together from all over the Halkomelem area and may have helped preserve the unity of Halkomelem even while promoting external contacts.

Both internal and external contacts were also promoted by the marriage system. As elsewhere in the Strait of Georgia–Puget Sound Basin, families with the means in each village arranged marriages for their children with families in other villages, often in other dialect or even language areas. Marriage ties established economic ties and led to participation in inter-village ceremonies and games. Without anything resembling European political institutions, the Halkomelem-speaking peoples were participants in a regional social network that had no discernible limits (Suttles 1960, 1963, 1987b; Elmendorf 1960, 277-305; Kennedy 1993). This regional social network probably extended, in spite of occasional conflict, throughout the Georgia-Puget basin and beyond.

Within this region, Halkomelem occupied an important position. Its territory lies close to the geographical centre of the Georgia-Puget basin and also close to the linguistic centre of the Central branch. To the north are (or were) four languages – Squamish, Sechelt, Pentlatch (now extinct), and Comox-Sliammon; to the south are another four (or five) – Nooksack (perhaps now extinct), Straits (perhaps divisible into Northern Straits and Clallam), Lushootseed, and Twana. These nine or ten languages constitute the Central Salish branch of the family. Traditions and genealogies indicate that the speakers of Halkomelem were aware of and had at least indirect ties with speakers of these other Central Salish languages. They were also aware of and occasionally intermarried with the nearest Interior Salish to the east and with the nearest Wakashans to the west and north.

Before the great epidemics that first came in the late eighteenth century, Halkomelem may also have been a demographic centre. In 1928 James Mooney estimated the pre-epidemic population of the Halkomelem-speaking peoples as 12,600, greater than that of any other Salishan language. A recent review of the data by Robert Boyd reduces the Halkomelem figure to 10,534, still much greater than the immediately adjacent languages but less than the 11,835 he gives for Lushootseed. For a comparison of Mooney's and Boyd's estimates for the whole Coast Salish, see Boyd 1999, 264-65.

It seems likely that the environmental richness of the Lower Fraser could account for a relatively larger population in the Halkomelem area. If this was the case, it may have had some influence on the course of linguistic history in the region. Hess (1979b) has shown that Halkomelem may be the centre of innovations in the terms for 'deer,' 'rabbit,' and 'lake,' and Kinkade's analysis (1986) of terms for 'blackcap' suggests a similar history.

### Musqueam

"Musqueam" (pronounced mə́skwiyəm in English) is from *xʷmə́θkʷəy̓əm* 'place of *mə́θkʷəy̓* or *mə́tᶿkʷəy̓* ' (a plant no longer identifiable, but see Appendix 2 for further discussion), the name of a village at the mouth of the North Arm of the Fraser, just southeast of Point Grey, on the present Musqueam Indian Reserve. According to tradition, the Musqueam people once had villages at Jericho, the mouth of the Capilano River, and perhaps elsewhere on Burrard Inlet, at Marpole up the North Arm, and elsewhere in the delta (see Appendix 2 for place names). The people of Indian Arm are said to have spoken the same as the Musqueam. How homogeneous the speech of this area was and how much it resembled recent Musqueam are questions we cannot now answer. By the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Native people of Burrard Inlet were becoming mainly Squamish in speech, and Musqueam was the only Halkomelem village on the North Arm.

At that time, Musqueam itself consisted of two principal groups of houses, *máləy,* toward Point Grey, and *sc̓əléxʷ,* at the head of a now vanished slough. There are said to have been some differences in speech between these two settlements, and some even within *sc̓əléxʷ,* where the people of the row of houses called *scəlqʷáθən* used *n* for *l,* making theirs an all-*n* dialect, maximally contrasting in that feature with the all-*l* dialects of the Upriver area (Elmendorf and Suttles 1960, 7). By the late 1940s, there was said to be only one old person left who used *n* for *l,* Old William at Coquitlam. However, for several words I have found individuals differing in which sound they used.

In recent times, there have been other differences among families at Musqueam. My two principal sources, Christine Charles and James Point, differed in their treatment of the second-person possessive, in a few lexical items, and in some preferences in syntax. I cannot say to what extent these differences reflect older differences within Musqueam or differences in their life histories.

Andrew and Christine Charles and James Point were all native speakers of Musqueam and had lived as children at *sc̓əlélxʷ*, the upper part of the village, but each had some familiarity with another dialect of Halkomelem. Mrs. Charles was raised at Musqueam by her Musqueam mother and stepfather. She went to school for three years near Chilliwack and was familiar with the Upriver dialect. Mr. Charles was born at Musqueam of Musqueam parents, but after his father died, his mother remarried at Duncan in the Cowichan area, and he lived for a few years there and spoke Cowichan as well as Musqueam. Mr. Point also had Musqueam parents, but he went to school for several years on Kuper Island in Island Halkomelem country and learned that dialect. His first wife was Katzie, and he lived for a time with her family, who must have spoken a form of Downriver Halkomelem very close to Musqueam.

The differences among Musqueam speakers seem slight when their speech is compared with samples of Upriver or Island dialects, however, and my impression is that there were no great differences in speech within Downriver Halkomelem. James Point mentioned one or two words that were different at Tsawwassen, but I do not believe he mentioned any differences at Katzie. The people at Coquitlam were Musqueam families who had moved upriver a generation earlier. Mr. Point once asserted that what the Musqueam speak is really "Langley," and when we reconstructed one of Hill-Tout's Kwantlen texts, he found only two or three places where he would have chosen different words. This similarity between Musqueam and Kwantlen may simply reflect earlier proximity. According to tradition, the Kwantlen once lived nearby, at the site of New Westminster, and after Fort Langley was established in 1827, they moved further upstream to be near the fort. However, records of the Hudson's Bay Company's first contact with the Kwantlen show that they were already in the area where the fort was built (Suttles 1998, 170-71). Alternatively, the similarity between Musqueam and Kwantlen may reflect a later influence resulting from the prestige that the Kwantlen enjoyed after 1827 as the neighbours, allies, and affines of the Hudson's Bay Company men at the fort.

In recent years, however, the source of influence has clearly been from the other direction. In the 1950s and '60s, younger people at Musqueam who spoke Halkomelem were said to speak more in the Cowichan fashion. This probably had several causes. One may be that a number of Musqueam, beginning before the turn of the twentieth century, attended the residential school on Kuper Island, where they were exposed to Island forms. Another must be that the Island people have for a long time been more numerous and more active in maintaining the Native ceremonial system. This has given Cowichan a preferred status for some people in some situations. Speeches at the big dances are more often in Cowichan than in anything else, and speakers of other dialects may switch to Cowichan for formal speeches if they can do so. Referring to this, Mike Underwood of Duncan once remarked, "Cowichan is our national language, you might say." At present, however, there is a strong feeling among

the Musqueam that they ought to preserve Musqueam as a distinct form of speech.

Today, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, in all Halkomelem bands, Halkomelem speakers are a small minority. Most are middle-aged or older and very few are monolingual. Speakers are greatly outnumbered everywhere by children and young people who speak English only. It was probably inevitable that the Native people would learn English when, in the middle of the nineteenth century, English-speaking settlers and potential employers came into their country in overwhelming numbers, but their loss of their language must be largely the result of the policy of the government and of the church-operated residential schools to stamp out the Native languages (Levine and Cooper 1976). In several parts of the area, however, Native people are making efforts to teach the language to the young, and it has even been taught in public schools.

## A Note on the Examples

Most examples of sentences are identified as to source by initials. The principal sources are Christine Charles (CC) and James Point (JP). A number appearing after these initials refers to the number of the text from which the example comes. I have tried whenever possible to use examples from dictated texts rather than from elicited sentences. I have used examples elicited from Della Kew (DK) and from Arnold Guerin (AG) to show differences among speakers and to supplement material from the principal sources. I have especially relied on Mr. Guerin in exploring problems that I was quite unaware of when working with Mrs. Charles and Mr. Point. Andrew Charles (AC) is the source of a few examples. (Actually he contributed a great deal as the source and inspiration of much of the material given by Mrs. Charles, but I have credited him only when the record shows that the example came directly from him.) A few forms came from Simon Pierre (SP) of Katzie. One sentence is from Herman Guerin (HG), Arnold's much older brother.

The examples often appear in four lines. The first is simply the Halkomelem as recorded, ignoring what may have been or ought to have been there, such as glottalization of resonants. The second line gives the Halkomelem segmented into morphemes, except that I have not tried to represent components in the internal morphology of roots (infixes, forms of reduplication, and so on) as separate elements. In this line, I have also indicated what the rules of grammar imply ought to be there, most often oblique particles. The third line identifies the segments of the second line. Many of these segments, especially the most commonly occurring grammatical elements, are identified by abbreviations, listed below. But I have not given labels to all grammatical elements; those easily translated are simply translated in the third line. The fourth line is a fairly close, but normal, English translation. If a sentence is such that a closer translation might help explicate it, I have added one, following "lit." (meaning

"closer to a literal translation"). I have tried not to repeat an example but occasionally I have had to use the same sentence in two different contexts simply because it was the best example available.

Where the first and second lines in an example would be identical, I have given the example in only three lines.

## Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| ACT, act. | activity suffix *-els, -əl̓s* |
| ADV | adversative particle *θəɬ* |
| ART | article *tə, θə, kʷθə, ɬə, k̓ʷə, kʷsə* |
| ART(OBL) | oblique article *x̌̓* |
| ATT | attributive formant suffix *-aˑʔɬ* |
| AUX | auxiliary verb *ʔi, ni ~ niʔ* |
| BEN | benefactive suffix *-ɬc-* |
| BE3P | 'be third person' personal word *x̌̓a* |
| BE3PL | 'be third person plural' personal word *x̌̓áləm* |
| CAUS | causative suffix *-stəxʷ$_1$ ~ -st-* |
| CERT | certainty particle *m̓ə* |
| CJ | Chinook Jargon |
| COM | comitative suffix *-stəxʷ$_2$ ~ -st-* |
| CON | concern suffix *-mət, -ámət, -mit, -meʔt* |
| DEM | demonstrative |
| DIM, dim. | diminutive |
| DISP | dispositional aspect |
| DUR | durative aspect |
| EMPH | emphatic particle *q̓ə* |
| EST | 'established' aspectual prefix *wə-* |
| EXP | expectable particle *yeɬ* |
| FN | feminine nearby (article or demonstrative) *ɬə* et al. |
| FP | feminine present (article or demonstrative) *θə* et al. |
| FR | feminine remote (article or demonstrative) *kʷsə* et al. |
| FUT | future particle *ceʔ* |
| gen. | generic |
| GOAL | goal-causal suffix *-nəs* |
| INF | inferential particle *yəxʷ* |
| INTR, intr. | intransitive suffix *-əm* |
| INSTR | instrument (lexical suffix) *-tən* |
| LCTR | limited control transitive suffix *-nəxʷ ~ -n, -ləxʷ ~ -l-* |
| MN | non-feminine nearby (article or demonstrative) *kʷθə* et al. |
| MP | non-feminine present (article or demonstrative) *tə* et al. |
| MR | non-feminine remote (article or demonstrative) *k̓ʷə* et al. |
| n. | noun |
| NOM | nominalizer *s-* |

| | |
|---|---|
| OBL | oblique particle *ʔə* |
| OBLNOM | oblique nominalizer *šx*$^{w}$- |
| OBREL | oblique relater *x*$^{w}$-$_{1}$ |
| p.n. | place name |
| PAS | passive |
| PER | imperative particle *łe* |
| perf. | perfective |
| PERM | permissive suffix *-s* |
| PL, pl. | plural |
| PLPER | plural imperative particle *ʔeˑ* |
| PRES | presumptive particle *waʔ* |
| PROG, prog. | progressive aspect |
| QUOT | quotative particle *c̓ə* |
| REAS | reassuring particle *ʔewəł* |
| RECIP | recipient suffix *-əs* |
| RES, res. | resultative aspect *s-* |
| ROG | interrogative particle *ʔə* |
| ROG! | emphatic interrogative particle *ʔaʔa* |
| s.t. | something |
| sev. | several |
| SPEC | speculative particle *c̓twaʔ* |
| STAT | stative suffix *-t* |
| SUBPAS | subordinate passive suffix *-ət* |
| TR, tr. | transitive suffix *-t ~ -ət, -nəx*$^{w}$ *~ -n-, -ləx*$^{w}$ *~ -l-, -x* |
| v. | verb |
| 2PLPOS | second person possessive suffix *-ʔələp* |
| 3PL | third-person plural particle *ʔeˑłtən* |
| 3POS | third-person possessive suffix *-s* |
| 3SUB | third-person subordinate subject *-əs* |
| 3SUBPAS | third-person subordinate passive *-əyə- ~ iˑ-* |
| 3TR | third-person transitive subject *-əs* |

### Symbols Used in Phonological Formulas

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| A | any full vowel (*i, e, a,* or *u*) | R | any resonant |
| C | any consonant | T | any obstruent |
| H | /h/ or /ʔ/ | V | any vowel (full vowel or schwa) |
| * | reconstructed phoneme or form | ** | ungrammatical form |

# Musqueam Reference Grammar

# 1
# Phonology

Halkomelem shares many of the areal features of phonology that made the Native languages of the North Pacific coast of North America so long impermeable to European understanding. It has a (seemingly) simple vowel system but a richly developed consonant system with several features unparalleled in the languages of Western Europe. These include the presence of lateral and uvular obstruents, the opposition of glottalized to plain plosives and resonants, and the opposition of labialized to plain velars and uvulars. Well over half of the consonants of Halkomelem have no counterpart in English.

## 1.1. CONSONANTS

The following consonants have been recorded in the Musqueam dialect of Halkomelem:

| | Obstruents | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Plosives | | | Spirants | Resonants | |
| | Plain | Glottalized | Voiced | Voiceless | Plain | Glottalized |
| Labial | p | ṗ | {b} | {f} | m | [ṁ] |
| Dental | (t$^{\theta}$) | ṯ$^{\theta}$ | – | θ | – | – |
| Alveolar | t c | ṫ ċ | {d} | s | n | [ṅ] |
| Lateral | ƛ̓ | – | – | ɬ | l | [l̇] |
| Palatal | (č) | – | {j} | (š) | y | [ẏ] |
| Velar | (k) | (k̓) | – | x | {r} | – |
| Lab. velar | k$^{w}$ | k̓$^{w}$ | – | x$^{w}$ | w | [ẇ] |
| Uvular | q | q̓ | – | χ | – | – |
| Lab. uvular | q$^{w}$ | q̓$^{w}$ | – | χ$^{w}$ | – | – |
| Laryngeal | – | ʔ | – | h | – | – |

Of these, twenty-eight (those not enclosed above) occur frequently and have unquestionable phonemic status. Five (enclosed in parentheses) occur less frequently or in limited environments and are of recent and/or peripheral phonemic

status. Five other sounds, the glottalized resonants (enclosed in square brackets) occur frequently but pose a problem in phonemic analysis. And in addition five consonants (enclosed in braces) occur only in a few foreign words and their derivatives and in one sound-imitative word.

### 1.1.1. Obstruents

For descriptive economy, stops and affricates are grouped together as plosives. There are thus four series of obstruents: plain plosives, glottalized plosives, voiced plosives (of marginal status), and spirants. The plain plosives are generally less aspirate before vowels than in English but more aspirate finally. The glottalized plosives are ejectives but are usually not strongly released. Sequences of plosives are rearticulated; that is, the first is not released into the second. The obstruents are produced at as many as nine places of articulation. Adding accompanying labialization, we have thirteen sets of obstruents.

*Labials.* /p/ and /ṗ/ are bilabial stops. /f/ is the labiodental spirant of English. It occurs only in recent loans from English and their derivatives, e.g., /káfi/ 'coffee,' /šxʷkafiélə/ 'coffeepot,' /skíkf/ 'little skiff,' /číf/ 'chief.' In the past, older monolingual speakers reportedly used /p/ in such words. I have recorded /b/ only in /bá·s/ 'boss,' said to have been used for the first government-appointed chief.

*Dentals.* /θ/ is usually a dental or interdental spirant somewhat like the English 'th' in *thin.* /t̓θ/ is a glottalized affricate [t̓θ].[1] Some speakers, I believe, articulate these somewhat further back, reducing the difference between /θ/ and /s/ and between /t̓θ/ and /ċ/.[2] Halkomelem /θ/ and /t̓θ/ are the reflexes of Proto-Salish *c and *ċ and may have reached their present phonetic forms only recently.

I have recorded an unglottalized affricate, [tθ], at Musqueam in only two instances. First, AC gave [mə́tθkʷəy̓] as the name of the plant, now long gone, for which Musqueam itself was named, while CC and JP pronounced it [mə́θkʷəy̓]. To explain AC's pronunciation, I can only suggest that he may have been using an old-fashioned realization of /θ/ in this little-used and perhaps emotion-laden word. Second, JP occasionally used [tθə] instead of the expectable [tə] for the non-feminine visible article. This is the Cowichan form, as JP acknowledged. In Cowichan, [tθ] seems to be a fusion of the sequence //t-θ-// that

1 Elmendorf and Suttles (1960) used the symbol 'ç for this phoneme, basing it on Boas's use of ç for θ. Galloway (1977) uses θ̓, noting that the phoneme has, in Upriver, a glottalized spirant allophone. Hukari et al. (1977) use t̓θ. Until the present work, I have used ż simply for convenience.

2 Working with SP, who was missing some front teeth, I often mistakenly recorded "s" for /θ/ and "ċ" for /t̓θ/. With CC and JP I had little trouble with the spirants but occasionally had to recheck the glottalized affricates. Early to mid-nineteenth-century spellings of Native names using "s" for /θ/, as in "Musqueam" for /xʷmə́θkʷəy̓əm/, suggest that at the time /θ/ was more generally pronounced with the tongue more retracted.

occurs in the demonstrative system, and I have written the Cowichan article /tᶿə/ when it has appeared. However, in Musqueam demonstratives, the sequence /tθ/ is clearly a stop followed by a spirant; cf. Cowichan [tᶿéy̓] with Musqueam [tθéʔ] 'he, that.' I do not believe we need to posit a phoneme /tᶿ/ for Musqueam, though it may be needed for Cowichan.

*Alveolars.* The stops /t/ and /t̓/ appear to me to be articulated as a point perhaps slightly forward of that of the usual English "t" and "d." I have recorded [d] in two items, [skʷdǽdæ] 'chickadee' (also a person's nickname), which may be imitative of the sound made by the bird, and [dǽdɪs], a pet name for a little girl, probably Chinook Jargon for 'flower' (Jacobs 1936, 12). This does not seem to justify positing a /d/ phoneme.

It appears to me that the affricates /c/ and /c̓/, phonetically [tˢ] and [t̓ˢ], and the spirant /s/ are somewhat more retracted than the /t/ and /t̓/, but this may be true of some speakers only, and the difference may not be great.[3] Before a vowel, the affricate /c/, as in /cám/ 'go inland,' /cə́sət/ 'be telling him,' is quite distinct from the sequence /ts/, as in /tsás/ 'poor,' /tsə́t/ 'approach it.' In final position, as in /yəpənéc/ 'going with the wind' versus //s-kʷən-é-t-s// 'his holding it,' there may be little or no phonetic difference. However, in forms like the last, where the [t] and [s] represent different morphemes, it seems only sensible to write /ts/, and so I do. I have no contrasting examples with /c̓/ versus /t̓s/ but expect that they would be distinct.

In Musqueam, with rare exceptions, /c/ and /s/ do not occur before /xʷ/. Where we might expect them for morphological or historical reasons, we find instead /č/ and /š/.[4] However, /c̓/ does occur freely before /xʷ/, as in /c̓xʷát/ 'add to it.'

Halkomelem /c/ and /c̓/ are the reflexes of Proto-Salish *k and *k̓, while Halkomelem /s/ is the reflex of Proto-Salish *s. The source of /c/ in *k is reflected in one feature of the morphology (see §1.5.10 below).

*Palatals.* /č/ is a palatal affricate, phonetically [tˇš], like the English 'ch' in 'cheap.' /š/ is a spirant like the English 'sh' in 'sheep.' There is no glottalized palatal affricate. As indicated, /c/ and /s/ are usually replaced by /č/ and /š/, respectively, before /xʷ/. If these were the only instances of [č] and [š], we could simply identify these two sounds as allophones of /c/ and /s/. However, there are a few words that have [č] and [š] in other environments, and these require, I believe, that we posit /č/ and /š/ phonemes. These include a very small number of words apparently of Native origin, as /čəčíʔq̓ən/ 'mink' and

3 In Upriver dialects /c/, /c̓/, and /s/ can be as palatalized as [č], [c̓̌], and [š] (Galloway 1977, 5-9).

4 One exception is sxʷəʔí·nt 'what meaning,' which was, I believe, consistently pronounced with an initial /s/. AG used an initial /s/ in /sxʷəxʷá/ 'lowered,' the resultative of /xʷét/ 'lower it,' but JP used /š/. It may be that for some speakers, the s-$_2$ 'resultative' behaves differently from the s-$_1$ 'nominalizer.'

as /čə́məx̌/ ‘pitch’ (identified as Cowichan but evidently also used at Musqueam) and the interjections /šéʔ/, /šá·/, /šá·q̓/ ‘pshaw!’ and so on. They also include a small number of loan words from Chinook Jargon (CJ), French (Fr) via Chinook Jargon, and English (E), as /čík mən/ ‘metal’ (CJ), /čé·k/ ‘iron kettle’ (< E *jug*?), /čé·y mən/ ‘Chinese’ (< E *Chinaman*), /šét/ ‘lead’ (the metal, < E *shot*), /kʷəšú/ ‘pig’ (CJ from Fr *cochon*), /ləpláš/ ‘board’ (CJ from Fr *la planche*), /píši/ ‘sin’ (CJ < Fr *péché*), /šípmenqən/ ‘English’ (< E *shipman* and *-qən* ‘speech’), /šúkʷə/ ‘sugar’ (E), and from an unknown source /šəkʷəlúy/ ‘turnip.’ I have recorded [j] (as in English *judge*) only in /kinjáj/ ‘Englishman’ (CJ < E *King George*) and /kinjájqən/ ‘English (language).’

*Laterals.* /ɬ/ is a lateral spirant. /ƛ̓/ is what is usually described as a glottalized lateral affricate, phonetically [t̓ɬ], but the apex of the tongue at the onset is in the position for the lateral release rather than for a /t/ and there is little of the friction heard in the other affricates. /ƛ̓/ is quite distinct from the sequence /t̓ɬ/, cf. /ƛ̓á/ ‘be third person’ and /t̓ɬáq̓ʷt/ ‘pry it off.’ As in most other Salishan languages, there is no unglottalized lateral affricate.

*Velars.* /x/ is a strongly palatalized front velar spirant, phonetically [xʸ].[5] It is the reflex of Proto-Salish *x, which has become /š/ in Island dialects of Halkomelem and in neighbouring Coast Salish Languages.

/k/ is a plain, and /k̓/ a glottalized, unrounded front velar stop. These are less strongly palatalized than the spirant. They are rare and, because Proto-Salish *k and *k̓ have become /c/ and /c̓/ in Halkomelem, they may be of recent origin. I have recorded /k/ in two presumably Native words, /xʷənkét/ ‘hold on, wait a bit’ and /skáti/ ‘crazy.’ It occurs in a small number of loan words from Chinook Jargon and English, as /kəpú/ ‘coat’ (CJ < Fr *capote*), /ləsék/ ‘bag’ (CJ < Fr *le sac*), /ləklí/ ‘key, lock’ (CJ < Fr *le clef*), /lá·k/ ‘log’ (E), /ká·/ ‘car’ (E). It occurs in “baby talk” as a substitute for /q/, as in /káʔ/ for /qáʔ/ ‘water’ when speaking to a child. I have recorded /k̓/ in only one word, where it is the baby-talk substitute for /q̓/ (see §1.6).

*Labialized velars.* /kʷ/, /k̓ʷ/, and /xʷ/ are, respectively, a plain stop, glottalized stop, and a spirant produced at about the point of articulation of English /k/ in *cool* and accompanied throughout by the lip-rounding of /w/.

In the sequence /šxʷ/, especially in the common compound prefix //s-xʷ-// ‘oblique nominalizer,’ the rounding and velar friction of the /xʷ/ can occur, it seems, simultaneously with the palatal friction of the /š/. In the Cowichan dialect, in most environments the /xʷ/ of this prefix is lost, and Cowichan has /š-/ where Musqueam has /šxʷ-/. This pronunciation is also occasionally heard from Musqueam speakers, probably from Cowichan influence.

5 Elmendorf and Suttles (1960) and Galloway (1977) have used the symbol xʸ for this phoneme, but because there is no [x] contrasting with [xʸ], it seems more convenient to write /x/.

*Uvulars.* /q/ and /q̓/ are a plain and glottalized stop produced further back than English /k/, probably varying in place of articulation from uvular to back velar. The limited occurrence of /k/ and /k̓/ may permit a wider range of articulation than might be permitted otherwise. Nevertheless, velars and uvulars are distinct, in the adult and baby-talk forms cited above and in the only near-minimal pair discovered, /ká·/ 'car' and /qáʔ/ 'water.'[6] /x̌/ is a uvular fricative. It is produced with a good deal of friction or uvular vibration and contrasts strongly with /x/.

*Labialized uvulars.* /qʷ/, /q̓ʷ/, and /x̌ʷ/ have a uvular or near-uvular place of articulation and are accompanied throughout by lip rounding. /qʷ/ and /q̓ʷ/ are not always easily distinguished from /kʷ/ and /k̓ʷ/, but the uvulars have a different resonance produced by a different shape of the oral chamber and there may be some uvular friction. /x̌ʷ/ is more easily distinguished from /xʷ/ because of its more audible friction or uvular vibration.

*Glottals.* /ʔ/ is a glottal stop and /h/ a glottal spirant. They are listed here with the obstruents but possibly belong in a class by themselves. They are limited in their co-occurrence with other obstruents (obstruents proper), and they play unique roles in the morphology of the language.

### 1.1.2. Resonants

There are five plain resonants: two nasals /m/ and /n/, a lateral liquid /l/, and two semi-vowels /y/ and /w/. Perhaps /h/ too should be classed as a resonant, as Kuipers (1967, 21) has done for Squamish and Hukari (1976b) has suggested for Cowichan. I have also recorded [r] in [santusprí], also given as [santusplí] 'Holy Spirit' (< Fr *Saint-Esprit,* possibly through Chinook Jargon), and in *čéris* 'cherry.'

There may also be five glottalized resonant phonemes. Phonetically, there are glottalized resonants (i.e., resonants with accompanying glottalization), symbolized [R̊], and resonants preceded and followed by glottal stops, [ʔR] and [Rʔ]. There seems to be some free variation between [ʔR] and [R̊], and there is certainly a good deal between [Rʔ] and [R̊], but never between [ʔR] and [Rʔ]. I have found no instances of contrastive distribution among any of the three. These observations allow for two possibilities: that there are two sequences of phonemes, /ʔR/ and /Rʔ/, with overlapping [R̊] allophones, or that there is a single phoneme /R̊/ that is realized in three ways. I have come to prefer the latter.[7]

Positing /R̊/, we can say that its allophones seem to be determined by the stress and quality of adjacent vowels. In all environments where /R̊/ occurs, [R̊] seems to be a possible realization, but following a stressed full vowel (one other than schwa) and before an unstressed vowel, it is usually realized as [ʔR], e.g.,

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6 Early in my work, I often recorded "k" for what turned out to be /q/, but much less often confused /kʷ/ and /qʷ/ or /k̓ʷ/ and /q̓ʷ/.

7 In his own transcription, AG treated [ʔR] as /ʔR/ and what I hear as [R̊] and [Rʔ] as /Rʔ/.

| | |
|---|---|
| /lám̓ət/ [láʔmət] | ‘throw it at him’ |
| /píẇət/ [píʔwət] | ‘freeze it’ |
| /sṯ̓ʰám̓aqʷ/ [sṯ̓ʰáʔmaqʷ ~ sṯ̓ʰám̓aqʷ] | ‘skull’ |

Following an unstressed vowel and before a stressed vowel, it is usually [Rʔ], e.g.,

| | |
|---|---|
| /pəẇéls/ [pəwʔéls] | ‘freeze’ |
| /ləm̓éls/ [ləmʔéls] | ‘throw something’ |
| /šxʷṯ̓ʰəm̓íwən/ [šxʷṯ̓ʰəmʔíwən] | ‘pit, seed’ |
| /həm̓á/ [həm̓á ~ həmʔá] | ‘pigeon’ |

Between a stressed schwa and an unstressed vowel, it varies between [r̊] and [Rʔ], e.g.,

| | |
|---|---|
| /mə́n̓ə/ [mə́n̓ə ~ mə́nʔə] | ‘child, offspring’ |
| /lə́m̓əθət/ [lə́m̓əθət ~ lə́mʔəθət] | ‘bend over’ |

Elsewhere, between unstressed vowels and between a vowel and a consonant or zero, it is realized as [r̊], e.g.,

| | |
|---|---|
| /sṯ̓ʰəm̓ələ́x̌ən/ [sṯ̓ʰəm̓ələ́x̌ən] | ‘arm bone’ |
| /sṯ̓ʰə́m̓cəs/ [sṯ̓ʰə́m̓cəs] | ‘hand bones’ |
| /sṯ̓ʰám̓/ [sṯ̓ʰám̓] | ‘bone’ |
| /spíẇ/ [spíẇ] | ‘ice’ |
| /lám̓/ [lám̓] | ‘get hit by something thrown’ |

As may be seen from the examples, a root such as /píẇ/ ‘freeze’ or /sṯ̓ʰám̓/ ‘bone’ can appear in several forms with the /r̊/ alternately [ʔR], [Rʔ], and [r̊]. Assuming /r̊ /, we can identify this variation as purely phonetic. But one could of course posit /ʔR/ and /Rʔ/ and consider the variation to be one of phonologically conditioned allomorphs.

Glottalized resonants do not occur as freely as the plain resonants. They do not occur in morpheme-initial position, with three exceptions: the particles /m̓ə/ ‘certain’ and /y̓eɬ/ ‘as usual,’ and /m̓i/, a reduction of /ʔəm̓í/ ‘come.’

Although glottalized resonants can occur in roots, I have not noted any pairs of roots contrasting for glottalization of resonant only. Nevertheless, minimal pairs do exist. The glottalization of resonants plays a role in the morphology. For example, in progressive forms of the verb, resonants occurring after the stress (some, but not all, following rules not yet worked out) are glottalized; cf. /ṯ̓íləm/ ‘sing,’ /ṯ̓íṯ̓əl̓əm̓/ ‘be singing.’ In most progressive forms, this aspect is signalled by reduplication (as in the example) or a different vowel, and so the glottalization of any resonants is redundant and need not be very audible. However, for a few verbs the progressive differs from the perfective form by the presence of a glottalized resonant only; cf. /ṯ̓ʰí·m/ ‘pick berries’ and /ṯ̓ʰí·m̓/ ‘be picking berries,’ /ɬí·m/ ‘pick’ and /ɬí·m̓/ ‘be picking,’ /x̌é·m/ ‘cry’ and /x̌é·m̓/ ‘be crying.’

There is some variation in the strength with which Musqueam speakers glottalize resonants. Transcribing texts dictated by JP, I often wrote plain resonants and only later discovered that they were glottalized. The glottal constriction of [r̊] was especially gentle, the glottal stop of [ʔR] more apparent. CC's glottalized resonants were more easily heard but I missed some. In most Upriver dialects, glottalized resonants do not exist, while on the Island, they are, I believe, more sharply articulated. Downriver Halkomelem stands between the other dialect areas, linguistically as well as geographically, and possibly its speakers vary in this and other features depending on Island or Upriver influence.

## 1.2. VOWELS

Musqueam has five vowel phonemes:

| | Front | Central | Back rounded |
|---|---|---|---|
| High | i | – | u |
| Mid | e | ə | – |
| Low | – | a | – |

Two distinctions can be made among these vowel phonemes. First, four of them, /i/, /e/, /a/, and /ə/, are common, play important roles in the morphology, and are old in the language (being reflexes of earlier *i, *a, *u, and *ə, respectively), while /u/ occurs mainly in loan words, has no morphological role, and is very likely of recent origin.

Second, the full vowels, /i/, /e/, /a/, and /u/, can be distinguished from schwa /ə/. All five vowels occur both with and without stress, but schwa is by far the most common unstressed vowel. The full vowels occur with phonemic length, as /i·/, /e·/, /a·/, and /u·/, while schwa does not. The full vowels can be followed by glottal stops without restrictions, but schwa can be followed by a glottal stop only when it is unstressed and with a stressed vowel following the glottal stop. In the morphology, there is an alternation between schwa and the full vowels /i/, /e/, and /a/.

Unlike the consonant phonemes, which show little phonetic variation, the vowel phonemes vary considerably phonetically. The phoneme /i/ has three fairly distinct allophones. Following unrounded uvulars, it is realized as [e]. Preceding both unrounded and rounded uvulars, it is realized as [ɪ] with a central off-glide. Elsewhere, it is realized as a low [i] or high [e]. It can be lower before a glottal stop or glottalized resonant, but speakers seem to vary in this. The /e/ is realized as a low to mid-front vowel, [ɛ] or high [æ]. The /a/ is low and central to back, usually close to [ɑ]. The /u/ is fairly high, back, and rounded, a low [u] or high [o].

The schwa phoneme /ə/ when stressed appears in most environments as a mid-central [ə], but before /x/ it is fronted and higher, approaching [ɪ]; before

/y/ it is also fronted, approaching [ɛ]; before /w/ it is lower and back, approaching [ɑ]; and before rounded velars it seems mid-back, toward [o].

Unstressed /ə/ is by far the most common unstressed vowel, and it seems even more chameleon-like than stressed /ə/. Before /x/ and /y/ it can be as high as [ɪ] or even [i], and before labialized velars and /w/ it can be realized as [o] or [ʊ]. Moreover, an unstressed /ə/ can be assimilated, by a kind of vowel harmony, to a stressed /e/ or stressed /a/ in an adjacent syllable.

Vowels before semi-vowels are especially troublesome, the schwa coming close to one or another of the full vowels. To complicate things further, there are some instances of forms with /-ə́ẏ/ and /-íʔ/ alternating, such as /sθəθə́ẏ/ ~ /sθəθíʔ/ 'right,' 'fixed,' /šxʷəxʷə́ẏ/ ~ /šxʷəxʷíʔ/ 'awake.' In these cases, the morphology should yield the /-ə́ẏ/ form.[8]

The following sequences of stressed vowel and (plain or glottalized) semi-vowel can be distinguished:

/ə́y/ in /xʷə́y/ 'wake up,' /θə́yt/ 'fix it,' /c̓ə́yxʷt/ 'dry it,' /ʔə́ẏ/ 'good,' /swə́ẏqeʔ/ 'man, male,' /smə́yəθ/ 'deer.'

/éy/ in /sḵʷéy/ 'impossible,' /θéẏt/ 'be fixing it,' /c̓éẏxʷt/ 'be drying it,' /sqʷəméẏ/ 'dog,' /θéẏəm/ 'be baking,' /héẏ/ 'go ahead.'

/áy/ in /háy/ 'stop,' /q̓áy/ 'die,' /cqʷáy/ 'yellow,' /ʔáyəm/ 'slow.'

/əw/ in /sə́wq̓/ 'seek,' /ʔəwḵʷ/ 'be used up,' /šxʷ´əẇqən/ 'swan,' /ʔəwə/ 'no, not,' /nə́wə/ 'you.'

/éw/ in /héwt/ 'rat,' /sqéwθ/ 'potato,' /séẇq̓/ 'be seeking,' /ʔéwḵʷ/ 'possessions.'

/áw/ in /yəsʔaẇθ/ 'in a rush,' /ʔáẇḵʷ/ 'being used up' (DK), /ʔáwə/ 'hour.'

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8 With both CC and JP, I often wrote "éy" for what turned out to be /ə́y/ and "áw" for what turned out to be /ə́w/. (A few of these errors appear in Elmendorf and Suttles 1960.) I had less difficulty hearing the differences in the speech of DK and AG, because, I believe, in their Cowichan-accented speech there is more vocal tension differentiating full vowels from schwa. But they were also able to state explicitly, "That's a schwa."

No wonder Hill-Tout (1903, 370-71) complained bitterly that in the mouth of an informant, "-i, ai, and -e, as -o and au, were constantly interchanging in the most bewildering fashion." More recently, Thompson (1979, 697-98), discussing Salishan in general, has written:

> Vowel systems are usually small, although vowels often exhibit wide variation. The central lax vowel ə, in particular, adapts strongly to its consonantal environments, and in many cases the foreign ear has great difficulty recognizing whether a variant of ; or one of a tense vowels is being heard.

I would add that there may be difficulties even for Native ears. A younger but fluent speaker once assured me that 'be burning' is /hə́ẏqʷ/ and that 'fire' is /héẏqʷ/. For older speakers, however, there is only one word, /hə́ẏqʷ/ 'be burning,' which if preceded by an article is 'that which is burning,' that is, 'fire.' One must suppose that for this younger speaker, and perhaps others, the two words in English and the closeness of /ə́ẏ/ and /éẏ/ promoted a reanalysis of the Native word, splitting it into two.

/íw/ in /spíẇ/ ‘ice,’ /qíẇx̌/ ‘steelhead,’ /sníẇ/ ‘advice,’ /xʷíwəl/ ‘go upstream,’ /níẇət/ ‘advise him.’

/úy/ in one presumably borrowed word, /šəkʷlúy/ ‘turnip.’

I have recorded no instances of /íy/, /íẏ/, /úw/, or /úẇ/.

The unstressed vowels differ from the stressed vowels in several respects. Unstressed /i/, /e/, and /a/ are relatively uncommon. In the interpretation presented here, unstressed /u/ does not occur, /ə/ is the only unstressed vowel that occurs with semi-vowels, and many instances of [i] and [u] are realizations of /əy/ and /əw/, respectively.

When stressed full vowels of roots lose their stress, as when they take stressed suffixes, they usually appear as schwa or zero. In affixes, too, unstressed vowels are usually schwa, and a stressed vowel, with loss of stress, usually becomes schwa.

Unstressed /i/ does appear as an unreduced full vowel in some words with stressed suffixes, as in /θiθáləs/ ‘big-eyed’ (from θí ‘big’), and in the unstressed auxiliaries /ʔi/ and /niʔ/ ~ /ni/. It also appears as an infix in some verb forms, as in diminutives and duratives (for unstressed /i/ in progressives of duratives, see §7.5). Unstressed /i/ also appears as a rapid speech variant of the prefix /yə-/ ‘along,’ as an individual variant of the initial of /yəsél̓ə/ ~ /isél̓ə/ ~ /ʔisél̓ə/ ‘two,’[9] and as a schwa assimilated to /í/, as in /tiʔí/ for /təʔí/ ‘this.’

Unstressed /e/ and /a/ occur in a small set of noun roots of the form CV́CVʔ, e.g., /méqeʔ/ ‘snow,’ /t̓éqeʔ/ ‘salal berry,’ /skʷáyeʔ/ ‘squirrel,’ /nác̓aʔ/ ‘one,’ /sqámaʔ/ ‘breast,’ /x̌ácaʔ/ ‘lake,’ /sc̓áłaʔ/ ‘leaf,’ or CV́RCVʔ, as in /swəẏqeʔ/ ‘man, male.’ Historically these unstressed vowels may be assimilated schwas; /e/ occurs most commonly following /é/ and /a/ most commonly following /á/, and there seems to be no schwa before a glottal stop in such an environment. But the occurrence of /e/ or /a/ here is not (at this point) entirely predictable. There are also individual differences. A reduplicated form of *nác̓aʔ* ‘one’ meaning ‘one person’ was pronounced /náṉəc̓eʔ/ [náʔnəc̓eʔ] by CC but /náʔənc̓aʔ/ by JP. From both CC and JP I recorded *syál̓əxʷaʔ* ‘old person,’ but from AG I recorded *syál̓əxʷeʔ*. Unstressed /e/ and /a/ also occur in a few suffixes. And they occur as ex-schwas that have become assimilated to nearby full vowels (of which more below).

Unstressed /əy/ and /əẏ/ occur in such words as /yəθéləẏ/ ‘those,’ /q̓áləy/ ‘die (pl.),’ /sθéθəẏən/ ‘blood,’ /c̓əẏxʷéls/ ‘dry something,’ /ʔəẏθát/ ‘become better,’ /słénəẏ/ ‘woman,’ ‘female,’ /q̓éṁəẏ/ ‘young woman,’ /slə́wəẏ/ ‘shredded cedarbark,’ and /ʔəẏ/ ‘and.’ The unstressed /əy/ is phonetically [ɪy] or [i]; unstressed /əẏ/ can vary from [ɨẏ] to [ɪẏ] to [iʔ]. I have three reasons for

9 Thinking I heard it from someone this way, I asked CC if ‘two’ could be pronounced [yəsél̓ə]. “No,” she said, “that’s wrong. But of course a lot of Indians say it that way.”

interpreting these as /əy/ and /əy̓/ rather than as /i/ and /iʔ/, as others (Gerdts 1981; Hukari and Peter 1995; and Galloway 1977) have done for other dialects.

First, in CC's and JP's speech (though not in AG's), there seemed to be a phonetic difference between unstressed /əy/ and especially unstressed /əy̓/ on the one hand and unstressed /i/ and /iʔ/ on the other. The word 'woman,' for example, can appear as [słéniʔ] or, especially in slower speech, with the final nearly as diphthongized and low, as [əy̓]. The conjunction 'and' I have recorded as [i], [əy̓], and even [ʔey̓].[10] On the other hand, there are unstressed [i] vowels that I have never heard as diphthongs, e.g., those in the auxiliaries /niʔ/ and /ʔi/; /niʔ/ is usually /ni/ and can be reduced to /nə/, but it is never [n̟y], nor is the auxiliary /ʔi/ ever [ʔ̟y]. Phonemicizing these variable elements as /əy/ and /əy̓/, even though they may overlap allophonically with /i/ and /iʔ/, thus preserves what I believe is a real distinction.

A second reason for this choice is that it simplifies the description of the morphology. For example, /q̓áləy/ can be described as /q̓áy/ 'die' with the infix /-lə-/ 'plural,' paralleling /ném̓/ 'go,' /néləm̓/ 'go (pl).' And it preserves the basic form of the root; cf. /c̓áy̓xʷt/ 'dry it' and /c̓əy̓xʷéls/ 'dry something,' /ʔáy̓/ 'good' and /ʔəy̓θát/ 'get better.' (In these last two and in parallel forms, however, there may be an alternation of /əy̓/ and /iʔ/ such as mentioned in note 8 for /áy̓/ and /iʔ/: 'dry something' may be /c̓əy̓xʷéls/ ~ /c̓iʔxʷéls/.)

Third, I am sure I have been influenced by the fact that for some of these words there is comparative evidence for /y/. For example, cf. Halkomelem [słénəy̓] ~ [słéniʔ], Squamish *słánayʔ*, Lushootseed *słádəyʔ* 'woman.'

Unstressed /əw/, phonetically [əw] ~ [u], occurs quite often as an allomorph of the aspectual prefix /wə-$_2$/ 'established.' It appears prefixed to roots as /wə-/ but can also follow other elements as /-əw/, e.g., following /s-/ 'nominalizer' as /səw/ ([səw] ~ [s̟w] ~ [su]), generally translated 'then.' (In AG's speech, /wə-/ 'established' was never [wə] but invariably [ʔu] or [ʔuʔ].)

Unstressed /əw/ also appears in one set of demonstratives, /təwx̌á/ ([təwx̌á] ~ [tux̌á]) 'he, that non-feminine visible one,' /θəwx̌á/ 'she, that feminine visible one,' etc. And it probably occurs in the prefix /təw-/ 'somewhat.'

Unstressed /əẇ/, phonetically [əẇ] ~ [oʔ], appears in a number of words like /stál̓əẇ/ 'river,' / éləẇ/ 'arm, wing,' /k̓ʷáləẇ/ 'skin,' /łéłəẇ/ 'be escaping,' /łəẇélqł/ 'miss a shot, lose a fish, have one's prey escape.' In this case too, phonemicizing /əẇ/ simplifies description of the morphology. For example, /łéłəẇ/, the progressive of /łéẇ/ 'escape,' is a case of CV reduplication with the second vowel reduced to schwa, paralleling /k̓ʷáqʷ/ 'get hit,' /k̓ʷák̓ʷəqʷ/ 'be getting hit.' Moreover, for some of these words there is comparative evidence

10 Transcribing texts dictated by CC, I usually wrote 'and' as [i], occasionally as [ʔi], and a few times as [ʔəy̓]. CC's daughter DK went over these texts with me later and expressed the opinion that [i] was correct. Perhaps the form was actually /yi/. In the example sentences, I have tried to leave the first line as I heard it.

for /w/; cf. Halkomelem /stál̓əẇ/ ‘river,’ Lushootseed *stúləkʷ ~ stúləgʷ*- ‘river’ (cf. Halkomelem *nəẇ*-, Lushootseed *díkʷ ~ dígʷ*- ‘be/go inside,’ Halkomelem /nə́wə/, Lushootseed *dəgʷí* ‘you,’ Halkomelem /wét/, Lushootseed *gʷát* ‘who’).

### 1.2.1. Vowel Length

Vowel length, written /·/, is phonemic in Musqueam. Long and short full vowels (but not schwa) contrast, as in /wí·l̓/ ‘tule’ and /wíl̓/ ‘appear,’ /té·m/ ‘shout,’ and /stém/ ‘what,’ /sné·nt/ ‘rock, mountain’ and /mén/ ‘father,’ /pá·t/ ‘blow on it’ and /ləpát/ ‘cup,’ /q̓á·yt/ ‘kill him’ and /q̓áy/ ‘die,’ /tú·xʷ/ ‘nine’ and /pús/ ‘cat.’

Phonetically some of the long vowels followed by resonants differ from the others in that the lengthening is shared by the resonant, but these two varieties of long vowels have not been observed to contrast and so they are marked the same way. Probably all of these long vowels are the products of either recent phonological change or ongoing morphophonemic processes. These sources will be discussed in §1.5.3. and §1.5.6.

Short vowels can vary somewhat in length. Stressed full vowels before final resonants may appear longer than normal short vowels in deliberate speech, as in [nə há·y] ‘It’s finished,’ but re-eliciting shows these vowels to be short.[11]

Rhetorical lengthening also occurs in conversation and narrative. A speaker may prolong a vowel in a key word for several times its normal length for emphasis. I mark this /··/, for example, /cá··kʷ/ ‘It’s faaar!’ (cf. /cákʷ/ ‘far’), /səw hə́ye··ʔs təwx̌áləm xʷíwəl/ ‘Then awaaay they went upstream’ (cf. /hə́yeʔ/ ‘go away’).

## 1.3. STRESS AND PITCH

Stress consists of an increase in intensity and a rise in pitch. There are three levels of stress: primary (marked /ˊ/), secondary (marked /ˋ/), and weak (not marked). In every full word (as opposed to particles), there is one vowel with primary stress. Its occurrence is not wholly predictable at this time and so it is best marked.

In uninflected words with more than one vowel, the primary stress is generally on the first vowel, as in /lélәm̓/ ‘house,’ /célәx/ ‘hand,’ /ləwəx̌/ ‘rib,’ /mə́n̓ə/ ‘child,’ /t̓ɵ́ɪxʷt̓ɵəxʷ/ ‘fishhawk,’ /x̌́əx̌ʷx̌əx̌ʷ/ ‘oyster.’ But there are exceptions, such as /wəq̓áq/ ‘snail,’ /x̌ʷəʔít/ ‘wedge,’ /xəmén/ ‘enemy.’ If the word contains a full vowel and one or more schwas, the full vowel usually bears the stress, as in the last two examples. But again there are exceptions, such as words with final glottal stop, which cannot be preceded by schwa, e.g.,

11 Kava (1969, 39), writing on Cowichan, identifies these as “half-long allophones” of the short vowels.

/nə̓ca˒/ ‘one.’ As will be seen, various morphological processes involve shifts in stress.

Minimal pairs contrasting stress are rare but do exist. When a verb root consisting of a resonant, a schwa, and an obstruent is followed by *-t* ‘transitive,’ the primary stress can be on either the root or the suffix, giving us the minimal pair /mə̓k̓ʷət/ ‘salvage it’ and /mək̓ʷə̓t/ ‘finish it all.’ Compare also /mə̓q̓ət/ ‘swallow it’ and /mə̓t̓ə̓t/ ‘bend it.’ For roots with schwa, dispositional-iterative and plural forms may differ in stress only; cf. /sə́q̓səq̓/ ‘likely to split’ and /səq̓sə́q̓ət/ ‘split it up, split several.’ (There may be an intransitive /səq̓sə́q̓/ ‘several split,’ but I have not recorded it.) Also, the assimilation of schwa to an adjacent full vowel (discussed in the next section) results in the minimal pair /sté˒e/ (~ sté˒ə) ‘on the way’ and /ste˒é/ (~ stə˒é) ‘like, resembling.’

The secondary stress appears often in words composed of a root that has retained the stress and a stressed suffix. I find that in recording such words I have been inconsistent in marking which stressed vowel had the primary stress and which the secondary. For example, I recorded ‘help me’ as *c̓éwəθàmx* and as *c̓èwəθámx*. I believe now that my perception was probably influenced by the sentence intonation pattern. What I recorded as a secondary stress in words like *c̓éwəθàmx* may have been falling pitch, which seems to be characteristic of the last stressed syllable of a phrase, rather than heightened intensity. But I prefer not to try to determine which is “right” and “correct,” so in the illustrating sentences I have left the stresses as I recorded them.

I have not attempted an analysis of the sentence intonation pattern or patterns. This needs to be done.

## 1.4. PHONOTACTICS

Obstruents (excluding the glottals) commonly follow one another in sequences of up to four. A sequence of five is possible, as in /txʷstx̌ʷás ˒aɬ/ ‘just standing in shock.’ There seem to be no restrictions on the kinds of sequences of obstruents that can occur. Plosives in sequences are rearticulated. Sequences of /ss/ are not uncommon and are clearly audible, usually as a lengthened [s·].

Resonants occur only adjacent to vowels. An initial resonant must be followed by a vowel and a final resonant preceded by one. Medially, sequences of resonant-obstruent, resonant-resonant, and obstruent-resonant occur.

The laryngeals are more restricted. /˒/ occurs only adjacent to a vowel. Within the words, it does not occur following an obstruent other than /s/. It can (and commonly does) occur following /s/, when /s/ is a prefix. It can occur before any vowel but does not occur in final position following a schwa. (Its occurrence with resonants has been discussed in §1.2.) /h/ occurs only before vowels. It can follow a resonant or one of the spirants /s/, /ɬ/, or /xʷ/ at a morpheme boundary, but does not occur following other obstruents. It can appear between an unstressed and a stressed vowel. It does not appear between a stressed and an unstressed vowel. (See §1.5.1 and §1.5.8.)

## 1.5. MORPHOPHONEMICS

Under this heading, I will discuss alternations that occur fairly commonly. They will also be identified, however, in the appropriate sections on the morphology, as will any alternations of limited occurrence.

### 1.5.1. Losses in Rapid Speech

In other than slow, deliberate speech, there may be optional loss of some instances of schwa, glottal stop, glottalization of resonant, and /h/.

An unstressed schwa following an initial nasal resonant may be lost. It there is a vowel preceding, the nasal may be heard as part of that syllable, as in /tə nəmén/ ~ /tən mén/ 'my father' (*tə* 'article,' *nə-* 'my,' *mén* 'father'), /tə məstáyəxʷ/ ~ /təmstáyəxʷ/ 'the person' (*tə* 'article,' *məstáyəxʷ* 'person').

Occasionally /nə/ with no preceding vowel appears as a syllabic [n] (written simply /n/), as in /xʷnəc̓áwəθ/ ~ /xʷnc̓áwəθ/ 'one kind.' I have recorded no instances of syllabic [m] or [l], but instances of /i/ alternating with /yə/ and /əw/ with /wə/ are perhaps comparable.

Both medial and final glottal stop may be lost in rapid or casual speech. A glottal stop between a stressed full vowel and an unstressed vowel (which is likely to be assimilated to the preceding one, as discussed below) can be lost, leaving a long vowel but one with a falling pitch contour that seems distinct from the long vowels identified in §1.2.2, such as /máʔəqʷ/ ~ /máʔaqʷ/ ~ /máàqʷ/ 'larger bird,' /spéʔəθ/ ~ /spéʔeθ/ ~ /spéèθ/ 'black bear.'

A glottal stop after an unstressed final (and so necessarily full) vowel may be lost, in which case the vowel may appear as schwa, as in /méqeʔ/ ~ /méqe/ ~ /méqə/ 'snow.'

The glottalization of resonants after unstressed vowels in final position is often inaudible, as in /léləm̓/ ~ /léləm/ 'house.' In rapid speech, it may become inaudible elsewhere after unstressed vowels, as in /smən̓é·m/ ~ /smané·m/ 'descendants.'

An /h/ before a stressed vowel may be, but is not invariably, lost when preceded by a spirant, as in /wəɬhíθ/ ~ /wəɬíθ/ 'be already a long time,' composed of /wəɬ-/ 'already,' /híθ/ 'last long'; /shá·y̓/ ~ /sá·y̓/ 'finished,' the resultative of /háy/ 'stop, finish.' On the other hand, between a spirant and an unstressed vowel, /h/ is probably never heard, as in /šxʷəlí/ 'life,' from /šxʷ/ 'oblique nominalizer' (here 'means of'), /həlí/ 'be alive.'

### 1.5.2. Assimilation of Schwa

An unstressed schwa may take on the quality of a full vowel adjacent to it or separated from it by a glottal stop. In the Musqueam of CC and JP, this is usual within the word when the stressed vowel is first. In such cases, the schwa will echo the first vowel, as in 'large bird' and 'black bear' given in §1.4.1. For CC and JP, /máʔaqʷ/ and /spéʔeθ/ are usual and those with the glottal stop lost are rapid or casual forms. For AG, /máʔəqʷ/ and /spéʔəθ/ are usual. Within the

root, progressive assimilation of schwa to a following full vowel may be less regular. For CC and JP, /steʔé/ may be more usual than /stəʔé/ 'like,' but I recorded /x̌ʷəʔít/ 'wedge' in the one form only.[12]

Across morpheme boundaries, the assimilation of schwa to a full vowel is also variable, as in /niʔəxʷ/ ~ /niəxʷ/ ~ /ni·xʷ/ 'that you did' (/niʔ/ ~ /ni/ 'auxiliary,' /-əxʷ/ 'you (subordinate subject),' /stəʔé ʔə tθéʔ/ ~ /steʔé ʔe tθéʔ/ ~ /steé·tθeʔ/ 'like that' (/stəʔé/ 'like,' /ʔə/ 'oblique particle,' /tθéʔ/ 'that'), /təʔí/ ~ /tiʔí/ 'this' (/tə/ 'article,' /ʔí/ 'be here'). The more assimilated forms are heard in more rapid or more informal speech.

There are also instances of a sequence of two schwas realized as /é·/. This happens when a word-final schwa is followed by a schwa in a particle (with or without an intervening glottal stop). The result is a stressed full vowel, as in /sìl̓é·ɬ/ 'deceased grandparent,' composed of /síl̓ə/ 'grandparent,' /-əɬ/ 'past'; /ʔəwé·/ 'isn't? didn't? etc.,' composed of /ʔáwə/ 'not,' /ʔə/ 'interrogative.' These particular forms and a few others with /-əɬ/ 'past' seem to be usual if not obligatory. This realization of the two schwas as /é·/ suggests the possibility that the final vowel in words like /síl̓ə/ 'grandparent' is basically (or historically) an /e/ reduced to /ə/ because it is unstressed.

There are also a few roots that seem to consist of just a consonant and a full vowel. When such a root is followed by a suffix beginning with an unstressed schwa, the result is necessarily a long vowel, as in /pá·t/ 'blow on it,' from /pá/ 'get hit by the wind,' /-ət/ 'transitive'; /qʷé·t/ 'make a hole in it,' from /qʷé/ 'get through,' /-ət/ 'transitive.'

One root of this shape, /θí/ 'big,' assimilates to the initial vowel of some suffixes, as in /θá·qʷ/ 'big-headed,' from /-aqʷ/ 'head'; /sθé·wtxʷ/ 'big house ("smokehouse," winter dance house),' from /-ewtxʷ/ 'house.'

### 1.5.3. Metathesis of Non-Labial Resonant and Schwa

There are a number of words or forms of words in which there is phonetically a somewhat lengthened vowel followed by a resonant other than /m/ or /w/ that may also be somewhat lengthened or syllabic, as in [smɛ́·nt] ~ [smɛ́·n·t] = /smé·nt/ 'rock, mountain'; [q̓á·yt] ~ [q̓á·y·t] ~ [q̓á·it] = /q̓á·yt/ 'kill him.' For such words, there is evidence for a basic shape //CARəT// (C is any consonant,

12 Looking at variation such as between [máʔəqʷ] ~ [máʔaqʷ] ~ [máaqʷ] or [stəʔé ʔə tθé] ~ [steʔ·tθéʔ], I decided not to overphonemicize and therefore I have written variants as I heard them. For one reason, dialect and idiolect differences are such that what is an occasional casual form for one speaker may be the usual form for another. For another reason, it may be useful to preserve stylistic differences for the same speaker. In the examples, therefore, I have generally written the assimilated schwas as I heard them in the first line and what I believe to be the basic form in the second line. It might be useful to have some diacritical mark to indicate a schwa that has taken on the value of an adjacent full vowel, as in /máʔə̂qʷ/, /tə̂ʔí/, and /stə̂ʔé ʔə̂ tθéʔ/, but I have not attempted this.

A a full vowel [i.e., /i/, /e/, /a/, or /u/], R a resonant, and T an obstruent), indicating a shift in position of the resonant and schwa and the assimilation of the schwa. Perhaps historically the resonant became syllabic before the preceding vowel was affected.

The clearest evidence for this is in the forms of the verb roots of the shape /CAR/ with the suffix /-ət/ transitive, as in /ƛ̓é·lt/ 'stick it on, apply it,' from /ƛ̓él/ 'get stuck'; /q̓á·yt/ 'kill it,' from /q̓áy/ 'die' (see §7.2.1). The process is also seen in the subordinate passive paradigm; the person markers /-él-/ 'I' and /-ál-/ 'we, you (plural)' and the subordinate passive suffix /-ət/ are realized as /-é·lt/ and /-á·lt/ (see §10.2.6).

This process no doubt also accounts for the long vowels in nouns of the shape /CÁ·RT/, as in /sné·nt/ 'rock, mountain,' /k̓ʷá·nl̓/ 'porpoise,' /ʔé·yt/ 'lingcod.' In the case of /sné·nt/, the morphology shows it; the diminutive /sném̓nət/ implies a base //sménət// (see §8.4.1). There is also comparative evidence in Northern Straits *sŋénət* 'rock,' *k̓ʷánəl̓* 'porpoise,' *ʔéyət* 'lingcod.'

Although phonetically the resonant may share the lengthening in words like /sné·nt/, there seems to be no ambiguity in phonemicizing them this way, but it might be as defensible to write /sén·t/ or /sénnt/. The lengthening must be marked in some way, however, for it is not simply an automatic phonetic phenomenon in words of the shape /CART/; cf. [mémt] /mémt/ 'pass out food.' Nor is the metathesis automatic in words of the shape /CÁRəT/; cf. /l̓éyəq̓/ 'get angry,' /sméləkʷ̓/ 'warrior's hide shirt.'

### 1.5.4. Glottalized Resonant Disengagement

When a root of the shape /CAR̓/ takes the suffix /-ət/ transitive, the resulting form has the shape /CAʔəRt/; cf. /wíl̓/ 'appear,' /wíʔəlt/ 'make it appear.' The expectable form would be */wíl̓ət/ phonetically *[wíʔlət], and so it appears that the resonant and schwa have switched positions (as in §1.5.3) but with the glottal stop protecting the schwa from assimilation. This process is also seen in the progressive forms of verbs with initial /n/, as in /néc̓t/ 'change it,' /néʔənc̓t/ (from //néṉəc̓t//) 'be changing it.' The term "glottalized resonant disengagement" is, of course, defensible only if one accepts [ʔR] as /R̓/.

### 1.5.5. Coalescence of Glottal Stop and Resonant

Occasionally a sequence /VʔVR/ (V is any vowel) undergoes an optional change in which the vowels coalesce and the glottal stop appears as glottalization of the resonant. This can happen to the possessive /ʔən-/ 'your' after an article; for example, /tə ʔən-/ can be realized as /tə ʔən-/ ~ /te·ṉ/ ~ /təṉ/.

### 1.5.6. Loss of the First of Two Identical Resonants

There are words in which long vowels are followed by final resonants (some glottalized, some not) that can be phonetically longer than usual, as in [q̓ʷí·ṉ] ~ [q̓ʷí·nṉ] phonemicized /q̓ʷí·ṉ/ 'ear,' and [spá·l̓] ~ [spá·l̓l̓] phonemicized

/spá·l̓/ ‘raven.’ For these we can infer a basic shape //CV́RəR// in which the two resonants are identical, except possibly for glottalization. In some instances, it appears that the stressed vowel is a full vowel, in others a schwa. The process //CV́RəR// → /Cá·R/ (or /CV·RR/?), like that identified in §1.5.3, may have, historically, involved metatheses of the first resonant and the schwa (with or without a stage in which the resonant and schwa became a syllabic resonant) rather than involving a simple loss of the medial resonant.

One instance of this process appears in the passive paradigm where /-ám-/ ‘you (passive)’ and /-əm/ ‘intransitive’ are realized as /-á·m/ (see §10.2.6). Another clear case is /x̌ʷí·m/ ‘flow fast,’ composed of /x̌ʷ́əm/ ‘fast’ and /-əm/ ‘intransitive.’ The source of the full vowel /i/ is not clear, but since schwa does not occur long, a lengthened vowel would have to be one full vowel or another.

Similar bases for /q̓ʷí·n̓/ ‘ear’ and /spá·l̓/ ‘raven’ are suggested by two diminutive forms. For ‘ear,’ JP offered a diminutive, saying that although he had never heard it, it would be /q̓ʷíq̓ʷnən̓/ ‘little ear.’ This form implies a base //q̓ʷənən̓//. A diminutive plural given by CC, /spəlápləl/ ‘lots of little crows,’ implies a singular diminutive (not recorded) */spáplə̓l/, which in turn implies a base //spáləl̓// (see §8.6).

Comparative evidence from within Halkomelem supports the case for this process; the Nanaimo dialect has medial resonants in several of these words where Musqueam and other dialects have long vowels (see Elmendorf and Suttles 1960, 32).

This process may also occur in instances of /l/ followed by /ɬ/, as in /spé·ɬx̌ən/, probably //spáləɬx̌ən// ‘prairies,’ the plural of /spáɬx̌ən/ ‘prairie’ (see §8.3.4).

### 1.5.7. Emergent /θ/

Historically, Halkomelem /θ/ is the reflex of an earlier *c. The lexicon seems pretty consistently to reflect this. In two places in the morphology, however, there is a /θ/ that is probably the result of a coalescence of *t and *s. In the transitive verb paradigm, /θ/ appears as the realization of /-t/ transitive and a first- and second-person object marker that I identify as //S// (see §10.2.5). In the possessive paradigm in JP’s and AG’s speech (but not in CC’s and DK’s), /ʔəθ-/ appears as the realization of an allomorph of the second-person possessive that I identify as //ʔəT-// and an initial /s/ in the noun or nominalization (see §10.2.4).[13]

### 1.5.8. Intrusive /h/

There are a few roots that appear alone as CA, as in /θí/ ‘big,’ /qʷé/ ‘pass through,’ /pá/ ‘get blown on.’ When such a root is followed by a suffix beginning

13 My model for this use of morphophonemic symbols was William H. Jacobsen’s treatment of Washo morphophonemics in his course in the language at the University of Nevada.

with a stressed vowel, an /h/ appears, as in /θəhínəs/ 'barrel-chested' (< /-ínəs/ 'chest'), /qʷəhíləm/ 'go through' (< /qʷé/ 'pass through,' /-íləm/ 'move toward'), /spəhéls/ 'wind' (< /s-/ 'nominalizer,' /pá/ 'get blown on,' /-éls/ 'activity'). It may be that these roots have an underlying CAC shape (a very common one) in which the final /h/ is not realized after the stressed vowel (a position in which it cannot occur); for example, //θíh// is realized as /θí/ 'big.' Or it may be that /h/ is simply automatic when an unstressed vowel is followed by a stressed vowel. (For possible CAh roots, see §7.2.4.)

### 1.5.9. Alteration of /n/ and /l/

A few suffixes with initial /n/ have forms with initial /l/ when added to a root or stem ending in /l/. The transitive suffix /-nəxʷ/ 'limited control' appears as /-ləxʷ/ in /łə̓qəlləxʷ/ 'know it' and /cə́lləxʷ/ 'catch up with him' (cf. /cé·lt/ 'follow him'). But this may vary with speakers; JP said /tə́lləxʷ/ but CC said /tə́lnəxʷ/ for 'understand it, learn about it' (cf. /tə́l̓/ 'be understood, be settled'). The suffix /-namət/, the reflexive of /-nəxʷ/, appears as /-lámət/ in /kʷ´é·llàmət/ 'manage to get a hideout' (< /kʷé·l/ 'hide'; cf. /kʷélx/ 'hide him'). The applicative /-nəs/ 'goal' appears as /-ləs/ in /ʔéyələs/ 'leave him' (cf. /ʔéyəl/ 'get out of the way'). And the lexical suffix /-nəc/ appears as /-ləc/ in /słə́lləc/ 'bum' (from /łəl-/ 'behind'), /sʔə́lləc/ 'stump, base of standing tree' (from /ʔəl-/ 'dummy root'), and /šxʷx̌ə́pəlləc/ 'tail' (cf. /x̌ə́p/ 'deep,' /x̌píl/ 'go downward'), and as /-əlləc/ (probably composed of a connective /-əl-/ and /-nəc/) in /xʷ əq̓ʷə́lləct/ 'cut its tail off' (from /t̓əq̓ʷ/ 'get cut off'). There is also a form /-ələc/ in /xʷʔəp̓ələcəm/ 'wipe one's bum.' The lexical suffix for 'tooth' has the forms /-nís/, /-nəs/, and /-ə́ləs/, the last in /θiθə́ləs/ 'big teeth,' /x̌ə́lqtə́ləs/ 'long teeth,' etc. The Cowichan form corresponding to /-ə́ləs/ is *-ə́lnəs* (Hukari and Peter 1995, 318), suggesting that the Musqueam /-nəs/ became assimilated to the connective /-əl-/.

### 1.5.10. Alternation of /c/ and /kʷ/ and of /x/ and /xʷ/

In the progressives and resultatives of a few verbs with initial /c/ or /x/ followed by /a/, the /c/ is reduplicated as /kʷ/ and the /x/ as /xʷ/. This is seen in /cám/ 'go/come inland' and its progressive /cákʷəm/ 'be going/coming inland,' in /xáḵʷ/ 'get bathed' and its progressive /xáxʷḵʷəm/ 'be getting bathed,' and in /xʷxáp̓əθət/ 'sit cross-legged' (from the root √*xap̓*) and the resultative /sxáxʷəp̓/ 'seated cross-legged' (see also §7.2.1.1). This irregularity is probably the result of historical change. The process must have been:

*kúm > *kúkum > *kúkʷum > *čúkʷəm > cákʷəm

First, the root was reduplicated by a grammatical rule. Then, the second */k/ was labialized under the influence of the preceding /u/. Next, the initial */k/ was palatalized to become */č/, and perhaps at this point the second vowel was

reduced to /ə/. In this process, the second */k/ was protected from palatalization by labialization. Finally, the */u/ became /a/, and the */č/ became /c/.

There is one apparent root with /c/ that reduplicates as /k$^{w}$/ in which the following vowel is not /a/. This is the /cə-/ ~ /ce-/ that appears in several interrogative words (see §17.7-17.13), as in /x$^{w}$cél/ 'go where' and its progressive /x$^{w}$cék$^{w}$əl/ 'be going where.' This irregularity must be the product of a more complex history.

### 1.5.11. Vowel Gradation

Alternation of a full vowel, schwa, and zero, depending on the type of root or stem, type of suffix, and placement of stress, occurs widely in the morphology and will be described there, where relevant.

### 1.5.12. Vowel Mutation

The joining of some suffixes to some stems results in a change in the quality of the stressed vowel, from one full vowel to another, in the stem, or, rarely, in the suffix. Three kinds of mutation of this sort have been discovered. Only the first occurs commonly.

(1) Stem /e/ to /a/. There are several suffixes that have this umlaut effect, causing an /e/ in the stem to appear as /a/. These include both grammatical and lexical suffixes. For some the effect seems quite regular, but for others only a few mutated forms have been recorded. These suffixes are listed below with a few examples showing the mutation. The first three are grammatical suffixes that seem to have this effect quite regularly.

| | |
|---|---|
| *-θət ~ -θát* | 'oneself' |
| *ɬáʔθət* | 'test oneself' (cf. *ɬéʔt* 'test him, try it') |
| *páθəθət* | 'spread out' (cf. *péθət* 'spread it out') |
| *ƛ̓$^{w}$ɬáθət* | 'capsize' (cf. *ƛ̓$^{w}$ɬét* 'spill it, tip it over') |
| *θáy̓θət* | 'be fixing oneself' (cf. *θáyθət* 'fix oneself,' *θáyt* 'fix it,' *θéyt* 'be fixing it') |
| *nác̓θət* | 'become different' (< *néc̓* 'differ, be different') |
| *siʔámm̓θət* | 'become rich' (< *siʔémm̓* 'rich, upper-class person') |
| *-təl̓ ~ -tál̓* | 'each other' |
| *ɬəɬá·təl̓* | 'keep testing each other' (cf. *ɬéʔt* 'test him') |
| *nəc̓nác̓təl̓* | 'differ from one another' (< *néc̓* 'differ') |
| *c̓ɬmántəl̓* | 'half-sibling with the same father' (< *c̓ɬ-* 'fellow-, co-,' *mén* 'father') |
| *-aʔɬ* | 'attributive' |
| *snác̓aʔɬ* | 'different, somebody else's' (< *s-* 'nominalizer,' *néc̓* 'differ') |
| *siʔámm̓aʔɬ* | 'wealthy person's' (< *siʔémm̓* 'rich, upper-class person') |
| *syəwánn̓aʔɬ* | 'old-time, ancestral' (cf. *syəwénn̓* 'ancestor,' *yəwénn̓* 'before') |

There are two combinations of grammatical suffixes that have this umlauting effect, at least in some words. These are the passive endings /-nəm/ (the passive of /-nəxʷ/ 'limited control transitive') and /-stəm/ (the passive of /-stəxʷ/ 'causative'). We see this effect in the following:

| | |
|---|---|
| *ƛ̓ánəm* | 'be brought back as a bride' (cf. *ƛ̓éʔt* 'go and get him, invite him') |
| *həyáʔstəm* | 'be taken away' (< *həyéʔstəxʷ* 'take him away,' < *háye*ʔ 'leave') |
| *nəʔáməstəm* | 'be taken away' (< *nəʔémeəstəxʷ* 'take him away,' causative of *nem̓* 'go') |
| *xtáməstəm* | 'be swum away with' (< *xtéməstəxʷ* 'swim away with it,' *xtém* 'swim') |

Three lexical suffixes have this effect. Examples with the first are numerous, with the second fewer, and with the third only the one given.

| | |
|---|---|
| *-ás ~ -əs* | 'face, round object' |
| *xʷƛ̓áqtəs* | 'long-faced' (< *ƛ̓éqt* 'long') |
| *ʔisál̓əs* | 'two dollars' (< *ʔisél̓ə ~ yəsél̓ə* 'two') |
| *páʔaθəs* | 'bear mask (a type of *sxwayxwey*)' (< *spéʔeθ* 'black bear') |
| *aqʷ ~ -əqʷ* | 'head' |
| *ƛ̓áqtaqʷ* | 'high (of a mountain)' (< *ƛ̓éqt* 'long') |
| *ƛ̓əláqtaqʷ* | 'long-heads (i.e., the Kwakiutl with Quatsino-style head-lengthening)' |
| *yesállaqʷ* (probably *yəsál̓aqʷ*) | 'two-headed' (in a translation of a Snohomish song) (JP) (< *yəsél̓ə* 'two') |
| *-əɬcə* | 'water' |
| *θáʔtəɬcə* | 'dark tide (i.e., a low tide on a moonless night)' (< *θéʔt* 'dark') |

(2) Stem /a/ to /e/. This has been recorded in one word only, /pé·l̓tθeʔ/ 'buzzard (turkey vulture),' which appears to be composed of the root of /spá·l̓/ 'raven' and the suffix /-i·l̓tθeʔ/ 'clothing, blanket.'

(3) Suffix /e/ to /a/. This has been recorded in one word only, /sq̓əq̓əxán/ 'partner,' which is composed of /sq̓əq̓áʔ/ 'accompanying' and the suffix /-xən ~ -xén/ 'foot.'

These vowel mutations are no doubt the product of the assimilation of one vowel to that of an adjacent syllable at an earlier stage in the history of the language. In the first and second types, the vowel mutation is comparable to the umlauting effect of a suffix on the stem in Germanic languages, while in the third it is comparable to the effect of the stem on the suffix in the vowel harmony of Uralic and Altaic languages.

## 1.6. SPECIAL FORMS OF SPEECH

I am aware of some distinctive features that are heard in songs, baby talk, and the speech of a few animal characters in stories. I do not have many examples, however, and so there may be other features I have not recorded.

In songs, to judge by a very few examples, vowels may be lengthened and to some extent changed in quality. In a song composed for a *sx̌ʷáyx̌ʷəy* performance, the phrase *tə nəmémən̓* 'my dear father' appears as *te neme·mən̓*. In this song, the compound prefix *šxʷ-* 'oblique nominalizer' appears as *səxʷ-*. I do not know whether this is an older pronunciation of the prefix or an instance of a schwa being introduced simply to separate the consonants.

Adults speaking to babies, as mentioned in §1.1.1, will substitute the rare unrounded velars for unrounded uvulars, as in *ká?* for *qá?* 'water' and in /ké?ek/ for /qé?eq/ 'younger sibling' used affectionately. AC's much older half-brother addressed him this way throughout life. The /k/ also substitutes for /q̓/ in /skánək/ for /sq̓ánəq/ 'dear.' A Tsawwassen woman is said to have been called this as a pet name by her family all her life. I have recorded /k̓/ in only one word, /sk̓ík̓ənək/, the baby-talk form of /sq̓íq̓ənəq/, the diminutive of /sq̓ánəq/ 'dear.' A Musqueam man is said to have been called this as his ordinary name, and a younger sister might be called this.

In stories told by James Point, the characters Raven and Mink both begin words, generally the initial words in a clauses, with *x̌-*. He also said that an initial *x̌-* was used in talking to dogs, adding, "A trained dog is supposed to talk that way; it will show it's teeth and laugh '*x̌···, x̌···, x̌···.*'" A niece talked to her dog Daisy that way, saying "*x̌stém kʷeeθɬ̓íʔ* ('What do you want?')," and when offering food, "*x̌ɬ̓áwəls čxʷ yəẇén* ('Bark first')."

The very few examples I have of spells (verbal formulae with inherent power) suggest that while they contain esoteric vocabulary, there is nothing distinctive in their phonology.

# 2
# Synopsis of Morphology

## 2.1. WORDS

A word may consist of a root standing alone and unaltered, or of a root altered by one or more processes of internal modification or accompanied by one or more affixes or both. We can distinguish several classes of words. Verbs (§7) and nouns (§8) constitute two large open sets, adjectives (§9) a smaller open set, and adverbs (§18) a still smaller one. There are also several small closed sets: personal words (§14.2.7), possessive words (§14.2.8), demonstratives (§15.2), interrogative words (§17), numerals (§19), and exclamatory words (§20). Four (lexical) verbs also serve as auxiliary verbs (§3.2.1), and several verbs also serve as prepositions (§3.1).

Except for a few adverbs, all words can function as predicate heads and so there is no basis in this function for distinguishing verbs, nouns, and adjectives. Nevertheless, there are other bases for distinguishing these classes and not doing so would, I believe, needlessly mystify the language, making it seem more exotic than it really is. The most obvious differences are these: verbs have progressive forms and (with a few exceptions) cannot take possessive affixes, nouns do not have progressive forms and do take possessive affixes, while adjectives neither have progressive forms nor take possessive affixes. Verb roots and noun roots also have different canonical shapes.

Compounding seems rare or non-existent. For possible examples, see §12.3.3 and §13.3, and for noun modifiers of nouns, see §4.1.3.[1]

## 2.2. ROOTS AND THEIR INTERNAL MODIFICATION

The great majority of verb roots have the shapes CAC, CəC, and CəCC (C is any consonant and A is any full vowel), while noun roots most commonly have

1 A few recent coinages that are constructed from borrowed elements or are loan translations may perhaps be identified as compounds, such as *ləmətú tíntən* ‘sheep bell’ (CJ *ləmətú* ‘sheep,’ *tíntən* ‘bell’) (see §4.1.3), *pípə télə* ‘paper money’ (CJ *pípə* ‘paper,’ *télə* ‘money, dollar’), *číkmən télə* ‘coins’ (CJ *číkmən* ‘metal, iron’), *kəlísməs θqét* ‘Christmas tree’ (*θqét* ‘tree’).

the shape CVCVC (V is any vowel), but show a greater variety than verb roots. Adjective roots are more like verb roots in that the most common shapes are CəC and CAC, but there is some variation.

We can identify roots as verbal, nominal, and adjectival, but we must note that there is a prefix that nominalizes verbs and adjectives, there are several prefixes that make verbs of nouns, and there are several ways of making adjective-like words out of nouns.

Processes of internal modification of the root include reduplication (of initial CV and CVC), infixation, shift in stress and vowel grade, and glottalization of resonants. The first two affect the root only; the last also affects suffixes. These processes express progressive and other aspects, plural, and diminutive. Overall, there is no one-to-one relationship between process of internal modification of the root and grammatical form. Roots of different shapes can undergo different processes to produce grammatically identical forms. It appears that most forms can be predicted from the shape of the root, although there are also many irregular forms.

Verb roots can be internally modified for progressive, durative, iterative-dispositional, and resultative aspects, for the plural, for the diminutive, and for various combinations of these. Nearly all verbs have progressive forms. The verb root is identifiable as perfective, as opposed to progressive, aspect (compare the perfectives *ṗéɬ̓θ* 'sew,' *sáq̓* 'split, tear,' and *k̓ʷáɬ* 'spill, flow' with the progressive *ṗéṗəɬ̓θ* 'be sewing,' *səsáq̓* 'be splitting, be tearing,' and *k̓ʷək̓ʷáɬ* 'be flowing'). The choice between perfective and progressive forms is obligatory. A number of verbs also have a durative aspect, which can appear in both perfective and progressive forms (compare *q̓íḵʷət* 'bite it' and *q̓íq̓əḵʷət* 'be biting it' with *q̓əq̓ḵʷét* 'hold it in the teeth' and *q̓iq̓ḵʷét* 'be holding it in the teeth'). A number also have an iterative-dispositional aspect (as *sáq̓səq̓* 'easy to split,' *k̓ʷáɬḵʷəɬ* 'cranky, easily tipped over,' *sq̓əḵʷq̓əḵʷ* 'prone to bite'), which for a few roots appears in a progressive as well as a perfective form. Most verbs have resultative forms (as *spéṗəɬ̓θ* 'sewed,' *ssəsíq̓* 'spit, torn,' and *sk̓ʷək̓ʷíɬ* 'spilled, capsized'), which are adjective-like and do not have the perfective-progressive distinction. The plural can be marked, optionally, in nearly all of these forms, that is, there can be plural perfective, plural progressive, plural durative, plural iterative-dispositional, and plural resultative forms. The diminutive and diminutive plural are also optionally marked, but only in the progressive and resultative aspects. The internal morphology of the verb is presented in §7.

Noun roots can be internally modified for the plural, the diminutive, and the diminutive plural (compare *céləx* 'hand,' *cəlcéləx* 'hands,' *cécləx* 'little hand,' *cəlécləx* 'lots of little hands'). A few have what seem to be resultative forms. As nouns, they to not have progressive forms, but a noun may be made into a verb by means of a verbalizing affix and then have a progressive form. The internal morphology of the noun is described in §8.

Adjective roots, like noun roots, can be internally modified for plural, diminutive, and diminutive plural. They have progressive forms only if made into verbs through an affix. Their internal morphology is described in §9.

A small set of roots that do not undergo any internal modification can be identified as adverbs. These and a number of other words and phrases that perform adverbial functions are described in §18.

A few of the demonstrative words, personal words, interrogative words, and numerals also undergo internal modification.

## 2.3. AFFIXES

Strictly speaking, there are prefixes, suffixes, and infixes. However, I have chosen to describe the infixes, along with reduplication and other processes, under the heading "internal morphology of the root," as described above. This leaves prefixes and suffixes to be accounted for under "affixes." In theory, affixes should also be divisible into inflectional or derivational, depending on their involvement in paradigms, and grammatical or lexical, depending on their meaning. In reality, however, a number of Halkomelem affixes mix these categories. For descriptive purposes, I have simply divided the affixes into non-personal affixes (§11-13) and personal affixes. The latter are included in the person system (§14).

The non-personal affixes are described under four headings: suffixes of the voice system, aspectual and modal affixes, derivational affixes, and lexical suffixes.

Suffixes of the voice system (see §10) include transitive, intransitive, causative, permissive, applicative, reflexive, reciprocal, and subordinate passive.

Most verb roots are semantically inactive or patient-oriented (i.e., they have glosses like 'get hit,' 'get buried,' or 'get washed,' there being no roots with glosses 'hit,' 'bury,' or 'wash'), but there are a few that are semantically active or agent-oriented (e.g., 'look,' 'seek'). All are grammatically intransitive. They take subjects only.

With the suffixes of the voice system relations are different. A verb composed of an inactive root and an intransitive suffix is still grammatically intransitive but is semantically active (agent-oriented) and can take an oblique object. A verb composed of either an inactive or active root and transitive suffix is grammatically transitive and can take an object. The transitive suffix also provides the necessary base for an object or passive person suffix. The applicatives change the valence of the verb root, allowing what would have been in an oblique relationship to it to be its grammatical object.

The two most commonly used transitive suffixes, as well as their reflexive counterparts, distinguish actions performed with limited control or done accidentally from those performed with full control or purposefully.

The aspectual and modal affixes (§11) include aspectual prefixes and modal suffixes. The aspectual prefixes (§11.1) are a small set of elements with aspectual or adverbial meaning that can precede a predicate head and that express mainly temporal distinctions such as 'already,' 'still,' 'habitually,' but also 'become' and 'somewhat.' One of these, *wə-*$_2$, tentatively identified as 'established,' occurs very often and in a variety of ways that still present problems in analysis. (Further analysis may also identify some or all of these as particles rather than prefixes.)

The modal suffixes (§11.2) are a still smaller set of elements that can follow suffixes of the voice system. The only two recorded indicate desire or intention and search or arrangement.

The derivational affixes (see §12) include some that have purely grammatical meaning, simply converting a word from one class to another; some that combine grammatical and lexical meaning; and others that have purely lexical meaning. On the basis of form, function, and meaning, we can distinguish a small set of purely grammatical affixes, a small set of verbalizing affixes, and a small set of lexical prefixes.

The purely grammatical affixes (§12.1) include a nominalizing prefix, a prefix that appears in resultative forms of the verb, a prefix that seems to show an oblique relationship between a verb root and lexical suffix, a compound of the nominalizer and the last, and a suffix that forms adjective-like words. Of these, the prefix *s-* 'nominalizer' deserves special mention here. It appears as an essential part of a number of nouns and appears prefixed to verbs and adjectives, which can thereupon take possessives. But it does not function simply as a component of nouns. It plays a role in the formation of one type of relative clause (§4.1.1.2) and in the formation of nominalized clauses (§4.3). The compound prefix *šx*$^{w}$- 'oblique nominalizer' plays parallel roles. In their roles as clause nominalizers, *s-* and *šx*$^{w}$- may also be identified as particles.

The verbalizing affixes (§12.2) combine this function with lexical meanings, as *c-* 'get, make, do, go to,' *ɬ-* 'partake of,' *tx*$^{w}$- 'buy,' and *-əl* ~ *-íl* 'move toward, become,' *-á·ɬ* 'travel by,' *-í·m* 'die from.' The lexical prefixes (§12.4) include *təm-* 'time of,' *-tən* 'originating from,' and *c̓ɬ-* 'fellow.'

Logically the lexical suffixes should be included among derivational affixes, but they form such a large class that I have given them a separate section (§13). They are nominal in meaning, referring to body parts (as *-əs* ~ *-as* 'head,' *-aq*$^{w}$ 'head,' *-cəs* 'hand'), common artifacts (as *-əwtx*$^{w}$ ~ *-éwtx*$^{w}$ 'house,' *-wəɬ* 'canoe'), natural phenomena (as *-əɬp* 'plant, tree,' *-ənəp* 'ground'), and a variety of other things. They are often joined to the root with a connective element, which may give the suffix a narrower meaning. A lexical suffix can be related to a verb root as object, locus, or instrument; to an adjective root as noun head; or to noun root as noun possessor or as noun head of noun modifier. Words formed with lexical suffixes can be verbs, adjectives, or nouns.

## 2.4. THE PERSON SYSTEM

The personal affixes are only a part of the personal system, which is presented as a whole in §14. The language distinguishes first, second, and third persons in singular and plural. (There are neither dual forms nor inclusive/exclusive distinctions.) These persons are expressed in two sets of words, in particles of two sorts, and in affixes of six types.

For the first and second persons, particles and suffixes distinguish subjects and objects and, among subjects, non-passive from passive and main-clause from dependent-clause subjects. For third person, in main clauses a suffix marks transitive subjects while intransitive subjects and objects are unmarked, but in dependent clauses both transitive and intransitive subjects are marked.[2] There is also a set of possessive affixes; these are prefixes for first and second person singular, suffixes for first-person plural and third person, and a combination or prefix and suffix for second-person plural. A particle marks plurality for third-person subjects, objects, and possessors.

The two sets of words are personal words and possessive words. The personal words (§14.2.7) can serve as predicates with the sense 'It is I, I am the one who,' etc., and as oblique nominal adjuncts comparable to English personal pronouns as objects of prepositions. The possessive words (§14.2.8) can serve as predicates with the sense 'It is mine,' etc.

## 2.5. THE ORDERING OF AFFIXES

Derivational prefixes and suffixes form an inner layer around the root, while inflectional affixes form an outer layer. Among derivational affixes, those with lexical meaning stand closer to the root than those with purely grammatical meaning. Among inflectional affixes, those of the voice and person systems stand closer than the aspectual prefixes and modal suffixes.

Preceding the root, the verbalizing and miscellaneous lexical prefixes (derivational with lexical meaning) stand closest to it. If a word formed with a lexical prefix is a noun, a first-person singular or second-person possessive prefix (inflectional) can precede the lexical prefix, as in:

(a) nəc̓łxʷə́lməxʷ
nə-c̓ł-xʷə́lməxʷ
my-fellow-people
'my fellow villagers, my fellow Indians'

If a verb formed with a verbalizing prefix is nominalized, the nominalizer (derivational with purely grammatical meaning), symbolized NOM, precedes the verbalizer and it can be preceded by a possessive, as in:

---

2 Thus as Gerdts (1981) has pointed out, the language is split in its case system, making a nominative-accusative distinction for first and second persons but an ergative-absolutive distinction for third person in main clauses.

(b) nəsclá$^{ʔ}$θən
nə-s-c-lá$^{ʔ}$θən
my-NOM-make-plate
'something to serve as my plate'

If a word with a possessive prefix is a predicate, it can take an aspectual prefix, as in:

(c) x$^{w}$ə$^{ʔ}$əθwé$^{ʔ}$ələp.
x$^{w}$ə-$^{ʔ}$əT-s-wé$^{ʔ}$-ələp
become-your-NOM-own-your (pl)
'It has become yours.'

Following the root, the lexical suffixes (derivational) appear first (with or without connective elements). A noun formed with a lexical suffix can have a possessive suffix following it, as in:

(d) x$^{w}$əlməx$^{w}$éwtx$^{w}$ct
x$^{w}$ə́lməx$^{w}$-éwtx$^{w}$-ct
Indian-house-our
'our "smokehouse"'

A verb formed with a lexical suffix can take suffixes of the voice system followed by suffixes of the personal system, as in:

(e) x$^{w}$q$^{w}$énəctəs.
x$^{w}$-q$^{w}$é-nəc-t-əs
inward-penetrate-bottom-TR-3TR
'[She] punches holes in the bottom of it.'

Passive forms are exceptional in that a suffix of the voice system stands on either side of the personal suffix, as in:

(f) x$^{w}$t̓$^{θ}$íq̓$^{w}$əsnèləm.
x$^{w}$-t̓$^{θ}$íq̓$^{w}$-əs-n-el-əm
inward-get.hit-face-TR-I.PASSIVE-INTRANS
'I was (accidentally) hit on the face.'

## 2.6. AMBIVALENT AFFIXES

Five morphemes, the possessives *nə-* 'my' and *ʔən-* 'your,' the aspectual prefixes *wə-*$_{2}$ 'established' and *wəɬ-* 'already,' and the *s-* 'clause nominalizer' (see below) deserve a special comment. I have identified the first four as prefixes, and in the second line of the examples I treat all five as such. However, phonetically they may, but do not necessarily, become attached to preceding morphemes. Where I recorded this, it appears in the first line of the examples.

A possessive may become attached to a preceding article, as in (a).

(a) tən mén
tə nə-mén
ART my-father
'my father'

One of the aspectual prefixes may become attached to a preceding clause nominalizer, as in (b).

(b) səw néḿs.
s-wə-néḿ-s
NOM-EST-go-3POS
'Then he went.'

The clause nominalizer may become attached to a preceding article, as in (c).

(c) kʷs néḿs
kʷə s-néḿ-s
ART NOM-go-3POS
'when he went'

For more complex clusters, see §4.3.4.

## 2.7. PARTICLES

What distinguishes a particle from an affix is the fact that it is the partner not of a single root or stem, as an affix is, but of a larger construction such as a predicate, a nominal adjunct, a clause, or a sentence. Particles are also movable and separable from the heads of the constructions they relate to, while affixes firmly adhere to their roots or stems. With few exceptions, the particles are unstressed. Phonetically most seem separate from adjacent words (and are written so), but a few seem phonetically like affixes (and are written so). Particles can also form clusters that seem to be phonetic units.

On the basis of the constructions they relate to, we can distinguish particles that relate to predicates and those that relate to nominal adjuncts.

The particles that relate to predicates include clause-initial particles, second-position particles, and sentence-final tags.

There are four clause-initial particles. These introduce two kinds of embedded clauses. Two are the clause subordinaters, *wə-*$_{1}$ 'if, when, that' and *ʔəɬ-* 'whenever, whatever, that.' These can precede the first word in a clause, marking it as a subordinate clause. If the subordinate clause is non-passive, its subject is expressed by a subordinate subject suffix, if passive by a subordinate passive form. (See §4.2, "Subordinate Clauses.") The other two clause-initial particles are *s-* 'nominalizer' and *šxʷ-* 'oblique nominalizer' in their roles as clause nominalizers. Either of these can precede the first word in a clause and serve to nominalize the whole clause. If the nominalized clause is non-passive, its subject is expressed by a possessive; if it is passive, the subject is expressed by a subordinate passive form. (See §4.3, "Nominalized Clauses.")

There are about twenty second-position predicate particles. Some of these are introduced in §3.1.2. For details, see §16. Usually these appear after the first word in the predicate. Four distinguish first- and second-person singular and plural subjects in non-passive main clauses. Another, somewhat freer in its possible positions, is the third-person plural marker. These five are dealt with primarily in §14, "The Person System." Of the non-personal second-position predicate particles, two mark tense, past and future. Most of the others are modal, distinguishing questions, requests, exclamations, quality of information, and so on. These and the sentence-final tags are described in §16.

The nominal particles include the articles and the oblique case marker. The articles include (1) a set of six members (with some variants) identifiable by the intersection of two distinctions: gender (feminine versus non-feminine) and position (present and visible, nearby but invisible, remote or hypothetical); and (2) a single article marking a proper noun in the oblique case. The articles serve to introduce nominal adjuncts, and they enter into the formation of several sets of demonstratives that can also introduce nominal adjuncts or stand as nominal adjuncts themselves. The articles, as well as the demonstratives, are described in §15.

The oblique particle ʔə serves as a case marker introducing oblique nominal adjuncts (see §3.4) and one kind of noun possessor (§3.8.1).

Finally, there is one conjunction, *ʔəẏ* ~ *i* 'and, but,' which links both coordinate nominal adjuncts (§3.8.4) and coordinate clauses (§5).

# 3
# Syntax 1: Simple Sentences

## 3.1. THE MINIMAL SENTENCE

A sentence consists minimally of a predicate. A predicate may consist of a single word.

(a) θí.
big
'It's big.'

(b) ʔé·nθə.
be.I
'It's me.'

(c) ném̓.
go
'Go!'

Such predicates are probably not very common, except perhaps as commands, as in the last instance. More commonly, this word, now identifiable as the predicate head, is followed by one or more second-position predicate particles (see §3.1.2 below).

(d) ném̓ łə.
go PER
'Go!'

(e) ném̓ c̓ə.
go QUOT
'He is said to be going.'

(f) ném̓ cən ceʔ.
go I FUT
'I'll go.'

(g) ném̓ ʔə čxʷ kʷə.
go ROG you then
‘Will you go then?’

(h) k̓ʷáqʷ čxʷ ceʔ.
be.hit you FUT
‘You’ll get hit.’

(i) cákʷ q̓ə.
far EMPH
‘It’s far!’

(j) spéʔeθ ʔə.
black.bear ROG
‘Is it a bear?’

(k) spéʔeθ m̓ə.
black.bear CERT
‘It’s (certainly) a bear.’

(l) spéʔeθ c̓ə.
black.bear QUOT
‘It’s said to be a bear.’

(m) spéʔeθ yəxʷ m̓ə.
black.bear INF CERT
‘It must be a bear (even though we cannot see it).’

(n) swáy̓qeʔ cən.
male I
‘I am a man.’

(o) stém ceʔ kʷə.
what FUT then
‘What will it be (then)?’

(p) c-yə́wən ceʔ m̓ə.
VERB-sing.possessed FUT CERT
‘He’s going to sing his syə́wən [possessing song].’

(q) c̓éwət cən ceʔ.
c̓éw-ət cən ceʔ
help-TRANSITIVE I FUT
‘I’ll help him/her/them.’

(r) c̓éwəθəs ceʔ.
c̓éw-ət-S-əs ceʔ.
help-TR-me-3TR FUT
‘He will help me.’

(s) ḵʷəcnéləm ceʔ m̓ə.
ḵʷec-n-él-əm ceʔ m̓ə
see-TR-I(PAS)-INTR FUT CERT
'I will be seen. They (somebody) will see me.'

(t) kʷə́xnəct čxʷ m̓e.
kʷix-nəc-t c̓xʷ m̓e.
name-base-TR you CERT
'Name a price.'

(u) nə́w̓nəct łə q̓ə.
nə́w̓-nəc-t łə q̓ə.
insert-base-TR PER EMPH
'Pay him!'

(Note that in (s) and (t) the full vowels of *ḵʷéc* 'look' and *kʷíx* 'name' are reduced to schwa when the roots are followed by the suffixes *-n-* 'transitive' and *nəc* 'base.')

### 3.1.1. Predicate Heads

Predicate heads can be bare roots like *θí* 'big,' *cákʷ* 'far,' *ḵʷáqʷ* 'get hit,' derived forms like *spéʔeθ* 'black bear,' *cyə́wən* 'sing a possessing song,' inflected forms like *c̓éwət* 'help him/her/them,' *c̓éwəθəs* 'he/she helps me,' and *ḵʷəcnéləm* 'I am seen,' and forms with both derivational and inflectional affixes like *kʷə́xnəct* and *nə́w̓nəct* in the sentences above. (These affixes will be identified later.)

Predicate heads can also be words definable morphologically as verbs (*ném̓* 'go'), adjectives (*θí* 'big'), nouns (*swə́y̓qeʔ* 'man'), or members of the closed sets of personal words (*ʔé·nθə* 'be-I, me') and interrogative words (*stém* 'what'). In fact, perhaps there are only a few adverbs that cannot serve as predicate heads.

While members of these several classes of words can all serve as predicate heads, it is nevertheless useful to distinguish verbal, adjectival, and nominal predicates. In expanded predicates, members of these classes enter into somewhat different sorts of relations with other elements. And because of analytical problems that adjectival and nominal predicates pose, it seems best to postpone consideration of them until we have considered expanded verbal predicates and their nominal adjuncts. But first let us look at the second component of most minimal sentences.

### 3.1.2. The Second-Position Predicate Particles

The second-position predicate particles form a closed set of twenty or so members. Many of them can co-occur and do so in a fixed order. A fuller discussion, with examples, appears in §16. Here we need only note those that occur most commonly.

The second-position predicate particles include four person markers

| | |
|---|---|
| *cən* 'I' | *ct* 'we' |
| *čx*$^{w}$ 'you (singular)' | *ce·p* 'you (plural)' |

which mark first- and second-person subjects of non-passive (intransitive and active transitive) predicates in main clauses. In the absence of any of these or the imperative particle, the subject of a non-passive main clause is understood to be third person. They also include

*ʔé·łtən* 'third person plural' (3PL)

which optionally marks plurality for a third-person subject (or object or possessor).

The second-position predicate particles also include two tense markers

| | |
|---|---|
| *-əł* 'past' | *ceʔ* 'future' (FUT) |

and a number of modal particles, marking questions

*ʔə* 'interrogative' (ROG)

requests and instructions

*łe ~ łə* 'imperative' (PER)

degree of certainty and quality of information

| | |
|---|---|
| *m̓e ~ m̓ə* 'certainty' (CERT) | *yəx*$^{w}$ 'inference' (INF) |
| *c̓ə* 'hearsay, quotative' (QUOT) | *c̓twaʔ* 'speculative' (SPEC) |

relationship to old information or assumptions

| | |
|---|---|
| *k*$^{w}$*ə* 'then' | *q̓ə* 'emphatic' (EMPH) |
| *θəł* 'though, but, adversative' (ADV) | *ʔal̓* 'just, only' |

and others, many of them difficult to gloss.

As examples in the following sections will illustrate, the second-position predicate particles, except for *ʔal̓* 'just' (see §16.2.8) and *ʔé·łtən* 'third-person plural' (see §14.2.9), always follow the first word in a predicate. When a predicate is expanded by the addition of one or more words before the head, the particles are shifted in position so as to follow the first word.

## 3.2. EXPANDED VERBAL PREDICATES

A verbal predicate may be expanded by the addition of one or two auxiliary verbs before the head and/or one or more adverbs either before or after the head. We also find verbs with verb complements and compound verbs.

### 3.2.1. Auxiliary Verbs

Two pairs of verbs function as auxiliaries, a locative pair, *ʔi* 'be here' and *niʔ ~ ni ~ nə* 'be there,' and a directional pair, *ʔəm̓í ~ m̓i* 'come' and *ném̓* 'go.' I will

refer to these as the locative auxiliaries and the directional auxiliaries. They may also function as predicate heads and as prepositional verbs.

The auxiliaries serve as pegs on which to hang subject (or, in nominalizations, possessive) person markers and non-personal particles. They also serve to set the predicate within a spatial context.

The choice between *ʔi* and *niʔ* depends on the location of the speaker relative to whatever the predicate refers to. The auxiliary *ʔi* 'be here' locates the phenomenon or event (whether real or hypothetical, present, past, or future) near the speaker at the time of utterance. The auxiliary *niʔ* 'be there' locates it somewhere else. Consider the following sentences with *ʔi*.

(a) ʔi cən c̓éc̓əwət.
ʔi cən c̓éc̓əẇ-ət
AUX I be.helping-TR
'I am helping him.'

(b) ʔi cən técəl.
AUX I arrive.here
'I arrived here.'

(c) ʔi técəl.
AUX arrive.here
'He's here. He has arrived here.'

(d) ʔi·ɬ yəxʷ cən m̓ə ʔíʔtət.
ʔi-əɬ yəxʷ cən m̓ə ʔíʔtət
AUX-past INF I CERT be.sleeping
'I must have been asleep.'

(e) ʔi cən cnə́xʷəɬ.
ʔi cən c-nə́xʷəɬ
AUX I get-canoe
'I have a canoe.'

In each of these, the *ʔi* shows that the speaker is where he/she is helping or has arrived, where someone else has arrived, and so on. In the following, with *niʔ*, the speaker is not where the event has happened, is happening, or may happen.

(f) ni cən c̓éwət.
niʔ cən c̓éw-ət
AUX I help-TR
'I helped him.'

(g) ni cən tə́pəɬt. (JP)
niʔ cən tə́pəɬ-t
AUX I be.stretching.on.a.frame-TR
'I'm stretching it [a hide] on a frame.'

(h) ni? c̓íc̓əl̓əm̓.
ni? c̓íc̓əl̓-əm
AUX be.singing-INTR
'There is someone singing.'

(i) ni ʔə čxʷ ceʔ qʷiqʷél̓?
AUX ROG you FUT make.a.speech
'Will you be speaking?'

(j) ni? k̓ʷəcnéləm.
ni? k̓ʷec-n-él-əm
AUX look-TR-1PAS-INTR
'I am seen. They see me.'

(k) ni?əł k̓ʷəcnéləm.
ni?-əł k̓ʷéc-n-él-əm
AUX-past look-TR-PAS-INTR
'I was seen. They saw me.'

(l) ni ʔə yəxʷ ceʔ wənéḿ.
ni? ʔə yəxʷ ceʔ wə-néḿ
AUX ROG INF FUT ESTABLISHED-go
'I wonder if he will go.'

The locative auxiliaries may indirectly convey information about time. Very often, when the auxiliary *niʔ* appears with a perfective form of the verb, the reference is to a past event, as in *niʔ cən c̓éwət* 'I helped him.' But this is not because *niʔ* is a past marker. It is simply because the event is remote in space from the speaker, as are, in the examples just given, my hide stretching on a frame somewhere, somebody singing somewhere, the speech that you may give, and my being seen by other people. Similarly, the auxiliary *ʔi* often appears with a progressive form and reference to the present, as in *ʔi cən c̓éc̓əwət* 'I am helping him.' But again, this is simply because the speaker is present at this ongoing event. In *ʔi cən técəl* 'I arrived here,' the reference is to a past event, but the speaker is still present where the event occurred and so uses *ʔi* rather than *niʔ*. The locative auxiliaries clearly refer to space and not to time, though perhaps more often than not the 'then' is 'there' and the 'now' is 'here.' The only true tense markers, however, are the particles *-əł* 'past' and *ceʔ* 'future.'

The directional auxiliaries *ʔəmí ~ ḿi* 'come' and *néḿ* 'go' identify actions as involving motion toward or away from the speaker.

(m) ḿi łe ʔéxʷeʔ.
come PER give.food
'Give me some [of something to eat].'

(n) m̓i łə kʷətxʷíləm.
come PER enter
'Come inside.'

(o) ném̓ łə méʔx.
ném̓ łə méʔ-x
go PER come.off-TR
'Take it away.'

These auxiliaries can also have aspect-like senses, *ʔəmí* meaning 'become' and *ném̓* 'be going to (do something).'

(p) ʔəm̓i xʷəθí.
ʔəm̓i xʷə-θí
come become-big
'It became big.'

(q) ném̓ cən ʔíməx.
go I walk
'I'm going to walk.'

If auxiliaries appear in sequence, the locational precedes the directional, *ʔi* nearly always appearing before *ʔəm̓i* and *niʔ* before *ném̓*.

(r) ʔi m̓i łəłí·l.
be.here come be.moving.shoreward
'He's coming in [shoreward].'

(s) ʔi wəłm̓i təwyəx̌áy̓x̌̓θət.
i wəł-ʔəm̓i təw-yə-x̌áy̓x̌̓θət
be.here already-come somewhat-along-be.getting.cold
'It's been getting a little colder.'

(t) ni nem̓ kʷənkʷə́n.
be.there go be.captured
'He was taken captive.'

(u) ni nem̓ cpéʔeθ.
niʔ nem̓ c-péʔəθ
be.there go get-black.bear
'He has gone hunting bear.'

(v) ni nem̓ t̓ák̓ʷ ʔé·łtən.
be.there go return.home 3PL
'They went home.'

The locative auxiliaries can also occur with their own lexical counterparts.

(w) ʔi ʔí. (AG)
AUX be.here
'He's here.'

(x) ni níʔ. (AG)
AUX be.there
'He's there.'

There is also a set of demonstrative auxiliaries, which combine elements identifiable with the locative auxiliaries and elements of the demonstrative system. They are described in §15.

### 3.2.2. Adverbs

An adverb is a word that can appear within the predicate as a modifier, specifying frequency, intensity, or some other quality (see §18). Most adverbs can appear initially in the predicate, as do *yáθ* 'always,' *x̌é* 'again, also,' *łáq̓* 'usually,' and *qéʔis* 'recently' in (a) to (e).

(a) wəyáθ ʔə čxʷ nəw yəʔé·y̓. (JP)
wə-yáθ ʔə čxʷ niʔ wə-yə-ʔé·y̓
EST-always ROG you AUX EST-along-be.continuing
'Do you always keep going?'

(b) x̌e cən nəwł x̌té. (CC)
x̌é cən niʔ wəł-x̌téʔ
again I AUX already-do
'I did it again.'

(c) łáq̓ cən wəm̓i técəl. (DK)
łáq̓ cən wə-m̓i técəl
usually I EST-AUX(come) arrive.here
'I generally get here.'

(d) łáq̓əł x̌é·m̓. (JP)
łáq̓-əł x̌é·m̓
usually-past be.crying
'She used to be crying.'

(e) qéʔis cən ni k̓ʷə́cnəxʷ. (JP)
qéʔis cən niʔ k̓ʷéc-nəxʷ
recently I AUX look-TR
'I saw him just now.'

Some adverbs can appear between the auxiliary and the predicate head, as *x̌é* 'again, also' and *mə́k̓ʷ* 'all' in (f) and (g).

(f) ni ʔə ƛ̓əw ném̓ʔ. (CC)
ni ʔ ʔə ƛ̓é wə-ném̓
AUX ROG also EST-go
'Did he go too?'

(g) ni cən wəmáǩʷ pánət. (CC)
ni ʔ cən wə-máǩʷ pán-ət
AUX I EST-all get.buried-TR
'I buried them all.'

And some adverbs can appear after the predicate head, as *qəl̓ét* 'again' and *máǩʷ* 'all' in (h) and (i).

(h) ni nem̓ xʷəné·nt qəl̓ét. (JP 12)
ni ʔ nem̓ xʷə-néʔənt qəl̓ét
AUX AUX(go) become-be.getting.night again
'It became evening again.'

(i) mi čxʷ xʷəxʷét máǩʷ. (JP)
m̓i čxʷ xʷəxʷé-t máǩʷ
AUX(come) you be.descending-TR all
'Bring them all down.'

### 3.2.3. Verb Complements

Several verbs often appear with verb complements. Such verbs include *ṯáʔθət* 'try,' *θát* 'intend, try,' *ṯθíxʷəm* 'pity, be so kind as to, please,' *ṯθxʷímət* 'pity him, be so kind as to ... for him,' *ʔé·ẏ* 'continue,' *héẏ* 'go ahead,' *háy* 'finish,' as in (a) to (e).

(a) ṯáʔθət łe cƛ̓ám. (CC 1)
ṯéʔ-θət łe cƛ̓ám
test-self PER jump
'Try to jump.'

(b) θát łákʷ ... (JP 4)
try fly
'He tried to fly ... [but]'

(c) ṯθíxʷəm łe ċéwət.
ṯθíxʷəm łe ċéw-ət
please PER help-TR
'Please help him.'

(d) ʔi cən ʔé·ẏ kʷúkʷ ... (CC 12)
AUX I be.continuing cook
'I continued to cook ...'

(e) héy̓ čxʷ kʷə x̌ʷəx̌ʷəy̓ém. (CC)
go.ahead you then be.story.telling
'Go ahead then and tell a story.'

The verb *háy* 'finish' with *wəł-* 'already' can have the sense of an English perfect tense, as in (f) and (g).

(f) niwəł háy cyə́wən. (CC)
niʔ wəł-háy cyə́wən
AUX already-finish sing.possessing.song
'He has finished singing. He has already sung.'

(g) niʔəł ə čxʷ wəłáy k̓ʷə́cnəxʷ (CC)
niʔ-əł ʔə čxʷ wəł-háy k̓ʷéc-nəxʷ
AUX-past ROG you already-finish look-TR
'Have you ever seen him?'

Verbs of motion can be followed by verb complements, as in (h) and (i).

(h) ʔəm̓í θəł ʔə́łtən. (JP)
come ADV eat
'Come and eat now [regardless of other matters].'

(i) ném̓ cən kʷə t̓ák̓ʷ ʔéyələsàmə. (JP 3)
ném̓ cən kʷə t̓ák̓ʷ ʔéyəl-ləs-àmə
go(AUX) I then return.home leave-TR-you
'Now I can go home and leave you.'

### 3.2.4. Hortative Forms

The auxiliary *ʔi* or the verb *héy̓* 'go ahead' followed by the particle *łe* 'imperative,' with the stress on the particle (possibly a unique case of such a stress pattern), has the sense of a first-person plural imperative: 'Let's go!' JP and AG both gave (a), while CC gave (b).

(a) *ʔi łé.* 'Let's go!'
(b) *hey̓ łé.* 'Let's go!'

AG also used a sequence of two particles, *łe* 'imperative' and *ʔe·* 'plural imperative.'

(c) *ʔi łé ʔe·.* 'Let's go!'

CC used hey̓ łé followed by a verb complement, as in (d).

(d) hey̓ łé t̓áxʷ. (CC)
go.ahead PER move.down.toward.shore
'Let's go down toward the shore.'

In JP's usage, however, *heẏ łé* was followed by what seems to be a separate predicate in (e).

(e) héẏ łe ném̓ ct.
go.ahead PER go we
'Let's go' or 'Get ready ... we'll go.'

AG's usage in (f) looks like CC's use of *heẏ łé*.

(f) ʔi łé t̓íləm.
AUX PER sing
'Let's sing.'

However, in (g) it appears that 'sing' is a separate predicate in that the 'plural imperative' follows it. (See also §16.2.9. and §16.2.11.)

(g) ʔi łé t̓íləm ʔe·
AUX PER sing PLPER
'Let's sing.'

## 3.3. TYPES OF VERBAL PREDICATES

On the basis of suffixes of the voice system (see §10) borne by the predicate head, we can distinguish grammatically three types of verbal predicates: intransitive, active transitive, and passive.

### 3.3.1. Intransitive Predicates

A predicate in which the head bears no transitive suffix can be identified as grammatically intransitive. Examples of intransitive predicates taken from among the sentences given in the preceding sections are**:**

(a) ʔi técəl.
AUX arrive.here
'He has arrived here.'

(b) ném̓ cən ʔíməx.
go I walk
'I'm going to walk.'

(c) k̓ʷáqʷ čxʷ ceʔ.
be.hit you FUT
'You'll get hit.'

(d) ni nem̓ kʷənkʷə́n.
be.there go be.captured
'He was taken captive.'

(e) ṁi łe ʔéxʷeʔ.
come PER give.food
'Give me some (of something to eat).'

In (e) 'me' is implied by the directional auxiliary *ṁi* 'come.'

(f) ʔi cən c-náxʷəł.
AUX I get-canoe
'I have a canoe.'

(g) ni neṁ cpéʔeθ.
niʔ neṁ c-péʔəθ
be.there go get-black.bear
'He has gone bear hunting.'

Some of these sentences are translated with English transitive verbs in the active or passive voice, but this has no bearing on the grammatical status of the Halkomelem sentences. It is simply a reflection of the fact that many Halkomelem roots, such as *k̓ʷáqʷ* 'get hit' and *kʷə́n* 'get taken,' are non-active or patient-oriented, while others, including *ʔéxʷeʔ* 'give food,' are active or agent-oriented, and of the fact that the prefix *c-* 'get, make, do' produces an active form.

There are also four suffixes that produce intransitive verbs, the most commonly used of which are *-əm* 'intransitive' and *-els* 'activity' (see §10.2).

### 3.3.2. Active Transitive Predicates

A predicate in which the verb bears one of the transitive suffixes *-t, -nəxʷ* (~ *-n-*), *-x,* etc. (for a full account, see §10.1) may be identified as grammatically transitive, and when this suffix is not followed by the suffix *-əm* 'intransitive,' it is active.

The transitive suffix may be followed by one of the first- and second-person object markers, *-S* 'me, you,' *-Samx ~ -amx* 'me,' *-Samə ~ -amə* 'you,' *-al̓xʷ* 'us,' and *-alə* 'you plural.' (The transitive suffix *-t* and the object marker *-S* are realized as *θ*). In the absence of one of these, the object is third person. A transitive form may also bear the third-person transitive subject (ergative) marker *-əs.* (For a fuller account of the person markers, see §14.)

Among the sentences given in the preceding sections, the following are transitive:

(a) ni cən c̓éwət.
niʔ cən c̓éw-ət
AUX I help-TR
'I helped him.'

(b) c̓éwəθ cən ceʔ.
c̓ew-ət-S cən ceʔ
help-TR-me I FUT
'I'll help you.'

(c) c̓éwəθəs ceʔ.
c̓éw-ət-S-əs ceʔ.
help-TR-me-TR FUT
'He will help me.'

(d) qéʔis cən ni k̓ʷácnəxʷ.
qéʔis cən niʔ k̓ʷéc-nəxʷ
recently I AUX look-TR
'I saw him just now.'

(e) neṁ łə méʔx.
neṁ łə méʔ-x
go PER be.off-TR
'Take it away.'

### 3.3.3. Passive Predicates

A predicate in which the verb bears a transitive suffix followed by the suffix *-əm* 'intransitive,' with or without an intervening passive person marker, may be identified as grammatically passive. If there is no passive person marker between the transitive and intransitive suffixes, the subject is third person. The passive person markers are *-Sel-* ~ *-el-* 'I,' *-Sam-* ~ *-am-* 'you,' and *-al-* 'we, you plural.' The second-person *-Sam-* and the *-əm* 'intransitive' are realized as *-Sa·m*. (Passive forms are not grammatically accompanied by the subject particles *cən* 'I,' *čxʷ* 'you,' etc.)

Examples of passive predicates are:

(a) ni c̓éw-ət-əm.
AUX help-TR-INTR
'He was helped.'

(b) ʔi c̓éwəθéləm.
ʔi c̓éw-ət-Sel-əm
AUX help-TR-I-INTR
'I was helped.'

(c) c̓éwəθà·m ceʔ
c̓éw-ət-Sam-əm ceʔ
help-TR-you-INTR FUT
'He (she, they) will help you. You will be helped.'

(d) ni? c̓éw-ət-àl-əm.
AUX help-TR-we-INTR
'We were helped. You (pl.) were helped.'

(e) ni? k̓ʷəcná·m.
ni? k̓ʷec-n-am-əm
AUX see-TR-you-INTR
'He (she, they) sees (see) you. You are seen.'

(f) k̓ʷəcnéləm ce? m̓ə.
k̓ʷec-n-el-əm ce? m̓ə
see-TR-I-INTR FUT CERT
'I'll be seen.'

Speakers' translations 'He will help you' and 'He sees you' reflect the fact that active forms cannot have second-person objects with third-person subjects. Often, however, speakers will translate all of these forms with the active voice and 'they' as the subject.

## 3.4. NOMINAL ADJUNCTS

In a simple sentence, the predicate may be followed by one or more nominal adjuncts functioning as subject, object, locus, instrument, and so on.

The presence of a nominal adjunct is signalled by one of the deictic elements that constitute the demonstrative system (§15), an article or a demonstrative. These particles and words distinguish gender (non-feminine or feminine) and position (present and visible, near and invisible, or remote or non-existent).

A nominal adjunct consists minimally of a demonstrative standing alone and functioning as a third-person pronoun, such as *kʷθéʔ* 'he, that one (near, invisible),' *θəwx̌á* 'she (present, visible),' and so on. Or, a nominal adjunct may consist of a demonstrative or an article followed by a word functioning as the nominal adjunct head, as in *tə spéʔeθ* 'the/a (non-feminine, present, visible) black bear,' *θə nəmáṅə* 'my (feminine, present, visible) child,' that is, 'my daughter here.' (It is also possible for nominalized clauses and relative clauses to serve as nominal adjuncts, in what are, by that fact, complex sentences, described in §4.)

Nominal adjuncts relate to verbal predicates either directly or obliquely. A direct nominal adjunct is unmarked, while an oblique nominal adjunct may (but see directly below) be preceded by the oblique case marker *ʔə*. Direct nominal adjuncts serve as subjects and (direct) objects, while oblique nominal adjuncts serve as loci and goals, instruments, oblique objects of intransitives, agents of passives, and possessors.

The role of oblique also differs from that of direct nominal adjunct in that it can be filled by a personal word, *ʔé·nθə* 'me,' *náwə* 'you,' and so on (see

§14.2.7). Furthermore, before personal words and proper nouns serving as oblique nominal adjuncts, instead of one of the articles that appear elsewhere we find the oblique article *ƛ̓* (§15.1.4), which conveys no information about gender or position.

The difference between direct and oblique nominal adjuncts is not always apparent. In the Musqueam dialect as spoken by CC and JP, the particle *ʔə* is optional and in some contexts is usually omitted. In this respect, as in several others, Musqueam stands between Cowichan, in which the particle is obligatory, and Upriver, in which it seems not to occur. In the Musqueam of DK and AG, which is influenced by Cowichan, the particle *ʔə* appears with all oblique nominal adjuncts. Despite the absence of the particle for some speakers, however, the fact that an adjunct is oblique can be established in two ways. First, if a proper noun or personal word is substituted, the article *ƛ̓* will appear. CC and JP used this article pretty consistently even when omitting the particle. Second, as described later (§4.1.1.2), if the oblique is "extracted" for a relative clause, the verb in the relative clause bears the prefix *s-* (for an oblique object) or *šxʷ-* (for a locus, goal, or instrument).

Let us now look at nominal adjuncts in relation to the three types of verbal predicates identified in §3.3.

### 3.4.1. With Intransitive Predicates

An intransitive verbal predicate may have a single direct nominal adjunct, which is its subject, as in (a) to (c).

(a) ni méʔ tə sp̓íṫ̓ᵊ. (DK)
AUX come.off ART dye
'The dye ran.'

(b) ʔi wəʔí łə nəmə́n̓ə. (CC)
ʔi wə-ʔí łə nə-mə́n̓ə
AUX EST-be.here ART my-child
'My daughter is here [somewhere not visible].'

(c) ni łák̓ʷ ʔə́ƛ̓qəl tə sq̓ʷéləx. (CC)
AUX fly exit ART bird
'The bird flew out.'

Intransitive verbal predicates can have oblique nominal adjuncts in several roles. A predicate that expresses location or motion can have an oblique nominal adjunct as its locus or goal, as in (d) to (h).

(d) ʔi cən ʔí ʔə tən̓á.
AUX I be.here OBL this
'I am here.'

(e) ni ní$^{ʔ}$ ə təná·nə.
AUX be.there OBL that.over.there
'He/she is over there.'

(f) ném̓ cən ce$^{ʔ}$ tə spáłx̌ən. (CC)
ném̓ cən ce$^{ʔ}$ [$^{ʔ}$ə] tə spáłx̌ən
go I FUT [OBL] ART pasture/prairie
'I'm going to the pasture.'

(g) m̓i čx$^{w}$ təńá səq̓íń. (JP)
$^{ʔ}$əm̓í čx$^{w}$ [$^{ʔ}$ə] təńá səq̓íń
come you [OBL] this near.end
'Come to this end of the house.'

(h) ni c̓é$^{ʔ}$ ə tə sméntˑ. (AG)
ni c̓é$^{ʔ}$ $^{ʔ}$ə tə sméntˑ.
AUX land/perch OBL ART rock
'It landed on the rocks.'

When a subject and a locus or goal both appear, the order of the two adjuncts may be either way. Compare (i) and (j):

(i) ni ní$^{ʔ}$ x̌̓ st̓$^{θ}$áməs k$^{w}$łə nəmáńə. (CC)
ni ní$^{ʔ}$ [$^{ʔ}$ə] x̌̓ st̓$^{θ}$áməs k$^{w}$łə nə-máńə
AUX be.there [OBL] ART Victoria[Songhees] ART my-child
'My daughter is in Victoria.'

(j) ni sc̓əc̓é$^{ʔ}$ tə nəwáč $^{ʔ}$ə tə púk. (CC)
ni$^{ʔ}$ sc̓əc̓é$^{ʔ}$ tə nə-wáč $^{ʔ}$ə tə púk [púk$^{w}$]
AUX atop ART my-watch OBL ART book
'My watch is on top of the book.'

(Constructions like these, composed of intransitive verbs with oblique nominal adjuncts as loci or goals, also commonly serve as verbal adjuncts, comparable to English prepositional phrases. See §3.5.)

A predicate that refers to some action that may have a patient but is non-active (patient-oriented) may have an oblique nominal adjunct as instrument, as in (k) and (l).

(k) ni cən k̓$^{w}$áq$^{w}$ $^{ʔ}$ə k$^{w}$θə k̓$^{w}$q$^{w}$əmən. (AG)
AUX I get.hit OBL ART ax
'I got hit by an ax.'

(l) ni cən łác̓cəs $^{ʔ}$ə k$^{w}$θə łéc̓tən. (AG)
AUX I get.hand.cut OBL ART knife
'I got cut in the hand with a knife.'

An intransitive predicate that is active (agent-oriented) can have an oblique object. Active intransitive verbs that participate in this construction include some bare roots, some forms with *c-* 'get, make, do,' some with *-əm* 'intransitive,' and some with *-éls* 'activity.' These affixes all seem to produce agent-oriented verbs. Examples with bare roots are (m), (n), and (o).

(m) ṁi łe ʔéxʷeʔ ə ḵʷ qáʔ. (CC)
ṁi łə ʔéxʷeʔ ʔə ḵʷ qáʔ
AUX(come) PER give.food OBL ART water
'Give me some water.'

(n) néṁ łə sə́wq̓ ḵʷə sʔə́łtən. (CC)
néṁ łə sə́wq̓ [ʔə] ḵʷə sʔə́łtən
go PER seek OBL ART food
'Go look for food.'

(o) ni ʔə θə́t ʔə tθéʔ. (DK)
ni ʔə θə́t ə tθéʔ
AUX ROG say OBL that
'Did he say that?'

Examples with affixes are (p) to (s).

(p) ni cən ckʷə́n ḵʷ nə́c̓aʔ. (DK)
ni cən c-kʷə́n [ʔə] ḵʷ nə́c̓aʔ
AUX I get-get.taken [OBL] ART one
'I was able to get one.'

(q) néṁ cən x̌téʔem ḵʷ snétəłqən. (CC)
néṁ cən x̌téʔ-əm [ʔə] ḵʷ s-nét-əł-qən
AUX(go) I make-INTR [OBL] ART NOM-night-past-meal
'I'm going to make breakfast.'

(r) ni ʔəxí·ls ʔə kʷθə qʷłéy̓. (AG)
niʔ ʔə́xəl-éls ʔə kʷθə qʷłéy̓
AUX paddle-ACT OBL ART log
'They towed the logs.'

(s) ni ṁe néṁ ṯəméls ʔə kʷθə snə́xʷəłs. (CC)
ni ṁə néṁ ṯem-éls ʔə kʷθə snə́xʷəł-s
AUX CERT AUX(go) get.hit-ACT OBL ART canoe-3POS
'He's gone to hew his canoe.'

It is also possible for an oblique nominal adjunct to appear as an instrumental following a predicate head with the suffix *-éls* 'activity,' as in (t).

(t) łc̓éls ʔə tə łéc̓tən. (AG)
łíc̓-éls ʔə tə łéc̓tən
cut-ACT OBL ART knife
'cut with a knife'

But it may not be possible, AG believed, to have an *-éls* form with two oblique adjuncts, one the oblique object and the other the instrumental.

### 3.4.2. With Active Transitive Predicates

An active transitive predicate may have one or two direct nominal adjuncts.

If the subject is a first or second person, a direct nominal adjunct may appear as the object, as in (a) and (b).

(a) c̓éwət cən ceʔ təwx̌̓a.
c̓éw-ət cən ceʔ təwx̌̓á
help-TR I FUT he/him
'I will help him.'

(b) ni ʔə čxʷ k̓ʷácnəxʷ kʷθeʔ swáy̓qeʔ.
ni ʔə čxʷ k̓ʷec-nəxʷ kʷθeʔ swáy̓qeʔ
AUX ROG you look-TR that man
'Did you see that man?'

If the object is a first person, a direct nominal adjunct may appear as the subject, as in (c).

(c) c̓éwəθàmxəs ceʔ tθeʔ swáy̓qeʔ.
c̓éw-ət-Samx-əs ceʔ tθeʔ swáy̓qeʔ
help-TR-me-3TR FUT that man
'That man will help me.'

Active transitive forms with second-person objects and third-person subjects, however, do not occur. Instead we find passive forms.

Unless another condition is met, if a predicate has a third-person subject and a third-person object, a single direct nominal adjunct will be interpreted as the object. Thus (d) must have the first interpretation rather than the second (starred), improbable though it may be.

(d) q̓íq̓ək̓ʷətəs tə nəsqʷəméy̓. (DK)
q̓íq̓ək̓ʷ-ət-əs tə nə-sqʷəméy̓
be.biting-TR-3TR ART my-dog
'He is biting my dog.' (**'My dog is biting him.')

The other condition is the appearance of *təwx̌̓a* and other demonstratives formed with *x̌̓á* 'be third person.' After a predicate head with the suffix *-əs* 'third-person transitive subject,' *təwx̌̓a* or one of its counterparts must be interpreted as subject, as in (e).

(e) kʷə́nətəs təwɔ̌̓a swíw̓ləs. (JP 27)
kʷə́n-ət-əs təwɔ̌̓a swíw̓ləs
get.taken-TR-3TR that young.man
'The young man took it.'

An active transitive predicate may also have both object and subject nominal adjuncts. When this occurs, the normal order seems to be predicate, subject, object (VSO), as in (f).

(f) ni q̓á·ytəs θə pús θə k̓ʷét̓ən̓. (JP)
niʔ q̓áy-ət-əs θə pús θə k̓ʷét̓ən̓
AUX die-TR-3TR ART cat ART mouse
'The cat killed the mouse.'

But the order predicate, object, subject (VOS) is also possible, as in (g).

(g) k̓ʷék̓ʷəyətəs tə mém̓ən̓əs tθe swə́y̓qeʔ. (JP)
kʷék̓ʷəy-ət-əs tə mém̓ən̓ə-s tθeʔ swə́y̓qeʔ
be.training-TR-3TR ART children-3POS that man
'That man is training his sons [preparing them for vision quests].'

In (g), perhaps the sense requires that the father be the subject. But any possible ambiguity can be avoided by the use of *təwɔ̌̓a*, which can mark the subject only, as in (h).

(h) ni q̓á·ytəs tə smə́yəθ təwɔ̌̓a swə́y̓qeʔ. (DK)
niʔ q̓áy-ət-əs tə smə́y̓əθ təwɔ̌̓a swə́y̓qeʔ
AUX die-TR-3TR ART deer that man
'The man killed the deer.'

The sentences offered by me,

ni q̓á·ytəs tə swə́y̓qeʔ təwɔ̌̓a smə́yəθ.
ni q̓á·ytəs təwɔ̌̓a smə́yəθ tə swə́y̓qeʔ.

would both, DK insisted, have to mean 'The deer killed the man.'

This subject-marking function of *təwɔ̌̓a* (or a counterpart) allows for freedom in the ordering of subject and object nominal adjuncts. In texts dictated by JP, there are a few complex sentences suggesting that he used *təwɔ̌̓a* or a counterpart to postpone a subject with dependent elements until after the object.

There is one further constraint on transitive predicates with two third-person participants. A proper name cannot assume the role of subject. It must be the agent in a passive construction.

An active transitive predicate can have an oblique nominal adjunct serving as an instrumental, as in (i), (j), and (k).

(i) ni cən láṁət ʔə kθə sméntˑ. (CC)
ni cən láṁ-ət ʔə kʷθə sméntˑ
AUX I get.hit(by something thrown)-TR OBL ART rock
'I hit him with a rock.'

(j) láməṫ tə sméntˑ. (CC)
láṁ-ət [ʔə] tə sméntˑ
get.hit-TR OBL ART rock
'Hit him with a rock.'

(k) łíc̓ət ʔə tə łéc̓tən. (AG)
łíc̓-ət ʔə tə łéc̓tən
cut-TR OBL ART knife
'Cut it with a knife.'

We also find oblique nominal adjuncts playing other roles when they appear following active transitive predicate heads bearing the suffix *-stəxʷ* 'causative' (see §10.3.2) or one of the applicative suffixes (see §10.4.)

A causative formed from an intransitive verb of motion may have an oblique nominal adjunct for its goal or recipient, as in (l) and (m).

(l) místəxʷ čxʷ ɬ̓ ʔéˑnθə. (JP)
ʔəṁí-stəxʷ čxʷ [ʔə] ɬ̓ ʔéˑnθə
come-CAUS you OBL ART me
'Bring it to me.'

(m) nəʔéməstəxʷ łə təwɬ̓a. (CC)
néṁ-stəxʷ łə [ʔə] təwɬ̓a
go-CAUS PER OBL him
'Take it to him.'

Probably for most verbs of this sort, however, a goal or recipient is expressed in a verbal complement (prepositional phrase) (see §3.5).

A causative formed from an agent-oriented verb may have an oblique nominal adjunct for what is the patient in the action performed by what is its grammatical object (the causee), as in (n) and (o).

(n) ḵʷə́cstəxʷ tə *John* ʔə kʷθəṅ pút. (AG)
ḵʷéc-stəxʷ tə *John* ʔə kʷθə ʔən-pút
look-CAUS ART John OBL ART your-boat
'Show John your boat.'

(o) ni cən ʔə́łtənəstəxʷ kʷθə sɬ̓íɬ̓qəł ʔə kʷθə sqéwθ. (AG)
niʔ cən ʔə́łtən-stəxʷ kʷθə sɬ̓íɬ̓qəł ʔə kʷθə sqéwθ
AUX I eat-CAUS ART child OBL ART potato
'I fed the child potatoes.'

These are more literally ‘Cause John to look at your boat’ and ‘I caused the child to eat potatoes.’

The applicatives *-stəxʷ*$_2$ ‘comitative,’ *-łc-* ‘benefactive,’ and *-əs* ‘recipient’ allow someone playing a role other than that of patient to become the grammatical object, at which point the original patient must be expressed by an oblique nominal adjunct, as in (p), (q), and (r).

(p) x̌téʔstəxʷ ʔə tiʔí. (AG)
x̌téʔ-stəxʷ ʔə təʔí
do-COM OBL this
‘Do this to it.’

(q) θéyəłcθàmx łe [ʔə] ḵʷə táx̌ʷac. (CC)
θéy-łc-t-Samx łə [ʔə] ḵʷə táx̌ʷac
be.created-BEN-TR-me PER OBL ART bow
‘Make me a bow.’

(r) ʔáxʷəsθàmx čxʷ ʔə ḵʷ łéċtən. (AG)
ʔéxʷ-əs-t-Samx čxʷ ʔə ḵʷə łéċtən
give-REC-TR-me you OBL ART knife
‘Give me a knife.’

The last three sentences might be rendered with grammatically more parallel forms as ‘Affect it with this,’ ‘Supply me with a bow,’ and ‘Present me with a knife.’ (For a full analysis of Halkomelem causative and applicative or “redirective” forms, see Gerdts 1981.)

### 3.4.2. With Passive Predicates

A passive predicate can have only one direct nominal adjunct, which is its subject, as in (a), (b), and (c).

(a) ƛ̓éxətəm tə xʷməθkʷəy̓əm. (CC)
ƛ̓éxən-t-əm tə xʷməθkʷəy̓əm
invite-TR-INTR ART Musqueam
‘The Musqueam were invited.’

(b) x̌ʷá·ytəm tə stéʔexʷəł. (JP 12)
x̌ʷáy̓-ət-əm tə stéʔexʷəł
die.off-TR-INTR ART children
‘The children were all killed.’

(c) ḵʷłétəm tə snáxʷəłs. (JP 12)
ḵʷəł-ét-əm tə snáxʷəł-s
spill-TR-INTR ART canoe-3POS
‘Their canoe was tipped over.’

The agent of a passive predicate is an oblique nominal adjunct, as in (d) to (h).

(d) mə́q̓ətəm ʔə tə sx̌éləqəm. (JP 6)
mə́q̓-ət-əm ʔə tə s-x̌éləqəm
swallow-TR-INTR OBL ART NOM-fierce
'They were swallowed by the monster.'

(e) ni c̓éwətəm tə c̓én̓əm. (CC)
ni c̓éw-ət-əm [ʔə] tə c̓én̓əm
AUX help-TR-INTR OBL ART Shaker
'He was helped by the Shakers.'

(f) k̓ʷə́cnà·m ceʔ təwx̌a. (CC)
k̓ʷéc-n-am-əm ceʔ [ʔə] təwx̌a
look-TR-you(PAS)-INTR FUT OBL him
'He will see you.' (lit. 'You will be seen by him.')

(g) c̓éwətəm ceʔ x̌ *Tom* təwx̌a. (CC)
c̓éw-ət-əm ceʔ [ʔə] x̌ *Tom* təwx̌a
help-TR-INTR FUT OBL ART Tom he
'Tom will help him.' (lit. 'He will be helped by Tom.')

(h) niʔəł c̓éwəθàləm x̌ Tom. (JP)
niʔ-əł c̓éw-ət-Sal-əm [ʔə] x̌ *Tom*
AUX-past help-TR-I(PAS)-INTR OBL ART Tom
'Tom helped me.' (lit. 'I was helped by Tom.')

These last three sentences are passive with no active counterparts, since the rules do not permit the active voice with a second-person object and a third-person subject, or with a proper name as subject.

There is yet another constraint on passive constructions. The role of agent cannot be filled by a personal word; for example, the active sentences *ni cən q̓á·yt* 'I killed him' and *ni čxʷ q̓á·yt* 'You killed him' have no passive counterparts. You cannot say ***ni q̓á·ytəm ʔə x̌ ʔé·nθə* or ***ni q̓á·ytəm ʔə x̌ náwə*.

An instrumental can also appear with a passive predicate as an oblique nominal adjunct, as in (i) and (j).

(i) niʔ c̓éwəθèləm ʔə kʷθə sc̓íləm. (CC)
niʔ c̓éw-ət-Sel-əm ʔə kʷθə s-c̓íləm
AUX help-TR-I(PAS)-INTR OBL ART NOM-sing
'I got helped with a song.'

(j) lál̓əmə̀θà·m tə yəy̓qʷí·n. (CC)
lál̓əm̓-ət-Sam-əm [ʔə] tə yəqʷí·n
be.getting.hit-TR-you(PAS)-INTR OBL ART light
'They [the Shakers] are throwing the light [or heat, of their candles] on you.'

We also find, with passives of causatives, oblique nominal adjuncts serving the same purposes that they do with active causatives, as in (k) and (l).

(k) … i wəɬnəʔáməstəm θə q̓éməy̓ tə stál̓əw̓. (CC 19)
ʔəy̓ wəɬ-ném̓-stəxʷ-əm θə q̓éməy̓ [ʔə] tə stál̓əw̓
and already-go-CAUS-INTR ART girl OBL ART river
'... and the girl was taken to the river.'

(l) ʔí·w̓əstəm tə syəw̓íṅ, tə sx̌əl̓éls. (CC 19)
ʔí·w̓-əs-t-əm [ʔə] tə syəw̓íṅ tə sx̌əl̓éls
be understanding-REC-TR-INTR OBL ART spell ART painting
'She was being taught the spells and the painting.'

A sentence may contain an intransitive predicate with a stated or implied subject followed by a passive form with a different subject where we might expect a transitive and an object. An example is (m).

(m) m̓i θə́t c̓éwətəm təwx̌̓a. (JP 22)
m̓i θə́t c̓éw-ət-əm təwx̌̓a
come try help-TR-INTR he
'They came intending to help him.'

Perhaps because *təwx̌̓a* must be a subject, the verb must be passive. For other examples, see §4.3.4, (c) and (d).

## 3.5. VERBAL ADJUNCTS

A predicate head of any of the three types described in §3.3, with or without nominal adjuncts related as described in §3.4, may be followed by another verb, secondary to the head (and often unstressed), introducing an oblique nominal adjunct. These secondary verbs specify location, direction of motion, and a few notions of other sorts expressed by English prepositions. They serve to relate their oblique nominal adjuncts to the predicate head in ways other than those described in §3.4. Because these secondary verbs have functions like those of English prepositions, they may be conveniently called "prepositional verbs." (Galloway [1977, 483] has called the phrase composed of such a verb and its nominal adjunct a "prepositional phrase.")

Prepositional verbs do not constitute a separate class of words used for this purpose only; most, if not all, can appear as predicate heads. They include the locative verbs *ʔí* 'be here' and *níʔ* 'be there,' the directional verbs *ʔəm̓í* 'come' and *ném̓* 'go' (all four of which also appear as auxiliaries), derivatives of the last two, *xʷəm̓í* 'come to' and *xʷném̓* 'go to,' and several other simple verbs, such as *técəl* 'arrive here,' *tás* 'arrive there,' *x̌ʷtéʔ* 'head toward, than (in comparative constructions),' *təl̓í (~ təlíʔ)* 'be from,' *yəɬəl̓é (~ yəɬəʔé)* 'be going along.' They include a number of resultative forms (described in §7.7), such as *stətés* 'near,' *sq̓əq̓áʔ* 'accompanying, with,' *stəʔé* 'resembling, like,' and so on,

and some more complex forms, such as *yəsɬál̓wəɬ* 'passing over,' *cɬáqʷθət* 'passing through,' and so on.

Sentences (a) and (b) illustrate *ʔí* 'be here' used as auxiliary, predicate head, and prepositional verb.

(a) ʔi ʔí ʔə k̓ʷən sɬə́q̓əwəɬ. (CC)
ʔi ʔí ʔə k̓ʷə nə-sɬə́q̓əwəɬ
AUX be.here OBL ART my-back
'He is behind me.'

(b) ʔi ʔám̓ət ʔi k̓ʷən sɬəɬál̓wəɬ. (CC)
ʔi ʔám̓ət ʔi [ʔə] k̓ʷə nə-sɬəɬál̓wəɬ
AUX be.sitting be.here OBL ART my-rear.side
'He is sitting behind me (as in a canoe).'

In (a), the stressed *ʔí* is the predicate head. In (b), the predicate head is *ʔám̓ət* 'be sitting' and the *ʔi* following is a prepositional verb, required to locate the oblique nominal adjunct.

The locatives *ʔi* and *ni* are usually translatable as 'at,' 'in,' 'on,' or 'into,' as in (c) to (e).

(c) nəwɬ ɬə́q̓əlləxʷəs ʔi k̓ʷi šx̌ʷqʷéləwəns. (JP 10)
niʔ wəɬ-ɬə́q̓əl-ləxʷ-əs ʔi [ʔə] k̓ʷi šxʷqʷéləwən-s
AUX already-know-TR-3TR be.here OBL that mind-3POS
'He already knew in his mind ...'

(d) ɬéq̓ət ɬə ni ʔə tə lətém. (CC)
ɬéq̓-ət ɬə niʔ ʔə tə lətém
lie-TR PER be.there OBL ART table
'Lay it on the table.'

(e) ni cən ɬə́lqt tə sc̓éxt ni ʔə tə qáʔ. (CC)
niʔ cən ɬə́lq-t tə sc̓éxt niʔ ʔə tə qáʔ
AUX I immerse-TR ART stick be.there OBL ART water
'I dipped the stick into the water.'

The sequence of locative verb and demonstrative, literally 'at this' or 'at that,' is translated 'here' or 'there' (see §15.2.4.2), as in (f) and (g).

(f) ʔə́məɬ ɬə ʔi ʔə təʔí. (CC)
ʔə́məɬ ɬə ʔi ʔə təʔí
sit PER be.here OBL this
'Sit here.'

(g) wəyáθ cən wək̓ʷék̓ʷəcnəxʷ təwx̌a ni ʔə tθéʔ. (CC)
wə-yáθ cən wə-k̓ʷék̓ʷəc-nəxʷ təwx̌a niʔ ʔə tθéʔ
EST-always I EST-be.looking-TR him be.there OBL that
'I always see him there.'

Sometimes *niʔ* can be translated freely with an instrumental 'by' or 'with' or with a benefactive 'for,' as illustrated in (h) to (k), although perhaps there is still a basic locative meaning.

(h) kʷə́nət čxʷ ni tə q̓ʷənq̓ʷí·n̓s. (JP)
kʷə́n-ət čxʷ niʔ [ʔə] tə q̓ʷənq̓ʷí·n̓-s
get.taken-TR you be.there [OBL] ART ears-3POS
'Grab him by the ears.'

(i) ni ce·p wək̓ʷə́cnəxʷ ni te·n̓ qáləm ʔi tən̓a swéyəl. (JP 26)
ni ce·p wə-k̓ʷéc-nəxʷ niʔ [ʔə] tə ʔən-qáləm ʔi
AUX you(PL) EST-see-TR be.there OBL ART your-eye be.here
[ʔə] tən̓a swéyəl
OBL this day
'You have seen it with your [own] eyes today.'

(j) sc̓éc̓ən̓ niw łə́q̓əlləxʷəs niʔ tə céləxs. (JP 32)
sc̓éc̓ən̓ niʔ wə-łə́q̓əl-ləxʷ-əs niʔ [ʔə] tə céləx-s
really AUX EST-know-TR-3TR be.there OBL ART hand-3POS
'He [the harpooner] really knew [detected] it with [in] his hands.'

(k) ni cən yá·y̓əs ni ʔə x̌ nə́wə. (CC)
ni cən yá·y̓əs niʔ ʔə x̌ nə́wə
AUX I be.working be.there OBL ART you
'I am working for you.'

The directional verbs *ʔəm̓í* 'come' and *ném̓* 'go' can appear following predicate heads that express motion and can have goals or indirect objects, *ʔəm̓í* with the sense 'to (toward the speaker)' and *ném̓* with the sense 'to (away from the speaker),' illustrated in (l) to (q).

(l) wélx łə tə pá·l ʔəm̓i ʔə x̌ ʔé·nθə. (CC)
wél-x łə tə pá·l ʔəm̓i ʔə x̌ ʔé·nθə
throw-TR PER ART ball come OBL ART me
'Throw the ball to me.'

(m) wélx cən ceʔ tə pá·l nem̓ ʔə x̌ nə́wə. (CC)
wél-x cən ceʔ tə pá·l nem̓ ʔə x̌ nə́wə
throw-TR I FUT ART ball go OBL ART you
'I'll throw the ball to you.'

(n) wélx čxʷ nem̓ ʔə tθéʔ. (AG)
wél-x čxʷ nem̓ ʔə tθéʔ
throw-TR you go OBL that
'Throw it to that person.'

(o) c̓éʔt čxʷ neṁ tə *TV*. (JP)
c̓éʔ-t čxʷ neṁ [ʔə] tə *TV*
alight-TR you go OBL ART TV
'Set it on the television set.'

(p) ʔi θx̌ətəm ʔəṁi x̌̓ ʔé·nθə. (CC)
ʔi θəx̌-ət-əm ʔəṁi [ʔə] x̌̓ ʔé·nθə
AUX push-TR-INTR come OBL ART me
'They pushed it against me.' (lit. 'It was pushed against me.')

(q) qʷəsqʷə́stəm neṁ tə qáʔ. (JP 12)
qʷəsqʷə́s-t-əm neṁ [ʔə] tə qáʔ
submerge(PL)-TR-INTR go OBL ART water
'They were thrown into the water.'

If the predicate head is in the progressive aspect, the prepositional verb may also be, as in (r).

(r) ... i c̓əc̓éʔtəm həṅəṁ kʷə cícəł... (JP 16)
ʔəẏ c̓əc̓éʔ-t-əm héṅəṁ [ʔə] kʷə cícəł
and be.alighting-TR-INTR be.going OBL ART high
'... and they were being set up on something high ...'

The prepositional verbs *xʷəṁi* and *xʷneṁ,* formed with the prefix *xʷ-*$_2$ 'move toward' (see §12.2.6)**,** can be used in the same way as *ʔəṁi* and *neṁ* to introduce nominal adjuncts as goals or indirect objects of predicate heads referring to motion. However, they are more commonly used to introduce nominals as indirect objects of predicate heads referring to speech or thought and as beneficiaries of other activities, as in (s) to (u).

(s) wəyáθ cən wəxʷqʷilqʷəlíwən xʷneṁ ʔə x̌̓ náwə. (CC)
wə-yáθ cən wə-xʷqʷilqʷəlíwən xʷneṁ ʔə x̌̓ náwə
EST-always I EST-be.thinking go.to OBL ART you
'I am always thinking about you.'

(t) ni čxʷ θəq̓əłx̌éʔem xʷneṁ k̓ʷ cícəł siʔém̓ ... (CC)
niʔ čxʷ θəq̓əłx̌éʔəm xʷneṁ [ʔə] k̓ʷə cícəł siʔém̓
AUX you pray go.to OBL ART above lord
'You pray to God ...'

(u) ni ct yá·ẏəs xʷneṁ ʔə x̌̓ łwáləp. (CC)
niʔ ct yá·ẏəs xʷneṁ ʔə x̌̓ łwáləp
AUX we be.working go.to OBL ART you(PL)
'We are working for you.'

Examples of uses of other prepositional verbs may be seen in (v) to (y).

(v) ni ct né··m̓ xʷcákʷ təliʔ ə tə léləm̓ct. (CC 5)
niʔ ct ném̓ xʷcákʷ təliʔ ʔə tə léləm̓-ct
AUX we go go.far from OBL ART house-our
'We went waaay far from our house ...'

(w) ni xʷənéc̓ x̌ʷtéʔ ƛ̓ łwə́ləp ... (JP 26)
niʔ xʷə-néc̓ x̌ʷtéʔ [ʔə] ƛ̓ łwə́ləp
AUX become-different head.toward OBL ART you(PL)
'She is now different from you ...'

(x) m̓i čxʷ ʔə́mət stətés ƛ̓ ʔé·nθə. (JP 9)
ʔəm̓í čxʷ ʔə́mət stətés [ʔə] ƛ̓ ʔé·nθə
come you sit near OBL ART me
'Come sit next to me.'

(y) ni cən t̓íləm sq̓əq̓áʔ kʷθə nəšxʷʔáq̓ʷaʔ. (CC)
niʔ cən t̓íləm sq̓əq̓áʔ [ʔə] kʷθə nə-šxʷʔáq̓ʷaʔ
AUX I sing accompanying OBL ART my-sibling
'I sang with my brother.'

See also the comparative use of adjectives in §3.7.1.

## 3.6. ADVERBIAL ADJUNCTS

A predicate may be accompanied by an article or demonstrative followed by an adverb or adjective. Such constructions may be obliquely related to the predicate, although in the examples recorded from Musqueam speakers there is no oblique particle. These adverbial adjuncts usually appear last in the clause.

(a) m̓ə ʔə́ƛ̓qəl k̓ʷə x̌ʷə́m. (JP 24)
m̓i ʔə́ƛ̓qəl k̓ʷə x̌ʷə́m
AUX(come) exit ART fast
'He came out right away.'

(b) x̌téʔstəxʷ łe tən̓a x̌ʷə́m. (CC)
x̌téʔ-stəxʷ łe tən̓a x̌ʷə́m
do-COM PER this fast
'Do it right away.'

(c) nə q̓ép̓ətəs k̓ʷə yéyə. (DK)
niʔ q̓ép̓-ət-əs k̓ʷə yə́yə [yéy̓eʔ]
AUX tie-TR-3TR ART bound.together
'He wrapped it up tightly.'

(d) ʔél̓miʔ čxʷ k̓ʷəw qéʔis ʔal̓. (JP 3)
ʔél̓miʔ čxʷ k̓ʷə wə-qéʔis ʔal̓
be.waiting you ART EST-short.time just
'Wait a little while.'

(e) kʷə́nət čxʷ kʷθéʔ təl̓a xʷənéʔent. (CC 17)
kʷə́n-ət čxʷ kʷθéʔ təl̓a xʷənéʔənt
be.taken-TR you that.one this evening
'Take him tonight.'

(f) ʔáxʷəsθ k̓ʷə ʔəxʷíl̓. (DK)
ʔáxʷəs-t-S k̓ʷə ʔəxʷíl̓
give-TR-me ART little
'Give me a little.'

(g) t̓áʔθət čxʷ nə́qəm k̓ʷə x̓́əp. (DK)
t̓éʔ-θət čxʷ nə́qəm k̓ʷə x̓́əp
test-self you dive ART deep
'Try to dive deep.'

(h) nəw θə́ytəm tə məstə́yəxʷ k̓ʷəw xʷənáʔəł ʔal̓ ... (JP11)
ni wə-θə́y-t-əm tə məstə́yəxʷ k̓ʷə wə-xʷənáʔ-əł ʔal̓
AUX EST-come.into.being-TR-INTR ART people ART EST-first-past just
'People were made in the beginning ... [but] ...'

(i) θə́yt θə hə́y̓qʷ k̓ʷə θí. (JP 2)
θə́y-t θə hə́y̓qʷ k̓ʷə θí
come.into.being-TR ART be.burning ART big
'Make a big fire.'

In this last sentence, *θí* 'big' might be seen as an object complement, the sentence being literally 'Make the fire big' rather than 'Make the fire greatly.' I do not have enough data to justify setting up such a category, however.

These adverbial adjuncts are perhaps simply phrases substituting for the simple adverbs identified in §3.2.2. Giving them separate status here is based on the presence of the article or demonstrative, which makes them resemble nominal adjuncts. We might also note that in their not having an oblique particle to introduce them, these adverbial adjuncts resemble nominalized clauses used adverbially (see §4.3.3).

## 3.7. ADJECTIVAL AND NOMINAL PREDICATES

As seen in §3.1.1, adjectives and nouns can appear as predicate heads. Like verbal predicates, adjectival and nominal predicates can be expanded with other elements and can have nominal adjuncts. As predicate heads, however, adjectives and nouns differ from verbs in several respects. Morphologically, adjectives and nouns do not have distinctions of aspect. Syntactically, they differ from verbs in their use of auxiliaries, adjectives appearing with auxiliaries less often and nouns in certain constructions only. Adjectives and nouns can also appear together in nominal predicates expanded with adjectives. (Nominal predicates also differ from both verbal and adjectival predicates in their use in pseudo-cleft sentences, described in §4.1.5.1.1).

### 3.7.1. Adjectival Predicates

Adjectives may appear as predicate heads accompanied by particles only, as in (a) and (b).

(a) k̓ʷáṁk̓ʷəṁ cən. (JP)
strong I
'I'm strong.'

(b) k̓ʷáṁk̓ʷəṁ ʔə čxʷ. (AG)
strong ROG you
'Are you strong?'

They can be preceded by auxiliaries, as in (c) to (f), but they have been recorded less commonly so than have verbs.

(c) ʔí ʔə čxʷ wəʔə́ẏ ʔaḷ (often ʔi·čxʷəwʔə́ẏaḷ)
ʔí ʔə čxʷ wə-ʔə́ẏ ʔaḷ
AUX ROG you EST-good(well) just
'How are you?' (a common greeting)

(d) ʔi cən wəʔə́ẏ ʔaḷ. (CC)
ʔí cən wə-ʔə́ẏ ʔaḷ
AUX I EST-well just
'I am well.' (the usual response)

(e) ʔi cən ʔuk̓ʷáṁk̓ʷəṁ. (AG)
AUX I EST-strong
'I am strong.' (not as emphatic as *k̓ʷáṁk̓ʷəṁ cən* [AG])

(f) ni ʔuk̓ʷáṁk̓ʷəṁ. (AG)
AUX EST-strong
'He [absent] is strong all right.'

Adjectival predicate heads can be preceded by adverbs acting as intensifiers, as in (g) to (i).

(g) wəṅán wəqə́x̌.
EST-too/very EST-many/much
'There are too many. They are too many. It is too much.'

(h) x̌ə́ł q̓áq̓əẏ.
hurt/sore sick
'He was very sick.'

(i) wəṅán cən wəx̌ə́ł q̓áq̓əẏ. (CC 21)
EST-very I EST-hurt sick
'I am really sick.'
An adjectival predicate may have a noun subject, as in (j) and (k).

(j) płét tə ptékʷəm. (CC)
thick ART brake.fern
'The brake ferns are thick.'

(k) x̌íʔ tə syə́wən. (CC)
difficult ART song
'The song is hard.'

The subject of an adjectival predicate can be compared with something else by means of *xʷnémˀ* 'go to,' *xʷəmˀí* 'come to,' or *x̌ʷtéʔ* 'head for, move toward,' used as prepositional verbs (see §3.5) with the sense 'than,' as illustrated in (l) and (m).

(l) kʷə́mˀkʷəmˀ xʷəmˀi· x̌ ʔé·nθə. (JP)
kʷə́mˀkʷəmˀ xʷəmˀi [ʔə] x̌ ʔé·nθə
strong come.to OBL ART me
'He's stronger than I.'

(m) cákʷ kʷə́mˀkʷəmˀ xʷnemˀ ʔə x̌ náwə. (CC)
far strong go.to OBL ART you
'He's far stronger than you.'

The focusing word *háy* 'specifically' (usually with the particle *ʔalˀ* 'just') preceding the adjective give a superlative sense, as in (n).

(n) háy ʔalˀ kʷə́mˀkʷəmˀ x̌ʷté· kʷəw məkʷ. (JP)
háy ʔalˀ kʷə́mˀkʷəmˀ x̌ʷté ʔə kʷə wə-məkʷ
especially just strong head.for OBL ART EST-all
'He's the strongest of all. He is stronger than anybody.'

### 3.7.2. Nominal Predicates

As shown in §3.1, nominal predicate heads can appear alone, followed by particles and adverbs.

(a) təmx̌əyˀx̌. (CC 20)
təm-x̌əyˀx̌
time.of-cold
'It was winter.'

(b) swə́yˀqeʔ cən. (JP)
man I
'I am a man.'

(c) səwwə́yˀqeʔ ct.
men we
'We are men.'

(d) xʷə́lməxʷ ʔə čxʷ. (CC)
Indian ROG you
'Are you an Indian?'

(e) sx̌íx̌qəłəł cən. (JP)
sx̌íx̌qəł-əł cən
child-past I
'I was a child.'

(f) swə́y̓qeʔ čxʷ x̌e. (JP)
man you also
'You're a man too.'

(g) wəqáʔəł c̓ə ʔaḷ́ mə́k̓ʷ. (JP 1)
wə-qáʔ-əł c̓ə ʔaḷ́ mə́k̓ʷ
EST-water-past QUOT just all
'It is said that it was all just water.'

There may be a nominal adjunct serving as the subject of the sentence, as in (h) and (j).

(h) x̌césəł c̓ə tθéʔ. (JP 1)
x̌cés-əł c̓ə tθéʔ
island-past QUOT that
'That [Point Roberts] is said to have been an island.'

(i) syəẇín̓ kʷθeʔ skʷíx. (JP 22)
spell.word that name
'That name is a spell word.'

Auxiliaries have not been recorded with nominal predicates in simple sentences.

### 3.7.3. Nominal Predicates with Adjectival Modifiers

A nominal predicate head can be preceded by a modifying adjective (or numeral), the noun and its modifier standing in a relationship like that of a verb head and a preceding adverb. As always, the predicate particles follow the first word.

(a) ʔə́y̓ čxʷ swə́y̓qeʔ. (AG)
good you man
'You're a good man.'

(b) k̓ʷ́ám̓k̓ʷəm̓ sʔə́ḷ́ləlyəs. (JP 25)
k̓ʷám̓k̓ʷəm̓ sʔə́ḷ́ləlyə-s
strong dream-3POS
'His dream was strong. He had a strong dream.' (lit. 'It was his strong dream.')

In (b), the absence of an article before *sʔál̓yəs* ‘his dream’ makes the whole phrase a predicate.

(c) i wənéc̓ θəɬ sq̓ʷələ́xʷ. (JP 25)
ʔəy̓ wə-néc̓ θəɬ sq̓ʷələ́xʷ
and/but EST-different ADV bird
‘But it was a different bird.’

The adjective can be preceded by an intensifying adverb, as in (d).

(d) sc̓éc̓ən̓ ce·p wəʔéləy̓ səwwə́y̓qeʔ. (JP 12)
sc̓éc̓ən̓ ce·p wə-ʔéləy̓ səwwə́y̓qeʔ
really you(PL) EST-good(PL) men
‘You are really good men.’

There may be a nominal adjunct as the subject, as in (e) and (f).

(e) ʔə́y̓ swə́y̓qeʔ tə John. (AG)
good man ART John
‘John is a good man.’

(f) k̓ʷáṁk̓ʷəṁ sc̓éṅəm θə nətén. (CC 21)
strong Shaker ART my-mother
‘My mother was a strong Shaker.’

If the modifier of the noun is a quantifying word, the sentence can have the existential sense of the English ‘There is’ or ‘There are,’ as in (g) to (j).

(g) qə́x̌ ceʔ sp̓éq̓əm. (CC)
many FUT flower
‘There will be lots of flowers [the tree being covered with buds].’

(h) sc̓éc̓ən̓ yəxʷ ceʔ wəqə́x̌ sp̓éq̓əm. (CC)
really INF FUT EST-many flower
‘There will really be lots of flowers.’

(i) yəɬéq̓əcəs c̓ə snə́xʷəɬ. (JP 12)
five.conveyances QUOT canoe
‘They say there were five canoes.’

(j) qə́x̌əɬ c̓ə məstə́yəxʷ ni ə kʷθéʔ. (JP 25)
many-past QUOT person be.there OBL that
‘It is said there were many people there.’

In the last four examples, because there is no article preceding the noun, the adjective, particles, and noun together must constitute the predicate. In (j), the *ni ʔə kʷθéʔ* is a verbal adjunct or prepositional phrase modifying the predicate.
In (k), there is a subject.

(k) qə́x̌ spk̓ʷə́m tə ləté́m. (CC)
much dust ART table
'The table is dusty.'

I am uncertain how to interpret this. It appears to be literally 'The table is much dust.' But is it 'The table has much dust,' or is there an understood prepositional verb and oblique particle making it 'There is much dust on the table'?

## 3.8. EXPANDED NOMINAL ADJUNCTS IN SIMPLE SENTENCES

Noun heads of nominal adjuncts can take possessive affixes and have noun possessors (§3.8.1), they can be followed by a few of the predicate particles (§3.8.2), and they can have various adjectival modifiers, including noun premodifiers (§3.8.3). Nominal adjuncts can also be expanded by coordination and possibly by apposition.

### 3.8.1. Possession

The possessive affixes are *nə-* 'my,' *ʔən- ~ ʔəT-* 'your,' *-ct* 'our,' *ʔən- ~ ʔəT- … -ələp* 'your (pl.),' *-s* 'his, her, its,' and *-s (ʔé·łtən)* 'their' (see §14.2.4).

Noun possessors can be related to noun heads in one of two ways. In the first, the noun head takes the possessive *-s* and is followed by the possessor with its own article, as in (a) to (d).

(a) tə sʔíləyəθəns tə stál̓əw (CC 11)
tə sʔíləyəθən-s tə stál̓əẇ
ART bank-3POS ART river
'the bank of the river'

(b) tə słíqʷs tə scé·łtən (CC 13)
ART flesh-3POS ART salmon
'the flesh of the salmon'

(c) tə sqʷéls θə nətén (CC 11)
tə s-qʷél-s θə nə-tén
ART NOM-speak-3POS ART my-mother
'my mother's words'

(d) kʷθə sné$^{ʔ}$ems kʷθə šxʷné$^{ʔ}$m (CC 21)
ART shaman's.vision.power-3POS ART shaman
'the "power" of the Indian doctor'

A demonstrative can also be a possessor, as in (e).

(e) tə siʔém̓s təwx̌áləm (JP 27)
ART leader-3POS those
'the leader of them'

In the second way, the noun head, without the possessive *-s,* is followed by an optional oblique particle *ʔə,* the oblique article *x̌̇,* and the possessor noun. With proper nouns as possessors, this type of construction is usual, as in (f) and (g).

(f) θə tén ʔə x̌̇ x̌áʔx̌̇t̓θəltən (CC 11)
ART mother OBL ART x̌áʔx̌̇t̓θəltən
'the mother of x̌áʔx̌̇t̓θəltən [Peter Pierre, the Katzie shaman]'

(g) tə sx̌ʷəẏ́ém̓ x̌̇ t̓θəkʷtéyəč (JP 3)
tə sx̌ʷəẏ́ém̓ [ʔə] x̌̇ t̓θəkʷtéyəč
ART story OBL ART t̓θəkʷtéyəč
'the story of t̓θəkʷtéyəč [the name of a magical dog]'

This construction has also been recorded for a few common nouns (see §15.1.4).

### 3.8.2. Particles

A few of the second-position predicate particles can also appear following the noun heads of nominal adjuncts, as *-əł* 'past' and *ceʔ* 'future,' in (a) and (b).

(a) kʷθə nəménəł (CC)
kʷθə nə-mén-əł
ART my-father-past
'my late father'

(b) kʷθə nəpúk ceʔ (CC)
kʷθə nə-púk ceʔ
ART my-book FUT
'my book-to-be'

A few also appear with adjectives modifying noun heads (see below). In contrast, the whole range of second-position predicate particles can appear in nominal predicates (see §3.7.2).

### 3.8.3. Adjectival Modifiers

These include adjectives, numerals, a few adverbs, adjective-like forms of several kinds, and one or more verb forms. It seems that all of these always precede the noun head except for numerals, which sometimes follow.

#### *3.8.3.1. Adjectives*

Adjectives are simple and complex (see §4.3). Simple adjectives are roots such as *θí* 'big,' *x̌éw̓s* 'new,' *p̓áq̓* 'white,' and *qál* 'bad,' and their plural and diminutive forms, as in (a) to (d).

(a) kʷθə θí qʷɬéẏ (JP)
ART big log
'a big log'

(b) tə ǩéẇs ptékʷəm (CC 14)
ART new brake.fern.frond
'new ferns'

(c) qə́x̌ kʷθə ṗéṗq̓ nəsqʷəmqʷəméy̓alɬ (JP)
many ART white(PL) my-dogs-young
'I have lots of white puppies.' (lit. 'My white puppies are numerous.')

(d) xʷləmeʔíwəθəs ǩʷəṅa qə́l nəstál̓əs. (JP)
xʷ-ləméʔ-íwən-t-S-əs ǩʷəṅa qə́l nə-stál̓əs
LOC-kick-rear-TR-me-3TR that bad my-spouse
'My ugly husband kicked me in the bum.'

Complex adjectives are formed from adjective roots and lexical suffixes, as in (e).

(e) tə θəθíẇs máʔaqʷ (JP 23)
tə θíθə-íẇs máʔəqʷ
ART big(PL)-body large.bird
'the larger [kinds of] birds [waterfowl]'

The adjective may be followed by some of the predicate particles. In (f), it is followed by two.

(f) kʷθə θí·ɬ c̓twaʔ məstə́yəxʷ (JP 14)
ART big-past SPEC person
'that great person, as he must have been'

The adjective can be preceded by an intensifying adverb, as in (g) and (h).

(g) kʷθə sc̓éc̓əṅ wəθí qʷtá·yθən (JP 23)
ART really EST-big sturgeon
'a really big sturgeon'

(h) kʷθə háy ʔal̓ x̌́éqt sʔə́nəm (JP 23)
ART specifically just long shaft
'the longest [harpoon] shaft'

An adjective may precede a possessed noun, as in (i).

(i) kʷθə qə́l ʔəθsxəménələp (JP 2)
kʷθə qə́l ʔəT-s-xəmén-ələp
ART bad your-NOM-enemy-your(PL)
'your bad enemy'

(It is not clear why JP pronounced the initial *s-* in *sxəmén* 'enemy.')

Sequences of adjectives, either in nominal adjuncts or in predicates, hardly ever occur in the texts. In (j), there is a rare instance of a sequence of two adjectives.

(j) θə́t łáḵʷ təwx̌a qə́l θí spá·l̓ … (JP 4)
try fly that bad big raven
'That bad big raven [the bigger and greedier of two] tried to fly ...'

(AG said the order 'bad big' in this sentence sounds normal, but I have no basis for any classification of adjectives by the order in which they can appear. Perhaps the phrase was 'that bad Big Raven,' Big Raven being a proper name.)

### *3.8.3.2. Numerals*

Numerals, both simple and complex (i.e., composed of a numeral root and a lexical suffix; see §19), usually precede the nouns they modify, as in (a), (b), and (c).

(a) ném̓ c̓ə ʔá·ł tə t̓x̌ə́mələ stənténəy̓. (JP 14)
AUX(go) QUOT embark ART six-person women
'Six women embarked, it is said.'

(b) tə isélə mə́lləs (CC 8)
ART two racoon
'two racoons'

(c) tə nə́c̓əs smé·nt (JP 6)
tə nə́c̓aʔ-əs smé·nt
ART one-round.object rock
'one rock/another rock'

If there is an adjective, it will follow the numeral when the numeral precedes the noun, as in (d) and (e).

(d) wəθəʔít c̓ə kʷə q̓áynəxʷəs tə nə́c̓aʔ ʔəxʷín̓ smáyəθ. (JP 5)
wə-θəʔít c̓ə kʷə q̓áy-nəxʷ-əs tə nə́c̓a? ʔəxʷín̓ smáyəθ
EST-truly QUOT then die-TR-3TR ART one little deer
'He really killed one little deer then, they say.'

(e) … niʔ kʷə́nnəxʷəs kʷθə yéy̓sələ ʔəmə́mən̓ stéʔexʷəł. (JP 2)
niʔ kʷə́n-nəxʷ-əs kʷθə yéy̓sələ ʔəmə́mən̓ stéʔəxʷəł
AUX get.taken-TR-3TR ART two-persons little(PL) children
'... she got two small children.'

But the numeral may also follow the noun, as in (f) and (g). It is not clear what difference, if any, in meaning this makes.

(f) wəθəʔít kʷə́nnəxʷəs kʷθə sq̓ə́məl isəlél̓weʔs. (JP 12)
wə-θəʔít kʷə́n-nəxʷ-əs kʷθə sq̓ə́məl yəsél̓ə-əlweʔs
EST-truly get.taken-TR-3TR ART paddle two-paddle
'They truly did get two paddles.'

(g) c̓áləsəm təwƛ̓a. wəłk̓ʷə́cnəxʷəs tə snə́xʷəł θéməxʷəł. (JP 12)
c̓ál-əs-əm təwƛ̓a wəł-k̓ʷéc-nəxʷ-əs tə snə́xʷəł θém-əxʷəł
turn-face-INTR he already-look-TR-3TR ART canoe two-vessel
'He turned around. He saw two canoes.'

One possible interpretation is that these numerals that follow their heads are relative clauses (see §4.1), in which case (f) would be more literally 'They truly did get paddles, which were two (paddles).' See also comment on example (a) in §3.8.5.)

### *3.8.3.3. Adverbs*

A few words that usually appear as adverbs (see §18) can also appear as noun modifiers. These include *mə́k̓ʷ* 'all,' *ƛ̓é* 'also,' *xʷən̓á* 'first,' and *át* 'earlier, long ago,' among others.

The word *mə́k̓ʷ* 'all' (§18.4.40) is exceptional in that it can appear either before or after the article. Compare (a) with (b) and (c):

(a) mə́k̓ʷ tə stéʔexʷəł (JP 2)
all ART children
'all the children'

(b) təw mə́k̓ʷ stéʔexʷəł (JP 2)
ART EST-all children
'all the children'

(c) təw mə́k̓ʷ stém smə́yəθ (JP 3)
tə wə-mə́k̓ʷ stém smə́yəθ
ART EST-all what deer
'any kind of [game] animal'

An adverb can precede an adjective, as in (d).

(d) kʷəw mə́k̓ʷ ʔəm̓ə́mən̓ stéʔexʷəł (JP 2)
k̓ʷə wə-mə́k̓ʷ ʔəm̓ə́mən̓ stéʔəxʷəł
ART EST-all little(PL) children
'all the little children'

For the use of *wə-* 'established' in (b), (c), and (d), see §3.8.3.4. below.

Other adverbs appear following the article, as in (e), (f), and (g).

(e) tə yə́y̓sələ ƛ̓əw swá·w̓ləs (JP 12)
tə yə́y̓sələ ƛ̓e wə-swá·w̓ləs
ART two.persons also EST-boys
'two other boys'

(f) kʷθə wət̓átəł məstáyəxʷ (JP 1)
kʷθə wə-t̓át-əł məstáyəxʷ
ART EST-earlier-past person
'the people of long ago'

(g) kʷθə xʷəṅáʔał xʷənítəm (AG)
kʷθə xʷəṅáʔ-əł xʷənítəm
ART first-past White.person
'the first White people'

(The prefix *wə-*$_2$ 'established' appears here in ways that are not, at this stage of analysis, predictable.)

### *3.8.3.4. Adjective-like Forms*

Nouns, adverbs, and interrogative words can be given an adjectival meaning and used attributively (as well as predicatively) by the prefix *wə-*$_2$ 'established' and (usually) the particle *ʔal̓* 'just.' (Enclosing a verb with *wə-* ... *ʔal̓* gives the meaning 'just, only,' but enclosing a noun, adverb, or interrogative word gives only an adjectival sense.) These forms appear before the noun head, as in (a) to (e).

(a) təw sθéθəy̓ən ʔal̓ ptékʷəm (CC 14)
tə wə-sθéθəy̓ən ʔal̓ ptékʷəm
ART EST-blood just bracken.frond
'the bloody ferns'

(b) kʷθəw xʷə́lməxʷ ʔal̓ məstáyəxʷ (JP 2)
kʷθə wə-xʷə́lməxʷ ʔal̓ məstáyəxʷ
ART EST-Indian just person
'the Indian people'

(c) k̓ʷəw x̌əxʷláʔas ʔal̓ məstáyəxʷ (JP)
k̓ʷə wə-x̌əxʷláʔas ʔal̓ məstáyəxʷ
ART EST-no.matter just person
'any common people'

(d) k̓ʷəw təl̓ánəcə ʔal̓ məstáyəxʷ (JP 3)
k̓ʷə wə-təl-ʔánəcə ʔal̓ məstáyəxʷ
ART EST-from-where just person
'people from anywhere'

(e) təw mə́k̓ʷ ʔal̓ təl̓ánəcə məstáyəxʷ (JP 13)
tə wə-mə́k̓ʷ ʔal̓ təl-ʔánəcə məstáyəxʷ
ART EST-all just from-where person
'people from everywhere'

Some of these forms can precede adjectives, as in (f) and (h).

(f) kʷθəw mə́k̓ʷ ʔal̓ θiθíw̓s máʔaqʷ (JP 23)
kʷθə wə-mə́k̓ʷ ʔal̓ θíθə-íw̓s máʔəqʷ
ART EST-all just big(PL)-body bird(large)
'all bigger [kinds of] waterfowl'

(h) k̓ʷəw stém ʔal̓ ʔəxʷín̓ t̓ᵊít̓ᵊk̓ʷ (JP 25)
k̓ʷə wə-stém ʔal̓ ʔəxʷín̓ t̓ᵊít̓ᵊk̓ʷ
ART EST-what just little little.bug
'some kind of little bug'

Adjective-like words are also produced from nouns with the prefix *s-* 'nominalizer'(or 'resultative'?) and the suffix *-aʔł* 'attributive formant' (see §12.1.5), as in (i) and (j).

(i) tə šxʷlməxʷaʔł tə́məxʷ
tə s-xʷə́lməxʷ-aʔł tə́məxʷ
ART NOM-Indian-ATT land
'Indian land'

(j) tə šxʷƛ̓él̓əmaʔł smənmé·nt
tə s-xʷƛ̓él̓əm-aʔł smənmé·nt
NOM ART-Clallam-ATT mountains
'the Olympic Mountains'

### *3.8.3.5. Verb Forms as Modifiers*

Resultative forms (see §7.7) can precede nouns as adjective-like modifiers, as in (a), (b), and (c).

(a) k̓ʷθə st̓ᵊət̓ᵊíx̌ʷ sqə́lleʔł (CC 12)
kʷθə st̓ᵊət̓ᵊíx̌ʷ sqə́lleʔł
ART washed diaper
'clean diapers'

(b) kʷθə syéƛ̓q̓ nəpút (AG)
kʷθə syéƛ̓q̓ nə-pút
ART painted my-boat
'my painted boat'

(c) tə səyhá·yəł c̓twaʔ léləm̓ (JP 2)
tə səyhá·y̓-əł c̓twaʔ léləm̓
ART finished(PL)-past SPEC house
'the houses built then'

In the texts, occasionally another verb form appears before a noun, as in (d).

(d) tə x̌é·m̓ sƛ̓íƛ̓qəł (JP 2)
ART be.crying child
'the crying child'

I can suggest that this progressive verb form, *x̌é·m̓,* may be a relative clause, which may precede a noun it modifies (see §4.1.2, [h] and [i]). However, this suggestion does not relieve me of the obligation to explain why ʔəxʷíṅ in (e)

(e) kʷθə ʔəxʷíṅ sƛ̓ə́ƛ̓qəł (JP 2)
'the little child'

is not a relative clause, which at this point I cannot do.

### *3.8.3.6. Noun Premodifiers*

Nouns may precede nouns as their modifiers. They will be treated in §4.1.3 in connection with nominal relative clauses.

### 3.8.4. Coordination

Nominal adjuncts can be linked with the conjunction *ʔəy̓ ~ i* 'and,' as in (a) to (e).

(a) ƛ̓élxəs tə tə́məł i tə steʔé· k̓ʷ snás. (JP 22)
ƛ̓él-x-əs tə tə́məł ʔəy̓ tə stəʔé ʔə k̓ʷə snás
apply-TR-3TR ART red.ochre and ART like OBL ART oil
'He applied red ochre and something like oil.'

(b) kʷə́nətəs tə sp̓ə́l̓xʷəm i tə t̓ᵊél̓ə i tə mə́sən. (JP 22)
kʷə́n-ət-əs tə sp̓ə́l̓xʷəm ʔəy̓ tə t̓ᵊél̓ə ʔəy̓ tə mə́sən
get.taken-TR-3TR art lung and ART heart and ART gall
'He took the lungs and the heart and the gall.'

(c) tə ʔéšxʷ, tə k̓ʷá·n , əy tə xés (JP 22)
ART seal ART porpoise and ART sea.lion
'seals, porpoises, and sea lions'

(d) ni ʔə́nəcə k̓ʷ léləm̓ ƛ̓ smələ́w̓ i sqələ́cəməs. (CC 1)
ni ʔə́nəcə k̓ʷə léləm̓ [ʔə] ƛ̓ smələ́w̓ ʔəy̓ sqələ́cəməs
AUX where ART house OBL ART s. and s.
'Where is the house of smələ́w̓ and sqələ́cəməs?'

(e) θə́t kʷsə nətén i tən cłiléʔem. (CC 21)
θə́t kʷsə nə-tén ʔəy̓ tə nə-cłiléʔem
say ART my-mother and ART my-stepparent
'... said my mother and my stepfather.'

Nouns cannot be linked with first- and second-person subjects and objects in the same way they are linked with other nouns. Instead, the appropriate plural

person marker appears in its proper place and the conjunction and noun appear as a nominal adjunct, as in (f) and (g).

(f) ʔi ct m̓i hə́yeʔ ʔi kʷθə nəmén. (AG)
ʔi ct m̓i hə́yeʔ ʔi kʷθə nə-mén
AUX we AUX(come) leave and ART my-father
'My father and I left to come here.'

(g) ni k̓ʷəcnál̓xʷəs łə słéniʔ ʔi kʷθə nəsqéʔəq.
*or* ni k̓ʷəcnál̓xʷəs ʔi kʷθə nəsqéʔəq łə słéniʔ. (AG)
ni k̓ʷéc-n-ál̓xʷ-əs łə sléniʔ ʔi kʷθə nə-sqéʔəq
AUX look-TR-us-3TR ART woman and ART my-junior.sibling/cousin
'The woman saw my younger brother and me.'

In an oblique adjunct, a personal word can be coordinated with a noun, and the personal word is plural, as in (h).

(h) sq̓əq̓áʔ ƛ̓ łníməł i tə nəmém̓ən̓ə (JP 22)
sq̓əq̓áʔ [ʔə] ƛ̓ łníməł ʔəy̓ tə nə-mém̓ən̓ə
accompanying OBL ART us and ART my-children
'with my sons and me'

### 3.8.5. Apposition

It seems that a nominal adjunct can also be amplified by an appositive word or phrase. In the texts, indisputable examples are rare, since other interpretations are often possible. What may be instances of appositive phrases are seen in (a) and (b).

(a) kʷə́nətəs tə qə́ləm, isél̓ə qə́ləm. (JP 22)
kʷə́n-ət-əs tə qə́ləm yəsél̓ə qə́ləm
get.taken-TR-3TR ART eye two eye
'He took the eyes, two eyes.'

(b) ƛ̓éƛ̓ələtəs k̓ʷə təwqə́x̌ sqʷél, sƛ̓éləqəm sqʷél. (JP 22)
ƛ̓éƛ̓əl-ət-əs k̓ʷə təw-qə́x̌ sqʷél sƛ̓éləqəm sqʷél
be.applying-TR-3TR ART somewhat-many word dangerous word
'He was applying words, powerful words, to it.'

However, it is possible that the final phrases in (a) and (b) are in fact separate sentences: 'They were two eyes'; 'They were powerful words.' Or they could be construed as relative clauses (see §4.1): 'He took the eyes, which were two eyes'; 'He was applying words, which were powerful words.' If this latter is correct, these would be examples of non-restrictive relative clauses, which seem rare or non-existent. In (a), 'two eyes' seems parallel to the complex numerals in sentences (f) and (g) in §3.8.3.2 above.

There are also instances of proper nouns that seem to be standing in apposition to the nouns that precede them, as in (c), (d), and (e).

(c) kʷθə sxəméns yə́qʷəłteʔx̌ (JP 14)
kʷθə sxəmén-s yə́qʷəłteʔx̌
ART enemy-3POS Lekwiltok
'their enemies, the Yuculta [Lekwiltok]'

(d) tə mə́n̓əs tə cícəł siʔém̓ *Jesus*
tə mə́n̓ə-s tə cícəł siʔém̓ *Jesus*
ART child-3POS ART high lord Jesus
'the son of God, Jesus'

(e) wəʔím̓əx ʔal̓ tə siʔém̓ x̌é·l̓s. (JP 18)
wə-ʔím̓əx ʔal̓ tə siʔém̓ x̌é·l̓s
EST-be.walking just ART lord transformer
'The Lord Transformer was just walking.'

Here, too, it is possible that these are all nominal relative clauses and more literally translated 'their enemies, who were the Yuculta,' 'the son of God, who was Jesus,' and 'the lord [honoured person], who was x̌é·l̓s.' Again, they would be non-restrictive relative clauses.

# 4
# Syntax 2: Complex Sentences

A complex sentence consists of a main clause and one or more embedded clauses termed relative clauses, subordinate clauses, and nominalized clauses. It may be useful to identify each of these clause types here in a preliminary way. In the following examples, the embedded clauses are enclosed in square brackets.

(1) A relative clause is an embedded clause that can modify a nominal adjunct head, such as 'whom I saw' in (a).

(a) tə swə́y̓qeʔ [ni·n ḵʷə́cnəxʷ]
tə swə́y̓qeʔ niʔ-ən ḵʷéc-nəxʷ
ART man AUX-I look-TR
'the man [whom I saw]'

(2) A subordinate clause is an embedded clause that can stand as a conditional or complement clause in relation to a main clause, such as 'if you go' in (b).

(b) ḵʷə́cnà·m ceʔ [wəniəxʷ ném̓].
ḵʷ´éc-n-am-əm ceʔ wə-niʔ-əxʷ ném̓
look-TR-you(PAS)-INTR FUT if-AUX-you go
'You'll be seen [if you go].'

(3) A nominalized clause is an embedded clause that can serve as a nominal adjunct, such as 'my going' in (c).

(c) sḵʷéy ḵʷə [nəsném̓].
sḵʷéy ḵʷə nə-s-ném̓
impossible ART my-NOM-go
'I can't go.' (lit. '[My going] is impossible.')

Each of these clause types has other forms and uses, which will be described in the following sections.

## 4.1. RELATIVE CLAUSES

The term "relative clause" is one that I will use for embedded clauses resulting from "extraction." These correspond to English attributive clauses ("relative clauses" in the narrowest sense) such as 'who saw me' and 'whom I saw' in 'the man who saw me' and 'the man whom I saw,' and to clauses that appear in English "cleft" and "pseudo-cleft" sentences (Quirk and Greenbaum 1973, 414-17) such as 'who saw me' in 'It was John who saw me' (cleft) and 'John was the one who saw me' (pseudo-cleft).[1] Halkomelem relative clauses (in this broad sense) appear as attributive clauses; as subjects in sentences whose predicates are nouns, personal words, and interrogative words; and even as predicates. When we compare a relative clause with the corresponding simple clause, we see that one of the nominals of the simple clause is missing in the relative clause, having been "extracted" so that it may appear, in the larger context of a complex sentence, as the relative clause head. Thus, when we compare the simple clause 'I saw a bear' and the relative clause 'that I saw,' we see that 'bear' is missing from the relative clause. It has been "extracted" so that it may stand, for example, as the subject in the complex sentence 'The bear that I saw ate our lunch.' In this complex sentence, 'bear' is now modified by (is the head of) the relative clause 'that I saw.' In this way, a relative clause singles out a participant in one event or condition (expressed by one clause) in order to identify that participant with or in another event or condition (expressed by another clause), as in 'the bear that I saw with whatever it was that ate our lunch.' Relative clauses in their various uses in Halkomelem all seem to have this function. In this section, relative clauses are enclosed in square brackets.

Relative clauses often appear modifying noun heads (the extracted nouns), as in (a).

(a) tə swə́y̓qeʔ [ni·n k̓ʷə́cnəxʷ]
tə swə́y̓qeʔ niʔ-ən k̓ʷéc-nəxʷ
ART man AUX-I look-TR
'the man (that, whom) I saw'

However, they can also simply follow an article or demonstrative expressing the gender, position, and number of the extracted noun, as in (b).

(b) tə [ni·n k̓ʷə́cnəxʷ]
tə niʔ-ən k̓ʷéc-nəxʷ
ART AUX-I look-TR
'the one (that, whom) I saw'

1 Gerdts (1981, 59-84), discussing extraction, confines the term "relative clause" to attributive clauses and uses the phrase "embedded clauses of extraction" for what I am calling "relative clauses."

Following Gerdts (1981, 62), I will identify this last construction as a relative clause with an "eclipsed" head. The examples that follow in the next section are mainly relative clauses with eclipsed heads.

Depending on the type of predicate embedded, relative clauses can be identified as verbal, nominal, and, possibly, adjectival. We will first consider verbal relative clauses.

### 4.1.1. Forms of Verbal Relative Clauses

Verbal relative clauses vary in form depending on what is extracted and from what type of clause. One major difference separates relative clauses with extracted subjects and objects from relative clauses with extracted oblique nominal adjuncts. In the first set the predicate head is a finite form of the verb, while in the second set the predicate head is nominalized.

#### *4.1.1.1. With Extracted Subjects and Objects*

If what is extracted is the subject of an intransitive or passive clause, the relative clause will have the same form as the corresponding simple clause. Compare the following simple-clause predicates, (a) and (b) with the corresponding relative clauses with eclipsed heads, (a′) and (b′).

(a) ni ḳáy.
AUX die
'He died.'

(a′) kʷθə [ni ḳáy]
ART AUX die
'the one who died'

(b) ni ḳá·ytəm.
ni ḳáy-ət-əm
AUX die-TR-INTR
'He was killed.'

(b′) kʷθə [ni ḳá·ytəm]
kʷθə ni ḳáy-ət-əm
ART AUX die-TR-INTR
'the one who was killed'

However, if either the subject or the object of a transitive clause is extracted, the relative clause will be different, in all but one case, from the corresponding simple clause. This is because the presence or absence of subject markers must show whether it is the subject or object that has been extracted.

If the object is extracted, the relative clause will bear one of the subordinate subject suffixes (*-e·n ~ -ən* 'I,' *-əxʷ* 'you [singular],' *-ət* 'we,' *-e·p ~ -əp* 'you (plural),' *-əs* 'he, she, it, they'; see §14.2.3). Compare (c) to (f) with (c′) to (f′):

(c) ċéw-ət cən ceʔ.
help-TR I FUT
'I'll help him.'

(c′) kʷθə [ċéw-ət-è·n ceʔ]
ART help-TR-I FUT
'the one (whom) I'll help'

(d) ni cən ċéwət.
ni cən ċéw-ət
AUX I help-TR
'I helped him.'

(d′) kʷθə [ni·n ċéwət]
kʷθə niʔ-ən ċéw-ət
ART AUX-I help-TR
'the one (whom) I helped'

(e) ċéw-ət čx$^{w}$ ceʔ.
help-TR you FUT
'You'll help him.'

(e′) k$^{w}$θə [ċéw-ət-əx$^{w}$ ceʔ]
ART help-TR-you FUT
'the one (whom) you'll help'

(f) ni ċéw-ət-əs.
AUX help-TR-3TR
'He helped him.'

(f′) k$^{w}$θə [ni ċéw-ət-əs]
ART AUX help-TR-3SUB
'the one (whom) he helped'

In (f) and (f′), the forms of the simple predicate and the corresponding relative clause are identical in appearance. However, the third-person subject markers are probably not the same, that in the simple predicate being the transitive subject marker and that in the relative clause being the subordinate subject marker.

If a third-person subject of a transitive is extracted, the relative clause will have no third-person subject marker. Compare (g) to (i) with (g′) to (i′):

(g) ċéwəθəs ceʔ
ċéw-ət-S(amx)-əs ceʔ
help-TR-me-3TR FUT
'He will help me.'

(g′) k$^{w}$θə [ċéwəθàmx ceʔ]
k$^{w}$θə ċéw-ət-Samx ceʔ
ART help-TR-me FUT
'the one who will help me'

(h) ċéwəθà·m ceʔ
ċéw-ət-Sam-əm ceʔ
help-TR-you(PAS)-INTR FUT
'He will help you.'

(h′) k$^{w}$θə [ċéwəθàmə ceʔ]
k$^{w}$θə ċéw-ət-Samə ceʔ
ART help-TR-you FUT
'the one who will help you'

(i) ni ċéwətəs.
niʔ ċéw-ət-əs
AUX help-TR-3TR
'He helped him.'

(i′) k$^{w}$θə [ni ċéwət]
k$^{w}$θə niʔ ċéw-ət
ART AUX help-TR
'the one who helped him'

In (h), the form *ċéwəθà·m* in the simple clause is passive, literally 'You are helped,' there being no form in the active paradigm with a second-person object and a third-person subject. However, the corresponding relative clause is active.

In (i′), the absence of the subject marker in the relative clause is what distinguishes it from 'the one he helped,' (f′) above.

#### *4.1.1.2. With Extracted Oblique Adjuncts*

Relative clauses of this type differ from those of the last type in that in these the predicate head is nominalized. There are also differences within this type depending on whether the extracted nominal adjunct is an oblique object or a locus, goal, or instrument, and on the voice of the predicate.

If what is extracted is an oblique object, the predicate head takes the prefix *s-* 'nominalizer' (see §12.1.1) and, if the predicate head is intransitive or active transitive, it takes a possessive affix (see §14.2.4) as a subject marker. Compare

the following simple clauses (a) and (b) with the corresponding relative clauses (a′) and (b′).

(a) ni cən ʔá·m ʔə tə qáʔ. (AG)
ni cən ʔá-əm ʔə tə qáʔ
AUX I call-INTR OBL ART water
'I called for water.'

(a′) kʷθə [nəsʔá·m] qáʔ (AG)
kʷθə nə-s-ʔá-əm qáʔ
ART my-NOM-call-INTR water
'the water I called for'

(b) ni cən ʔəx̌ímt ʔə kʷθə ʔəpánəs. (AG)
niʔ cən ʔəx̌ím-t ʔə kʷθə ʔápən-əs
AUX I borrow-TR OBL ART ten-face
'I lent him ten dollars.'

(b′) kʷθə [ni nəsʔəx̌ímt] (AG)
kʷθə niʔ nə-s-ʔəx̌ím-t
ART AUX my-NOM-borrow-TR
'what I lent him'

If the predicate is passive, the predicate head in the relative clause is a nominalized passive with the passive person marker (see §14.2.6) and subordinate passive suffix (see §10.8). Compare (c) and (c′):

(c) ni ʔáxʷəstəm ʔə kʷθə sʔəłtən.
niʔ ʔéxʷ-əs-t-əm ʔə kʷθə sʔəłtən
AUX give-REC-TR-INTR OBL ART food
'They were given food.'

(c′) kʷθə sʔəłtən [neḿ sʔáxʷəstì·t]
kʷθə sʔəłtən neḿ s-ʔéxʷ-əs-t-əy-ət
ART food AUX(go) NOM-give-REC-TR-3SUBPAS-SUBPAS
'the food they were given'

If the extracted oblique nominal adjunct is a locus, goal, or instrument, the predicate head in the relative clause takes the compound prefix *šxʷ-* 'oblique nominalizer' (see §12.1.4). This compound prefix is composed of *s-* 'nominalizer' and *xʷ-* 'oblique.' It may be roughly translated 'place of, time of, means of, reason for,' and so on. The predicate head also has either a possessive (if intransitive or active transitive) or a subordinate passive person marker (if passive) as a subject marker. It may be preceded by an auxiliary linking it to the noun the clause modifies. Compare (d) to (g) with (d′) to (g′):

(d) ni ní? ʔə ḵʷə spáłx̌ən.
ni ní? ʔə ḵʷə spáłx̌ən
AUX be.there OBL ART prairie
'He is at the pasture.'

(d′) kʷθə spáłx̌ən [ni šxʷní?s]
kʷθə spáłx̌ən ni? šxʷ-ní?-s
ART prairie AUX OBLNOM-be.there-3POS
'the pasture where he is' (lit. 'the pasture that is his place of being there, his locus')

(e) ni cən ném̓ ʔə kʷθə x̌áca?.
ni? cən ném̓ ʔə kʷθə x̌áca?
AUX I go OBL ART lake
'I went to the lake.'

(e′) kʷθə x̌áca? [ni nəšxʷném̓]
kʷθə x̌áca? ni? nə-šxʷ-ném̓
ART lake AUX my-OBLNOM-go
'the lake where I went' (lit. 'the lake that was my place of going, my goal')

(f) ni láḿəθəs ʔə tə smé·nt.
ni láḿ-ət-S-əs ʔə tə smé·nt
AUX get.hit-TR-me-3TR OBL ART rock
'He hit me with a rock.'

(f′) tə smé·nt [ni šxʷláḿəθəs]
tə smé·nt ni? šxʷ-láḿ-ət-S-əs
ART rock AUX OBLNOM-get.hit-TR-me-3SUB
'the rock he hit me with' (lit. 'the rock that was his means of hitting me')

(g) ni láḿəθèləm ʔə tə smé·nt.
ni láḿ-ət-Sel-əm ʔə tə smé·nt
AUX get.hit-TR-I(PAS)-INTR OBL ART rock
'I was hit with a rock. Somebody hit me with a rock.'

(g′) tə smé·nt [ni šxʷláḿəθè·lt]
tə smé·nt ni? šxʷ-láḿ-ət-Sel-ət
ART rock AUX OBLNOM-get.hit-TR-I(PAS)-SUBPAS
'the rock I was hit with' (lit. 'the rock that was the means by which I was hit')

#### *4.1.1.3. With Extracted Possessors*

If a possessor is extracted, the possessed noun retains the possessive affix, and the relative clause has the form appropriate to the grammatical status of the noun possessed. For example, if the noun possessed is the subject of an intransitive

clause, the relative clause will have the same form as the corresponding simple clause. Compare (a) and (a´):

(a) ni méʔkʷɬ kʷθə stiqíws kʷθéʔ swə̓yqeʔ. (AG)
ni? méʔkʷɬ kʷθə stiqíw-s kʷθéʔ swə̓yqeʔ
AUX get.hurt ART horse-3POS that man
'That man's horse got hurt.'

(a´) kʷθə (swə̓yqeʔ) [ni méʔkʷɬ kʷθə stiqíws] (AG)
kʷθə swə̓yqeʔ ni? méʔkʷɬ kʷθə stiqíw-s
ART man AUX get.hurt ART horse-3POS
'the man whose horse got hurt'

(In considering (a´), AG preferred to omit the noun head, saying that it seemed redundant with the article indicating a male possessor.)

Gerdts (1988, 73-74) has determined that in the Cowichan dialect there are restrictions on what possessors can be extracted. My data are not extensive enough to corroborate this.

### 4.1.2. Uses of Verbal Relative Clauses

Relative clauses with eclipsed heads can serve as nominal adjuncts. In (a), the relative clause is the subject.

(a) nə hə́yeʔ kʷθə [ni·ɬ c̓éwəθàmx]. (JP)
ni hə́yeʔ kʷθə ni?-əɬ c̓éw-ət-Samx
AUX leave ART AUX-past help-TR-me
'The one who helped me is gone.'

In (b), it is the object.

(b) niʔ cən k̓ʷə́cnəxʷ kʷθə [ʔi·ɬ c̓éwəθàmx]. (CC)
niʔ cən k̓ʷéc-nəxʷ kʷθə ʔi-əɬ c̓éw-ət-Samx
AUX I look-TR ART AUX-past help-TR-me
'I saw the one who helped me.'

In (c), the relative clause is the possessor of the noun that precedes it.

(c) niw xʷənhəlí tə t̓ʰéleʔs tθeʔ [ʔi·p m̓i łé·ləstəxʷ]. (JP 22)
ni wə-xʷən-həlí tə t̓ʰéleʔ-s tθeʔ ʔi-əp m̓i
AUX EST-still-live ART heart-3POS that AUX-you AUX
é·l-əstəxʷ
move.shoreward-CAUS
'The heart of that which you have brought ashore is still alive.'

The examples given above are of relative clauses consisting of predicates only, but relative clauses may also contain nominal adjuncts, as in (d) to (g).

(d) niʔ cən ḵʷə́cnəxʷ kʷθə [niʔ c̓éwət təwx̌a]. (CC)
niʔ cən ḵʷéc-nəxʷ kʷθə niʔ c̓éw-ət təwx̌a
AUX I look-TR ART AUX help-TR him
'I saw the one who helped him.'

(e) ni cən ḵʷə́cnəxʷ kʷθə [nem̓ ceʔ c̓éwətəs ḵʷəná·ɬtən]. (JP)
ni cən ḵʷə́c-nəxʷ kʷθə nem̓ ceʔ c̓éw-ət-əs ḵʷəná·ɬtən
AUX I look-TR ART AUX(go) FUT help-TR-3SUB they
'I saw the one they will help.'

(f) ... θə́t tə [qʷə́lstəxʷ ḵʷə nəcɬilə́ʔəm]. (CC)
θə́t tə qʷél-stəxʷ ḵʷə nə-cɬilə́ʔəm
say ART speak-COM ART my-step.parent
'... said the one who scolded my late-stepfather.'

(g) nəw xáʔləmətəm yəθéləy [niʔ nem̓ yəsq̓əq̓áʔ ə təwx̌a]. (CC 21)
ni wə-xáʔləm-ət-əm [ʔə] yəθéləy niʔ nem̓
AUX EST-be.watching-TR-INTR OBL those AUX AUX(go)
yə-sq̓əq̓áʔ ʔə təwx̌a
along-accompanying OBL him
'He was looked after by those who had gone with him.'

In (d), *təwx̌a* is a third-person object, a role it cannot play in a main clause with a third-person subject indicated by *-əs* suffixed to the verb. Here, in a relative clause, the *-əs* is absent, and there is no such restriction.

Relative clauses can precede their noun heads, as in (h) and (i).

(h) kʷθə [ɬə́q̓əlləxʷəxʷ] wəɬθíθə (CC 10)
kʷθə ɬə́q̓əl-ləxʷ-əxʷ wəɬθíθə
ART know-TR-you ritualist
'a ritualist that you know'

(i) kʷθeʔ [ni xʷəsʔə́lyəs] cí·tməxʷ (JP 28)
kʷθeʔ ni xʷə-sʔə́lyə-s cí·tməxʷ
that AUX become-vision-3POS great.horned.owl
'that great-horned owl that became his vision'

More often, however, it seems that the relative clause follows its noun head, as in (j), (k), and (l).

(j) kʷθə ḵʷíʔxʷ [yəhə́y̓qʷ ceʔ] (CC 10)
kʷθə ḵʷíʔxʷ yə-hə́y̓qʷ ceʔ
ART pitch along-be.burning FUT
'the pitch that will be burning'

(k) tə sc̓éxt [niʔəł sʔáxʷəsts] (JP 2)
tə sc̓éxt niʔ-əł s-ʔéxʷ-əs-t-s
ART stick AUX-past NOM-give-REC-TR-3POS
'the sticks he had given them'

(l) tə sxélməxʷcəs [háʔkʷəxəsəł kʷsə nəsc̓áṁəqʷ] (CC 19)
tə sxélməxʷcəs háʔkʷ-əx-əs-əł kʷsə
ART ritualist's.rattle be.getting.used-TR-3SUB-past ART
nə-sc̓áṁəqʷ
my-great.grandparent
'the ritualist's rattle that my great-grandmother used'

### 4.1.3. Nominal Relative Clauses

Nominal predicates, too, can be embedded as relative clauses.[2] In the texts they have the same form we would expect in corresponding simple clauses. This lack of distinguishing features makes for problems in interpretation, however. First, there are clear examples of nominal relative clauses appearing after their noun heads, as in (a) to (d).

(a) tə sqʷəmqʷəmé·y̓ [stəlqáyə] (JP 3)
ART dogs wolves
'the dogs that were wolves'

(b) kʷθəw máḵʷ sʔáłtən [sx̌éʔx̌eʔs]. (CC 17)
kʷθə wə-máḵʷ s-ʔáłtən s-x̌éʔx̌eʔ-s
ART EST-all NOM-eat NOM-holy-3POS
'all the foods that were his taboos'

(c) kʷθə spəlkʷíṯ̓θaʔ [wəṯátəł c̓twaʔ sí·ʔèṁ] (JP 16)
kʷθə spəlkʷíṯ̓θaʔ wə-ṯát-əł c̓twaʔ sí·ʔèṁ
ART dead.person EST-anciently-past SPEC upper-class.people
'the dead that were leaders long ago'

(d) tə sx̌íx̌qəł [[sweʔs θə sáʔsəqʷt] máṅə] (JP 1)
tə sx̌íx̌qəł s-wéʔ-s θə sáʔsəqʷt máṅə
ART child NOM-own-3POS ART junior child
'the boy who was the son of the younger sister' (lit. 'the male child who was the son who was the property of the female junior sibling/cousin')

In (d), there is a relative clause (doubly bracketed) within a relative clause. The relative clause *swéʔs θə sáʔsəqʷt* 'who is the property of (belongs to) the

2 If the distinction between verb and noun that I have made is artificial, then every word following an article might be identified as a relative clause, *tə swáy̓qeʔ* being 'the one who is a man' rather than 'the man,' and so on.

junior' modifies *máṅə* 'who is the child' (the kin term), which modifies *sx̌íx̌qəɬ* 'child' (the age status term). The outer relative clause follows its head, while the inner one precedes its head.

It may be that some noun modifiers that stand before the head are nominal relative clauses. This interpretation seems possible in (e), (f), and (g).

(e) tə słənɬénəy̓ məstáyəxʷ (JP 25)
ART women person
'the women' (lit. 'the persons who are women'?)

(f) kʷθə sc̓əléxʷəm məstáyəxʷ (CC 17)
ART old-dancer person
'the old dancer' (lit. 'the person who is an old-dancer'?)

(g) tə xʷə́lməxʷ məstáyəxʷ (JP 28)
ART Indian person
'the Indian people' (lit. 'the persons who are Indians'?)

Compare (g) with (h):

(h) kʷθəw xʷə́lməxʷ ʔal̓ məstáyəxʷ
kʷθə wə-xʷə́lməxʷ ʔal̓ məstáyəxʷ
ART EST-Indian just person
'the Indian people'

In (h), the combination *wə- ʔal̓* seems to make an adjective-like word of *xʷə́lməxʷ* 'Indian.' Here 'Indian' is clearly not a nominal relative clause.

On the other hand, it might be simpler just to identify these modifiers in (e), (f), and (g) as nouns used adjectivally and label them "noun premodifiers."

There are in fact noun premodifiers that cannot be identified as embedded nominal predicates because they relate obliquely (rather than equatively) to the head. They may not be common, but one example is *šxʷnəwíɬ* 'far-side' in (i),

(i) tə šxʷnəwíɬ məstáyəxʷ (JP 22)
ART far.side person
'the far-side people' (i.e., the people from across the Gulf)

which may be a reduction of (j), which occurred later in the same story.

(j) yəθéləy̓ [təlí tə šxʷnəwíɬ] məstáyəxʷ (JP 22)
yəθéləy̓ təl̓í [ʔə] tə šxʷnəwíɬ məstáyəxʷ
those be.from OBL ART far.side person
'those people who are from the far side'

Here the modifier is a verbal relative clause.

Another example of an obliquely related noun premodifier is *ləmətú* 'sheep' in (k).

(k) tə ləmətú tíntən nínc̓a (CC 21)
ART sheep bell one(DIM)
'a small sheep-bell'

Here, as in (i), it is not possible to interpret either the first or the second noun as a relative clause modifying the other. Neither 'a sheep that is a bell' nor 'a bell that is a sheep' makes sense. But this case may be marginal. The words *ləmətú* 'sheep' and *tíntən* 'bell' are both from Chinook Jargon, and they form here what is probably a loan translation of the English compound *sheep-bell*. So this use of *ləmətú* as a noun premodifier with the oblique sense 'for sheep' may be atypical for Halkomelem. (I suspect that in a more conservative style, one might use the *s- -aʔɬ* formation and say **sləmətáwaʔɬ tíntən*.)

The fact that nouns can stand as modifiers both before and after the nouns they modify means that, at this stage of analysis, it is hard to know how to interpret some juxtaposed nouns. CC interpreted her own

(l) tə sx̌éləqəm stəlqáyə
ART fierce(PL) wolf(PL)

as 'the fierce wolves,' but DK (her daughter) suggested 'the fierce ones who were wolves.'

JP translated his

(m) təná·nə x̌cés smé·nt (JP 15)
that.over.there island mountain/rock

as 'that high island,' but AG translated it 'that island that is a mountain.' Later in the story, JP made it *kʷθə smé·nt x̌cés*, which AG translated either 'rock island' or 'mountainous island.' But again it could be 'that island that is a mountain' or 'that mountain that is an island.'

### 4.1.4. Adjectival Relative Clauses

Adjectives precede nouns as modifiers in nominal adjuncts (as described in §3.8.3) and in predicates (as described in §3.7.3). They have not been recorded as modifiers following their noun heads. Whether adjective modifiers can be identified as embedded predicates and therefore relative clauses is an open question.

However, adjectives can also appear in adjuncts without nouns, as in (a).

(a) ʔáməsθàmx čxʷ ʔə kʷθə [ʔə́ẏ]. (AG)
ʔém-əs-t-Samx čxʷ ʔə kʷθə ʔə́ẏ
give-REC-TR-me you OBL ART good
'Give me the good one. Give me the one that is good.'

These may be identified as relative clauses with eclipsed heads.

Adjectives also appear in pseudo-cleft sentences (see below), as in (b).

(b) ʔé·nθə [k̓ʷámk̓ʷəm̓].
be.I strong
'I am the one who is strong.'

These may be identified as embedded predicates, and so relative clauses in the sense used here.

### 4.1.5. Pseudo-Cleft and Cleft Sentences

These are sentences that are constructed so as to give prominence or focus to some element (the focal element), such as a noun, pronoun, or interrogative. Both of these sentence types involve the splitting of a simple clause into a focal element and an embedded clause from which the focal element has been extracted.

In a pseudo-cleft sentence, the focal element is the predicate and the embedded clause is either the subject or a predicate complement, as in (a).

(a) náwə [ni k̓ʷácnəxʷèn].
náwə ni ʔ k̓ʷéc-nəxʷ-è·n
be.you AUX look-TR-I
'You are the one I saw.'

Here *náwə* 'be you' is the predicate and *ni k̓ʷácnəxʷè·n* 'whom I saw' is a predicate complement.

In a cleft sentence, the focal element is the subject and the embedded clause is a predicate complement, as in (b).

(b) wənáy tə swéyəl [wəθəʔít x̌éʔx̌ə]. (JP 21)
wənáy tə swéyəl wə-θəʔít x̌éʔx̌eʔ
be.only ART daylight EST-truly holy
'It is only the Daylight that is truly holy.'

Here *wənáy* 'be only' is the predicate, *tə swéyəl* 'the daylight' is the subject, and *wəθəʔít x̌éʔx̌ə* '(that) is truly holy' is a predicate complement.

#### *4.1.5.1. Pseudo-Cleft Sentences*

These can have nouns, personal words, and interrogative words as predicates. We will consider them here according to type of predicate.

##### *4.1.5.1.1. With Nominal Predicates*

These give prominence to nouns that would be heads of nominal adjuncts in simple sentences. A sentence of this type consists of a noun (or noun with modifying adjective) standing as the predicate, followed by a relative clause formed by the extraction of this noun.

The relative clause may be preceded by an article (as a relative clause with eclipsed head) and serve as the subject of the sentence, as in (a) and (b).

(a) sʔí·łqəy̓ kʷłə [ni níʔ ə kʷθéʔ]. (JP 13)
two-headed.serpent ART AUX be.there OBL that
'What is there is a two-headed serpent.'

(b) sqʷəméy̓ kʷθə [nəsx̌íʔ]. (JP 2)
sqʷəméy̓ kʷθə nə-s-c-x̌íʔ
dog ART my-NOM-make-value
'What I want is a dog.'

In (a), the predicate is *sʔí·łqəy̓* 'be a two-headed serpent' and the subject is *kʷłə ni níʔ ʔə kʷθéʔ* 'that (feminine absent) which is there at that (place).' In (b), the predicate is *sqʷəméy̓* 'be a dog' and the subject is *kʷθə nəsx̌íʔ* 'that which I want,' which is a relative clause with nominalized head because *cx̌íʔ* 'want' takes an oblique object. (For this interpretation of *sx̌íʔ,* see §12.2.1 under [g].)

Sentences of this type with a locative subject, like that of (a), often, though not always, have the existential sense of English 'there is, there are,' as in (c), (d), and (e).

(c) swáy̓qeʔ tə [níʔ ə təníʔ]. (CC)
man ART be.there OBL there
'There is a man over there.' (lit. 'The [male] one over there is a man.')

(d) słénəy̓ θə [niʔ ə təníʔ] (CC)
woman ART be.there OBL there
'There is a woman over there.' (lit. 'The [female] one over there is a woman.')

(e) snáxʷəł kʷθə [ʔi ʔí ʔə k̓ʷə cécəẇ]. (CC)
canoe ART AUX be.here OBL ART shore
'There is a canoe on the beach here.' (lit. 'The [thing] here on the beach is a canoe.')

Sentences with this existential sense can also have the relative clause following the predicate directly as a modifier or complement rather than as the subject.

(f) qáx̌ słənłénəy̓ [neṁ kʷánətəm]. (JP 12)
qáx̌ słənłénəy̓ neṁ kʷán-ət-əm
many women AUX(go) be.taken-TR-INTR
'There were many women who were captured.'

Sentences like (f) may appear to be simply examples of subject-verb word order, but they are better interpreted as pseudo-cleft sentences.

Sentences with this existential sense can also have *niʔ* 'be there' or *ʔi* 'be here' preceding the noun. The *niʔ* can have the sense 'some,' as in (g) and (h).

(g) niʔ məstáyəxʷ kʷθə [məhə́ḵʷnəs kʷθə siyéy̓əsəł niwł neṁ ʔíḵʷ].
niʔ məstáyəxʷ kʷθə mə-héḵʷ-nəs kʷθə
be.there person ART come-remember-GOAL ART
syəyéy̓ə-s-əł ni wəł-neṁ ʔíḵʷ
friends-3POS-past AUX already-AUX(go) be.lost
'Some people came to remember their friends [or relatives] who had passed away.'

(h) ʔi ʔə qə́x swíẇə [ni ʔə x̌ qíc̓əy̓ʔ]. (CC)
ʔi ʔə qə́x swíẇə ni ʔə x̌ qíc̓əy̓
be.here ROG many eulachon be.there OBL ART Katzie
'Are there lots of hooligans [eulachons] at Katzie?'

In all of the examples given so far, the noun predicate is an extracted subject. In (i), (j), and (k), they are extracted objects.

(i) qə́x θəláʔθən [ʔiʔɬténəstxʷè·n]. (CC)
qə́x θəláʔθən ʔiʔɬtén-əstəxʷ-è·n
many mouth(DIM.PL) be.eating-CAUS-I
'I have lots of little mouths to feed.' (lit. 'There are many little mouths that I am feeding.')

(j) mástə́yəxʷ kʷθə [ni·n ḵʷə́cnəxʷ]. (CC)
mástə́yəxʷ kʷθə ni-ən ḵʷec-nəxʷ
person ART AUX-I see-TR
'I see a person. I see somebody.' (lit. 'The one whom I see is a person. It's a person I see.')

(k) ləyá·m tə sc̓íẇəy̓əł [ʔi·p háʔkʷəx]. (CC 21)
ləyá·m tə s-c̓íẇəy̓əł ʔi-əp háʔkʷ-əx
devil ART NOM-worship AUX-you(PL) being.used-TR
'The religion that you are practising is of the Devil.'

In (l) and (m), the noun predicate is an extracted possessor.

(l) niʔ məstáyəxʷ [ʔə́y̓ šxʷqʷéləwəns]. (JP 18)
niʔ məstáyəxʷ ʔə́y̓ šxʷqʷéləwən-s
be.there person good feeling-3POS
'Some people were glad.' (lit. 'There were people whose feelings were good.')

(m) ná·nc̓aʔ słénəy̓ [qʷə́s c̓ə tə mə́n̓əs]. (JP 20)
ná·nc̓aʔ słénəy̓ qʷə́s c̓ə tə mə́n̓ə-s
one.person woman submerge QUOT ART child-3POS
'There was a woman whose son was drowned.'

In (n), it is an oblique object and so the predicate head in the relative clause bears *s-* 'nominalizer.'

(n) sqéwθ kʷθə [ni nəsʔəłtánəstəxʷ tə sx̌íx̌qəł]. (AG)
sqéwθ kʷθə ni nə-s-ʔəłtán-əstəxʷ tə sx̌íx̌qəł
potato ART AUX my-NOM-eat-CAUS ART child
'It was potatoes that I fed the child.'

And in (o) it is an extracted locus and so the predicate head in the relative clause bears *šxʷ-* 'oblique nominalizer.'

(o) néc̓əwtxʷ c̓ə léləm̓ tə [šxʷniʔs [kʷs c̓łʔimmáttə̓ls tə spá·l̓ i tə q̓ʷəlítəq]]. (JP 7)
néc̓əw-txʷ c̓ə léləm̓ tə šxʷ-niʔ-s kʷ
one-house QUOT house ART OBLNOM-AUX-3POS ART
s-c̓ł-ʔimmát-tə̓l-s tə spá·l̓ ʔəy tə
NOM-together-sit(PL DUR?)-each.other-3POS ART raven and ART
q̓ʷəlítəq.
seagull
'Raven and Seagull were living together in one house.' (lit. 'Their place, when Raven and Seagull were living together, is said to have been one house.')

(The construction beginning with *kʷs-* in (o) is a nominalized clause of a type described in §4.3.2 [7]).

The pseudo-cleft sentence with a nominal predicate is unusual in that the predicate can begin with a demonstrative. Demonstratives, of course, normally introduce adjuncts. In (p), the noun head is preceded by a demonstrative and a particle.

(p) θəʔínə kʷə nəʔíməθ [niʔé·p k̓ʷék̓ʷəcət]. (JP 26)
θəʔínə kʷə nə-ʔíməθ niʔ-é·p k̓ʷék̓ʷəc-ət
this then my-grandchild AUX-you(PL) be.looking-TR
'Now it's this granddaughter of mine that you're looking at.'

In (q), the predicate has the same structure but the relative clause is a nominal relative clause.

(q) kʷθeʔ kʷə smə́kʷ [st̓ʰə́k̓ʷ c̓ə ʔal̓, mə́k̓ʷ stém st̓ʰə́k̓ʷ] ... (JP 17)
kʷθeʔ kʷə smə́kʷ st̓ʰə́k̓ʷ c̓ə ʔal̓, mə́k̓ʷ stém st̓ʰə́k̓ʷ
that then ball worm QUOT just all what worm
'that ball now, they say it was just worms [and/or bugs], all kinds of worms ...' (lit. 'It is then that ball that is said to be of worms ...')

*4.1.5.1.2. With Pronominal Predicates*

A sentence of this type consists of a personal word standing as the predicate head followed by a relative clause. The personal words are *ʔə́nθə ~ ʔé·nθə* 'I,' *náwə* 'you,' *łníməł* 'we,' *łwáləp* 'you plural,' *ƛ̓á* 'he, she, it,' and *ƛ̓áləm* 'they' (see §14.2.7). The person that is expressed by the predicate head is extracted from the relative clause. The relative clause can be either a predicate complement, following the predicate head directly, or the subject, following an article. Compare the following simple sentences (left) with the corresponding pseudo-cleft sentences (right).

(a) ni cən ném̓.
AUX I go
'I went.'

(a′) ʔé·nθə [ni ném̓].
be.I AUX go
'I am the one who went.'

(b) ni ném̓.
ni ném̓.
AUX go
'He went.'

(b′) ƛ̓á [ni·ł ném̓].
ƛ̓á niʔ-əł ném̓
BE3P AUX-past go
'He's the one who went.'

(c) kʷ́ám̓kʷəm̓ cən.
strong I
'I am strong.'

(c′) ʔé·nθə [kʷ́ám̓kʷəm̓].
be.I strong
'I am the one who is strong.'

(d) nə-méṅə yəθéləy̓.
my-children those
'They're my children.'

(d′) ƛ̓áləm [nə-méṁəṅə].
be.they my-children
'THEY are my children.'

(e) ʔi ʔəm̓í ʔə ƛ̓ ʔé·θə.
ʔi ʔəm̓í ʔə ƛ̓ ʔé·θə.
AUX come OBL ART me
'He came to me.'

(e′) ʔé·nθə [ʔi šxʷəm̓ís].
ʔé·nθə ʔi šxʷ-ʔəm̓í-s.
be.I AUX OBLNOM-come-3POS
'I am the one he came to.'

(f) ni cən kʷ́ácnàmə.
niʔ cən kʷ́ec-n-àmə
AUX I look-TR-you
'I saw you.'

(f′) náwə [ni kʷ́ácnəxʷè·n].
náwə niʔ kʷ́ec-nəxʷ-è·n.
be.you AUX look-TR-I
'You are the one I saw.'

(g) ni kʷ́ácnàmxəs.
niʔ kʷ́ec-n-àmx-əs
AUX look-TR-me-3TR
'He saw me.'

(g′) ʔé·nθə [ni·ł kʷ́ácnəxʷəs].
ʔé·nθə niʔ-əł kʷ́ec-nəxʷ-əs
be.I AUX-past look-TR-3SUB
'I am the one he saw.'

(h) ni ċə kʷ́ácnà·m.
niʔ ċə kʷéc-n-ám-əm
AUX QUOT look-TR-you-INTR
'He saw you. You were seen.'

(h′) náwə ċə [ni kʷ́əcnəxʷəs].
náwə ċə niʔ kʷéc-nəxʷ-əs.
be.you QUOT AUX look-TR-3SUB
'You are the one he saw.'

Reportedly, speakers vary in their treatment of complement clauses in sentences of this type. For (g´) and (h´), AG gave (i) and (j) as forms he had heard used but judged less correct.

(i) ʔé·nθə ni ḵʷə́cnamxəs.
ʔé·nθə ni ḵʷéc-n-amx-əs
be.I AUX look-TR-me-3TR
'I am the one he saw.'

(j) nə́wə ni ḵʷə́cnà·m.
nə́wə ni ḵʷéc-n-am-əm
be.you AUX look-TR-you-INTR
'You are the one he saw.'

In these, the speaker used simple predicates instead of relative clauses. I do not believe CC or JP used such forms.

*4.1.5.1.3. With Interrogative Predicates*
Some interrogative words such as *wét* 'who,' *stém* 'what,' and so on (see §17) can be used in questions in which the interrogative word is the predicate and the subject a relative clause, usually with eclipsed head, as in (a), (b), and (c).

(a) wét kʷə ḵʷənáɬtən [yəm̓í]. (CC)
wét kʷə ḵʷənáɬtən yə-ʔəm̓í
who then those long-come
'Who are those coming then?'

(b) stém ʔaʔa tə [niəxʷ kʷənét]. (JP)
stém ʔaʔa tə ni-əxʷ kʷən-é-t
what ROG ART AUX-you be.taken-DUR-TR
'What is that thing you have?'

(c) scékʷəl̓ kʷə ḵʷə [niʔəxʷ ɬéq̓ət]. (CC)
scékʷəl̓ kʷə ḵʷə niʔ-əxʷ ɬéq̓-ət
how.much then ART AUX-you lie-TR
'How much did you put down (as down payment)?'

Other examples appear in §17.

***4.1.5.2. Cleft Sentences***
In a sentence of this type, the predicate is *ƛ̓á* 'be third person' (BE3P) or one of a small number of other words that can link a subject, which is the focal element, and a complement, which is a relative clause formed by the extraction of that subject. For example:

(a) ƛ̓a tə tám [ni·n c̓éc̓əẇət]. (JP)
ƛ̓a tə tám niʔ-ən c̓éc̓əẇ-ət
BE3P ART Tom AUX-I be.helping-TR
'It's Tom that I am helping.'

Here *ƛ̓a* is the predicate, 'Tom' the subject, and 'that [whom] I am helping' a relative clause from which Tom has been extracted.[3]

Other examples of this type of sentence follow in (b) to (i).

(b) ƛ̓a tθéʔ [némẖ ceʔ]. (JP)
BE3P that(MP) go FUT
'He is the one who will go.'

(c) ƛ̓a tə tám [ni c̓éwəθàmx]. (JP)
ƛ̓a tə tám niʔ c̓éc̓əw-ət-Sàmx
BE3P ART Tom AUX be.helping-TR-me
'Tom is the one who is helping me.'

(d) ƛ̓a ceʔ ẖmə tθeʔ swáy̓qeʔ [c̓éwəθàmə]. (JP)
ƛ̓a ceʔ ẖmə tθeʔ swáy̓qeʔ c̓éw-ət-Sàmə
BE3P FUT CERT that man help-TR-you
'It's that man who will help you.'

(e) ƛ̓a təʔínə [nəsƛ̓íʔ]. (CC)
ƛ̓a təʔínə nə-s-c-ƛ̓íʔ
BE3P this my-NOM-make-valued
'This is the one I want.'

(f) ƛ̓a tθeʔ sméːnt [niʔ šxʷláẖəθs]. (CC)
ƛ̓a tθeʔ sméːnt niʔ šxʷ-láẖ-ət-S-s
BE3P that rock AUX OBLNOM-get.hit-TR-me-3POS
'That's the rock he hit me with.'

(g) ƛ̓á ẖmə təʔí sméːnt [niʔ šxʷláẖəθèːlt]. (CC)
ƛ̓á ẖmə təʔí sméːnt niʔ šxʷ-láẖ-ət-Sèːl-t
BE3P CERT this rock AUX OBLNOM-get.hit-TR-I-SUBPAS
'This is the rock I was hit with.'

(h) ƛ̓a kʷθeʔ swéyəl [niːn šxʷc̓éwət]. (CC)
ƛ̓a kʷθeʔ swéyəl niʔ nə-šxʷ-c̓éw-ət
BE3P that day AUX my-OBLNOM-help-TR
'That was the day when I helped him.'

3 The relative clause following the subject is a complement rather than a modifier of the subject. Example (a) is not 'The Tom whom I am helping is the one,' which would make sense only if there were several Toms. Nor is it 'Tom, whom I am helping, is the one,' since there do not seem to be non-restrictive relative clauses.

(i) ʔ̓a ʔə tiʔí [ni ʔəšxʷk̓ʷáqʷət]. ʔ̓a ṁə.
ʔ̓a ʔə tiʔí niʔ ʔə-šxʷ-k̓ʷáqʷ-ət ʔ̓a ṁə
BE3P ROG this AUX your-OBLNOM-get.hit-TR BE3P CERT
'Is this what you hit him with? Yes, it is.'

In these examples, the relative clause follows the subject. However, it is also possible for the subject to follow the relative clause, as in (j) and (k). It is not clear what difference, if any, this makes in the sentence.

(j) ʔ̓a [ni·ł c̓éwətè·n (~ ni·nəł c̓éwət)] tə tám. (JP)
ʔ̓a niʔ-əł c̓éw-ət-è·n (~ niʔ-ən-əł c̓éw-ət) tə tám
BE3P AUX-past help-TR-I (AUX-I-past help-TR) ART Tom
'Tom is the one I helped.'

(k) ʔ̓a ni·ł c̓éwəθamx tθéʔ. (JP)
ʔ̓a niʔ-əł c̓éw-ət-Samx tθéʔ
BE3P AUX-past help-TR-me that(MP)
'He is the one who helped me.'

In (l), we have a triply complex sentence, containing three nesting relative clauses.

(l) kʷθeʔ məstáyəxʷ [ʔ̓a [ni háʔkʷəx tθə [kʷíkʷəxət tθə qʷíqʷəməs]]]. (JP 28)
kʷθeʔ məstáyəxʷ ʔ̓a niʔ háʔkʷ-əx tθə kʷíkʷəx-ət [ʔə]
that person BE3P AUX be.using-TR ART be.naming-we OBL
tθə qʷíqʷəməs.
ART headdress
'It's that person who is the one that uses what we call the "qʷíqʷməs" [hair headdress].'

It is a pseudo-cleft sentence in which the predicate *(kʷθeʔ məstáyəxʷ)* is extracted from a cleft sentence (of the form *ʔ̓a kʷθeʔ məstáyəxʷ ni háʔkʷəx tə ...* 'It is that person who ...'), in which the object *(tθə kʷíkʷxət ...)* is a relative clause with eclipsed head.

There are a few other words that can function instead of *ʔ̓a* as predicates of cleft sentences or in predicates of pseudo-cleft sentences. These include *háy* 'specifically,' *wənáy* 'only,' *txʷáy* 'only remaining,' and perhaps a few more, as in (m) to (p).

(m) i háy θə náṅəc̓aʔ [ni tə́s ʔə ʔ̓ q̓íc̓əy̓]. (CC 11)
and specifically ART one.person AUX reach OBL ART Katzie
'But the other one went to Katzie.'

(n) wənáy tə ləplít [nəšxʷnəʔás]. (CC 13)
wənáy tə ləplít nə-šxʷ-nəʔ-ás
be.only ART priest my-OBLNOM-be.there-face
'The priest was the only one I looked to.'

(o) txʷáy tə łníməł [ni həwhə́wq̓ʷ]. (JP 22)
txʷáy tə łníməł ni həwhə́wq̓ʷ
be.only.remaining ART be.we AUX be.drifting(PL)
'We were the only ones left drifting around.'

An adverb (§18.2) can appear within the relative clause in a cleft sentence, as in (p).

(p) ʔ̓a wəyáθ wəšxʷə́n̓əm̓ tə *Safeway*. (CC)
ʔ̓a wə-yáθ wə-šxʷ-hə́n̓əm̓ [ʔə] tə *Safeway*
BE3P EST-always EST-OBLNOM-be.going OBL ART Safeway
'Safeway is where I always go.'

The following seem to be elliptical versions of this kind of sentence, with the *ʔ̓a* omitted in all three and the subject also omitted in the second and third:

(q) wəłíθ łə́q̓əlləxʷé·n kʷθeʔ. (JP)
wəł-híθ łə́q̓əl-ləxʷ-é·n kʷθeʔ.
already-last.long know-TR-I that
'He's somebody I've known for a long time.'

(r) wəłíθ ʔaḷ̓ sqə́lqələθəns. (CC 16)
wəł-híθ ʔaḷ̓ s-qə́lqələθən-s
already-last.long just NOM-dream-3POS
'It's what he was dreaming about for a long time.'

(s) txʷáy qʷáqʷəlstamx. (DK)
txʷáy qʷáqʷəl-st-amx
be.only.remaining be.speaking-COM-me
'He's the only one who still speaks to me.'

In the last example, the absence of a third-person transitive *-əs* makes it clear that the second word is a relative clause.

## 4.2. SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

A subordinate clause is one that stands apart from the main clause of a sentence but in a relationship subordinate to or dependent on the main clause, such as "when he comes" in "I'll see him when he comes" or "that he goes" in "I'll see that he goes."

A subordinate clause is produced by prefixing one of the two subordinating particles, *wə-*$_1$ 'if, when, that' and *ʔəł-* 'whenever, whatever,' to the first word in the predicate and replacing its coordinate subject person marker with a subordinate subject person marker.

The subordinate subject person markers in intransitive or transitive active predicates are *-e·n* ~ *-ən* 'I,' *-əxʷ* 'you,' *-ət* 'we,' *-e·p* ~ *-əp* 'you (plural),' and *-əs* 'third person' (§14.2.3). In passive predicates, the first- and second-person

passive person markers, *-Sel- ~ -el-* 'I,' *-Sam- ~ -am-* 'you,' *-al-* 'we, you (plural),' and *-əy-* 'third person,' are followed by *-ət* 'subordinate passive.' The third-person marker in the subordinate passive is *-əy-* followed by *-ət*, usually realized as *-i·t* (see §14.2.6 and §10.8).

Compare the following main-clause forms (on the left) with the corresponding subordinate-clause forms (on the right):

(a) ném̓ cən.
ném̓ cən
go I
'I go.'

(a′) wənémè·n
wə-ném̓-è·n
if-go-I
'if/when/that I go'

(b) k̓ʷəcnéləm.
k̓ʷec-n-él-əm
look-TR-I-INTR
'I am seen.'

(b′) wək̓ʷəcné·lt
wə-k̓ʷec-n-él-t
if-look-TR-I-SUBPAS
'if I am seen'

(c) ni ʔítət.
niʔ ʔítət
AUX sleep
'He slept.'

(c′) ʔəłniəs ʔítət
ʔəł-niʔ-əs ʔítət
whenever-AUX-3SUB sleep
'whenever he slept'

Subordinate clauses are used as conditional clauses, indirect commands, indirect questions, and complements of certain kinds of main clauses of temporal and interrogative meaning.

### 4.2.1. Conditional Clauses

Subordinate clauses with *wə-* and with *ʔəł-* are both commonly used as conditional clauses. The difference between them is that a subordinate clause with *wə-* refers to a hypothetical future event, while one with *ʔəł-* refers to a real ongoing activity or series of repeated events. Compare (a) with (b) and (c) with (d):

(a) k̓ʷəcnəxʷ čxʷ ceʔ wəʔəm̓i·s técəl. (CC)
k̓ʷec-nəxʷ čxʷ ceʔ wə-ʔəm̓i-əs técəl
look-TR you FUT when-AUX(come)-3SUB arrive.here
'You'll see him when he comes.'

(b) ni ʔə čxʷ k̓ʷék̓ʷəcnəxʷ ʔəłm̓i·s técəl. (CC)
ni ʔə čxʷ k̓ʷék̓ʷəc-nəxʷ ʔəł-ʔəm̓i-əs técəl
AUX ROG you be.looking-TR whenever-AUX(come)-3SUB arrive.here
'Do you see him, when he comes?'

(c) xʷcél čxʷ ceʔ kʷə wəniəxʷ ceʔ háyeʔ təliʔ ə təńa. (CC)
xʷcél čxʷ ceʔ kʷə wə-niʔ-əxʷ ceʔ háyeʔ təliʔ ʔə təńa
go.where you FUT then when-AUX-you FUT leave from OBL this
'Where are you going when you leave here?'

(d) ni ʔəlyámətəs ʔəɬniəs ʔítət. (JP 28)
ni ʔəlyə-mət-əs ʔəɬ-niʔ-əs ʔítət
AUX have.vision-CON-3TR whenever-AUX-3SUB sleep
'He dreams about it whenever he goes to sleep.'

Time in the future may be expressed by a subordinate clause with a conditional sense, as in (e) and (f).

(e) k̓ʷəcnámə cən ceʔ wəwéyələs. (CC)
k̓ʷec-n-ámə cən ceʔ wə-wéyəl-əs
see-TR-you I FUT when-become.day-3SUB
'I'll see you tomorrow.' (lit. 'I'll see you when [another] day comes.')

(f) ʔəm̓í čxʷ wəxʷəné·ntəs. (CC 21)
ʔəm̓í čxʷ wə-xʷə-né·nt-əs
come you when-become-becoming.night-3SUB
'Come this evening.' (lit. 'Come when it becomes evening.')

Subordinate clauses with a conditional sense may appear after *ʔáy̓* 'good,' as in (g).

(g) ʔáy̓ c̓twaʔ q̓ə wəném̓è·n táʔəlt. (JP 3)
ʔáy̓ c̓twaʔ q̓ə wə-ném̓-è·n tál̓-t
good SPEC EMPH if-go-I be.understood-TR
'I think it would be better if I went to find out!'

Nominalized clauses occur more often in this context, however (§4.3.3).

The conditional sense also seems present in the following sentences with *ʔəɬ-*.

(h) stəʔé čxʷ ʔəɬqʷəlstáməʔè·n.
stəʔé čxʷ ʔəɬ-qʷel-st-ámə-ʔè·n
be.like you whenever-speak-COM-you-I
'You do whatever I tell you.' (lit. 'You comply whenever I speak to you.')

(i) híʔ, háy łe ʔəɬp̓əlq̓élsəxʷ. (JP, quoting grandson to flirting girl)
híʔ, háy łe ʔəɬ-p̓əlq̓-éls-əxʷ
hey stop PER whenever-glimpse-ACT-you
'Hey, stop making googoo eyes at me.' (lit. 'Hey, stop whenever you take sidelong glances.')

Subordinate clauses usually follow main clauses, as in the preceding examples, but this is not invariably so, as (j) and (k) show.

(j) wəm̓íʔè·n xʷəntécəl ʔi ʔə čxʷ ceʔ wəʔí. (CC)
wə-m̓í-ʔe·n xʷən-técəl ʔi ʔə čxʷ ceʔ wə-ʔí
if-come-I still-arrive.here AUX ROG you FUT EST-be.here
'If I come early, will you be here?'

(k) wəniʔəs ceʔ kʷə wəłxáḵʷ, ƛ̓a ceʔ kʷθə wəłθíθə [θə́yt kʷθə sc̓éc̓əxt [šxʷx̌íx̌əq̓áʔqʷəm ceʔ]]. (CC 17)
wə-niʔ-əs ceʔ kʷə wəł-xáḵʷ ƛ̓a ceʔ kʷθə wəłθíθə
when-AUX-3SUB FUT then already-bathe BE3P FUT ART ritualist
θə́y-t kʷθə sc̓éc̓əxt šxʷ-x̌íx̌əq̓-áʔqʷ-əm-s ceʔ
be.made-TR ART little.stickOBLNOM-be.scratching-head-INTR-3POS FUT
'When he [the new dancer] has finished bathing, then it is the ritualist who will fix the little stick that he will be scratching his head with.'

Sentence (k) also includes two nesting relative clauses, the second (in inner square brackets) modifying a word in the first.

### 4.2.2. Indirect Commands

Subordinate clauses with *wə-* occur with this function following main clauses with verbs referring to instructing, requesting, and so on.

(a) csét cən ceʔ wənéḿəs. (CC)
cəs-ét cən ceʔ wə-néḿ-əs
tell-TR I FUT that-go-3SUB
'I'll tell him to go.'

(b) ni cseθámxəs wənéḿè·n. (CC)
niʔ cəs-et-Sámx-əs wə-néḿ-è·n
AUX tell-TR-me-3TR that-go-I
'He made me go.'

(c) x̌əl̓əstámxəs kʷθə dáktə wəłéləqətè·n. (JP)
x̌əl̓ə-st-ámx-əs kʷθə dáktə wə-łéləqət-è·n
be.telling-COM-me-3TR ART doctor that-stick.out.tongue-I
'The doctor told me to stick out my tongue.'

(d) ni cən neḿ yá·t łə *Edna* wəx̌té·łcθàmxəs ḵʷ swétə. (JP)
niʔ cən neḿ yáh-ət łə *Edna* wə-x̌té-łc-t-àmx-əs
AUX I AUX(go) alert-TR ART Edna that-make-BEN-TR-me-3SUB
[ʔə] ḵʷ swétə
OBL ART sweater
'I went and ordered a sweater from Edna.'

### 4.2.3. Indirect Questions

Subordinate clauses with *wə-* occur with this function when they contain interrogative words (§17) and follow main clauses with verbs referring to knowing, discovering, and so on.

(a) ni cən ƛ̓əw mélqt wəniʔəs ʔánəcə θə tíntən. (CC 21)
ni cən ƛ̓e wə-mélq-t wə-niʔ-əs ʔánəcə θə tíntən
AUX I also EST-forget-TR that-be.there-3SUB where ART bell
'I too had forgotten where the bell was.'

(b) nəwł łáq̓əlləxʷəs i k̓ʷi šxʷqʷéləwəns wəni·s ctámət kʷθə siyéy̓əsəł. (JP 10)
niʔ wəł-łáq̓əl-ləxʷ-əs ʔi [ʔə] k̓ʷi šxʷqʷéləwən-s
AUX already-know-TR-3TR be.here OBL that mind-3POS
wə-ni-əs ctámət kʷθə siyéy̓ə-s-əł
that-AUX-3SUB do.what.with.oneself ART friends-3POS-past
'He already knew in his mind what had happened to his late friends.'

### 4.2.4. Complements of Main Clauses Referring to the Future

Subordinate clauses with *wə-* appear after main clauses referring to future time, as in (a).

(a) wéyəl ceʔ wəq̓éwəθamè·n. (CC)
wéyəl ceʔ wə-q̓éw-ət-Samə-è·n
become.day FUT that-pay-TR-you-I
'I'll pay you tomorrow.' (lit. 'It will be tomorrow that I will pay you.')

Here the subordinate clause is not, properly speaking, a conditional clause, since my paying you is not a condition for the sun rising tomorrow. Compare with (b), given earlier in §4.2.1 (e).

(b) k̓ʷəcnámə cən ceʔ wəwéyələs.
k̓ʷec-n-ámə cən ceʔ wə-wéyəl-əs
see-TR-you I FUT when-become.day-3SUB
'I'll see you tomorrow.'

Here 'tomorrow' is a conditional clause and a condition for my seeing you.

Nor can the subordinate clause in (a) be identified as 'when I pay you' in the sense of a relative clause 'on which I pay you.' Compare with (c), given in "Cleft Sentences" (§4.1.5.2).

(c) ƛ̓a kʷθeʔ swéyəl ni·n šxʷc̓éwət.
ƛ̓a kʷθeʔ swéyəl ni-ən šxʷ-c̓éw-ət
be3P that day AUX-I OBLNOM-help-TR
'That was the day when/on which I helped him.'

Here *ni·n (ni nə-) šxʷc̓éwət* 'on which I helped him' is a proper relative clause identifying *swéyəl* 'day' as an oblique nominal adjunct in the corresponding main clause, with the sense 'I helped him on that day.'

Presumably, *wéyəl ceʔ* in (a) is not followed by a true relative clause because is not a noun (like *swéyəl*) but a verb. Perhaps, then, a subordinate clause provides the only way of relating a future event to a verb relating to future time.

In "when" questions about the future, we find the same construction, as in (d). (See also §17.5.)

(d) təmtém ceʔ kʷə wəniəxʷ háyeʔ. (CC)
təmtém ceʔ kʷə wə-niʔ-əxʷ háyeʔ
when FUT then that-AUX-you leave
'When are you leaving?'

### 4.2.5. Interrogative Complements with *ʔəɬ-*

Following an interrogative, the prefix *ʔəɬ-* and the suffix *-əs* 'third-person subordinate subject' can be affixed to a noun to give the sense 'kind of a,' as in (a) to (e).

(a) stém ʔəɬsqʷəméy̓əs tθeʔ. (JP)
stém ʔəɬ-sqʷəméy̓-əs tθeʔ
what that-be.dog-3SUB that
'What kind of a dog is it?' (lit. 'What that it may be a dog is that?')

(b) stém ʔəɬsqʷəm̓qʷəm̓éy̓əs k̓ʷə ʔiəxʷ kʷənét. (JP)
stém ʔəɬ-sqʷəm̓qʷəm̓éy̓-əs k̓ʷə ʔi-əxʷ kʷən-é-t
what that-dogs-3SUB ART AUX-you be.held-DUR-TR
'What kind of dogs do you have?'

(c) scékʷəl ʔal̓ ʔəɬməstáyəxʷəs kʷθéʔ. (JP)
scékʷəl ʔal̓ ʔəɬ-məstáyəxʷ-əs kʷθéʔ
how just that-person-3SUB that
'What kind of a person is that guy?'

(d) stém kʷə ʔəɬskʷəléxəs k̓ʷə ni ʔəšxʷkʷəléxt. (CC)
stém kʷə ʔəɬ-s-kʷəléx-əs k̓ʷə niʔ ʔə-šxʷ-kʷəléx-t
what then that-NOM-shoot-3SUB ART AUX your-OBLNOM-shoot-TR
'What kind of a gun did you shoot him with?' (lit. 'What kind of a gun was the one you shot him with?')

(e) ƛ̓e ʔə kʷə wənéc̓ ʔəɬsqʷəméy̓əs. (CC)
ƛ̓e ʔə kʷə wə-néc̓ ʔəɬ-sqʷəméy̓-əs
also ROG then EST-different that-dog-3SUB
'Was it another kind of dog?'

This use of *ʔəɬ- ... -əs* seems to be restricted to contexts like those in the examples given, and the use is difficult to interpret. The relevant facts are these: There is no separate word for 'kind,' although there are lexical suffixes with the

meaning 'kind' and these appear in words for 'how many kinds,' 'one kind,' and so on. The word *stém* 'what,' however, appears not to combine with lexical suffixes (except *-c* 'tribe'). And so, again (as with a main clause referring to future time), the subordinate clause may serve a purpose not open to other constructions. The prefix may be *ʔəł-* rather than *wə-* because *ʔəł-* refers to a continuing state while *wə-* refers to a future or unreal state.

Unlike the construction with *wə-* and *ʔəł-* identified in the preceding sections (§4.2.1 to 4.2.4.), those described in this section seem to be expansions of the main predicate rather separate subordinate clauses. The nominal adjuncts in the examples given in this section seem to be subjects of the whole predicates that precede them rather than subjects simply of the subordinate clauses, that is, the immediate constituents of (a) are *stém ʔəłsqʷəmé̓yəs* and *tθeʔ,* rather than *stém* and *ʔəłsqʷəmé̓yəs tθeʔ*.

## 4.3. NOMINALIZED CLAUSES

A nominalized clause is formed by prefixing *s-* 'nominalizer' (or *šxʷ-* 'oblique nominalizer' in one subtype) to the first word of a predicate. If the predicate is intransitive or active transitive, its subject must be marked by a possessive affix instead of a main-clause subject marker. Compare the following predicates (left column) with the corresponding nominalizations (right column):

(a) ném̓ cən.
ném̓ cən
go I
'I go'

(a′) nəsném̓
nə-s-ném̓
my-NOM-go
'my going'

(b) k̓ʷə́cnəxʷəs.
k̓ʷec-nəxʷ-əs
look-TR-3TR
'he sees it'

(b′) sk̓ʷə́cnəxʷs
s-k̓ʷec-nəxʷ-s
NOM-look-TR-3POS
'his seeing it'

(c) ni cən k̓ʷə́cnəxʷ.
ni cən k̓ʷec-nəxʷ
AUX I look-TR
'I saw it'

(c′) nəsni k̓ʷə́cnəxʷ
nə-s-niʔ k̓ʷec-nəxʷ
my-NOM-AUX look-TR
'my having seen it'

Passive predicates can be nominalized in their subordinate forms only and do not require possessives, since their subjects are already indicated by their passive affixes. Compare (d) and (e) with (d′) and (e′):

(d) k̓ʷəcnéləm
k̓ʷec-n-él-əm
look-TR-I-INTR
'I am seen'

(d′) sk̓ʷəcné·lt
s-k̓ʷec-n-él-ət
NOM-look-TR-I-SUBPAS
'my being seen'

(e) ḵʷácnəm
ḵʷec-n-əm
look-TR-INTR
'he is seen'

(e′) sḵʷəcní·t
s-ḵʷec-n-áy-ət
NOM-look-TR-3PAS-SUBPAS
'his being seen'

Nominalized clauses can appear within predicates, and they can appear as direct nominal adjuncts, as oblique nominal adjuncts, and as narrative sentences.

### 4.3.1. Within Predicates

Nominalized clauses can appear following the adverbial words *yéł* 'just now,' *wənáy* 'only,' *máḵʷ* 'all, every,' and perhaps a few others (see §18), as in (a) to (e).

(a) yéł ṁə nəstécəl. (CC)
yéł ṁə nə-s-técəl
just.now CERT my-NOM-arrive.here
'I just got here.'

(b) yéł ṁə stécəls. (CC)
yéł ṁə s-técəl-s
just.now CERT NOM-arrive.here-3POS
'He just got here.'

(c) yéł ṁə nəsi técəl. (CC)
yéł ṁə nə-s-ʔi técəl
just.now CERT my-NOM-AUX arrive.here
'I just got here.'

(d) yéł ṁə səs técəl. (CC)
yéł ṁə s-ʔi-s técəl
just.now CERT NOM-AUX-3POS arrive.here
'He just got here.'

(e) yéł ṁə səs néṁ. (CC)
yéł ṁə s-niʔ-s néṁ
just.now CERT NOM-AUX-3POS go
'He just went.'

In (d) and (e), the auxiliary appears as *ə*. In (c), it is probably *ʔi* 'be here,' consistent with *técəl* 'arrive here.' But in (d) it is probably *niʔ* 'be there,' consistent with *néṁ* 'go.' (JP often used *sis* in seemingly parallel constructions.)

(f) wənáy sqʷéls təwx̌a šxʷnéʔem ... (CC)
wənáy s-qʷél-s təwx̌a šxʷnéʔem
be.only NOM-speak-3POS that shaman
'That shaman only said ...'

(g) mə́ḵʷ nəsnéṁ ʔíməx ...
mə́ḵʷ nə-s-néṁ ʔíməx
every my-NOM-go walk
'Whenever I go about ...'

A construction of this type with *mə́ḵʷ* 'all, every' has the sense of a conditional clause, but grammatically it is the first of a pair of coordinate clauses (see §5.2.3).

The personal word *x̌ə́* 'be third person' (see §14.2.7) can be followed by a nominalization with *wəł-* 'already,' the construction having the sense 'be now about to, be now starting,' as in (h) to (k).

(h) x̌ə́an səwł t̓íləm. (CC)
x̌ə́a nə-s-wəł-t̓íləm
BE3P my-NOM-already-sing
'I'm going to start to sing.'

(i) x̌ə́a ṁə səwł t̓íləms. (CC)
x̌ə́a ṁə s-wəł-t̓íləm-s
BE3P CERT NOM-already-sing-3POS
'He's going to start to sing.'

(j) x̌ə́a ṁə ʔəsəwł x̌téʔstəxʷ. (CC)
x̌ə́a ṁə ʔə-s-wəł-x̌téʔ-stəxʷ
BE3P CERT your-NOM-already-do-COM
'Do it now.'

(k) x̌ə́a ṁən səwł néṁ. (CC)
x̌ə́a ṁə nə-s-wəł-néṁ
BE3P CERT my-NOM-already-go
'I'm going now.' (lit. 'It is my already going.')

AG gave his equivalent of (k) as *x̌ə́a ṁə nəsu wəłnéṁ,* with the sequence *wə-*$_2$ 'established' plus *wəł-* 'already.' In the material obtained from CC and JP, *wə-*$_2$ and *wəł-* do not seem to co-occur, although it is possible that what I recorded as *səwł* may be //s-wə-wəł-//.

The word *x̌ə́a* can also introduce a nominalized clause beginning with *s-* 'nominalizer' followed by *wə-*$_2$ 'established,' commonly, but not always, realized as *səw,* but these nominalized clause also commonly occur without any preceding *x̌ə́a*. Because of this, I treat them as a separate type. See §4.3.4.

### 4.3.2. As Nominal Adjuncts

Nominalized clauses can appear as nominal adjuncts in a number of ways.

(1) As subjects. They can appear as subjects of intransitive verbs, as in (a).

(a) xə́q kʷθən sɬkʷéwəɬ. (JP)
xə́q kʷθə nə-s-ɬəkʷ-éwəɬ.
be.finished ART my-NOM-get.stuck-vessel
'I'm all finished with my "corking" [caulking of a boat].' (lit. 'Finished is my caulking.')

They may be subjects of verbs that are adverbial in sense, referring to manner, as in (b).

(b) yəx̌ə́ɬx̌əɬθət tə sx̌ʷənxénəms. (JP 10)
yə-x̌ə́ɬx̌əɬ-θət tə s-x̌ʷənxénəm-s
along-turning.from.side.to.side-self ART NOM-run-3POS
'He ran zigzagging along.' (lit. 'His running was turning itself from side to side.')

Or referring to time (perhaps past only), as in (c) and (d).

(c) híθ kʷən sʔíṁəx.
híθ kʷə nə-s-ʔíṁəx
last.long ART my-NOM-be.walking
'I walked for a long time.'

(d) x̌aʔáθən swéyəl kʷə nəsniʔ skʷtéxʷ.
x̌aʔáθən swéyəl kʷə nə-s-niʔ skʷtéxʷ
four day ART my-NOM-AUX inside
'I was in there for four days.'

Nominalized clauses also very often appear as subjects with predicates that are modal in sense (see §18.3), as in (e), (f), and (g).

(e) ʔə́ẏ ḵʷs q̓á·nθətct. (CC 21)
ʔə́ẏ ḵʷə s-q̓en-əθət-ct
good ART NOM-return-self-our
'We'd better return.' (lit. 'Our returning would be good.')

Because the article *ḵʷə* ~ *ḵʷ* implies remote or non-existent status (see §14.1), an even more literal version of (e) might be 'Be good our hypothetical returning.'

(f) nəsɬ̓íʔ ḵʷə nəsnéṁ.
nə-s-c-ɬ̓íʔ ḵʷə nə-s-néṁ
my-NOM-make-valuable ART my-NOM-go
'I want to go.' (lit. 'My hypothetical going is what I want.')

In (f), *nəsɬ̓íʔ* is probably a relative clause (see §12.2.1 [g]) rather than a nominalized clause.

(g) sḵʷéy kʷə nəsɬíləm.
sḵʷéy kʷə nə-s-ɬíləm
impossible ART my-NOM-sing
'I can't sing.' (lit. 'Impossible is my singing.')

(2) As objects. A nominalized clause can appear as the object of a transitive verb, as in (h).

(h) ʔé·nθə ceʔ xqə́t tə ʔəssḏə́lcəp. (CC 12)
ʔé·nθə ceʔ xəq-ət tə ʔə-s-səḏ-əlcəp
be.I FUT finish-TR ART your-NOM-split-firewood
'I will finish splitting the wood for you myself.' (lit. 'I will be the one who will finish your wood-splitting.')

(3) As oblique objects. In sentences like (i) to (l), the nominalized clauses probably relate to the predicates as oblique objects, although the oblique particle does not appear.

(i) sí·səy cən ḵʷən sném̓.
sí·səy cən ḵʷə nə-s-ném̓
fear I ART my-NOM-go
'I'm afraid to go.' (lit. 'I am afraid of my [hypothetical] going.')

(j) ni ɬəɬáʔθət kʷs ʔíməxs.
ni ɬəɬáʔ-θət kʷə s-ʔíməx-s
AUX be.testing-self ART NOM-walk-3POS
'He is trying to walk.' (lit. 'He's testing himself in his walking.')

(k) ʔíc̓əl ct kʷs ném̓ct.
ʔíc̓əl ct kʷə s-ném̓-ct
uncomplying we ART NOM-go-our
'We refuse to go.' (lit. 'We are uncomplying in our going.')

(l) niʔəł cən m̓ə šxʷteʔé·wən ḵʷə nəsném̓.
niʔ-əł cən m̓ə šxʷteʔé·wən ḵʷə nə-s-ném̓
AUX-past I CERT conceive ART my-NOM-go
'I've been intending to go.' (lit. 'I have certainly conceived of my going.')

In all these sentences, the nominalization is translated most naturally by an English infinitive. In some sentences, however, such as (l), the nominalized clause might also be translated by an English subordinate clause with "may," or in an older style with a subjunctive form, identifying the event as hypothetical: 'I have certainly conceived that I may go.'

(4) As indirect quotations, as in (m).

(m) ni m̓ə x̌ə́t̓ə kʷə sniʔs ném̓.
niʔ m̓ə x̌ə́t̓ə kʷə s-niʔ-s ném̓
AUX CERT be.saying ART NOM-AUX-3POS go
'He said that he went.'

(5) As indicators of purpose, as in (n).

(n) ʔi cən cláysəns k̓ʷə nəsháʔkʷəx tə st̓íwəyəł sc̓énəm. (CC 22)
ʔi cən c-láysəns k̓ʷə nə-s-háʔkʷ-əx tə s-t̓íwəyəł
AUX I get-licence ART my-NOM-be.using-TR ART NOM-worship
s-c̓énəm
NOM-shake
'I have a licence to use the Shaker religion.' (lit. 'I have a licence for my using the religion that is the Shaker.')

(6) As indicators of cause, as in (o) and (p).

(o) ʔi cən xʷʔítcsəsmət tθeʔ swə́y̓qeʔ kʷsʔə́y̓s kʷθeʔ léləm̓s. (JP)
ʔi cən xʷʔítcsəs-mət tθeʔ swə́y̓qeʔ kʷə s-ʔə́y̓-s
AUX I envious-CON that man ART NOM-good-3POS
kʷθeʔ léləm̓-s
that house-3POS
'I am envious of that man because he has a good house.' (lit. 'I envy that man his house's being good.')

(p) sc̓éc̓ən ctəw híləkʷ kʷict k̓ʷəcnámə, háy čxʷ q̓ə kʷeʔesʔi m̓i k̓ʷécətàl̓xʷ. (CC)
sc̓éc̓ən ct wə-híləkʷ kʷ s-ni-ct k̓ʷec-n-ámə háy
really we EST-happy ART NOM-AUX-we see-TR-you finish
čxʷ q̓ kʷə ʔes-ʔi m̓i k̓ʷéc-ət-àl̓xʷ
you EMPH ART your-AUX come see-TR-us
'We were really happy to see you. Thank you for coming to see us.'

(But cf. nominalized clauses with *šxʷ-* in §4.3.3.)

(7) Adverbial adjuncts referring to past time. These correspond to English adverbial clauses introduced by 'when' in the sense of 'at the time (in the past) that' (in contrast to 'when' in the sense of 'if'; cf. *wə-₁* in §4.2.1 and *haʔ* in §5.2.3). They can appear both following and preceding the predicate (the main clause), as in (q) and (r).

(q) ni cən m̓e k̓ʷə́cnəxʷ kʷθəwƛ̓a kʷsniʔs níʔ ə kʷθéʔ. (CC)
ni cən m̓e k̓ʷə́c-nəxʷ kʷθəwƛ̓a kʷə s-niʔ-s níʔ
AUX I CERT look-TR him ART NOM-AUX-3POS be.there
ʔə kʷθéʔ
OBL that
'I saw him there.' (lit. 'I saw him at his being there.')

(r) kʷsmis técəl kʷθeʔ məstə́yəxʷ, ni ʔə čxʷ ḵʷə́cnəxʷ.
kʷə s-ṁi-s técəl kʷθeʔ məstə́yəxʷ ni
ART NOM-AUX(come)-3POS arrive.here that person AUX
ʔə čxʷ ḵʷec-nəxʷ
ROG you look-TR
'When that person got here, did you see him?'

### 4.3.3. Clauses Nominalized with *šxʷ-*

When used to form a nominalized clause, the compound prefix *šxʷ-* 'oblique nominalizer' (composed of *s-* 'nominalizer' and *xʷ-* 'oblique relater') has the sense of 'reason why,' and it identifies the clause it nominalizes as the effect of some other event or condition.

These clauses can appear in predicates, usually following *ɬ̓á* 'be third person,' as in (a).

(a) ɬ̓a šxʷkʷənéts tə sqʷəmqʷəméẏ stəlqáyə. (JP 3)
ɬ̓a šxʷ-kʷən-é-t-s tə sqʷəmqʷəméẏ stəlqáyə
BE3P OBLNOM-be.held-DUR-TR-3POS ART dogs wolves
'That's why he kept the dogs that were wolves.'

From its context, it is clear that (a) is a complete sentence. However, in (b) and (c), the status of the clause beginning with *ɬ̓a* is not clear.

(b) niʔ híləm ɬ̓a šxʷniʔs yáḵʷəm. (JP)
niʔ híl-əm ɬ̓a šxʷ-niʔ-s yáḵʷ-əm
AUX fall-INTR BE3P OBLNOM-AUX-3POS break-INTR
'It fell, and that's why it broke.' 'It fell, which is why it broke.'

(c) słénəẏ ɬ̓a šxʷx̌ə́ɬəs tθéʔ. (JP)
słénəẏ ɬ̓a šxʷ-x̌ə́ɬə-s [ʔə] tθéʔ
woman BE3P OBLNOM-be.doing-3POS OBL that
'She's a woman, and that's why she does that.' 'She's a woman, which is why she does that.'

Are the clauses beginning with *ɬ̓a* separate sentences or are they, as in the alternate English versions, relative clauses with the preceding predicates as their heads?

A clause nominalized with *šxʷ-* can be introduced by the oblique particle *ʔə*, as in (d).

(d) niʔ ct wəq̓áynəxʷ kʷθə niəł wéčmətàɬ̓xʷ ʔə šxʷʔict mi ɬ̓əwnámət. (JP 12)
niʔ ct wə-q̓áy-nəxʷ kʷθə ni-əł wéčmən-t-àɬ̓xʷ
AUX we EST-die-TR ART AUX-past watch-TR-us
ʔə šxʷ-ʔi-ct ʔəṁi ɬ̓ew-namət
OBL OBLNOM-AUX-our AUX(come) escape-self

'We succeeded in killing those who were guarding us, and that's how we got away.'

A clause nominalized with *šx*$^{w}$- can also appear as a subject, as in (e).

(e) ƛ̓íʔ ḵ$^{w}$ən šx$^{w}$ʔəm̓í. (JP 3)
ƛ̓íʔ ḵ$^{w}$ə nə-šx$^{w}$-ʔəm̓í
important ART my-OBLNOM-come
'I've come for an important reason.' (lit. 'The reason why I have come is important.')

### 4.3.4. Nominalized Narrative Sentences

Nominalized clauses with *wə-*$_{2}$ 'established' appear frequently in narratives, either following *ƛ̓á* 'be third person' as predicate complements or, more often, simply standing alone as complete sentences. The *ƛ̓á* followed by the nominalized clause may be translated 'It is (was) then ...' or 'That is when ...' With no *ƛ̓á,* the nominalized clause is generally translated with an initial 'then' or 'so then.'

In these nominalized clauses, the *wə-*$_{2}$ precedes the predicate head or, when there is one, the directional auxiliary (*ʔəm̓í* 'come,' *ném̓* 'go'), and it is preceded by the *s-* 'nominalizer. It can appear as *wə-* prefixed to the verb or as *-əw* suffixed to the *s-*. The *s-* 'nominalizer' and *wə-* usually, but not always, appear as *səw* (phonetically [səw] ~ [s̟w] ~ [su] (in AG's speech usually *suʔ*). The verb may have an intransitive or a transitive suffix and, if the latter, an object pronoun suffix. The whole must have a possessive, either at the beginning (if first- or second-person singular) or at the end (if first- or second-person plural or third person).

If there is no locative auxiliary (*ʔi* or *niʔ*), the order of elements for an intransitive or active transitive predicate is:

| (ƛ̓a) | nə-, or ʔəT- | s- | wə- | VERB | (-t, -nəx$^{w}$) | -ct, -ələp, or -s |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (BE3P) | 1, or 2POS | NOM- | EST- | VERB STEM | (-TR) | 1PL, 2PL, or 3POS |

Examples are shown in (a) to (d).

(a) nəsəw m̓i cə́məṯ. (CC 5)
nə-s-wə-m̓i cə́m-əṯ
my-NOM-EST-AUX(come) pack[carry on the back]-TR
'Then I packed it up.'

(b) ʔəθwəɬx̌íləx. (JP 22)
ʔəT-s-wə-ɬx̌íləx
your-NOM-EST-stand
'Then you stand up.'

(c) səw néṁs. (CC)
s-wə-néṁ-s
NOM-EST-go-3POS
'Then he went.'

(d) səw ḵʷə́cnəxʷs. (CC)
s-wə-ḵʷec-nəxʷ-s
NOM-EST-look-TR-3POS
'Then he saw it.'

For a passive predicate (with no locative auxiliary), the order is:

| (Ɂáỻ) | s- | wə- | VERB | -t or -n- | -Sel-, -Sam-, etc. | -ət |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (BE3P) | NOM | EST | VERB STEM | TR | PAS | SUBPAS |

An example is shown in (e).

(e) səw yə́θəstì·t (CC 12)
s-wə-yə́θ-əs-t-əy-ət
NOM-EST-tell-RECIP-TR-3SUBPAS-SUBPAS
'Then they were told.'

If there is a locative auxiliary, the order of elements for an intransitive or active transitive predicate is:

| (Ɂáỻ) | nə-,ʔəT- | s- | ʔi, niʔ | -ct, -ələp, -s | wə- | VERB |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (BE3P) | POS | NOM | AUX | POS | EST | VERB |

Examples are shown in (f), (g), and (h).

(f) nəsnəw néṁ ʔə́ỻqəl. (CC 12)
nə-s-niʔ wə-néṁ ʔə́ỻqəl
my-NOM-AUX EST-AUX(go) exit
'Then I went out.'

(g) səct wəhə́yeʔ. (CC 8)
s-niʔ-ct wə-hə́yeʔ
NOM-AUX-our EST-leave
'Then we left ...'

(h) səsəw kʷə́ỻləxtəs. (CC 8)
s-niʔ-s wə-kʷə́ỻləx-t-əs
NOM-AUX-3POS EST-shoot-TR-3TR
'Then he shot it.'

From forms like *nəsnəw* and from the requirements of syntax, we may infer the presence of an auxiliary (*niʔ* or *ʔi*) in forms like *səctəw ~ səct wə-* and *səsəw ~ səs wə-* (other examples of which will appear below). In JP's texts, the third-person forms are usually *sisəw ~ sis wə-*.

For a passive predicate with a locative auxiliary, the nominalized auxiliary takes a third-person possessive regardless of the person of the passive person marker suffixed to the head, and the order is:

| (ƛ̓á) | s- | ʔi or niʔ | -s | wə- | VERB STEM | -t, -n- | -Sel-, -Sam-, etc. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (BE3P) | NOM | AUX | 3POS | EST- | VERB STEM | TR | PAS |

-əm
INTR

Examples are shown in (i), (j), and (k).

(i) səsəw nəʔéməstéləm tə q̓àq̓əyéwtxʷ. (CC 12)
s-niʔ-s wə-nəʔém-əst-él-əm [ʔə] tə q̓àq̓əy-éwtxʷ
NOM-AUX-3POS EST-go-CAUS-I-INTR OBL ART sick-house
'Then I was taken to hospital.'

(j) səsəw c̓éwətəm kʷsə nətén. (CC 21)
s-niʔ-s wə-c̓éw-ət-əm kʷsə nə-tén
NOM-AUX-3POS EST-help-TR-INTR ART(FR) my-mother
'Then my late mother was helped.'

(k) səsəw m̓i ƛ̓ánəm tə yə́y̓sələ q̓él̓əməy̓. (CC 11)
s-ʔi-s wə-m̓i ƛ̓á-n-əm tə yə́y̓sələ
NOM-AUX-3POS EST-AUX(come) fetch-TR-INTR ART two.persons
q̓él̓əməy̓
young.women
'So the two young women were brought here as brides.'

In (k), the locative auxiliary concealed in *səsəw* must be *ʔi* 'be here' rather than *niʔ* 'be there,' as in (i) and (j). This is required by the *m̓i* 'come' that follows it.

It is not at all clear what determines the choice of a form with an auxiliary over a form without one. In narratives, *səw* and *səsəw* (or *sisəw*) occur in consecutive sentences with, as yet, no discernible pattern.

There is another problem. With a third-person subject, there are inconsistencies in the verb forms that follow. In discussing *səw* and *səsəw,* CC insisted that the forms implied by the formulas given above are "correct": *səw* should be followed by a verb with a possessive *-s* or a subordinate passive ending with *-ət* (as in the left column below), while *səsəw* should be followed by the form appearing in a main clause, the intransitive with zero, the transitive active with *-əs,* and the passive with *-əm* (as in the right column).

(l) səw ném̓s.
s-wə-ném̓-s
NOM-EST-go-3pos
'Then he went.'

(l′) səsəw ném̓.
s-ni-s wə-ném̓
NOM-AUX-3POS EST-go
'Then he went.'

(m) səw ḵʷáɔnəxʷs.
s-wə-ḵʷec-nəxʷ-s
NOM-EST-see-TR-3POS
'Then he saw it.'

(m′) səsəw ḵʷáɔnəxʷəs.
s-ni-s wə-ḵʷec-nəxʷ-əs
NOM-AUX-3POS EST-see-TR-3SUB
'Then he saw it.'

(n) səw łéq̓ətì·t.
s-wə-łéq̓-ət-əyə-t
NOM-EST-lie-TR-3SUBPAS-SUBPAS
'Then he is laid down.'

(n′) səsəw ḵʷánnəm.
s-ni-s wə-ḵʷán-n-əm
NOM-AUX-3POS EST-be.taken-TR-INTR
'Then he is grabbed.'

These forms are consistent with the identification of the initial *s-* of *səw* and *səsəw* as *s-* 'nominalizer' and the second *-s-* of *səsəw* as *-s* 'third-person possessive,' and CC usually followed these rules. However, in the texts she dictated, I occasionally recorded forms like (o) and (p) with *səw* but no *-s* 'third-person possessive' suffixed to the verb.

(o) səw qʷél tə Gabe. (CC 18)
s-wə-qʷél[-s] tə Gabe
NOM-EST-speak[-3POS] ART Gabe
'Then Gabe spoke.'

(p) səw csét θə stál̓əss kʷs … (CC 12)
s-wə-cəs-ét[-s] θə stál̓əs-s kʷ s-
NOM-EST-tell-TR[-3POS] ART spouse-3POS ART NOM-
'Then he told his wife to ...'

In (o), where the verb is intransitive, it is possible that CC said *səsəw* and I misheard it as *səw,* or that she contracted *səsəw* to *səw*. In (p), however, where the verb is active transitive, had the form been *səsəw,* the verb should have been *csétəs* with the *-əs* 'third-person transitive subject.' Thus is seems more likely that she said *səw* and then omitted the possessive. In texts dictated by JP, sentences with *səw* and *sisəw* follow CC's rules part of the time, but fairly often *səw* is followed by a main-clause form of the verb. In these instances, perhaps he did contract *sisəw* to *səw*.[4]

4 This inconsistency occurs in other dialects as well. In Cowichan texts that I have recorded, *səẇ (suʔ)* is usually followed by a possessed form, but sometimes it is followed by a main-clause form (cf. Hukari 1982). In Chilliwack, main-clause forms seem to be usual. Galloway (1993, 363) identifies *su* (glossed 'so, then') as a conjunction, without identifying the *s-* as the nominalizer. He gives a number of sentences with third-person subjects showing *su* followed by main-clause verbs. When in one example (p. 367) the suffix *-s* does appear (as it should by CC's rules), he suggests that it may be an error. More likely it was the product of a speaker who treated the *s-* as nominalizer, which it clearly is with first- and second-person subjects (see Galloway's examples at the bottom of his p. 363). For most Upriver speakers and perhaps for some

Another inconsistency appears in the placement of the predicate particles. An initial *ƛ̓á* can be followed by one or more particles (*ceʔ* 'future,' *yəxʷ* 'inferential,' etc.). In fact, speakers may use *ƛ̓á* to introduce nominalized clauses just to have a peg to hang particles on. In a few instances, however, CC used a particle in a sentence without *ƛ̓á*, as in (q) and (r).

(q) səs yəxʷ wəné··m̓ tə ʔitətéwtxʷ. (CC 21)
s-niʔ-s yəxʷ wə-ném̓ [ʔə] tə ʔitət-éwtxʷ
NOM-AUX-3POS INF EST-go OBL ART sleep-house
'And then he must have gone to a hotel.'

(r) səsəw yəxʷ wəkʷánəθəs ʔé·łtən. (CC 12)
s-niʔ-s wə-yəxʷ wə-kʷán-ət-S-əs ʔé·łtən
NOM-AUX-3POS EST-INF EST-be.taken-TR-me-3TR 3PL
'Then they must have taken me.'

In the first example, the *yəxʷ* is placed where one might expect it, following the auxiliary and preceding the *wə-*$_2$, which is prefixed to the verb. In the second, however, it follows *səsəw*, which contains a *wə-*$_2$, and is followed by another *wə-*$_2$. This suggests again that there is a tendency to disengage the cluster of elements that includes the *s-* 'nominalizer' from the rest of the sentence.

This cluster of elements can also include the adverb *ƛ̓é* 'again, also,' as in (s) and (t).

(s) səsƛ̓əw ʔáḵʷəstəm. (CC 14)
s-niʔ-s ƛ̓e wə-ʔáḵʷəs-t-əm
NOM-AUX-3POS also EST-hang.up-TR-INTR
'Then they were hung up too.'

(t) nəsiƛ̓əw ʔáməṭ. (CC 21)
nə-s-niʔ ƛ̓e wə-ʔáməṭ
my-NOM-AUX also EST-get.up
'Then I got up too.'

The prefix *wəł-* 'already' can also appear, either in place of *wə-*$_2$ or perhaps incorporating it (cf. §11.1.2), as in (u) and (v).

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elsewhere, however, Galloway's view may be correct: when there is a third-person subject, *səw* (or *su* or *suʔ*) may be simply a conjunction with no government of the following verb.

Dialect differences in this respect seem to go back to the beginning of the twentieth century. In Hill-Tout's Kwantlen texts (1903, 430-34), it appears that "ē-tlās-wā" *(ʔəy̓ ƛ̓á swə-)* is usually followed by a verb with a possessive, while in his Chehalis and Scowlits texts (1904, 336-37, 368-74) it appears that "tla-sō" *(ƛ̓a səw)* and "sō" *(səw)* are usually followed by a main-clause form.

(u) səwɬ xqə́ts tə sḵʷíc̓s. səw ɬípəts. (CC 16)
s-[wə- ʔ] wəɬ-xəq-ə́t-s tə s-ḵʷíc̓-s.
NOM-[EST- ʔ] already-get.finished-TR-3POS ART NOM-butcher-3POS
s-wə-ɬíp-ət-s
NOM-EST-cut.up-TR-3POS
'Then he finished his butchering. And then he cut it up.'

(v) ɬ̓a səsɬ̓əwɬ híqəθət. (CC 13)
ɬ̓a s-niʔ-s ɬ̓e [wə- ʔ]wəɬ-híq-əθət
BE3P NOM-AUX-3POS again [EST- ʔ] already-launch-self
'Then they shoved off again.'

At this point, it is not clear just what *wəɬ-* adds to these sentences. It may simply help establish a temporal relationship between the sentence in which it appears and the following sentence or sentences. A freer translation of the first example above might be 'When he had finished butchering, he cut up the meat.' But not all instances of *swəɬ-* lend themselves to this kind of interpretation. Besides, pairs of nominalized narrative sentences with *səw* can also be interpreted in this fashion.

Although nominalized narrative sentences usually appear in narratives after the action has started, it is also possible to begin a narrative with such a sentence. An account of how CC's parents became Shakers begins thus:

(w) səsəw xʷəɬ̓ələ́l məstə́yəxʷ kʷsə nətén. səsəw xʷəsqə̓ləʔɬ. (CC 21)
s-niʔ-s wə-xʷə-ɬ̓ələ́l məstə́yəxʷ kʷsə
NOM-AUX-3POS EST-become-middle-aged person ART
nə-tén. s-niʔ-s wə-xʷə-sqə̓ləʔɬ
my-mother NOM-AUX-3POS EST-become-sickly
'My late mother became a middle-aged person. She was sickly.'

A more literal translation of this would be: 'It was my late mother's having become a middle-aged person. It was her having become sickly.' A freer translation might be: 'When my mother got to be middle-aged, she became sickly.' However, there is nothing that explicitly marks these two nominalizations as standing in the relationship of conditional clause and main clause.

It is not usual to begin a narrative in this fashion. This last is the only example in my collection of Musqueam texts, but there are other examples in Cowichan texts. More often, nominalized narrative sentences appear after the action has started. Those introduced by *ɬ̓á* seem especially to imply that some precondition has been met. A few examples follow.

In an account of a personal experience, the narrator's husband asks her to buy shotgun shells adding:

(x) ʔ̓a ceʔ nəsəw neṁ páyətəł k̓ʷ máʔaqʷ wəwéyələs. (CC 12)
ʔ̓a ceʔ nə-s-wə-neṁ páyətəł [ʔə] k̓ʷ
BE3P FUT my-NOM-EST-AUX(go) hunt.waterfowl [OBL] ART
máʔəqʷ wə-wéyəl-əs
larger.bird when-be.day-3SUB
'Then I'll go duck hunting tomorrow.'

Later, she is chopping wood when her child distracts her:

(y) ʔ̓a yəxʷ nəsnəw séʔt tə k̓ʷqʷə́mən. (CC 12)
ʔ̓a yəxʷ nə-s-niʔ wə-séʔ-t tə k̓ʷqʷə́mən
BE3P INF my-NOM-AUX EST-rise-TR ART axe
'It must have been then I raised the axe.'

In an account of a deer drive, boys come howling like wolves and –

(z) ʔ̓a ceʔ səw yətátəsəts kʷə smé·nt ʔé·łtən wəṁi·s wəłwél̓ətəs kʷθə smə́yəθ. (CC 7)
ʔ̓a ceʔ s-wə-yə-tátəs-ət-s kʷə smé·nt ʔé·łtən
BE3P FUT NOM-EST-along-be.getting.hit-TR-3POS ART rock 3PL
wə-ṁi-əs wəłwéł-ət-əs kʷθə smə́yəθ
when-come-3SUB chase(PL)-TR-3SUB ART deer
'Then they'll be striking rocks together when they come chasing the deer.'

In a war story, a number of people are captured by enemies who came from different places in the north.

(aa) ʔ̓a sisəw xʷəsθəlθəléq təwʔ̓aləm neṁ xʷəsk̓ʷə́yəθ. (JP 11)
ʔ̓a s-niʔ-s wə-xʷə-sθəlθəléq təwʔ̓aləm
BE3P NOM-AUX-3POS EST-become-separated(PL.RES) those
neṁ xʷə-sk̓ʷə́yəθ
AUX(go) become-slave
'Therefore those taken as slaves became separated.'

However, two boys escape and, after paddling hard for a night and a day, they stop to eat.

(bb) ʔ̓a yəxʷ c̓ə sis wənə́qʷ təwʔ̓áləm kʷis wəłhá·yθən. (JP 12)
ʔ̓a yəxʷ c̓ə s-niʔ-s wə-nə́qʷ təwʔ̓áləm kʷ
BE3P INF QUOT NOM-AUX-3POS EST-fall.asleep those ART
s-niʔ-s wəł-háy-əyəθən
NOM-AUX-3POS already-finish-mouth
'Then they must have fallen asleep when they had finished eating.'

Sentences consisting of the nominalized clause alone are more common than those with *ʔ̓á*. In some narratives, they are by far the most frequent type of sentence. For example, in an account of a hunting expedition, the whole of which

is given in §23.3, of the first twelve sentences, ten are nominalized clauses. Only the first and third (together with two quoted within the fourth) are not. Analysis of narrative structure and style may show that sentences of this type play a role not discernible at present. Such an analysis might also answer some of the other questions raised in this section.

Sentences (cc) and (dd) are examples of intransitives with one subject followed by passives with a different subject, as seen in §3.4.2 (m).

(cc) səsəw néṁ tə ni néṁ ḵʷ cécəw ḵʷécətəm tə stáɬəẇ. (CC 7)
s-niʔ-s wə-néṁ tə niʔ néṁ [ʔə] ḵʷə cécəw
NOM-AUX-3POS EST-go ART AUX go OBL ART shore
ḵʷéc-ət-əm tə stáɬəẇ
look-TR-INTR ART river
'Then someone went to the shore to look at the river.' (lit. 'Then went the one who went to the shore was looked at the river.')

(dd) səw ʔáməts tə čəčíʔqəṅ neṁ ánəstəm təwx̌a xʷḵʷáɬə. (JP 9)
s-wə-ʔámət-s tə čəčíʔqəṅ neṁ ɬánəs-t-əm təwx̌a
NOM-EST-sit-3POS ART mink AUX sit.beside-TR-INTR that
xʷḵʷáɬə
scouring.rush
'So Mink sat down next to Scouring Rush.' (lit. 'So sat Mink was sat beside that Scouring Rush.')

# 5
# Syntax 3: Compound Sentences

A compound sentence consists of two or more predicates joined by the conjunction *ʔəẏ ~ i*. It is useful to distinguish two broad classes of compound sentences: coordinate and qualifying.

## 5.1. COORDINATE COMPOUND SENTENCES

In these, the predicates are semantically coordinate and the conjunction is translatable as 'and,' 'but,' or 'and at that time.' A coordinate compound sentence may consist of a series of verbs with the same subject, joined by conjunction, as in (a).

(a) kʷə́nətəs i cə́mətəs i t̓ə́xʷstxʷəs. (JP 7)
kʷə́n-ət-əs ʔəẏ cə́m-ət-əs ʔəẏ t̓axʷ-stəxʷ-əs
be.taken-TR-3TR and pack-TR-3TR and move.to.shore-CAUS-3TR
'He took it and put it on his back and brought it down.'

Such a sentence may differ from a simple sentence with a verb complement (cf. §3.2.3) only in the presence of the conjunction.

A coordinate compound sentence can consist of two clauses with different subjects, joined with *ʔəẏ* in the sense 'and,' as in (b).

(b) sl̓əq̓ʷíqən tə smé·nt ʔəẏ x̌əw sl̓əl̓íq̓ʷ tə stál̓əẇ. (CC 7)
s-l̓əq̓ʷ-íqən tə smé·nt ʔəẏ x̌e wə-s-l̓əl̓íq̓ʷ
RES-be.cut.off-slope ART mountain and also EST-RES-be.cut.off
tə stál̓əẇ
ART river
'The mountain face is sheer and so is the river['s bank].'

If the two clauses are contradictory, the conjunction may be translated 'but,' as in (c) and (d).

(c) ʔə́y̓ tiʔínə i qə́l tə nə́c̓aʔ. (CC)
good this but bad ART one
'This one is good but the other is no good.'

(d) wən̓án wəlhíθ kʷsəs skʷékʷəlt θə tíntən i ni čxʷ neṁ kʷə́nət. (CC 21)
wə-n̓án wəł-híθ kʷ s-niʔ-s skʷékʷəlt θə
EST-very already-last.long ART NOM-AUX-3POS hidden(RES) ART
tíntən ʔəy̓ ni čxʷ neṁ kʷə́n-ət
bell but AUX you go be.taken-TR
'The bell was hidden for a long time but you went and got it.'

A simple sentence can begin with the conjunction, as in (e). What precedes this sentence seems to require interpreting it as an independent sentence.

(e) ʔəy̓ ʔə́wə tə nəcłílèʔem. (CC 21)
but refuse ART my-step.parent
'But my stepfather refused.'

In joining two clauses, the conjunction *ʔəy̓* can also relate them in time, what is expressed in the first clause preceding what is expressed in the second. English may require a subordinating conjunction, as in (f), (g), and (h).

(f) xʷʔáṁət cən ceʔ i xqə́t cən. (CC)
xʷ-ʔáṁət cən ceʔ ʔəy̓ xəq-ə́t cən
LOC-be.sitting I FUT and be.finished-TR I
'When I get home, I'll finish it.' (lit. 'I will be home, and I will finish it.')

(g) sc̓éc̓ən ni wəłkʷátəxʷəm kʷθə xʷəlməxʷéwtxʷ i ni ḵʷə́cnəxʷəs kʷəw mə́ḵʷ wét. (JP)
sc̓éc̓ən ni wəł-kʷátəxʷ-əm kʷθə xʷəlməxʷ-éwtxʷ
really AUX already-be.blazing-INTR ART Indian-house
ʔəy̓ ni ḵʷec-nəxʷ-əs ḵʷə wə-mə́ḵʷ wét
and AUX look-TR-3TR ART EST-all who
'The smokehouse was going up in flames when everybody saw it.'

(h) wəx̌á ʔal̓ st̓íẇəyəłs ḵʷən šxʷwéləy i nəw mə́ḵʷ ʔal̓ q̓áy. (CC 21)
wə-x̌á ʔal̓ s-t̓íẇəyəł-s ḵʷə nə-šxʷwéləy ʔəy̓ ni
EST-BE3P just NOM-worship-3POS ART my-parents and AUX
wə-mə́ḵʷ ʔal̓ q̓áy
EST-all just die
'It was the only religion of my parents until they both died.'

## 5.2. QUALIFYING COMPOUND SENTENCES

These are compound sentences in which the first clause qualifies the second, standing semantically in an adverbial relationship to it. The logic of these

sentences seems to be a simple extension of that of the last three examples in §5.1. We may distinguish several types depending on how the first clause qualifies the second.

### 5.2.1. With Quantifying First Clauses

In these the first clause qualifies the second by indicating the amount of time or number of things required, as in (a) to (f).

(a) ʔisél̓ə swéyəl i nə tə́s ʔə x̌ sʔáməna. (CC 21)
ʔisél̓ə swéyəl ʔəy̓ niʔ tə́s ʔə x̌ sʔáməna
two days and AUX arrive.there OBL ART Duncan
'After two days they arrived at Duncan.'

(b) ʔisál̓əs ʔal̓ łqélc̓ i ni t̓ə́x̌ kʷθə nəqʷłéy̓xən. (JP)
ʔisél̓ə-əs ʔal̓ łqélc̓ ʔəy̓ ni t̓ə́x̌ kʷθə nə-qʷłéy̓-xən
two-face just moon and AUX wear.out ART my-log-foot
'My shoes wore out in just two months.'

(c) x̌aʔáθən lə́pàt i lə́c̓ tθeʔ šxʷqʷə́l̓stən̓. (JP)
x̌əʔáθən lə́pàt ʔəy̓ lə́c̓ tθeʔ šxʷ-qʷə́l̓s-tən̓
four cup and fill that OBLNOM-boil-INSTR
'It takes four cups to fill that boiling-pot.'

(d) txʷk̓ʷín máʔaqʷ i ʔə́wk̓ʷ (DK)
txʷ-k̓ʷín máʔəqʷ ʔəy̓ ʔə́wk̓ʷ
remaining-how.many larger.bird and run.out
'How many more ducks [are there to cook] before they're gone?'

(e) c̓əxʷléʔ i q̓áynəxʷəs tə sməyəθ. (JP 7)
c̓əxʷléʔ ʔəy̓ q̓áy-nəxʷ-əs tə sməyəθ
once.in.a.while and die-TR-3TR ART deer
'Once in a while he killed a deer.'

(f) ʔəwə scékʷələs i x̌̓e cən wəqʷəlstámə. (CC)
ʔəwə scékʷəl-əs ʔəy̓ x̌̓e cən wə-qʷel-st-ámə
not how-3SUB and again I EST-speak-COM-you
'I'll never speak to you again.'

For other examples of this construction, see §18. For the negative construction, see §6.

### 5.2.2. With Interrogative First Clauses

Two interrogative words (see §17) can stand as first-clause predicates in sentences of this type. These are *təmtém* 'when' and *nəcím* 'why,' as in (a) and (b).

(a) təmtém ceʔ i ném̓ čxʷ. (DK)
when FUT and go you
'When are you going?'

(b) nəcím kʷe i ném̓ cən. (CC)
why then and go I
'Why should I go?'

### 5.2.3. With Conditional First Clauses

In these, the first clause begins with *haʔ* 'if, when' or *mə́ḵʷ* 'whenever' (lit. 'all'), two words that produce what are in effect conditional clauses. As noted in §4.3.1, *mə́ḵʷ* is followed by a nominalized clause. See also §18.4.18 and 18.4.40.

(a) haʔ čxʷ ceʔ qəl̓ét x̌té i x̌ə́ł čxʷ ceʔ. (CC)
if you FUT again do and hurt you FUT
'If you do it again, you'll get hurt.' [a threat]

(b) háʔ čxʷ m̓e wə-ʔí ʔal̓ i háy cən ceʔ
if you CERT EST-be.here just and specifically I FUT
wə-ném̓. (CC)
EST-go
'Even if you stay here, I will go.'

(c) mə́ḵʷ nəsném̓ ʔíməx ʔi wəḵʷə́cnəxʷ cən. (JP)
mə́ḵʷ nə-s-ném̓ ʔíməx ʔəy̓ wə-ḵʷec-nəxʷ cən
whenever my-NOM-AUX(go) walk and EST-look-TR I
'Whenever I go about, I see him.'

(d) mə́ḵʷəł nəsném̓ xʷcə́lθət ʔiw ḵʷə́cnəxʷ cən. (JP)
mə́ḵʷ-əł nə-s-ném̓ xʷcə́l-θət ʔəy̓ wə-ḵʷec-nəxʷ cən
whenever-past my-NOM-AUX(go) go.where-self and EST-look-TR I
'Whenever I went somewhere, I saw him.'

### 5.2.4. With Modal First Clauses

There are at least three words with a modal sense (see §18.1) that can serve as a predicate head in the first clause. These are *x̌ʷə́m* 'can' (also 'fast'), *cəlél* 'nearly,' and *xʷéləq* 'nearly.' In sentences of this type, the subject of both predicates is the same. A particle marking a first- or second-person subject appears in the first clause and is not repeated in the second.

(a) x̌ʷə́m cən i x̌̓əw ném̓. (CC)
x̌ʷə́m cən ʔəy̓ x̌̓e wə-ném̓
can I and also EST-go
'I can go too.'

(b) x̌ʷə́m čxʷ i mé?kʷɬ. (CC)
can[quickly] you and get.injured
'You're liable to get hurt.'

(c) x̌ʷə́m ʔə čxʷ ʔəy̓ xʷʔəwélcəs. (JP)
can ROG you and make.string.figures
'Can you make string figures?'

(d) x̌ʷə́m i wéɬ̓θ. (JP)
can[quickly] and take.offence
'He gets sore [takes offence] easily.'

(e) cəlél cən i ni nə́qʷ. (JP)
nearly I and AUX fall.asleep
'I almost fell asleep.'

(f) ƛ̓əwɬ cəlél i ṁi pəhéls. (JP)
ƛ̓e wəɬ-cəlél ʔəy̓ ṁi pah-éls
again already-nearly and AUX(come) be.blown-act
'The wind will soon be blowing again.'

A noun subject, on the other hand, follows the second predicate.

(g) xʷéləq c̓ə i ƛ̓xʷə́təm tə x̌é·l̓s ni ʔə tə … (JP 10)
xʷéləq c̓ə ʔəy̓ ƛ̓əxʷ-ə́t-əm tə x̌é·l̓s ni
nearly QUOT and defeat-TR-inTR ART Transformer be.there
ʔə tə
OBL ART
'The Transformer was almost beaten at ...'

In the placement of the subject particles and the nominal adjunct, these sentences resemble simple sentences with initial auxiliaries or adverbs. However, the conjunction suggests that they are a special type of compound sentence.

# 6
# Syntax 4: Negation

The basic negative word is *ʔáwə* 'not' (as the most common negator of a predicate), 'no' (as an interjection or answer), 'refuse' (see §6.1.6). Two other negative words, probably derivatives of *ʔáwə,* are also used to negate predicates. These are *xʷəẇé* 'not yet' and *ʔáwəteʔ* 'none, absent.' (Other words with negative meanings include *sƛ̓ʷéy̓* 'impossible' (§18.4.43) and *sqíʔqəl̓* 'unable' (§18.4.45).

## 6.1. NEGATION WITH *ʔáwə*

An affirmative predicate of most types is most commonly negated by embedding it in a matrix clause of which the head is *ʔáwə* 'not.' The embedded clause may be a subordinate clause or a nominalized clause.

### 6.1.1. Subordinate Clauses with Intransitive and Active Transitive Predicates

The negation with a subordinate clause seems to be the basic (unmarked) form, except that there is one hole in the paradigm that is filled by a negation with a nominalized clause.

If the embedded clause being negated is an intransitive or active transitive subordinate clause, the negative word is followed by a main-clause subject marker (one of the particles *cən* 'I,' *čxʷ* 'you,' *ct* 'we,' *ceˑp* 'you (pl.),' or zero for a third-person subject), while the embedded affirmative, unless it is passive, appears with the corresponding subordinate subject suffix (*-eˑn ~ -ən* 'I,' *-əxʷ* 'you,' *-ət* 'we,' *-eˑp ~ -əp* 'you (pl.),' or *-əs* 'third person').

The negative paradigm for an intransitive predicate without an auxiliary is as shown in (a) to (f).

(a) ʔáwə cən ném̓-èˑn.
not I go-I
'I do/will not go.'

(b) ʔə́wə čxʷ ném̓-əxʷ
not you go-you
'You do/will not go.'

(c) ʔə́wə ct ném̓-ət.
not we go-we
'We do/will not go.'

(d) ʔə́wə ce·p ném̓-è·p.
not you(PL) go-you(PL)
'You folks do/will not go.'

(e) ʔə́wə ném̓-əs.
not go-3SUB
'He/she/it does/will not go.'

(f) ʔə́wə ném̓-əs (ʔé·łtən)
not go-3SUB 3PL
'They do not go.'

(I am identifying the *ném̓e·n*, *ném̓əxʷ*, and so on as subordinate clauses, even though there is no subordinating prefix *wə-*$_1$ or *ʔəł-*. Alternatively, one might identify *ʔə́wə* as an adverb of a unique type that requires a subordinate person marker suffixed to the predicate head. I think, however, that the interpretation presented here will turn out to be the most parsimonious.)

If there is an auxiliary in the embedded affirmative, it will take the subordinate subject suffix, as in (g) and (h).

(g) ʔə́wə cən ni·n ném̓.
ʔə́wə cən niʔ-ən ném̓
not I AUX-I go
'I did not go.'

(h) ʔə́wə cən ʔi·n yá·y̓əs.
ʔə́wə cən ʔi-ən yá·y̓əs
not I AUX-I be.working
'I am not working.'

If the embedded affirmative is an active transitive predicate, the negation is formed as above for first- and second-person subjects, as in (i) to (m).

(i) ʔə́wə čxʷ kʷe mélqtəxʷ.
ʔə́wə čxʷ kʷe mélq-t-əxʷ
not you then forget-TR-you
'Don't forget it.'

(j) ʔə́wə čxʷ x̌íʔx̌eʔəxʷ. (JP)
ʔə́wə čxʷ x̌íʔx̌eʔ-əxʷ
not you ashamed-you
'Don't be shy.'

(k) ʔəwé· cən x̌téʔeɬcθame·n ḵʷ tə́x̌ʷac. (CC)
ʔəwə ʔə cən x̌téʔ-əɬc-t-Samə-ən ḵʷ tə́x̌ʷac
not ROG I make-BEN-TR-you-I ART bow
'Shall I make you a bow?' (lit. 'Shall I not make you a bow?')

(l) ʔə́wə čxʷ niʔəxʷ ḵʷə́cnàmx.
ʔə́wə čxʷ niʔ-əxʷ ḵʷec-n-àmx
not you AUX-you look-TR-me
'You didn't see me.'

(m) ʔə́wə cən ni·n c̓éwət.
ʔə́wə cən niʔ-ən c̓éw-ət
not I AUX-I help-TR
'I didn't help him.'

However, if the embedded affirmative is an active transitive predicate with a third-person subject and no auxiliary, it must be negated as a nominalized clause, as in (n) and (o).

(n) ʔə́wə kʷs ḵʷə́cnəxʷs.
ʔə́wə kʷ s-ḵʷec-nəxʷ-s
not ART NOM-look-TR-3POS
'He doesn't see him.'

(o) ʔə́wə m̓ə kʷs ḵʷə́cnàmxs ʔé·ɬtən.
ʔə́wə m̓ə kʷ s-ḵʷec-n-àmx-s ʔé·ɬtən
not CERT ART NOM-look-TR-me-3POS 3PL
'They do not see me.'

A form like ***ʔə́wə ḵʷə́cnàmxəs* is not possible (CC). On the other hand, if there is an auxiliary, an active transitive predicate with a third-person subject can appear as a subordinate clause, as in (p).

(p) ʔə́wə niʔəs ḵʷə́cnàmxəs. (CC)
ʔə́wə niʔ-əs ḵʷec-n-àmx-əs
not AUX-3SUB look-TR-me-3TR
'He didn't see me.'

Here, the first *-əs* is the third-person subordinate subject marker while the second *-əs* is the third-person transitive subject marker. The auxiliary provides a base for the first, and the head provides a base for the second. Without the auxiliary, the head would have to have either two suffixes with the form *-əs* or else

one *-əs* serving both functions. Switching to a nominalization in such instances avoids this dilemma.

### 6.1.2. Subordinate Clauses with Passive Predicates

When the embedded predicate is passive, the negative (with the exceptions noted below) has a third-person subject. This holds regardless of the subject of the embedded passive. The *ʔə́wə* takes no person marker, and if there is no auxiliary, the predicate head takes one of the passive person markers *-el-* 'I,' *-am-* 'you,' *-al-* 'we, you (pl.),' or *-əy-* 'third-person subordinate passive' (see §14.2.6), and the subordinate passive suffix *-ət,* as in (a) and (b).

(a) ʔə́wə ceʔ m̓e k̓ʷə́cné·lt. (CC)
ʔə́wə ceʔ m̓ə k̓ʷec-n-él-ət
not FUT CERT look-TR-I-SUBPAS
'I will not be seen.'

(b) ʔə́wə ceʔ m̓e k̓ʷə́cnì·t. (CC)
ʔə́wə ceʔ m̓e k̓ʷec-n-əy-ət
not FUT CERT look-TR-3SUBPAS-SUBPAS
'He will not be seen.'

If there is an auxiliary, it takes the third-person subordinate subject marker *-əs,* while the predicate head has a coordinate passive form, that is, the stem takes the passive suffixes for first or second person or zero for third person and the suffix *-əm,* as in (c) to (f).

(c) ʔə́wə ni·s k̓ʷə́cnèləm. (CC, JP)
ʔə́wə ni-əs k̓ʷec-n-èl-əm
not AUX-3SUB look-TR-I-INTR
'I am not seen.'

(d) ʔə́we·ł niʔəs k̓ʷə́cnèləm. (JP)
ʔə́we-əł niʔ-əs k̓ʷec-n-èl-əm
not-past AUX-3SUB look-TR-I-INTR
'I was not seen.'

(e) ʔə́wə ni·s yək̓ʷə́cnèləm. (JP)
ʔə́wə ni-əs yə-k̓ʷec-n-èl-əm
not AUX-3SUB along-look-TR-I-INTR
'I wasn't seen by anyone.' (lit. 'I was not seen all along.')

(f) ʔə́wə ni·s k̓ʷə́cnà·m. (JP)
ʔə́wə ni-əs k̓ʷec-n-am-əm
not AUX-3SUB look-TR-you-INTR
'You are not seen.'

Imperative forms are exceptional in that second-person subject markers may appear, as in (g) and (h).

(g) ʔə́wə ce·p yəḵʷə́cnà·lt. (CC)
ʔə́wə ce·p yə-ḵʷə́c-n-àl-ət
not you(PL) along-look-TR-you(PL)-SUBPAS
'Don't let yourselves be seen.'

(h) ʔə́wə čxʷ yəḵʷə́cnàmət. (JP)
ʔə́wə čxʷ yə-ḵʷec-n-àm-ət
not you along-look-TR-you-SUBPAS
'Avoid being seen.'

(After giving [h], JP denied the possibility of ***ʔə́wə cən ḵʷə́cnè·lt* for 'I am not seen.')

Such imperative forms may be influenced by or be simply errors for forms with *-s* 'permissive' (§10.7), like (i) and (j).

(i) ʔə́wəs čxʷ q̓ə ḵʷə́cnàmət. (CC)
ʔə́wə-s čxʷ q̓ə ḵʷec-n-àm-ət
not-PERM you EMPH look-TR-you-SUBPAS
'Don't let yourself be seen.'

(j) ʔə́wəs čxʷ ḵʷə́cnàmət. (AG)
ʔə́wə-s čxʷ ḵʷec-n-àm-ət
not-PERM you look-TR-you-SUBPAS
'Don't be seen.'

In (i) and (j), the suffix *-s* 'permissive' has produced a new verb, *ʔə́wəs* 'let it not be,' which presumably requires 'you' as a subject.

### 6.1.3. Subordinate Clauses with Non-Verbal Predicates

Adjectival, nominal, and other non-verbal predicates are negated in the manner of intransitive (and most transitive) verbal predicates, a coordinate subject person marker following the negative word and the corresponding subordinate subject person marker suffixed to the first word of the embedded affirmative.

Examples of negated adjectival predicates are shown in (a) and (b).

(a) ʔə́wə θíʔəs. (AG)
ʔə́wə θí-ʔəs
not big-3SUB
'It is not big.'

(b) ʔəwé·ɬ θíʔəs. (AG)
ʔə́wə-əɬ θí-ʔəs
not-past big-3SUB
'It was not big.'

(See §14.2.3 for AG's treatment of the subordinate subject marker.)
Examples of negated nominal predicates are shown in (c) to (g).

(c) ʔəwə cən sx̌íx̌qəłè·n. (JP)
ʔəwə cən sx̌íx̌qəł-è·n
not I child-I
'I am not a child.'

(d) ʔəwe·ł cən sx̌íx̌qəłè·n. (JP)
ʔəwe-əł cən sx̌íx̌qəł-è·n
not-past I child-I
'I was not a child.'

(e) ʔəwə sx̌íx̌qəłəs θeʔ. (JP)
ʔəwə sx̌íx̌qəł-əs θeʔ
not child-3SUB that(FP)
'She is not a child.'

(f) ʔəwə ct stéʔexʷəłət. (JP)
ʔəwə ct stéʔexʷəł-ət
not we children-we
'We are not children.'

(g) ni čxʷ wəłc̓ísəm. wəłʔəwə čxʷ niʔəxʷ sx̌íx̌qəł. (JP)
ni čxʷ wəł-c̓ísəm wəł-ʔəwə čxʷ niʔ-əxʷ sx̌íx̌qəł
AUX you already-grow already-not you AUX-you child
'You have grown up. You are not a child any more.'

In (h), the negated predicate consists of an adjective modifying a noun.

(h) ʔəwə pépłətəs sné·nt i wəłłéłqət θəł. (JP 23)
ʔəwə pépłət-əs sné·nt ʔəy̓ wəł-łéłqət θəł
not thick(PL)-3SUB rock but already-wide(PL) ADV
'They were not thick rocks but they were wide.' (freely, 'They were rocks that were wide but not thick.')

In (i) and (j), the negated predicates each consist of a noun modified by an adjective modified by an intensifier.

(i) ʔəwə náṅəs θí snáxʷəł. (JP)
ʔəwə ṅán-əs θí snáxʷəł
not very-3SUB big canoe
'It's not a very big canoe.'

(j) ʔəwə c̓əw náṅəs wəqə́x̌ xʷə́lməxʷ. (JP 21)
ʔəwə c̓ə wə-ṅán-əs wə-qə́x̌ xʷə́lməxʷ
not QUOT EST-very-3SUB EST-many people
'They were not very many people, they say.'

In (k) and (l), the negated predicates each consist of a noun modified by a possessive word (see §14.2.8).

(k) ʔə́wə nəswéʔəs nəsnə́xʷəɬ. (CC)
ʔə́wə nə-s-wéʔ-əs nə-snə́xʷəɬ
not my-NOM-own-3SUB my-canoe
'It's not my canoe.'

(l) ʔə́wə sʔá·ɬəs snə́xʷəɬ. (CC)
ʔə́wə sʔá·ɬ-əs snə́xʷəɬ
not our-3SUB canoe
'It's not our canoe.'

In (m), a possessive word and a personal word (§14.2.7) are negated predicates.

(m) ʔə́wə m̓e swéʔsəs kʷxéməṅ. ʔə́wə m̓e ƛ̓á·s təliʔ kʷθə cwéʔ kʷθə kʷxéməṅ. (CC)
ʔə́wə m̓e s-wéʔ-s-əs kʷix-éməṅ ʔə́wə m̓e
not CERT NOM-own-3POS-3SUB name-residue not CERT
ƛ̓á-əs təliʔ kʷθə c-wéʔ [ʔə] kʷθə kʷix-éməṅ
BE3P-3SUB from ART do-own OBL ART name-residue
'That name doesn't belong to him. He doesn't come from the ones who own the right to use that name.' (more lit. 'He doesn't have the right to use the name. He is not one who is from those who own the right to use the name.')

### 6.1.4. Nominalized Clauses

Negations with *ʔə́wə* and nominalized clauses (see §4.3) have been recorded less commonly than those with subordinate clauses, except for the third-person forms required by the subordinate-clause paradigm, as explained above. These forms may be more emphatic than those with subordinate clauses; they can be, but are not always, translated with 'never.' Examples are shown in (a) to (d).

(a) ʔə́wə k̓ʷən sk̓ʷə́cnəxʷ. (JP)
ʔə́wə k̓ʷə nə-s-k̓ʷec-nəxʷ
not ART my-NOM-look-TR
'I never see him.' (lit. 'Not my [hypothetical] seeing him.')

(b) ʔə́wə c̓ə kʷsʔə́nəxʷθəts tə sx̌té téq̓təq̓mən. (JP 24)
ʔə́wə c̓ə kʷə s-ʔə́nəxʷ-θət-s tə s-x̌té téq̓təq̓mən
not QUOT ART NOM-stop-self-3POS ART RES-said Constant-Farter
'The one called Constant-Farter never kept still, they say.'

(c) ʔə́wə kʷsəw ʔə́ẏs ʔaḷ̓ ʔəłni·s q̓əq̓áʔtəḷ̓. (JP 22)
ʔə́wə kʷə s-wə-ʔə́ẏ-s ʔaḷ̓ ʔəł-ni·-əs
not ART NOM-EST-good-3POS just whenever-AUX-3SUB
q̓əq̓áʔ-təḷ̓
be.meeting-each.other
'It never went well when they met.'

(d) hə́ye θəwx̌a łéẇ. ʔəwkʷs xʷcákʷs i x̌əwł pxʷéls. (JP 22)
hə́ye θəwx̌a łéẇ. ʔəwə kʷə s-xʷ-cákʷ-s ʔəẏ x̌e
leave that flee not ART NOM-toward-far-3POS and again
wəł-paxʷ-éls
already-blow-ACT
'Away went that thing that was running away. It didn't get far when it blew again.'

There is considerable variation in how *ʔə́wə* is realized phonetically in such constructions; *ʔə́wə k̓ʷ* ... can be [ʔəwə k̓ʷ] ~ [ʔó·k̓ʷ] and *ʔə́wə kʷ* ... can be [ʔəwə kʷ] ~ [ʔó·kʷ] or lose its stress and be [ʔəwkʷ] ~ [ʔokʷ]. I have indicated above only the loss of the second vowel with loss of stress.

### 6.1.5. With Relative Clauses

A few examples have been recorded of *ʔə́wə* followed by a relative clause introduced by *ł* or *kʷł*, which are probably forms of the articles *łə* and *kʷłə* (§15.1) and may be translated, if at all, as 'anyone who, anything that.' This construction is used for negative statements of general validity, often translated with 'never.'

(a) ʔə́wə čxʷ ł ni q̓áy tə nə́wə. (JP 9)
ʔə́wə čxʷ ł niʔ q̓áy tə nə́wə
not you ART AUX die ART you
'You yourself don't die [so why should I worry].' (lit. 'You are not anyone who dies, you yourself.' Cf. ʔə́wə čxʷ niəxʷ q̓áy 'You do not die.')

(b) … ʔəẏ ʔə́wə ce·p kʷł k̓ʷə́cnəxʷ. (JP 26)
ʔəẏ ʔə́wə ce·p kʷł k̓ʷec-nəxʷ
and not you ART look-TR
'... but you never saw it.' (lit. 'You are not anyone who saw it.')

AG rephrased (b), shifting the second-person plural subject to the relative clause in (c).

(c) ʔə́wə kʷł ni·ləp k̓ʷə́cnəxʷ. (AG)
ʔə́wə kʷł ni-ələp k̓ʷec-nəxʷ
not ART AUX-you(PL) look-TR
'You never saw it.' (lit. 'It is not anything that you saw.')

In a speech given at a winter dance upriver in a big house that had not been used for the purpose for a long time, JP said:

(d) təm̓a léləm šxʷʔíct wəłíθ kʷsʔáwəs ł ni yəqʷ. (JP 5)
təm̓a léləm šxʷ-ʔí-ct wəł-híθ kʷ
this house OBLNOM-be.here-our already-last.long ART
s-ʔáwə-s ł ni tə́qʷ
NOM-not-3POS ART AUX burn
'This house where we are, it was a long time without fire.' (perhaps lit. 'It is this house where we are that has long been not anything that has burned.')

And, describing the Coast Mountains, he used (e).

(e) tə ʔáwə kʷł t̓ᶿə́w méqeʔ ni tə smé·nt. (JP)
tə ʔáwə kʷł t̓ᶿə́w méqeʔ ni [ʔə] tə smé·nt
ART not ART disappear snow be.there OBL ART mountain
'the place where snow never melts on the mountains' (lit. 'the snow on the mountain that is not anything that melts')

### 6.1.6. Ellipsis with the Negative

The negative *ʔáwə* can appear without a negated predicate, as in (a), (b), and (c).

(a) ʔəy̓ ʔáwə tə nəcłíleʔem. (CC 21)
ʔəy̓ ʔáwə tə nə-cłíleʔem
but not ART my-stepparent
'But my stepfather refused.'

(b) ʔáwə cən. (JP, AG)
not I
'I won't.'

(c) ʔi ʔáwə θəł. (AG)
but not ADV
'But he didn't though.'

Although in some contexts *áwə* may be translated 'refuse,' it does not function as a verb. For example, one cannot say ***ni cən ʔáwə* for 'I refused' (AG), so these are best seen as cases of ellipsis.

## 6.2. NEGATION WITH *xʷəy̓é*

The negative word *xʷəy̓é* 'not yet' is probably derived from *ʔáwə* 'not,' but its formation is not transparent. Its use with subordinate clauses is parallel to that of *ʔáwə*.

(a) xʷəẇé cən niːn ḵʷə́cnəxʷ. (JP)
xʷəẇé cən ni-ən ḵʷec-nəxʷ
not.yet I AUX-I look-TR
'I haven't seen him yet.'

(b) xʷəẇé niːs kʷúkʷtəm. (JP)
xʷəẇé ni-əs kʷúkʷ-t-əm
not.yet AUX-3SUB cook-TR-INTR
'It's not yet cooked.'

(c) xʷəẇé ʔe ʔiːs ṗq̓əmqən kʷθe ʔesqéwθ. (CC)
xʷəẇé ʔə ʔi-əs ṗq̓əmqən kʷθə ʔə-sqéwθ
not.yet ROG AUX-3SUB bloom ART your-potato
'Have your potatoes flowered yet?'

(d) xʷəẇé ʔiːs ṗə́ɬ, wəxʷənšxʷáːxʷt̓θ. (CC)
xʷəẇé ʔi-əs ṗə́ɬ wə-xʷən-šxʷáːxʷt̓θ
not.yet AUX-3SUB come.to EST-still-crazy/"wild"
'He's not yet grown up [lit. 'come to his senses']: he's still foolish.'

In (e), the phrase *xʷəẇé cə ʔal̓* is used adverbially as the first of two coordinate clauses.

(e) xʷəẇé cə ʔal̓ i xʷəswə́y̓qeʔ cən. (JP)
xʷəẇé ceʔ ʔal̓ ʔəy̓ xʷə-swə́y̓qeʔ cən
not.yet FUT just and become-man I
'Soon I will be a man.'

## 6.3. NEGATION WITH *ʔáwəteʔ*

The negative *ʔáwəteʔ* 'absent, non-existent, none' is probably identifiable as a compound word or phrase composed of *ʔáwə* 'not' and *teʔ* perhaps 'present, existent' (compare the article *tə*). The position of the predicate particles with *ʔáwəteʔ* suggests an uncertain status as a word. The interrogative *ʔə* follows the *ʔáwə,* giving *ʔəwéʔəteʔ* ~ *ʔəwéːteʔ* 'are there none?' while the past particle *-əɬ* can follow either the *ʔáwə,* the *teʔ,* or both, giving *ʔəwéːɬteʔ, ʔəwətéːɬ,* or *ʔəwéːɬtéːɬ* 'there were none.'

Followed by a nominal adjunct, *ʔáwəteʔ* has the sense 'be absent,' as in (a) and (b).

(a) ʔə́wəteʔ łə nəwáč, ni yəxʷ kʷə́nətəm. (CC)
ʔə́wəteʔ łə nə-wáč ni yəxʷ kʷə́n-ət-əm
absent ART my-watch AUX INF be.taken-TR-INTR
'My watch is gone. It must have been taken.'

(b) ʔə́wəteʔ kʷθə nəsqʷəméy̓. (AG)
ʔə́wšəteʔ kʷθə nə-sqʷəméy̓
absent ART my-dog
'My dog is not around.'

Compare (a) and (b) with (c) and (d), in which the negative is *ʔə́wə*.

(c) ʔə́wə ʔi·s ʔí kʷθə nəsqʷəméy̓. (AG)
ʔə́wə ʔi-əs ʔí kʷθə nə-sqʷəméy̓
not AUX-3SUB be.here ART my-dog
'My dog is not here.'

(d) ʔə́wə c̓ə ni·s níʔ kʷθə nəsqʷəméy̓. (AG)
ʔə́wə c̓ə ni-əs níʔ kʷθə nə-sqʷəméy̓
not QUOT AUX-3SUB be.there ART my-dog
'I'm told my dog is not there.'

If it is a person who is absent, the oblique case is used, as in (e) and (f).

(e) ʔə́wəteʔ c̓ə ɬ̓ q̓ʷəlítəq. (JP 7)
ʔə́wəteʔ c̓ə [ʔə] ɬ̓ q̓ʷəlítəq
absent QUOT OBL ART seagull
'Seagull, it is said, was not there.'

(f) ʔə́wəteʔ c̓θəɬ ʔə ɬ̓ Arnold. (AG)
ʔə́wəteʔ c̓ə θəɬ ʔə ɬ̓ A
absent QUOT ADV OBL ART A
'But they say Arnold was not present.'

The oblique case here seems to imply that the subject of such sentences is an implicit "the place" and that the predicate *ʔə́wəteʔ* is more literally glossed 'be without, be lacking, be devoid of,' the first sentence being more literally 'It [the house] was, it is said, devoid of Seagull.'

Followed by a noun standing as a predicate complement (with no article or demonstrative), *ʔə́wəteʔ* has the sense 'be none, be non-existent,' providing the negative counterparts of existential nominal predicates (see §3.7.3 and §4.1.5.1.1) and predicates with *c-* 'have' (see §12.2.1), as in (g) to (k).

(g) ʔə́wəteʔ strí·tkà·. (CC 12)
none streetcar
'There was no streetcar.'

(h) ʔə́wè·teʔ síl, ʔíməθ. (CC 12)
ʔə́wə ʔe teʔ síl, ʔíməθ
not ROG existent cloth grandchild
'Do you have any cloth, grandchild?' (lit. 'Is there no cloth, grandchild?')

(i) ʔə́wəteʔ nəsqʷəmé·y̓. (CC, AG)
ʔə́wəteʔ nə-sqʷəmé·y̓
none my-dog
'I have no dog.'

(Compare [i] with the absent-dog sentences [c] and [d] above.)

(j) ʔəwé·teʔ ʔənkəpú. (AG)
ʔəwə ʔə teʔ ʔən-kəpú
not ROG existent your-coat
'Don't you have a coat?'

(k) ʔə́wəteʔ nə-kəpú. (AG)
absent my-coat
'I have no coat.'

Sentence (k) does not preclude my having a coat at home. I'm simply now coatless and outside in the cold. But compare (l):

(l) ʔə́wəteʔ kʷθə nə-kəpú. (AG)
absent ART my-coat
'My coat is not around.'

This implies that I definitely own a coat but can't lay my hands on it.

In (m), the *ʔáwəteʔ* has two 'past' particles.

(m) ʔəwé·łtè·ł xʷənítəm ʔə ḵʷən̓a wəłhíθəł. (AG)
ʔəwə-əł teʔ-əł xʷənítəm ʔə ḵʷən̓a wəł-híθ-əł
not-past existent-past White.person OBL that already-last.long-past
'There were no White people long ago.'

The predicate complement may be a noun derived from a verbal root or a nominalization.

(n) ʔə́wəteʔ sníẇs. (JP)
ʔə́wəteʔ s-níẇ-s
none NOM-advise-3POS
'They had no advice.' (i.e., 'They are without proper upbringing.')

(o) ʔə́wəteʔ sx̌íʔx̌eʔs. (JP)
ʔə́wəteʔ s-x̌íʔx̌eʔ-s
none NOM-be.embarrassed-3POS
'He is without shame. He is shameless.'

(p) ʔə́wəteʔ nəsłə́q̓əlləxʷ. (CC 12)
ʔə́wəteʔ nə-s-łə́q̓əl-ləxʷ
none my-NOM-know-TR
'I didn't know it.'

(q) ʔə́wətеʔ eθckʷə́yx̌θət. (JP)
ʔə́wətеʔ ʔəT-s-c-kʷə́yx̌-θət
none your-NOM-do-move-self
'There's nothing you can do about it.'

(r) xʷcél čxʷ. ʔə́wətеʔ nəšxʷném̓. (AG)
xʷcél čxʷ. ʔə́wətеʔ nə-šxʷ-ném̓
go.where you none my-OBLNOM-go
'Where are you going? Nowhere.' (lit. 'I have no destination.')

The sequence *ʔə́wətеʔ kʷɬ (~ əɬ)* followed by a relative clause has the sense 'There is not anyone who ..., Nobody ..., Nothing ...,' as in (s) to (w).

(s) ʔə́wətеʔ kʷɬ ʔítət. (JP 25)
absent ART sleep
'Nobody slept.' (lit. 'Absent was one who slept.')

(t) ʔə́wətеʔ kʷɬ k̓ʷə́c-nəxʷ. (JP 28)
absent ART see-TR
'Nobody sees them.'

(u) ʔə́wətеʔ kʷɬ m̓i wíl̓. (JP)
absent ART AUX(come) appear
'Nothing showed up.'

(v) ʔə́wətеʔ əɬ (~ kʷɬ) ném̓. (CC)
absent ART go
'Nobody ever goes.'

(w) ʔə́wətеʔ kʷɬ k̓ʷə́cnəxʷé·n ʔə k̓ʷə nəsʔíʔxəl. (AG)
ʔə́wətеʔ kʷɬ k̓ʷec-nəxʷ-é·n ʔə k̓ʷə nə-s-ʔíʔxəl
none ART look-TR-I OBL ART my-NOM-be.paddling
'I don't see anyone when I travel.'

AG also used the interrogative form of this construction to ask a question, as in (x).

(x) ʔəwé·teʔ kʷɬ xʷəʔí kʷθə nəmén. (AG)
ʔəwə ʔə teʔ kʷɬ xʷə-ʔí kʷθə nə-mén
not ROG existent ART become-be.here ART my-father
'Did my father get here?'

See also the interrogative words *wét* 'who' (§17.1) and *stém* 'what' (§17.3) for other uses of *ʔə́wətеʔ*.

## 6.4. NEGATED PREDICATES IN COMPLEX AND COMPOUND SENTENCES

Predicates negated with *ʔə́wə* can appear in relative clauses, subordinate clauses, and nominalized clauses.

### 6.4.1. In Relative Clauses

Negated predicates can appear in relative clauses, as in (a) to (d).

(a) kʷθə ʔə́wə ni·s ném̓ (JP)
kʷθə ʔə́wə ni-əs ném̓
ART not AUX-3SUB go
'the one who didn't go'

(b) kʷθə ná·nc̓aʔ məstə́yəxʷ ʔə́wə ni·s c̓éwəłtən (JP)
kʷθə ná·nc̓aʔ məstə́yəxʷ ʔə́wə ni-əs c̓éw-əłtən
ART one.person person not AUX-3SUB help-people
'the one person who didn't help'

(c) kʷθə ʔə́wə ceʔ c̓éwətì·t (JP)
kʷθə ʔə́wə ceʔ c̓éw-ət-əy-ət
ART not FUT help-TR-3SUBPAS-SUBPAS
'the one who won't get helped'

(d) kʷθə ʔə́wə ni·s q̓áynəm (JP)
kʷθə ʔə́wə ni-əs q̓áy-n-əm
ART not AUX-3SUB die-TR-INTR
'the one who was not killed'

### 6.4.2. In Subordinate Clauses

The *ʔə́wə* can take *wə-*$_1$ 'if, then,' which requires that it as well as the negated verb have a suffixed subordinate subject person marker, as in (a) and (b).

(a) wəʔəwé·n ném̓è·n ʔəy̓ sḵʷéy ḵʷə nəsḵʷə́cnəxʷ. (JP)
wə-ʔə́wə-e·n ném̓-e·n ʔəy̓ sḵʷéy ḵʷə nə-s-ḵʷec-nəxʷ
if-not-I go-I and impossible ART my-NOM-see-TR
'If I don't go, I won't see him.'

(b) wəwé·s mi·s xʷəʔám̓ət kʷθe ʔeθiyéy̓ə i yeł ... (JP 22)
wə-ʔə́wə-əs ʔəm̓i-əs xʷə-ʔám̓ət kʷθe
if-not-3SUB AUX(come)-3SUB become-be.sitting(at.home) ART
ʔeT-səyéy̓ə ʔəy̓ yeł
your-friends and thereafter
'If your friends do not come home, then ...'

#### *6.4.2.1. As Conditional Clauses*

In (a) and (b) above, the presence of the conjunction *ʔəy̓* 'and' shows these to be a kind of compound sentence, even though the first clause has the form of a subordinate clause.

What are no doubt compound sentences can also be constructed with *haʔ* 'if, when' introducing the first of a pair of coordinate clauses, as in (c), (d), and (e).

(c) haʔ cən ʔə́wə ném̓è·n ʔəy̓ sk̓ʷéy k̓ʷən sk̓ʷə́cnəxʷ. (JP)
haʔ cən ʔə́wə ném̓-è·n ʔəy̓ sk̓ʷéy k̓ʷə nə-s-k̓ʷec-nəxʷ
if I not go-I and impossible ART my-NOM-look-TR
'If I don't go, I won't see him.'

(d) há·ɬ cən ʔə́wə ni·n (~ nin̓) ném̓ ʔəy̓ ʔəwé·ɬ cən ni·n (~ nin̓) k̓ʷə́cnəxʷ. (JP)
há-əɬ cən ʔə́wə niʔ-ən ném̓ ʔəy̓ ʔə́wə-əɬ cən niʔ-ən k̓ʷec-nəxʷ
if-past I not AUX-I go and not-past I AUX-I look-TR
'If I hadn't gone, I wouldn't have seen him.'

(e) haʔ ce·p ceʔ ʔə́wə háye·p i ném̓ cən qíq̓ətàlə. (CC 21)
haʔ ce·p ceʔ ʔə́wə háy-e·p ʔəy̓ ném̓ cən
if you(PL) FUT not stop-you(PL) and AUX(go) I
qíq̓-ət-àlə
get.bound-TR-you(PL)
'If you don't stop, I'll arrest you.'

See §5.2.3 for conditional first clauses like (c) to (e) in the affirmative.

#### *6.4.2.2. Expressing Necessity*

The word *sk̓ʷéy* 'impossible' as a main clause predicate followed by an 'if not' clause expresses necessity, as in (a) and (b).

(a) sk̓ʷéy m̓ə wəʔəwé·n ném̓è·n. (CC)
sk̓ʷéy m̓ə wə-ʔəwə-e·n ném̓-e·n
impossible CERT if-not-I go-I
'I must go. I have to go. I ought to go.' (lit. 'It is impossible that I do not go.')

(b) sk̓ʷéy m̓ə wəʔəwé·s k̓ʷə́cnè·lt. (CC)
sk̓ʷéy m̓ə wə-ʔə́wə-əs k̓ʷec-n-el-ət
impossible CERT if-not-3SUB look-TR-I-SUBPAS
'I had to be seen.'

See also *sk̓ʷéy* with nominalized negatives in §6.4.3.

#### *6.4.2.3. In the Sense 'Or'*

An 'if not' clause is also used in the sense 'or,' as in (a) and (b).

(a) səw xʷənínsəs kʷθə stém ʔal̓ ʔə́y̓ x̌áx̌ceʔ wəwe·s stáʔtələw̓es. (CC 17)
s-[ni-s] wə-xʷə-ní-nəs-əs kʷθə stém ʔal̓
NOM-[AUX-3POS] EST-become-be.there-GOAL-3TR ART what just
ʔə́y̓ x̌áx̌ceʔ wə-ʔə́wə-əs stáʔtələw̓-es
good little.lake if-not-3SUB creek-3SUB
'Then they reached some good little lake or creek.'

(b) wənáy kʷθə sqéqs iwe·s x̌a·s kʷ sxéy̓əɬs iwe·s x̌a·s θə stál̓əss. (CC 17)
wənáy kʷθə sqéq-s ʔəy̓ wə-ʔəwə-əs x̌a-əs
be.only ART younger.sibling-3POS and if-not-3SUB BE3P-3SUB
kʷ sxéy̓əɬ-s ʔəy̓ wə-ʔəwə-əs x̌a-əs θə
ART older.sibling-3POS and if-not-3SUB BE3P-3SUB ART
stál̓əs-s
spouse-3POS
'It is only his younger sibling or his older sibling or his wife [who can give permission].' (lit. 'It is only his younger sibling and if it is not, the one who is his older sibling and if it is not, the one who is his spouse.'

I have supposed that there is a *wə-* 'if' in the cluster *iwe·s* 'and if not,' although I did not record it.

### 6.4.3. In Nominalized Clauses

Negated predicates can appear within nominalized clauses, as in (a) to (f).

(a) ʔi cən t̓ət̓áʔθət k̓ʷən sʔəwə k̓ʷəyx̌θətʷe·n. (JP)
ʔi cən t̓ət̓áʔ-θət k̓ʷə nə-s-ʔəwə k̓ʷəyx̌-θətʷ-e·n
AUX I be.testing-self ART my-NOM-not move-self-I
'I'm trying not to move.'

(b) niẇ t̓ət̓áʔθət kʷsʔəwəs kʷəyx̌θətəs tθeʔ (JP)
niʔ wə-t̓ət̓áʔ-θət kʷ s-ʔəwə-s kʷəyx̌-θət-əs tθeʔ
AUX EST-be.testing-self ART NOM-not-3POS move-self-3SUB that
'He's trying not to move.'

(c) sk̓ʷéy k̓ʷsʔəwəs q̓áynəxʷəs. (JP 23)
sk̓ʷéy k̓ʷ s-ʔəwə-s q̓áy-nəxʷ-əs
impossible ART NOM-not-3POS die-TR-3TR
'They never failed to kill it.'

(d) ni cən tə́lnəxʷ kʷsʔəwəs xésəs θə yəx̌ət̓əstàl̓xʷ θeʔ. (JP 22)
niʔ cən tə́l-nəxʷ kʷ s-ʔəwə-s xés-əs θə
AUX I be.understood-TR ART NOM-not-3POS sea.lion-3SUB ART
yə-x̌ət̓ə-st-al̓xʷ θeʔ
along-be.doing-COM-us that
'I found out that this thing that was doing that to us was not a sea lion.'

(e) ha ʔé·nθə i sk̓ʷéy k̓ʷənsʔəwə tq̓ʷàté·n kʷən sc̓tíxəm wəni·s … (JP 22)
ha ʔé·nθə ʔəy̓ sk̓ʷéy k̓ʷə nə-s-ʔəwə təq̓ʷ-át-é·n kʷə
if be.me and impossible ART my-NOM-not be.cut-TR-I ART
nə-sc̓tíxəm wə-ni-əs
my-harpoon.line if-AUX-3SUB
'If it were me, I'd soon [have to] cut my line if it …'

(f) ni ct neṁ kʷtéxʷt tə stéʔexʷəł neṁ tə skʷuléwtxʷ, ɬ̓a swəʔə́wəs ni·s kʷə́nnəxʷəs tə syə́θəss kʷθə syəwénsəł. (JP)

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ni | ct | neṁ | kʷtéxʷ-t | tə | stéʔexʷəł | neṁ | [ʔə] | tə |
| AUX | we | AUX(go) | enter-TR | ART | children | go | [OBL] | ART |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| skʷul-éwtxʷ | ɬ̓a | s-wə-ʔə́wə-s | ni-əs | kʷə́n-nəxʷ-əs | |
| school-house | BE3P | NOM-EST-not-3POS | AUX-3POS | be.taken-TR-3TR | |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| tə | s-yə́θəs-s | kʷθə | yəwén-s-əł | |
| ART | NOM-transmit-3POS | ART | before-3POS-past | |

‘We sent the kids to school, and so they did not get the traditions of their ancestors.’

The negative *xʷəẇé* ‘not yet’ in a nominalized clause, literally ‘being not yet’ or ‘when not yet,’ is translated freely as ‘before,’ as in (g) and (h).

(g) ɬ̓as xʷəẇés técələs tə x̌ə́l̓əstəm x̌é·l̓s. (JP 15)

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ɬ̓a | s-xʷəẇé-s | técəl-əs | tə | x̌ə́l̓ə-st-əm | x̌é·l̓s | |
| BE3P | NOM-not.yet-3POS | arrive.here-3SUB | ART | be.saying-COM-INTR | x̌é·l̓s | |

‘That was before the one called x̌é·l̓s came.’

(h) … kʷs xʷəẇés mi·s wíl̓ tə syáqʷəm. (JP 21)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| kʷ | s-xʷəẇé-s | mi-əs | wíl̓ | tə | syáqʷəm |
| ART | NOM-not.yet-3POS | come-3SUB | appear | ART | sun |

‘... before the sun comes up.’

# 7
# Morphology of the Root 1: The Verb

## 7.1. THE VERB ROOT

The basic shapes of many verb roots may be seen when they appear bare of affixes, as in *á̓kʷ* 'return home,' *qʷə́ɬ* 'wash ashore,' or *k̓ʷáqʷ* 'get hit (by something wielded with a clubbing motion),' as in (a) to c).

(a) nə́m̓ cən t̓ák̓ʷ.
AUX(go) I go.home
'I'm going home.'

(b) ni ʔ qʷə́ɬ.
AUX wash.ashore
'It washed ashore.'

(c) k̓ʷáqʷ čxʷ ce ʔ.
get.hit you FUT
'You'll get hit.'

But other verb roots occur (or, at any rate, have been recorded) only with affixes and so their basic shapes must be inferred. And since the presence of an affix may modify the shape of a root and do so differently depending on type of root, process of root expansion, and type of affix, we find that inferring the basic shapes of these roots is not simply a matter of lopping off the affixes but of working out the paradigms and identifying them through analogy. Inferred roots will be written with the root sign (√) preceding them.

### 7.1.1. Canonical Shapes

Most verb roots are di-consonantal. They consist of a consonant, a full vowel (/e/, /a/, or /i/), and a second consonant ($C_1AC_2$), or else a consonant, a schwa, and a second consonant ($C_1əC_2$). There are also a number of tri-consonantal roots that consist of a consonant, a schwa, a second, and a third consonant ($C_1əC_2C_3$), and there seem to be a few of other shapes ($C_1AC_2əC_3$, $C_1AC_2AC_3$,

$C_1C_2AC_3$, etc.). However, some of what appear to be tri-consonantal roots may, upon further analysis, turn out to be di-consonantal roots with petrified affixes. Several roots that appear to have the shape CV (V is any vowel) are probably CVh and thus di-consonantal. There is, however, at least one single-consonant root, the *c-* ~ *cə-* that appears in several interrogative words (§17.6 to 17.13) and that may be identical to the verbalizing prefix *c-* 'do, get, make' (§12.2.1).

Limitations on the consonants that can occur in these root types are few. As elsewhere in the language, glottalized resonants do not occur initially. Otherwise, there seems to be no restriction on what consonant can occur as the first. Likewise, as /h/ and /ʔ/ do not occur between schwa and zero, CəC roots cannot have /h/ or /ʔ/ as a second consonant. Otherwise, there seems to be no restriction on what consonant can occur as the second in a di-consonantal root. I have not yet worked out all of the forms of tri-consonantal root, and so cannot yet say what restrictions may occur in them.

Roots of different shapes follow different paradigms. Not only do CAC, CəC, and CəCC roots behave differently but it also makes a difference whether the first, second, or third consonant is an obstruent (T), a resonant (R), or a laryngeal (H). Accordingly, it is useful to distinguish CAC roots as belonging to subtypes TAT, TAR, TAH, RAT, RAR, RAH, and HAH, to distinguish CəC roots as belonging to subtypes TəT, TəR, RəT, RəR, HəT, and HəR, and so on.

### 7.1.2. Inherent Voice

All verb roots are grammatically intransitive in the sense that they cannot take grammatical objects without first being provided with one of the transitivizing suffixes. In their relationship with grammatical subjects, however, they fall into two classes, non-active and active. Most roots fall into the first of these classes.

(1) Non-active root. These are inherently intransitive or passive in the sense that their grammatical subjects are either acting by themselves or are undergoing or experiencing the action, process, or whatever may be denoted.

Examples of this class are *t̓áḱʷ* 'return home,' *łáḱʷ* 'fly,' *ḱʷíʔ* 'climb, ascend,' *c̓éʔ* 'land atop,' *qʷə́s* 'enter the water,' *qʷə́ł* 'wash ashore,' *p̓ə́ł* 'become conscious,' *q̓áy* 'die,' *sə́q̓* 'split, tear,' *pə́n* 'get buried,' *t̓ᶿə́x̌ʷ* 'get washed,' *ḱʷáqʷ* 'get hit.'

If the non-active root names an action that involves an agent and it appears bare of affixes, the grammatical subject is the patient, as in (a).

(a) ḱʷáqʷ čxʷ ceʔ
get.hit you FUT
'You'll get hit.'

But when a non-active root is transitivized, there is a shift in case relations. Now the grammatical subject is the agent, as in (b).

(b) ni$^{ʔ}$ ʔə čx$^{w}$ ḵ$^{w}$áq$^{w}$-ət
AUX ROG you get.hit-TR
'Did you hit it?'

Not all non-active roots can take the transitivizer *-t (-ət, -át, -ét, -át),* but compare the following:

| | |
|---|---|
| *c̓éʔ* 'land atop' | *c̓éʔt* 'put it atop' |
| *q$^{w}$ás* 'enter the water' | *q$^{w}$sát* 'put it into the water' |
| *p̓áɬ* 'become conscious' | *p̓ɬát* 'make him conscious' |
| *q̓áy* 'die' | *q̓á·yt* 'kill him' |
| *sáq̓* 'split, tear' | *sq̓ét* 'split it, tear it' |
| *t̓$^{θ}$ə́x̌$^{w}$* 'get washed' | *t̓$^{θ}$x̌$^{w}$át* 'wash it' |

(See also §10.1, "Transitive Suffixes.")

(2) Active roots. These are inherently active in the sense that the grammatical subject is the agent in the activity denoted. This relatively small group includes *p̓ét̓$^{θ}$* 'sew,' *ḵ$^{w}$éc* 'look,' *ḵ$^{w}$íc̓* 'cut open, butcher,' *qén̓* 'steal,' *q$^{w}$él* 'speak,' *yéḵ$^{w}$* 'hire,' *héy̓* 'make a canoe,' *sə́wq̓* 'seek,' *x̌téʔ* 'do.' When an active root is transitivized, there is no shift in case relations: whether the root is bare of affixes or has a transitivizer, the grammatical subject is still the agent. Compare (c) and (d):

(c) ʔi cən ḵ$^{w}$íḵ$^{w}$əc̓.
be.here(AUX) I be.cutting.open
'I am butchering.'

(d) ʔi cən ḵ$^{w}$íḵ$^{w}$əc̓-ət.
be.here(AUX) I be.cutting.open-TR
'I am butchering it.'

Compare also:

| | |
|---|---|
| *p̓ét̓$^{θ}$* 'sew' | *p̓ét̓$^{θ}$ət* 'sew it' |
| *ḵ$^{w}$éc* 'look' | *ḵ$^{w}$écət* 'look at it' |
| *qén̓* 'steal' | *qéʔənt* 'steal it' |
| *sə́wq̓* 'seek' | *sə́wq̓t* 'look for it' |

### 7.1.3. Internal Modification of the Root

Verb roots undergo a number of processes of internal modification to produce a number of different grammatical forms. Processes of internal modification include reduplication (both CV and CVC), infixing, shift in stress and position of vowel, shift from full vowel to schwa and from schwa to full vowel, vowel lengthening, and glottalization of resonants. The grammatical forms produced by these processes include progressive, plural, diminutive, durative,

iterative-dispositional, and resultative forms. Verb roots also undergo internal modification to form stems for various affixes.

There is no one-to-one relationship between process of internal modification and grammatical form. Differently shaped roots may undergo different processes to produce grammatically identical forms. However, most forms can be predicated from the shape of the root, although there are also some irregular forms.

The following sections will deal with the principal forms of the verb and the processes that produce them.

## 7.2. PROGRESSIVE ASPECT

Nearly all verbs appear in both a simple, unmarked perfective form and a progressive form[1] marked variously, as described below. This opposition of perfective and progressive appears in bare roots functioning as verbs and in verbs composed of roots and various kinds of affixes. It also appears in (or intersects with) plural, durative, and dispositional forms. Diminutive forms, however, occur in the progressive aspect only. Resultatives stand apart in not making this distinction.

Halkomelem progressive forms are often equatable with English progressives, for example, compare *i̓t̓i̓t̓əl̓əm̓* 'be singing' (progressive) with *i̓t̓ləm* 'sing' (perfective) in the following:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *ni i̓t̓i̓t̓əl̓əm̓.* | *ni i̓t̓ləm.* | *íləm ceʔ.* |
| 'He is singing.' | 'He sang.' | 'He will sing.' |

But Halkomelem progressives may also be used for habitual action where English would have a simple present or 'used to' for the past, as in (a) to (e).

(a) wəyáθ cən wəḵʷéḵʷəcnəxʷ ni ʔə tθéʔ.
wə-yáθ cən wə-ḵʷéḵʷəc-nəxʷ ni ʔə tθéʔ
EST-always I EST-be.seeing-TR be.there OBL that
'I always see him there.'

(b) təliʔ ḵʷəns mi kʷánnəxʷ kʷən šq̓íləs, x̌an səw ḵʷéḵʷəcət tə x̌əθí·lə mím̓əłə. (CC 20)
təliʔ ḵʷə nə-s-mi kʷán-nəxʷ kʷə nə-šq̓íləs x̌a
from ART my-NOM-come be.taken-TR ART my-sense BE3P
nə-s-wə-ḵʷéḵʷəc-ət tə x̌əθí·lə míḿəłə
my-NOM-EST-be.seeing-TR ART four.person be.dancing.possesssed
'From when I first came to my senses, I used to see four dancers.'

1 The form I am calling "progressive" is the "actual" of Thompson and Thompson (1971), the "continuative" of Galloway (1977) and my own earlier usage, and the "imperfective" of Hukari (1978). I have adopted the terms used by Comrie (1976) for comparable aspects.

(c) *ḵʷáḵʷəc-θət čxʷ.*
be.looking-self you
'Look after yourself.'

(d) wə-ʔéʔxəθ čxʷ ʔaɬ.
EST-be.lying you just
'Just stay in bed.'

(e) łə́q̓ ʔə q̓íq̓əḵʷəɬs təṅ sqʷəméy̓. héʔe. q̓íq̓əḵʷəɬs. (DK)
łə́q̓ ʔə q̓íq̓əḵʷ-əɬs tə ʔən-sqʷəméy̓ héʔe q̓íq̓əḵʷ-əɬs
habitually ROG be.biting-ACT ART your-dog yes be.biting-ACT
'Does your dog bite? Yes. He bites.'

In these sentences, the Halkomelem for 'see,' 'look after oneself,' 'lie down,' and 'bite' are all progressive forms.

Also, the Halkomelem progressive is used with some verbs to denote conditions for which English would use adjectives, as in *ƛ̓éƛ̓əłəm̓* 'salty, taste salty' (a progressive form; cf. *ƛ̓éłəm qáʔ* 'salt water'), *t̓ᶿét̓ᶿəxʷəm* 'blue' (seemingly a progressive form, although no perfective has been recorded).

The formation of progressive forms depends on the form of the verb root.

### 7.2.1. Progressives of CAC Roots

These are roots consisting of an obstruent or resonant, a full vowel, and an obstruent or resonant (i.e., TAT, RAT, TAR, and RAR roots, C being any consonant but /h/ or /ʔ/). They behave in the same way (with minor variations and exceptional types noted below) and so may be identified as constituting a single class, the largest in the language.

#### *7.2.1.1. Progressives of Bare CAC Roots*

The bare roots of this type form their progressives by CV reduplication with the stress on the first vowel and the second appearing as schwa ($C_1ÁC_2 \rightarrow C_1ÁC_1əC_2$), as in the following TAT roots with their progressives:

| | |
|---|---|
| *p̓ét̓ᶿ* 'sew' | *p̓ép̓ət̓ᶿ* 'be sewing' |
| *t̓ᶿéq* 'go bald' | *t̓ᶿét̓ᶿəq* 'be going bald' |
| *ḵʷéc* 'look' | *ḵʷéḵʷəc* 'be looking' |
| *t̓áḵʷ* 'go/come home' | *t̓át̓əḵʷ* 'be going/coming home' |
| *łás* 'fish with a net' | *łáłəs* 'be fishing with a net' |
| *łáḵʷ* 'fly' | *łáłəḵʷ* 'be flying' |
| *ḵʷáqʷ* 'get hit' | *ḵʷáḵʷəqʷ* 'be getting hit' |
| *tiq̓ʷ* 'bump' | *títəq̓ʷ* 'be bumping' |
| *ḵʷíc̓* 'butcher' | *ḵʷíḵʷəc̓* 'be butchering' |
| *x̌ʷíqʷ* 'rub, slip' | *x̌ʷíx̌ʷəqʷ* 'be rubbing' |

Non-initial resonants are generally (or always) glottalized in progressive forms. (Where I have not recorded such a resonant as glottalized, as in 'be

disappearing' below, I may simply have missed the glottalization, since it can be quite light.) Examples of RAT roots with initial /y/ and /m/ and their progressives follow:

| | |
|---|---|
| *yéḵʷ* 'hire' | *yéy̓əḵʷ* 'be hiring' |
| *yéq̓* 'topple' | *yéy̓əq̓* 'be toppling' |
| *yáx̌ʷ* 'thaw' | *yáy̓əx̌ʷ* 'be thawing' |
| *yíq* 'snow' | *yíy̓əq* 'be snowing' |
| *máƛ̓* 'get storm-bound' | *máṁəƛ̓* 'be getting storm-bound' |

I have no examples with initial /l/.

RAT roots with initial /n/ form their progressives with a reordering or metathesis of elements following the stressed vowel; instead of the expectable */-ṅə-/, we find /-ʔən-/. I have no example of a bare root of this type, but those with affixes follow:

| | |
|---|---|
| *néc̓t* 'change it' | *néʔənc̓t* 'be changing it' |
| *násθət* 'get fat' | *náʔənsθət* 'be getting fat' |

Examples of TAR roots with their progressives are:

| | |
|---|---|
| *t̓én* 'disappear' | *t̓ét̓ən* 'be disappearing' |
| *t̓ᶿém* 'be out (the tide)' | *t̓ᶿét̓ᶿəm̓* 'be ebbing' |
| *łéw* 'flee' | *łéłəẇ* 'be fleeing' |
| *qén̓* 'steal' | *qéqən̓* 'be stealing' |
| *q̓áy* 'die' | *q̓áq̓əy̓* 'be sick' |
| *ƛ̓íw* 'flee' | *ƛ̓íƛ̓əẇ* 'be fleeing' |
| *q̓ʷím* 'disembark' | *q̓ʷíq̓ʷəm* 'be disembarking' |

Note that the final resonant of the root may be glottalized, as in 'steal.'

Examples of RAR roots and their progressives are:

| | |
|---|---|
| *wíl̓* 'show up' | *wíẇəl̓* 'be showing up' |
| *wéy̓* 'be exposed/discovered' | *wéẇəy̓* 'be getting exposed' |

There are two small sets of exceptional CAC roots that form their progressives in other ways.

(1) A few roots (but not all) with initial /c/ and /x/ have /kʷ/ and /xʷ/, respectively, in their progressives, as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *cám* 'go/come inland' | *cákʷəm* 'be going/coming inland' |
| *xáḵʷ* 'get bathed' | *xáxʷəḵʷ* 'be getting bathed' |
| *xáƛ̓* 'get an erection' | *xáxʷəƛ̓* 'have an erection' |

Other roots of this set include *ce-* 'do what,' *ce-* 'borrow,' *cel-* 'follow,' *xap-* 'sit cross-legged,' and *xal-* 'drill,' which have been recorded only with affixes. They will be discussed in connection with those affixes. For an explanation of this irregularity, see §1.5.10.

(2) A small set of roots with initial labialized obstruents and the vowel /e/ have /a/ in their progressives. They are:

| | |
|---|---|
| *k̓ʷéy̓* ‘get hungry’ | *k̓ʷák̓ʷəy̓* ‘be feeling hungry’ |
| *qʷél* ‘speak’ | *qʷáqʷəl̓* ‘be speaking’ |

### *7.2.1.2. Progressives of CAC Roots with Affixes*

CAC roots take the form *-ət* of *-t* ‘transitive.’ With the exceptions noted below, they form their progressives with the same type of reduplication seen with the bare root ($C_1ÁC_2ət \rightarrow C_1ÁC_1əC_2ət$), as in the following progressives of TAT roots.

| | |
|---|---|
| *p̓ét̓ᶿət* ‘sew it’ | *p̓ép̓ət̓ᶿət* ‘be sewing it’ |
| *k̓ʷáqʷət* ‘strike him’ | *k̓ʷák̓ʷəqʷət* ‘be striking him’ |
| *tíq̓ʷət* ‘bump him’ | *títəq̓ʷət* ‘be bumping him’ |
| *q̓ép̓ət* ‘tie it’ | *q̓éq̓əp̓ət* ‘be tying it’ |

Roots of the first three of these have been recorded bare of affixes and are given in §7.2.1.1. The bare root of the fourth, *q̓ép̓ət* ‘tie it,’ has not been recorded as such, but its form with *-t* ‘transitive’ and its resultative form *sq̓éq̓əp̓* ‘knot’ support its identification as a CAC root. Similarly, some of the roots identified below as CAC roots have not been recorded bare of affixes, and their identification is tentative.

RAT roots with *-t* ‘transitive,’ except for those with initial /n/, form their progressives in the same way.

| | |
|---|---|
| *wét̓ᶿət* ‘pry it’ | *wéẇət̓ᶿət* ‘be prying it’ |
| *yák̓ʷət* ‘smash it’ | *yáy̓ək̓ʷət* ‘be smashing it’ |
| *mísət* ‘sort them out’ | *mímə̓sət* ‘be sorting them out’ |

RAT roots with initial /n/ form their progressives as described above, with the expectable */n̓ə/ reordered as /ʔən/, as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *níɬət* ‘decide it’ | *níʔənɬət* ‘be deciding it’ |

TAR and RAR roots in combining with *-t* ‘transitive’ fall into two classes: those with labial resonants as their second consonant and those with non-labial resonants as their second consonant.

Those with /m/, /w/, /m̓/, or /ẇ/ as the second consonant follow the usual formula, as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *qámət* ‘bend it’ | *qáqəm̓ət* ‘be bending it’ |
| *c̓éwət* ‘help him’ | *c̓éc̓əẇət* ‘be helping him’ |
| *lámət* ‘throw at him’ | *lál̓əm̓ət* ‘be throwing at him’ |
| *níẇət* ‘advise him’ | *níṉəẇət* ‘be advising him’ |

Those with /n/, /l/, and /y/ or /ṅ/, /l̓/, and /y̓/ as the second consonant show in their perfective forms the kind of reordering or metathesis already noted in the progressives of roots with initial /n/. If the second consonant is /n/, /l/, or /y/, instead of the expectable resonant followed by schwa, we find the vowel of the root lengthened and followed by the resonant, which may itself be phonetically slightly lengthened. For example, the root *ƛ̓él* 'get stuck, be detained' and *-t* 'tr,' expectably */ƛ̓élət/, is realized as /ƛ̓él·lt/ 'stick it on' (phonetically [ƛ̓él·lt] ~ [ƛ̓él·l·t]) and the root *q̓áy* 'die' and *-t* 'tr,' expectably */q̓áyət/, is realized as /q̓á·yt/ 'kill him' (phonetically [q̓á·yt] ~ [q̓á·it]). Other examples are:

| | |
|---|---|
| *pé·lt* 'skim it' | *pépələt* 'be skimming it' |
| *c̓é·lt* 'cut it along the back' | *c̓éc̓əl̓ət* 'be cutting it along the back' |
| *ƛ̓é·lt* 'stick it on' | *ƛ̓éƛ̓əl̓ət* 'be sticking it on [him?]' |
| *cé·lt* 'chase him' | *cékʷəl̓ət* 'be chasing him' |
| *k̓ʷé·yt* '"train" him' | *k̓ʷék̓ʷəy̓ət* 'be "training" him' |

(The verb glossed '"train" him' means prepare him for a vision quest.)

If the second consonant is /ṅ/, /l̓/, or /y̓/, instead of the expectable glottalized resonant followed by schwa, we find the sequence glottal stop (phonetically possibly lost), schwa (phonetically possibly echoing the stressed vowel), and the resonant. For example, the root *c̓éṅ* 'be straight' and *-t* 'transitive,' expectably */c̓éṅət/, are realized as /c̓éʔənt/ (phonetically [c̓éʔent] ~ [c̓é·nt]). Other examples are:

| | |
|---|---|
| *táʔəlt* 'learn it' | *tátəl̓ət* 'be learning it' |
| *c̓íʔəlt* 'seize it' | *c̓íc̓əl̓ət* 'be seizing it' |
| *máʔəyt* 'aim it' | *máṁəy̓ət* 'be aiming it' |
| *wíʔəlt* 'show it, make it visible' | *wíẇəl̓ət* 'be showing it, etc.' |
| *wé·yt* 'publicize it' | *wéẇəy̓ət* 'be publicizing it' |

Two CAC roots (so far noted) have irregular forms with *-t* 'transitive.' One, *néc̓* 'be different,' is exceptional in that the suffix appears as *-t* rather than *-ət*.

| | |
|---|---|
| *néc̓t* 'change it' | *néʔənc̓t* 'be changing it' |

The other, composed of the prefix *xʷ-* 'locative' (here 'within'?) and *qʷél* 'speak,' is exceptional in that it forms its progressive on the pattern of a TAH root (see below).

| | |
|---|---|
| *xʷqʷé·lt* 'sing out the words (of a *syə́wən*)' | *xʷqʷəqʷé·lt* 'be singing out the words' mus-forms |

With *-x* 'transitive,' CAC roots form their progressives with the type of reduplication undergone by a bare root and with no linking schwa, as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *wélx* 'throw it' | *wéẇəl̓x* 'be throwing it' |
| *télx* 'follow it' | *tétəl̓x* 'be following it' |
| *kʷélx* 'hide it' | *kʷékʷəl̓x* 'be hiding it' |

With *-əm* 'intransitive,' CAC roots form their progressives regularly with the type of reduplication undergone by a bare root, as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *ṫícəm* 'swim (on the surface)' | *ṫíṫəcəm̓* 'be swimming, etc.' |
| *c̓ísəm* 'grow' | *c̓íc̓əsəm̓* 'be growing' |
| *méq̓əm* 'jump (as a fish)' | *mém̓əq̓əm̓* 'be jumping (as a fish)' |
| *yáq̓ʷəm* 'sweat' | *yáy̓əq̓ʷəm̓* 'be sweating' |
| *p̓íl̓əm* 'overflow' | *p̓íp̓əl̓əm̓* 'be overflowing' |
| *ṫiləm* 'sing' | *ṫíṫəl̓əm̓* 'be singing' |
| *xʷáyəm* 'sell' | *xʷáxʷəyəm̓* 'be selling' |
| *qéwəm* 'rest' | *qéqəwəm̓* 'be resting' |
| *x̌ín̓əm* 'growl' | *x̌íx̌ənəm̓* 'be growling' |

There is a small set of words that are or appear to be composed of TAR roots plus *-əm* 'intransitive' or *-əl* 'move toward,' in which the final resonant of the root is lost, leaving a long vowel; for example, //tém-əm// 'call out' is realized as *té·m* and //kʷél-əl// 'hide' is realized as *kʷe·l*. The underlying forms can be inferred from the transitives *témət* 'call him' and *kʷélx* 'hide it.' These words form their progressives by CV reduplication with the stress on the second vowel, following the pattern of TAH roots (see below), but with that vowel raised to /i·/, as with some TəR roots with *-əm* (see below). Members of this set discovered so far are:

| | |
|---|---|
| *té·m* 'call out' | *təti·m̓* 'be calling out' |
| (cf. *témət* 'call him' | *təti·m̓ət* 'be calling him') |
| *kʷe·l* 'hide' | *kʷəkʷí·l̓* 'be hiding' |
| (cf. *kʷélx* 'hide it' | *kʷékʷəl̓x* 'be hiding it') |
| *łé·l* 'come/go shoreward' | *łəłí·l̓* 'be coming/going shoreward' |
| (cf. *łélx* 'move it back from the centre of the fire' | *łéłəl̓x* 'be moving, etc.') |
| *tá·l* 'come/go seaward' | *təti·l̓* 'be coming/going seaward' |

In the first example, *təti·m̓ət,* the progressive of the transitive seems to be based on the progressive of the form with *-əm*. In the third example, there is no direct evidence for a root *tal-,* but the evidence for *kʷél-* and *łél-* implied by *kʷélx* and *łélx* suggests it. (AG gave *təta·l̓* as 'be going/coming seaward,' but CC gave *təta·l* as 'being out to sea,' a possible durative form.)

With *-nəxʷ* ~ *-ləxʷ* 'limited control,' *-stəxʷ*$_1$ 'causative,' and *-stəxʷ*$_2$ 'comitative,' CAC roots appear in the perfective with the vowel weakened to schwa although retaining the stress, but in the progressive the full vowel reappears ($C_1$ə$C_2$- → $C_1$á$C_1$ə$C_2$-), as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *pátnəxʷ* 'recognize him' | *pípətnəxʷ* 'be recognizing him' |
| *pátstəxʷ* 'have him identify it' | *pípətstəxʷ* 'be having him identify it' |
| (cf. *cpít* 'recognize') | |

| | |
|---|---|
| *k̓ʷácnəxʷ* ‘see it’ | *k̓ʷék̓ʷəcnəxʷ* ‘be seeing it’ |
| *k̓ʷácstəxʷ* ‘show it to him’ | *k̓ʷék̓ʷəcstəxʷ* ‘be showing it to him’ |
| (cf. *k̓ʷéc* ‘see’ | *k̓ʷécət* ‘look at it’) |
| *táq̓ʷnəxʷ* ‘bump him (accidentally)’ | *títəq̓ʷnəxʷ* ‘be bumping him (accidentally)’ |
| (cf. *tíq̓ʷət* ‘bump him’) | |
| *t̓ᶿáq̓ʷnəxʷ* ‘hit him (accidentally)’ | *t̓ᶿt̓ᶿəq̓ʷnəxʷ* ‘be hitting him (accidentally)’ |
| (cf. *t̓ᶿtq̓ʷət* ‘punch him’) | |
| *k̓ʷáqʷnəxʷ* ‘hit him (accidentally)’ | *k̓ʷákʷəqʷnəxʷ* ‘be hitting him (accidentally)’ |
| (cf. *k̓ʷáqʷət* ‘hit him, as with a club’) | |
| *c̓áwnəxʷ* ‘manage to help him’ | *c̓éc̓əẇnəxʷ* ‘be managing to help him’ |
| (cf. *c̓éwət* ‘help him’) | |
| *cálləxʷ* ‘overtake him’ | *cékʷəlləxʷ* ‘be overtaking him’ |
| (cf. *cé·lt* ‘follow him’) | |
| *qʷəlstəxʷ* ‘speak to him’ | *qʷáqʷəl̓stəxʷ* ‘be speaking to him’ |
| (cf. *qʷél* ‘speak’) | |

With *éls* ‘activity,’ CAC roots appear in the perfective with loss of stress and the vowel reduced to zero where both consonants are obstruents, but again in the progressive CAC roots appear in their full form ($C_1C_2$- → $C_1$Á$C_1$ə$C_2$-), as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *pk̓ʷéls* ‘warm something’ | *pépək̓ʷəl̓s* ‘be warming s.t.’ |
| (cf. *pék̓ʷət* ‘warm it up’) | |
| *t̓ᶿq̓ʷéls* ‘hit (with the fist)’ | *t̓ᶿít̓ᶿəq̓ʷəl̓s* ‘be hitting’ |
| (cf. *t̓ᶿtq̓ʷət* ‘punch him’) | |
| *łk̓ʷéls* ‘hook s.t., hook fish’ | *łítək̓ʷəl̓s* ‘be hooking fish’ |
| (cf. *łík̓ʷət* ‘hook it, gaff it’) | |
| *k̓ʷqʷéls* ‘hit, go to bat’ | *k̓ʷák̓ʷəqʷəl̓s* ‘be hitting’ |
| (cf. *k̓ʷáqʷət* ‘hit him, club him’) | |

Or if one or both consonants are resonants, the vowel is reduced to schwa ($C_1$ə$C_2$- → $C_1$Á$C_1$ə$C_2$-), as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *pəẇéls* ‘freeze s.t.’ | *pípəẇəl̓s* ‘be freezing s.t.’ |
| (cf. *píẇət* ‘freeze it’) | |
| *nəłéls* ‘give orders’ | *níʔənłəl̓s* ‘be giving orders’ |
| (cf. *níłət* ‘set a time, decide’) | |
| *ləm̓éls* ‘throw s.t.’ | *lál̓əm̓əl̓s* ‘be throwing s.t.’ |
| (cf. *lám̓ət* ‘throw it at him’) | |

With lexical suffixes, CAC roots appear in forms similar to those seen with grammatical suffixes. The form of the root usually depends on whether the suffix is unstressed or stressed and whether it begins with a vowel or with a consonant.

Before an unstressed suffix that begins with a vowel, a CAC root appears as CÁC- in the perfective and likewise in its full form in the progressive (cf. CAC roots with *-əm* 'intransitive'), as in:

*xʷɬáq̓ʷəst* 'slap his face' *xʷɬáɬəq̓ʷəst* 'be slapping his face'
(cf. *ɬáq̓ʷət* 'slap him,' *-əs* 'face,' *xʷ-* 'locative')
*q̓ísəcən* 'make a net' *q̓íq̓əsəcən* 'be making a net'
(cf. *q̓ísət* 'make it fast with a line,' *-əcən* 'surface')
*łíc̓aʔqʷəm* 'get a haircut' *łíɬəc̓aʔqʷəm* 'be getting a haircut'
(cf. *łíc̓ət* 'cut it,' -aʔqʷ 'head,' *-əm* 'intransitive')
*ƛ̓éləwst* 'hitch him (a horse) up' *ƛ̓éƛ̓əl̓əwst* 'be hitching him up'
(cf. *ƛ̓é·lt* 'stick it on,' *-əws* 'body,' *-t* 'transitive')

There are exceptions, such as

*xʷlám̓əst* 'throw it in his face' *xʷ[h]ál̓məst* 'be throwing in his face'
(cf. *lám̓ət* 'throw it and hit him,' -əs 'face')

in which the root is reduced to RəR- and then inflected like a root of that type (see §7.2.8).

Before an unstressed lexical suffix beginning with a consonant, a CAC root appears as CəC- in the perfective but with the full vowel in the progressive (like CAC roots with *-nəxʷ*).

kʷə́xʷcsəm 'knock on a door' *kʷákʷəxʷcsəm* 'be knocking on the door'
(cf. *kʷáxʷət* 'knock on it,' *-cəs* 'hand,' *-əm* 'intransitive')
*xʷtálqət* 'answer him' *xʷtétəl̓qət* 'be answering him'
(cf. *tél* 'copy, follow suit,' *-qən* 'voice,' *-t* 'transitive')
*pák̓ʷnəct* 'put it on the fire to heat' *šxʷpépək̓ʷnəc* 's.t. heating'
(cf. *pék̓ʷə*t 'warm it,' *-nəc* 'base, butt,' *-t* 'transitive')

In the last example, *šxʷpépəkʷnəc* is derived from the progressive with *šxʷ-* 'oblique nominalizer.'

Before a stressed lexical suffix beginning with a vowel, a CAC root appears in the perfective as CC- (if both consonants are obstruents) or CəC- (if one or both are resonants). Before a stressed lexical suffix beginning with a consonant, a CAC root appears in the perfective as CəC-. In the progressives of such verbs, the full vowel of the root may or may not appear and may or may not bear a secondary stress.

*p̓it̓θə́lməxʷ* 'milk a cow' *p̓íp̓it̓θə́l̓məxʷ* 'be milking a cow'
(cf. *p̓ít̓θət* 'wring it out,' *-əlməxʷ* 'breast, milk')
*pk̓ʷé·nxʷ* 'smoke fish' *pèpk̓ʷé·nxʷ* 'be smoking fish'
(cf. *pék̓ʷə*t 'warm it,' *-é·nxʷ* 'fish')
*łc̓ánəp* 'harrow a field' *łəłc̓án̓əp* 'be harrowing a field'
(cf. *łíc̓ət* 'cut it across,' *-ənəp* 'plot of land')

*nəẃéyəɬ* ‘advise a child’ *nənəẃéẏəɬ* ‘be advising a child’
(cf. *níẃət* ‘advise him,’ *-éyəɬ* ‘child’)
*k̓ʷəcx̌énəm* ‘keep a lookout’ *k̓ʷək̓ʷəcx̌éṅəm̓* ‘be keeping a lookout’
(cf. *kʷéc* ‘look,’ *-éx̌ən* ‘side,’ *-əm* ‘intransitive’)

### *7.2.1.3. Progressives of CÁCVC Roots*

There are a number of what appear to be roots consisting of a consonant, a full vowel, and a second consonant, followed by a schwa and a third consonant (CÁCəC) and that form their progressives as CAC roots do, by CV reduplication with the stress on the first vowel. These include:

*ɫ̓éyəq̓* ‘get angry’ *ɫ̓éɫ̓əyəq̓* ‘be getting angry
*ɫ̓áɫ̓əx̌ʷ* ‘chase away’ *ɫ̓áɫ̓əɫ̓əx̌ʷ* ‘be chasing away’
*x̌íɬəx̌* ‘make war’ *x̌íx̌əɬəx̌* ‘be making war’
*síwəl* ‘feel, be aware’ *sísəẃəl̓* ‘be feeling’
(possibly with *-əl* ‘move toward’)
*cɬéwən* ‘make mats’ *cɬéɬəwəṅ* ‘be making mats’
(< *c-* ‘make, have,’ and the root of *słéwən* ‘sleeping mat’)
*k̓ʷíɬəẃ* ‘live with in-laws’ *k̓ʷík̓ʷəɬəẃ* ‘be living with in-laws’
(cf. *sk̓ʷíɬəẃ* ‘co-parent-in-law, second-degree affine’)
*yá·ys* //*yáyəs*// ‘work’ *yá·ẏyəs* //yáẏəyəs// ‘be working’

There are at least two roots that might be grouped with the last set, except that the third consonant is a glottal stop, which must be preceded by a full vowel (CÁCAH). This pattern suggests that the full vowel is an underlying schwa.

*cmék̓ʷeʔ* ‘attend a funeral’ *cmémək̓ʷeʔ* ‘be attending as funeral’
(< *c-* ‘make, have,’ cf. *mék̓ʷeʔt* ‘condole them’)
*míɬeʔ* ‘dance possessed’ *míməɬeʔ* ‘be dancing possessed’[2]

With *-t* ‘transitive,’ presumed CÁCəC and CÁCAH roots appear with similar progressive forms, as in:

*ɫ̓áɫ̓əx̌ʷət* ‘chase him away’ *ɫ̓áɫ̓əɫ̓əx̌ʷət* ‘be chasing him away’
*mék̓ʷeʔt* ‘condole them’ *mémək̓ʷeʔt* ‘be condoling them’
*síwəlt* ‘make him aware’ *sísəwəlt* ‘be letting him know’

The schwa before the *-t* in ‘chase him away’ is expectable if *ɫ̓áɫ̓əx̌ʷ* is a root. Its absence in *mék̓ʷeʔt* is also expectable for a root ending with a glottal stop.

2 As Boas (1897, 645) noted, *míɬeʔ,* meaning ‘dance possessed by one’s *syáwən* in the winter dance,’ is probably a loan from Kwakwala. Cf. Lincoln and Rath (1980), root 261, Kwakiutl *miǰa* ‘teasing,’ also the Kwakwala name of a series of dances.

Its absence in *siwəlt*, however, suggests that the root is *siw-* and that the *-əl* is a suffix.

There is also a set of words that are composed of stems of the shape CÁCəC- (in which the full vowel is either /e/ or /a/) and the suffixes *-əm* 'intransitive' or *-əl* 'move toward' and that form their progressives in quite a different way. Some of these stems are clearly identifiable as expansions of CəCT roots and so this set will be described under that class (see §7.2.10).

### 7.2.2. Progressives of HAC Roots

Roots consisting of /h/ or /ʔ/, a full vowel, and an obstruent or resonant (HAT and HAR roots) seem to form a single class with HAT and HAR subclasses.

Bare HAT roots form their progressives by inserting a glottal stop after the vowel (HÁT → HÁʔT), as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *hélḵʷ* 'remember' | *héʔḵʷ* 'be remembering' |
| *hákʷ* 'get used' | *háʔkʷ* 'be getting used' |
| *ʔíḵʷ* 'be lost' | *ʔíʔḵʷ* 'be getting lost' |
| *ʔáḵʷ* 'get hung up' | *ʔáʔḵʷ* 'be getting hung up' |

Bare HAR roots, however, form their progressives by lengthening the vowel and glottalizing the resonant (HÁR → HÁ·R̰), as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *háy* 'stop' | *há·ỷ* 'be stopping, be coming to a stop' |
| *héỷ* 'make a canoe' | *hé·ỷ* 'be making a canoe' |

A progressive form like *héʔḵʷ* 'be remembering' may be the product of CV reduplication with /ʔ/ the realization of /h/ glottalized (as resonants are in progressive forms) and with the second vowel (expectably a schwa) deleted, that is, *héʔḵʷ* is reduplicated as //heh̰eḵʷ// → //héʔəḵʷ// → *héʔḵʷ*. A progressive form like *há·ỷ* 'be stopping' may be produced in the same way but with the schwa retained because of the final resonant and the glottal stop deleted, that is, *háy* is reduplicated as //hah̰aỷ// → //háʔəỷ// → //háəỷ// → *há·ỷ*.

With *-t* 'transitive,' HAT roots form their progressives like the bare roots.

| | |
|---|---|
| *híkʷət* 'give a war cry' | *híʔkʷət* 'be giving a war cry' |
| *híqət* 'put it under' | *híʔqət* 'be putting it under' |
| *háqʷət* 'smell it' | *háʔqʷət* 'be smelling it' |
| *ʔéṗət* 'wipe it' | *ʔéʔṗət* 'be wiping it' |
| *ʔáṫət* 'stretch it' | *ʔáʔṫət* 'be stretching it' |
| *ʔíḵʷət* 'throw it away' | *ʔíʔḵʷət* 'be throwing it away' |

With *-t* 'transitive,' HAR roots form the perfective according to a pattern already seen in TAR and RAR roots; if the final resonant is a non-labial, the vowel is lengthened and there is no schwa after the resonant. The progressive is formed by inserting a glottal stop, as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *hí·lt* ‘roll it over, push it off’ | *híʔəɬt* ‘be rolling it over, etc.’ |
| *ʔá·nt* ‘agree with his request’ | *ʔáʔənt* ‘be agreeing with his request’ |

Following arguments used earlier, we might suppose that for the first set above a perfective is the product of //híləṯ// → //hiəlt// → *hí·lt* and the progressive of //hiʰəɬəṯ// → //híʔəɬəṯ// → //híʔɬəṯ// → *híʔəɬt*.

With *-əm* ‘intransitive’ and other unstressed suffixes with initial vowels, HAT roots also follow the pattern of the bare root.

| | |
|---|---|
| *hétθəm* ‘breathe’ | *héʔtθəm* ‘be breathing’ |
| *hésəm* ‘sneeze’ | *héʔsəm* ‘be sneezing’ |
| *háqʷəm* ‘stink’ | *háʔqʷəm* ‘be stinking’ |
| *ʔítθəm* ‘dress oneself’ | *ʔíʔtθəm* ‘be dressing oneself’ |
| *ʔíxəm* ‘borrow money’ | *ʔíʔxəm* ‘be borrowing money’ |
| *xʷʔápəsəm* ‘wipe one’s face’ | *xʷʔáʔpəsəm* ‘be wiping one’s face’ |
| (cf. *ʔépət* ‘wipe it,’ *-əs* ‘face’) | |

With *-əm* ‘intransitive’ and other vowel-initial suffixes, HAR roots form their progressives in two ways:

(1) by simply glottalizing the resonant, as in

| | |
|---|---|
| *híləm* ‘roll, fall off’ | *hiɬəm* ‘be rolling, be falling off’ |

As I recorded it, the progressive here is phonetically [hiʔləm], which is possibly the realization of //híʔɬəm//, which is what the rules ought to produce.

(2) by lengthening the vowel and glottalizing the resonant, as in

| | |
|---|---|
| *ʔíwəst* ‘show him, instruct him’ | *ʔíwəst* ‘be showing him, etc.’ |
| *ʔáməst* ‘give it to him’ | *ʔáməst* ‘be giving it to him’ |

The roots of these words are √*ʔem* ‘give’ and √*ʔíw* ‘show,’ and both are formed with *-əs* ‘recipient’ (§10.4.3). Here too the progressives may be the realizations of //ʔíʔwəst// and //ʔáʔməst//.

One seemingly anomalous verb may belong here:

| | |
|---|---|
| *ʔéʔəm* ‘give’ | *ʔéməm* ‘be giving’ |

This verb is probably composed of √*ʔem* ‘give’ and *-əm* ‘intransitive.’ The underlying forms may be //ʔéməm// ‘give’ and //ʔéʔməm// ‘be giving,’ but if so, the replacement of the medial resonant by a glottal stop is unique.

With *-nəxʷ* ‘limited control’ and other unstressed suffixes beginning with a consonant, an HAC root appears as HəC- in the perfective and as with vowel-initial suffixes in the progressive, as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *háqʷnəxʷ* ‘smell it’ | *háʔqʷnəxʷ* ‘be smelling it’ |
| *ʔáḵʷnəxʷ* ‘lose it’ | *ʔíʔḵʷnəxʷ* ‘be losing it’ |
| *háynəxʷ* ‘finish it’ | *há·ynəxʷ* ‘be finishing it’ |

*xʷʔə́xʷmət* ‘covet it’ *xʷʔáʔxʷmət* ‘be coveting it’
*xʷʔə́ẇcəst* ‘instruct him with the hands’ *xʷʔí·ẇcəst* ‘be instructing, etc.’

With suffixes beginning with a stressed vowel, a HAC root appears as unstressed HəC- in the perfective but with the full vowel in the progressive, as in:

*ʔəx̌á·yθínəm* ‘shave the beard’ *ʔíx̌əyəθínəm* ‘be shaving the beard’
(< *ʔíx̌ət* ‘scrape it,’ *-áyəθən* ‘mouth,’ *-əm* ‘intransitive’)

#### *7.2.2.1. Progressives of HAC(C)əC Roots*

There are a few words that may be roots of this shape or may be HAC roots with suffixes that are not now identifiable. These include:

*ʔítət* ‘sleep’ *ʔíʔtət* ‘be sleeping’
*ʔéx̌əθ* ‘lie down’ *ʔéʔx̌əθ* ‘be lying down’
*ʔíməx* ‘walk’ *ʔímẇəx* ‘be walking’
*ʔímən* ‘sing an incantation’ *ʔímẇən* ‘be singing an incantation’
*ʔíləqət* ‘buy it’ *ʔíl̓əqət* ‘be buying it’
*ʔáləx̌ət* ‘go get it, fetch it’ *ʔál̓əx̌ət* ‘be fetching it’
*ʔélməy* ‘wait’ *ʔél̓məẏ* ‘be waiting’

### 7.2.3. Progressives of TAH Roots

Roots consisting of an obstruent, a full vowel, and /ʔ/ or (possibly) /h/ form their progressives by CV reduplication with the stress on the second vowel and the first appearing as schwa (TÁH → TəTÁH).

Roots with final glottal stop present no problems, and their behaviour will be described first. The pattern of reduplication is seen in a few bare roots of the shape TAʔ.

*k̓ʷíʔ* ‘climb’ *k̓ʷək̓ʷíʔ* ‘be climbing’
*x̌́áʔ* ‘calm down’ *x̌́əx̌́áʔ* ‘be calming down’
*séʔ* ‘rise’ *səséʔ* ‘be rising’
*c̓éʔ* ‘land atop’ *c̓əc̓éʔ* ‘be landing atop’
*x̌íʔ* ‘appear, be revealed’ *x̌əx̌íʔ* ‘be appearing, be getting caught’

TAʔ roots take the *-t* form of the *-t* ‘transitive’ and form their progressives as when bare.

*séʔt* ‘raise it’ *səséʔt* ‘be raising it’
*t̓éʔt* ‘try it, test it’ *t̓ət̓éʔt* ‘be trying it, be testing it’
*t̓ᶿéʔt* ‘chew it’ *t̓ᶿət̓ᶿéʔt* ‘be chewing it’
*x̌́éʔt* ‘fetch it, invite him’ *x̌́əx̌́éʔt* ‘be fetching it, be inviting him’
*c̓éʔt* ‘set it on’ *c̓əc̓éʔt* ‘be setting it on’
*kʷéʔt* ‘let it go, drop it’ *kʷəkʷéʔt* ‘be letting it go, be dropping it’

| | |
|---|---|
| *xʷéʔt* ‘lessen it, lighten it’ | *xʷəxʷéʔt* ‘be lessening it, be lightening it’ |
| *q̓ʷéʔt* ‘sweep it’ | *q̓ʷəq̓ʷéʔt* ‘be sweeping it’ |
| *ƛ̓áʔt* ‘comfort him, calm him’ | *ƛ̓əƛ̓áʔt* ‘be comforting him, etc.’ |
| *cáʔt* ‘pry it apart’ | *cəcáʔt* ‘be prying it apart’ |
| *q̓áʔt* ‘put it together’ | *q̓əq̓áʔt* ‘be putting it together’ |
| *x̌íʔt* ‘reveal it, create it’ | *x̌əx̌íʔt* ‘be revealing it, be creating it’ |

With *-əm* ‘intransitive,’ the glottal stop of a TAʔ root may be lost, leaving a long vowel, as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *i̓θéːm* ~ *i̓θéʔəm* ‘chew’ | *i̓θəi̓θéːṁ* ‘be chewing’ |

(cf. *i̓θéʔt* ‘chew it,’ *i̓θəi̓θéʔt* ‘be chewing it’)

With *-nəxʷ* ‘limited control’ and other consonant-initial unstressed suffixes, a TAʔ root retains the full vowel in the perfective. The suffix *-nəxʷ* may appear as *-n̓xʷ*.

| | |
|---|---|
| *sén̓əxʷ* ~ *sén̓xʷ* ‘manage to lift it’ | *səsén̓xʷ* ‘be managing to lift it’ |
| *x̌ín̓əxʷ* ‘catch him in the act’ | *x̌əx̌ín̓xʷ* ‘be catching him in the act’ |
| *i̓éʔxət* ‘try out a new dancer’ | *i̓əi̓éʔxət* ‘be trying out a new dancer’ |

(< *i̓éʔt* ‘try it,’ *-xən* ‘foot,’ *-t* ‘transitive’)

With a suffix with an initial stressed vowel, a TAʔ root appears as Təʔ in the perfective but is TəTÁʔ in the progressive, as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *ƛ̓əʔéyəɬ* ‘comfort a child’ | *ƛ̓əƛ̓áːy̓əɬ* ‘be comforting a child’ |

(cf. *ƛ̓áʔt* ‘comfort him,’ *-éyəɬ* ‘child’)

With stressed consonant-initial suffixes, a TAʔ root appears as Tə in the perfective and variably in the progressive, to judge from the following:

| | |
|---|---|
| *ƛ̓əɬéləm* ‘go after food’ | *ƛ̓éʔɬələṁ* ‘be going after food’ (JP) |
| *ƛ̓əɬnénəm* ‘go after sea food’ | *ƛ̓əƛ̓əɬnén̓əṁ* ‘be going after sea food’ (CC) |

(cf. *ƛ̓éʔt* ‘fetch it,’ *-ɬél* ~ *-ɬén* ‘food,’ *-əm* ‘intransitive’)

The following verb, evidently formed from the root of *ƛ̓éʔt* ‘fetch him’ and *-xən* ‘foot,’ seems to be irregular. My sources differed in its forms.

| | |
|---|---|
| *ƛ̓éːxən* ~ *ƛ̓əʔéxən* ‘invite’ | *ƛ̓iƛ̓éxən* ‘be inviting’ (JP) |
| *ƛ̓éxən* ‘invite’ | *ƛ̓iƛ̓éxən* ‘be inviting’ (CC) |
| *ƛ̓éxən̓* ‘invite’ | *ƛ̓iƛ̓éxən̓* ‘be inviting’ (AG) |

There are a few possible TAh roots. Two have the shape TA when bare of suffixes.

| | |
|---|---|
| *pá* ‘get hit by the wind’ | *pəpá* ‘be getting hit by the wind’ (AG) |
| *qʷé* ‘get through’ | *qʷəqʷé* ‘be getting through’ |

With *-t* 'transitive,' a long vowel appears in the perfective and a glottal stop may appear in the progressive.

| | |
|---|---|
| *pá·t* 'blow on it' | *pəpáʔət* 'be blowing on it' |
| *xʷpá·t* 'inflate it' | *xʷpəpáʔət* 'be inflating it' |
| *qʷé·t* 'make a hole in it' | *qʷəqʷéʔət ~ qʷəqʷé·t* 'be making a hole in it' |

With stressed vowel-initial suffixes, these roots appear as Təh or Tə in the perfective:

| | |
|---|---|
| *pəhéls ~ péls* 'blow' | *pəpé·l̓s ~ pé·l̓s* 'be blowing' |
| (< *-éls* 'activity,' cf. *spəhéls* 'wind') | |
| *qʷəhíləm* 'pass through' | (no progressive recorded) |
| (< *-íl* 'move toward,' *-əm* 'intransitive') | |

From forms like *spəhéls* 'wind' and *qʷəhíləm* 'pass through,' we might suppose that these roots are //pah// and //qʷeh// and that with *-t* 'transitive' we have:

| | |
|---|---|
| *pá·t* //páhət// | *pəpáʔ̓ət* //pəpáh̓ət// |

Another possible TAh root appears in

| | |
|---|---|
| *p̓á·m* 'swell, rise' | *p̓əp̓á·m̓* 'be swelling, be rising' |

for which the resultative is *sp̓əhám̓* 'swollen, risen,' from which we might suppose the root to be //p̓ah//.

However, a problem with this interpretation is posed by the forms

| | |
|---|---|
| *xʷét* 'lower it, starve him' | *xʷəxʷét* 'be lowering it, be starving him' |

in which the vowels are short. Yet in the derivative *xʷé·łcət* 'throw down a gift for him (from the scaffold in front of the house at a potlatch)' (< *-łc-* 'benefactive,' *-t* 'transitive') the vowel is long. And in the derivative *xʷəhíləws* 'half starved' (< *íl* 'move toward,' *-əws* 'body') there is an /h/. These derivatives would suggest a root //xʷeh//. But if the root has that form, then why is the vowel of the forms with *-t* 'transitive' short?

Another possible TAh root, with a differently formed progressive appears in

| | |
|---|---|
| *x̌é·m* 'cry' | *x̌é·m̓* 'be crying' |

Cf. *x̌əx̌é·m̓* 'several are crying.' For similarly formed progressives, see TəR roots with *-əm* below. From a derivative *x̌əháməlałcə* (CC) (also *x̌áməlałcə* [JP]) 'a giant frog that cries like a baby and bestows wealth' (suffix, *-áləlcə ~ -á·łcə* 'giant'), we may infer a root √*x̌ah*.

### *7.2.3.1. Progressives of TAHT Roots*

There are a few roots consisting of an obstruent, a full vowel, /ʔ/ or /h/, and another obstruent. These form their progressives like TAH roots, by CV reduplication with the stress on the second vowel and the first appearing as schwa.

| | |
|---|---|
| *łéʔx̌t* 'put it on a dish, put s.t. under it' | *łəłéʔx̌t* 'be putting it, etc.' |
| *k̓ʷíʔxʷt* 'pitch it, seal it with pitch' | *k̓ʷək̓ʷíʔxʷt* 'be pitching it, etc.' |
| (cf. *k̓ʷíʔxʷ* 'pitch' [noun]) | |
| *x̌ʷá·l̓t* 'brace it' | *x̌ʷəx̌ʷá·l̓t* 'be bracing it' |
| *síʔx̌əm* 'duck, dodge' | *səsíʔx̌əm* 'keep ducking' |

## 7.2.4. Progressives of RAH Roots

Roots consisting of a resonant, a full vowel, and /ʔ/ or (presumably) /h/ form their progressives by CV reduplication but with the initial resonant replaced by /h/, the first vowel weakened to schwa though (usually) stressed, the following resonant glottalized, and the second vowel variable in quality, stress, and whether followed by /ʔ/ (RÁH → hə́R̓ÀH ~ hə́R̓ə).

The pattern is seen in two bare roots of the shape RAʔ:

| | |
|---|---|
| *méʔ* 'come off, run (as dye)' | *hámm̓ə* 'be coming off' (AG) |
| *léʔ* 'get hit just right' | *hál̓ə* 'be getting hit just right' (AG) |

With *-t* 'transitive,' RAʔ roots (like TAʔ roots) appear without a linking schwa:

| | |
|---|---|
| *léʔt* 'make it secure' (CC) | *hál̓ət* 'be making it secure' |
| *yáʔt* 'back it up' | *háy̓ət* (JP) *həy̓áʔt* (DK) 'be backing it up' |

They show the same pattern with the transitivizer *-x,* as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *méʔx* 'take it off' | *hámm̓èʔx* (CC) *həmm̓əx* (JP, AG) 'be taking it off' |
| *léʔx* 'put it away' | *hál̓áx* (CC) *hál̓əx* (JP, AG) 'be putting it away' |

The word *némm̓* 'go' appears, from its progressive form, to contain a root of this class; it is probably composed of *níʔ* 'be there' and *-əm* 'intransitive.'

| | |
|---|---|
| *némm̓* 'go' | *hánm̓əm̓* 'be going' |

Its causative form also supports this inference.

| | |
|---|---|
| *nəʔéməstəxʷ* 'take it, recite it' | *hánəməstəxʷ* 'be taking it, etc.' |

With *-nəxʷ* 'limited control,' a RAʔ root behaves like a TAʔ root, *-nəxʷ* appearing as *-n̓xʷ:*

*lén̓xʷ* 'manage to put it away' (no progressive recorded).

With *-éls,* it is reduced to Rəʔ-, as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *ləʔéls* 'put s.t. away' | *həl̓é·ls* 'be putting away' |

('Put something away' is used to mean to give something as an investment, expecting a return.)

With an unstressed vowel-initial suffix, a RAʔ root retains its stress but evidently may undergo a shift in vowel while the glottal stop is lost and the vowel is lengthened:

*míˑəqʷt* 'cut his head off' *həm̓iˑəqʷt* 'be cutting his head off' (CC)
*méəqət* 'cut his head off' (JP) (no progressive recorded)
(cf. *méʔx* 'remove it,' *-qʷ* 'head,' *-t* 'transitive')

There is one possible RAh root (so far discovered), seen in the following forms with *-t* 'transitive' and *-əm* 'intransitive.'

*yáˑt* 'warn him, order from him' *həy̓áˑt* 'be warning him, etc.'
*yáˑm* 'order (as a sweater from a knitter)' *həy̓áˑm̓* 'be ordering'

These suggest a root of the shape //yah//, meaning something like 'alert,' with *-t* 'alert him' and with *-əm* 'alert another for one's own sake.'

#### *7.2.4.1. Progressives of RAʔCC and RAʔəC Roots*

There are a few words that either have these shapes or are composed of RAʔ roots with unidentifiable suffixes. They form their progressives like RAʔ roots.

*méʔkʷɬ* 'get hurt' *háˑm̓əkʷɬ* (AG), *həm̓éʔkʷɬ* (CC) 'be getting hurt'
*yéʔət* [yéʔet] 'vomit' *háˑy̓ət* (JP), *həy̓éʔt* (DK) 'be vomiting'
*yéʔətt* 'vomit on him' *háˑy̓ətt* 'be vomiting on him' (AG)

### 7.2.5. Progressives of HAH Roots

The only example so far discovered of a root that seems to be of this shape appears with *-t* and *-əm* and has a long vowel in the perfective and a glottal stop followed by schwa in the progressive.

*ʔáˑt* 'call him' *áʔət* 'be calling him'
*ʔáˑm* 'call' *ʔáˑm̓* 'be calling'

### 7.2.6. Progressives of TəT Roots

Bare roots of the shape obstruent-schwa-obstruent form their progressives by CV reduplication with the stress on the second vowel ($T_1əT_2 \rightarrow T_1əT_1áT_2$), as in:

*páqʷ* 'go broke' *pəpáqʷ* 'be going broke'
*p̓áɬ* 'come to, sober up' *p̓əp̓áɬ* 'be coming to'
*táˑs* 'arrive there' *tətáˑs* 'be arriving there'
*t̓ákʷ* 'get stuck in mud' *t̓ət̓ákʷ* 'be getting stuck in mud'
*t̓áq̓ʷ* 'break' *t̓ət̓áq̓ʷ* 'be breaking'
*θáˑk̓ʷ* 'tighten up, get straight' *θəθáˑk̓ʷ* 'be tightening up, etc.'
*t̓ᶿáˑx̌ʷ* 'get washed' *t̓ᶿət̓ᶿáˑx̌ʷ* 'be getting washed'
*sáq̓* 'get torn, get split' *səsáq̓* 'be getting torn, etc.'

| | |
|---|---|
| *c̓áq̓ʷ* ‘get pierced’ | *c̓əc̓áq̓ʷ* ‘be getting pierced’ |
| *qʷás* ‘go under water’ | *qʷəqʷás* ‘be going under water’ |
| *qʷáɬ* ‘wash ashore’ | *qʷəqʷáɬ* ‘be washing ashore’ |
| *k̓ʷáɬ* ‘spill over, tip over’ | *k̓ʷək̓ʷáɬ* ‘be spilling over’ |

With *-t* ‘transitive,’ TəT roots appear as TT followed by either a full vowel, /e/ or /a/, or a schwa in the perfective, and their progressives are formed by inserting a full vowel, /e/ or /a/ between the two consonants. We may thus distinguish two subclasses:

(1) With the formula TTÁ- → TÁT-, as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *sq̓ét* ‘split it’ | *séq̓t* ‘be splitting it’ |
| *k̓ʷɬét* ‘spill it’ | *k̓ʷéɬt* ‘be spilling it’ |
| *t̓kʷát* ‘caulk it’ | *t̓ákʷt* ‘be caulking it’ |
| *t̓q̓ʷát* ‘cut it off’ | *t̓áq̓ʷt* ‘be cutting it off’ |
| *t̓ᶿx̌ʷát* ‘wash it’ | *t̓ᶿáx̌ʷt* ‘be washing it’ |

The vowels here seem predictable; if the second consonant is rounded, the vowel is /a/; if not, it is /e/.

(2) With the formula TTə- → TÁT-, as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *p̓ɬát* ‘bring him to’ | *p̓éɬt* ‘be bringing him to’ |
| *tsát* ‘approach it’ | *tést* ‘be approaching it’ |
| *θk̓ʷát* ‘stretch it’ | *θék̓ʷt* ‘be stretching it’ |
| *θq̓át* ‘spear it’ | *θéq̓t* ‘be spearing it’ |
| *θx̌át* ‘push him’ | *θéx̌t* ‘be pushing it’ |
| *ƛ̓q̓ʷát* ‘get him ready’ | *ƛ̓áq̓ʷt* ‘be getting him ready’ |
| *c̓q̓ʷát* ‘pierce it’ | *c̓áq̓ʷt* ‘be piercing it’ |

In this set, it appears that only if the second consonant is a rounded uvular, the vowel in the progressive is /a/.

(3) There is one (so far recorded) TəT root that, with *-t* ‘transitive’ forms its progressive with two schwas (TTÁ- → TəTə-), as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *csét* ‘tell him to do so’ | *cásət* ‘be telling him to do so’ |

The pattern is like that of some of the roots with *-m* ‘intransitive’ given below.

There are a few presumptive TəT roots that I have recorded with *-t* ‘transitive’ but never bare. These include:

| | |
|---|---|
| *t̓qát* ‘insult him (by reference to ancestry)’ | *t̓éqt* ‘be insulting him ...’ |
| *ɬqét* ‘peg/nail it together temporarily’ | *ɬéqt* ‘be pegging it ...’ |

(I have recorded no **t̓áq* or **ɬáq*.)

With *-əm* ‘intransitive,’ TəT roots fall into five subclasses, four with the stress falling on the suffix in the perfective with variations in the stressed vowel (and so resembling the subclasses with *-t* ‘transitive’) and a fifth formed by reduplication (and so resembling the progressive of the bare root).

(1) With a full vowel in both perfective and progressive (TTÁ- → TÁT-), as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *k̓ʷxém* 'count' | *k̓ʷéxəm* 'be counting' |
| (cf. *k̓ʷxét* 'count them,' *k̓ʷéxt* 'be counting them') | |

(2) With a full vowel in the perfective and a schwa in the progressive (TTÁ- → TəTə-), as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *θxʷám* 'bleed' | *θáxʷəm̓* 'be bleeding' |
| (cf. *θáxʷ* 'fade away') | |
| *c̓tém* 'creep' | *c̓átəm̓* 'be creeping' |
| (no **c̓át* or **c̓tét* recorded) | |
| *xtém* 'swim underwater' | *xátəm̓* 'be swimming underwater' |
| (no **xát* or **xté* recorded) | |

(3) With a schwa in the perfective and full vowel in the progressive (TTə́- → TÁTə-), as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *cƛ̓ám* 'jump' | *céƛ̓əm̓* 'be jumping' |
| (no **cáƛ̓* recorded) | |
| *i͒θq̓ám* 'drip' | *i͒θéq̓əm̓* 'be dripping' |
| (no **i͒θáq̓* or **i͒θq̓át* recorded) | |

(4) With a schwa in both perfective and progressive (TTə́- → TəTə-), as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *pk̓ʷə́m* 'splash, billow out' | *pák̓ʷəm* 'be splashing, etc.' |
| (cf. *pk̓ʷát* 'scatter it,' *pék̓ʷt* 'be scattering it') | |
| *qƛ̓ə́m* 'come loose' | *qəƛ̓əm̓* 'be coming loose' (AG) |
| (no **qəƛ̓* recorded) | |

(5) With reduplication, i.e., TəTə- → TəTə́Tə-, e.g.,

| | |
|---|---|
| *ɬə́i͒təm* 'rake herring' | *ɬəɬə́i͒təm* 'be raking herring' |
| (cf. *ɬi͒tét* 'hit it with a swiping motion,' *ɬéi͒t* 'be hitting it away') | |

With *-nəxʷ* 'limited control,' a TəT root appears in the perfective as unstressed TəT- while the suffix is stressed as *-néxʷ*. However, in the progressive the root appears stressed as TÁT and the suffix unstressed as *-nəxʷ*, as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *təsnéxʷ* 'manage to get close to it' | *tésnəxʷ* 'be managing to, etc.' |
| (cf. *tsə́t* 'approach it' | *tést* 'be approaching it') |
| *θəx̌néxʷ* 'accidentally push him' | *θéx̌nəxʷ* 'be accidentally ...' |
| (cf. *θx̌ə́t* 'push him away' | *θéx̌* 'be pushing him away') |
| *c̓əq̓ʷnéxʷ* 'manage to hit it (shooting)' | *c̓áq̓ʷnəxʷ* 'be managing to ...' |
| (cf. *c̓q̓ʷát* 'pierce it, shoot it' | *c̓áq̓ʷt* 'be piercing it, etc.') |
| *i͒əq̓ʷnéxʷ* 'manage to cut it off' | *i͒áq̓ʷnəxʷ* 'be managing ...' |
| (cf. *i͒q̓ʷát* 'cut it off, cut it loose' | *i͒áq̓ʷt* 'be cutting it off, etc.') |

The verb *ṯəq̓ʷnéxʷ* also means 'catch him (at s.t.)' or 'catch it (an event).'

With *-éls,* a TəT root appears as it does with *-t,* as TT- in the perfective and (usually) with a full vowel in the progressive, as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *x̌̓kʷéls* 'pinch' | *x̌̓ákʷəl̓s* 'be pinching' |
| (cf. *x̌̓kʷát* 'grab it between the fingers' | *x̌̓ákʷt* 'be grabbing it ...') |
| *q̓péls* 'take up a collection' | *q̓épəl̓s* 'be taking up a collection' |
| (cf. *q̓pát* 'put it together' | *q̓ept* 'be putting it together') |
| *k̓ʷɬéls* 'pour' | *k̓ʷéɬəl̓s* 'be pouring' (AG) |
| | (but cf. *k̓ʷáɬəl̓s* 'be flowing fast' [JP]) |
| (cf. *k̓ʷɬét* 'spill it' | *k̓ʷéɬt* 'be spilling it') |

With lexical suffixes, a TəT root always appears unstressed in the perfective, as TT- when followed by a suffix beginning with a vowel and as TəT- when followed by one beginning with a consonant. (Because the suffix always takes the stress, we find that TəT roots take the stressed forms of suffixes that appear unstressed when following roots with full vowels.) In the progressive, the stress usually shifts to the root, which then appears as TáT, but in some words the suffix keeps the stress and the root appears as TəT- (as in 'wash one's feet' below).

| | |
|---|---|
| *ṯ̓θx̌ʷásəm* 'wash one's face' | *ṯ̓θáx̌ʷəsəm̓* 'be washing one's face' |
| (< *-ás ~ -əs* 'face,' *ṯ̓θáx̌ʷ* 'get washed,' *-əm* 'intransitive,' cf. *ṯ̓θx̌ʷát* 'wash it,' *ṯ̓θáx̌ʷt* 'be washing it') | |
| *ṯ̓θx̌ʷécsəm* 'wash one's hands' | *ṯ̓θáx̌ʷəcsəm̓* 'be washing one's hands' |
| (< *-écəs ~ cəs* 'hand') | |
| *ṯ̓θəx̌ʷxénəm* 'wash one's feet' | *ṯ̓θəx̌ʷxén̓əm* 'be washing ...' (AG) |
| (< *-xén ~ -xən* 'foot') | |
| *ṯ̓θx̌ʷálwətəm* 'wash clothes' | *ṯ̓θáx̌ʷəl̓wətəm̓* 'be washing clothes' |
| (< *-álwət* 'clothing') | |
| *sq̓álcəp* 'split firewood' | *sáq̓əlcəp* 'be splitting firewood' |
| (< *-álcəp* 'fire, firewood,' *sáq̓* 'get split'; cf. *sq̓ét* 'split it,' *séq̓t* 'be splitting it') | |
| *ṯ̓kʷéwəɬ* 'caulk a canoe' | *ṯ̓ákʷəwəɬ* 'be caulking a canoe' |
| (< *-éwəɬ ~ -wəɬ* 'vessel,' *ṯ̓ək̓ʷ* 'get stuck in mud'; cf. *ṯ̓kʷát* 'caulk it,' *ṯ̓ákʷt* 'be caulking it') | |

There are a few cases recorded where the root of the progressive has the full vowel that appears in the progressive with *-t*.

| | |
|---|---|
| *xʷɬəqnécəm* 'tow' | *xʷɬéqnəcəm̓* 'be towing' (JP) |
| (< *-néc* 'butt, base, rump'; cf. *ɬqét* 'peg it together,' *ɬéqt* 'be pegging it together') | |
| *ṯ̓θx̌ʷéʔɬ* 'wash diapers' (CC, AG) | *ṯ̓θáx̌ʷaʔɬ* (CC), *ṯ̓θáx̌ʷeʔɬ* (AG) 'be washing diapers' |
| (< *-éʔɬ* 'bedding') | |

In the last example, the *-aʔɬ* in CC's progressive may be a case of vowel harmony.

### *7.2.6.1. Progressives of TəTəC Roots*

The few roots of this shape form their progressive as TəT roots do, by CV reduplication with the stress on the second schwa.

| | |
|---|---|
| *ṯə́pəl̓* 'play cards' | *ṯəṯə́pəl̓* 'be playing cards' |
| *q̓ə́t̓ᶿəx̌* 'defecate' | *q̓əq̓ə́t̓ᶿəx̌* 'be defecating' |
| *x̌̓ə́k̓ʷən̓* 'go out (as a fire)' | *x̌̓əx̌̓ə́k̓ʷən̓* 'be going out' |
| *x̌̓ə́k̓ʷən̓t* 'extinguish it (a fire or a hatred)' | *x̌̓əx̌̓ə́k̓ʷən̓t* 'be extinguishing it' |

AG gave these last four forms with *n̓;* I recorded *n* from JP.

The following seems to belong here, again suggesting that the full vowel followed by the glottal stop is an underlying schwa.

| | |
|---|---|
| *sə́x̌ʷaʔ* 'urinate' | *səsə́x̌ʷaʔ* 'be urinating' |

### *7.2.6.2. Progressives of TTVC Roots*

There are a few words that may be roots of the shape TTAC and whose progressives are formed by inserting a stressed schwa between the first and second consonant and reducing the full vowel of the perfective to schwa (TTÁC → Tə́TəC). In this pattern they resemble a few TəT roots with *-t* 'transitive,' *-əm* 'intransitive,' and other suffixes.

| | |
|---|---|
| *ṯɬáq̓ʷ* 'get twisted' | *ṯə́ɬəq̓ʷ* 'be getting twisted' |
| *cɬáqʷ* 'go through' | *cə́ɬəqʷ* 'be going through' |
| *x̌̓qíɬ* 'give birth' | *x̌̓əqəɬ* 'be giving birth' |
| *x̌ṯék̓ʷ* 'carve' | *x̌ə́ṯək̓ʷ* 'be carving' |

With *-t* these follow the same pattern.

| | |
|---|---|
| *ṯɬáq̓ʷt* 'pry it off' | *ṯə́ɬəq̓ʷt* 'be prying it off' |
| *cɬáqʷt* 'put it through' | *cə́ɬəqʷt* 'be putting it through' |

There is at least one possible root of the shape CCəC:

*kʷtə́xʷ* 'enter' (no progressive recorded).

With *-t*, however , a full vowel appears in the progressive:

| | |
|---|---|
| *kʷtéxʷt* 'bring/take it in' | *kʷə́təxʷt* 'be bringing/taking it in' |

There are other words, recorded only with transitivizers, that follow this pattern. From the examples just given, it appears that the bare roots of these may be either CCAC or CCəC in shape.

| | |
|---|---|
| *tpáɬt* 'stretch it on a frame (as a hide)' | *tə́pəɬt* 'be stretching it ...' |
| *θqáɬt* 'honour him by giving wealth' | *θə́qəɬt* 'be honouring him ...' |
| *θqénx* 'stand it up in the ground' | *θə́qənx* 'be standing it up ...' (AG) |

Some or all of these may possibly be TəT roots with petrified suffixes.

### 7.2.7. Progressives of TəR Roots

Roots of this shape form their progressives by CV reduplication with the stress on the second schwa (as TəT roots do) and with the resonant glottalized (Tə́R → TəTə́ R̓, as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *pə́n* 'get buried' | *pəpə́n̓* 'be getting buried' |
| *q̓ʷə́l* 'get cooked' | *q̓ʷəq̓ʷə́l̓* 'be getting cooked' |
| *kʷə́n* 'become possessed' | *kʷəkʷə́n̓* 'be going into a possessed state' |
| *xʷə́y* 'wake up' | *xʷəxʷə́y̓* 'be waking up' |

With *-t* 'transitive,' TəR roots fall into two subclasses, with nearly all of them in the first subclass.

(1) With their progressives formed by reduplication following the pattern of the bare roots (and unlike TəT roots, which do not reduplicate with *-t*, as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *pə́nət* 'bury it' | *pəpə́n̓ət* 'be burying it' |
| *q̓ʷə́ləṯ* 'roast it' | *q̓ʷəq̓ʷə́l̓əṯ* 'be roasting it' |
| *kʷə́nət* 'take it' | *kʷəkʷə́n̓ət* 'be taking it' |
| *łəmət* 'pick it/them' | *łəłə́m̓ət* 'be picking it/them' |
| *q̓ʷə́mət* 'pull it out' (< *q̓ʷə́m* 'shed, moult') | *q̓ʷəq̓ʷə́mət* 'be pulling it out' |

(2) With their progressives formed by simply glottalizing the resonant, without reduplication.

| | |
|---|---|
| *łə́ləṯ* 'bail it (as a canoe)' | *lə́l̓əṯ* 'be bailing it' |
| *qə́wət* 'warm it' | *qə́w̓ət* 'be warming it' (AG) |

With *-əm* 'intransitive,' TəR roots form their progressives in three ways:

(1) by reduplication (with the usual glottalization of resonants)

| | |
|---|---|
| *pə́n̓əm* 'plant' | *pəpə́n̓əm̓* 'be planting' |
| *ṯə́yəm* 'stick, adhere' | *ṯəṯə́yəm̓* 'be sticking' |

(2) by strengthening the vowel (with the usual glottalization)

| | |
|---|---|
| *c̓ə́nəm* 'shake (as a Shaker)' | *c̓ə́n̓əm̓* 'be shaking' |
| *q̓ə́wəm* 'howl (as a dog or wolf)' | *q̓ə́w̓əm̓* 'be howling' |

(3) by simply glottalizing the final resonant

| | |
|---|---|
| *q̓ʷə́ləm* 'bake' | *q̓ʷə́ləm̓* 'be baking' (AG) |

There are also at least two TəR roots that, in the perfective, combine with *-əm* with a loss of the resonant and the appearance of a long vowel /i·/. Their progressives are formed in the way just illustrated, by simply glottalizing the final /m/.

| | |
|---|---|
| *łí·m* //łə́m-əm// 'pick' | *łí·m̓* //łə́m-əm̓// 'be picking' |
| (cf. *łə́mət* 'pick them' | *łəłə́m̓ət* 'be picking them') |

*t̓ʔ̓·m* //t̓ʔ̓əm-əm// ‘pick berries’ *t̓ʔ̓·m̓* //t̓ʔ̓əm-əm̓// ‘be picking berries’
(cf. *st̓ʔ̓·m* ‘berry, berries’; in the Nanaimo dialect *st̓ʔ̓əməm*)

With *-nəxʷ* ‘limited control,’ a TəR root is stressed in the perfective and the suffix is unstressed (unlike TəT roots, which appear unstressed and with *-néxʷ*). The progressive (in the one example available) is formed by strengthening the vowel and glottalizing the resonant.

*kʷə́nnəxʷ* ‘get it’ *kʷán̓nəxʷ* (JP), *kʷén̓nəxʷ* (AG) ‘be getting it’

From the few examples available, it seems that with *-éls* TəR roots behave variably.

*t̓əm̓éls* ‘chop’ *t̓ət̓ə́m̓əl̓s* ‘be chopping’
(cf. t̓ə́mət ‘chop it’ *t̓ət̓ə́m̓ət* ‘be chopping it’)
*x̌əléls* ‘write’ *x̌əx̌éyəl̓s* (CC), *x̌əx̌íls* [x̌əx̌í·l̓s ?] (JP) ‘be writing’
(cf. *x̌ə́lət* ‘paint a design’ *x̌əx̌ə́lət* ‘be painting a design’)
*kʷí·ls* ‘grab onto s.t.’ *kʷəkʷí·l̓s* ~ *kʷí·l̓s* [?] (AG) ‘be grabbing ...’

With lexical suffixes, TəR roots appear in the perfective stressed with unstressed suffixes and unstressed with stressed suffixes, but it is unclear when a suffix will be stressed or unstressed; cf. forms with *-íw̓s* ~ *-əw̓s* ‘body, bird’ below. The progressives are formed in ways seen with *-t* and *-əm:*

(1) by reduplication

*pə́nəst* ‘throw dirt in his face’ *pəpə́n̓əst* ‘be throwing ...’ (AG)
(cf. *pə́nət* ‘bury it,’ *pəpə́n̓ət* ‘be burying it,’ -ə*s* ‘face’)
*łə́ləst* ‘splash water in his face’ *łəłə́ləst* ‘be splashing ...’ (JP)
(cf. *łə́lət* ‘bail it,’ *łə́l̓ət* ‘be bailing it,’ *-əs* ‘face’)

(2) by glottalizing the resonant

*q̓ʷə́məw̓s* ‘pluck a bird’ *q̓ʷə́m̓əw̓s* ‘be plucking a bird’ (JP)
(cf. *q̓ʷə́mət* ‘pull it out,’ *q̓ʷəq̓ʷə́mət* ‘be pulling it out,’ *-íw̓s* ~ *-əw̓s* ‘body, bird’)

(1) and (2) both ways

*t̓əm̓íw̓st* ‘chop its trunk’ *t̓ət̓ə́m̓əw̓st* ~ *t̓ə́m̓əw̓st* ‘be chopping ...’ (AG)
(cf. *t̓ə́mət* ‘chop it’ *t̓ətə́m̓ət* ‘be chopping it’)
*łəm̓íw̓st* ‘knock its branches off’ *łəłə́m̓əw̓st* ~ *łə́m̓əw̓st* ‘be knocking ...’
(cf. *łə́mət* ‘pick them’ *łəłə́m̓ət* ‘be picking them’)

(3) by strengthening the vowel and glottalizing the resonant of the root

*x̌ʷənxénəm* ‘run’ *x̌ʷan̓xənəm̓* ‘be running’
(possibly *x̌ʷə́m* ‘fast,’ *-xén* ~ *-xən* ‘foot,’ *-əm* ‘intr.,’ i.e., “fast-foot it”)
*łəwt̓ʔéʔəm* ‘disrobe’ *łéw̓t̓ʔé·m̓* ‘be disrobing’
(< *łəw̓ít̓ʔəʔ* ‘naked’)

This last is composed of the suffix *-ít̓ᵊeʔ* 'robe' and a root possibly identifiable as *łéw̓* 'escape, be cured,' and *-əm* 'intransitive.' However, a CAC root like *łéw̓* ought to be reduplicated in the progressive, so if this root is indeed *łéw̓,* it is being treated here like a TəR root.

There is one exceptional TəR root, *θə́y* 'come into existence, get made,' which with *-t, -əm,* and various lexical suffixes, behaves like a CəCT root (see §7.2.10), strengthening the vowel and glottalizing the resonant, as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *θə́yt* 'make it, fix it' | *θéy̓t* 'be making it, be fixing it' |
| *θə́yəm* 'make bread' | *θéy̓əm* 'be making bread' |
| *θə́yəcən* 'rewrap the dead' | *θéy̓əcən* 'be rewrapping for reburial' |

(< *-ə́cən* ~ *-ícən* 'surface,' *-əm* 'intr.')

### *7.2.7.1. Progressives of TəRəC Roots*

The few roots of this shape form their progressives, as TəR roots do, in two ways:

(1) by CV reduplication with the stress on the second schwa, as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *xʷə́lək̓ʷt* 'wrap it up' | *xʷəxʷə́lək̓ʷt* 'be wrapping it up' |

(2) by glottalizing the medial resonant, as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *łə́məxʷ* 'rain' | *łə́m̓əxʷ* 'be raining' |

(This may be composed of a TəR root and a suffix; cf. *słə́młəm* 'dew,' *słém* 'drenched with rain'.)

| | |
|---|---|
| *c̓ə́ləxʷ* 'go/come upriver' | *c̓ə́l̓əxʷ* 'be going/coming upriver' (AG) |
| *q̓ə́wətt* 'drum for him' | *q̓ə́w̓ətt* 'be drumming for him' |

(cf. *q̓ə́wət* 'drum [noun]')

| | |
|---|---|
| *t̓ə́məxt* 'braid it' | *t̓ə́m̓əxt* 'be braiding it' |

(but cf. *t̓ə́mxənéʔt* 'braid her hair,' *t̓ímxənéʔt* 'be braiding her hair,' < *-ənéʔ* ~ *-ənə* 'ear')

| | |
|---|---|
| *q̓ə́wətəm* 'beat a drum' | *q̓ə́w̓ətəm* 'be beating a drum' |

### 7.2.8. Progressives of RəC Roots

Roots of the shapes RəT and RəR are like RAH roots (see §7.2.4) in forming their progressives by a variety of CV reduplication in which the initial resonant is replaced by /h/.

Bare roots of the shape RəT follow the formula Rə́T → hə́R̓T, as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *mə́q̓* 'get full, eat one's fill' | *hə́m̓q̓* 'be getting full' |
| *nə́qʷ* 'fall asleep' | *hə́n̓qʷ* 'be falling asleep' |
| *lə́s* 'cave in, slide (as land)' | *hə́l̓s* 'be falling in, etc.' |
| *lə́kʷ* 'break' | *hə́l̓kʷ* 'be breaking' |
| *yə́qʷ* 'burn' | *hə́y̓qʷ* 'be burning, fire' |
| *wə́q̓ʷ* 'drift away' | *hə́w̓q̓ʷ* 'be drifting away' |

Bare roots of the shape RəR follow the formula RəR → hə́RəR̊, as in:

*lə́m* 'be folded, be doubled over' *hə́ləm̓* 'be getting folded' (AG)

As they appear with *-t* 'transitive,' RəC roots fall into four subclasses, varying in the placement of the stress in the perfective and in the presence of a schwa or full vowel after the two consonants of the root (cf. the subclasses of TəT roots in §7.2.6):

(1) with the stress on the schwa of the root and with a schwa following (Rə́Cə- → hə́R̊Cə-), as in:

*mə́lət* 'dip it ceremoniously' *hə́m̓lət* 'be dipping it'
*mə́q̓ət* 'swallow it' *hə́m̓q̓ət* 'be swallowing it'
*lə́c̓ət* 'fill it' *hə́l̓c̓ət* 'be filling it'
*yə́x̌ʷət* 'untie it' *hə́y̓x̌ʷət* 'be untying it'

Two roots that take transitivizer /-x/ seem to belong here.

*nə́p̓əx* 'eat it' *hə́n̓p̓əx* 'be eating it'
*nə́wəx* 'insert it' *hə́n̓wəx* 'be inserting it'

(2) with the stress on the schwa of the root and no schwa following (Rə́C → həR̊C-).

*yə́qʷt* 'burn it' *hə́y̓qʷt* 'be burning it'

(3) with the stress on a schwa following the root in the perfective but with no schwa following the root in the progressive (RəCə́- → həR̊C-), as in:

*mət̓ə́t* 'bend it' *hə́m̓t̓t* 'be bending it'
*ləx̌ə́t* 'enlarge the mesh' *hə́l̓x̌t* 'be enlarging the mesh (of a net)'
*məsə́t* 'fold it up' *hə́m̓st* 'be folding it up'

(4) with a stressed full vowel following the root in the perfective and a schwa there in the progressive (RəCÁ → Hə́R̊Cə). I have found only one example:

*ləkʷát* 'break it' *hə́l̓kʷət* 'be breaking it'

With *-əm* 'intransitive,' RəC roots may fall into the subclasses seen with *-t* (cf. TəT roots, in §7.2.6), but only one example has been recorded. It would belong to the first subclass.

*nə́qəm* 'dive' *hə́n̓qəm̓* 'be diving'

With lexical suffixes, RəT roots form their progressives with the formula seen in the bare root but with the stress varying with the suffix, as in:

*mə́k̓ʷəlcəp* 'gather firewood' *həm̓k̓ʷə́l̓cəp* 'be gathering ...'
(cf. *mə́k̓ʷət* 'find it, pick it up,' *-ə́lcəp* 'fire, fuel')

*məɬéqət* 'bend it down (as a branch)' *háṁɬəqət* 'be bending ...'
(cf. *məɬát* 'bend it,' *háṁɬt* 'be bending it,' *-qən* [-éqən ?] 'head, end of long object')
*yáθəst* 'tell him' *háẏθəst* 'be telling him'
(cf. *syəθ* 'tradition, heritage,' *syáθəs* 'tradition, teaching,' *-əs* 'recipient')
*wəq̓ʷíləm* 'move downstream' *háẇq̓ʷələṁ* 'be moving downstream'
(cf. *wáq̓ʷ* 'drift with the current,' *háẇq̓ʷ* 'be drifting,' *-íl* 'move toward,' *-əm* 'intransitive')

There are a few exceptional RəR roots that, with *-t* and *-əm,* form their progressives like CəCT and a few TəR roots, by strengthening the vowel and glottalizing the resonant:

*yáwt* 'praise him' *yáẇθət* 'be bragging'
*náyəm* 'laugh' *néẏəṁ* 'be laughing'

### 7.2.9. Progressives of HəC Roots

There is no recorded example of a root of the shape həC and only one of the shape ʔəC. It forms its progressive by what may be identified as reduplication with the stress on the first vowel, which is strengthened to a full vowel.

*ʔáqʷ* 'lose one's hair' *ʔáʔəqʷ* 'be losing one's hair' (JP)

It has at least one derivative:

*ʔáqʷθət* 'shed hair' *ʔáˑqʷθət* 'be shedding hair' (JP)

(AG was not familiar with the word *ʔáqʷ* but suggested that the progressive ought to be *ʔáʔqʷ*. The next set of words would also suggest this.)

#### *7.2.9.1. Progressives of HəC(C)V(C) Roots*

There are a few words that appear to be roots of these shapes, with initial glottal stop. They form their progressives by strengthening the schwa to a full vowel, not now predictable, followed by a glottal stop or glottalization of a resonant.

*ʔáxəl* 'paddle' *ʔíʔxəl̓* 'be paddling'
*ʔámət* 'sit down, sit up' *ʔáṁət* 'be sitting down, be sitting up'
*ʔályə* 'have a vision' *ʔálˀyə* 'be having a vision'
*ʔáɬtən* 'eat' *ʔíʔɬtən* 'be eating'

This last word looks as though it might be composed of an HAC root **ʔíɬ* reduced to Hə̓c- with a CVC suffix (*-tən* 'instrument'?).

There is one word with an initial /h/ that may belong here:

*háye?* (AG) 'go away, leave' *háẏə* 'be going away, etc.' (AG)
*háye?* (JP) 'go away, leave'

(As recorded from JP, this should belong in another set. Unfortunately, I did not record a progressive from JP.)

### 7.2.10. Progressives of CəCT Roots

There are a number of roots (or apparent roots) of this shape, with the first consonant of any class (including glottals), the second either an obstruent or a resonant (and, if a resonant, either unglottalized or glottalized), and the third an obstruent. (Further analysis may reveal that some or all of these are really stems composed of CV roots and petrified suffixes or stem formatives, but for now we must consider them roots.) They form their progressives by strengthening the vowel, shifting from schwa to /e/ or /a/ (CəCT → CÁCT). Generally, the vowel in the progressive is /e/ unless the third consonant is rounded, making it /a/, but there are exceptions, such as *c̓éy̓xʷt* 'be drying it,' *qʷál̓st* 'be boiling it.' If the second consonant is an unglottalized resonant, it is glottalized in the progressive, unless (it seems) the third consonant is a glottalized obstruent. The following are bare roots with their progressives:

| | |
|---|---|
| *səwq̓* 'seek' | *séw̓q̓* 'be seeking' |
| *ʔəwk̓ʷ* 'get used up' | *ʔéw̓k̓ʷ* (AG), *ʔáw̓k̓ʷ* (DK) 'be getting used up' |
| *x̌əlx̌* 'spark, throw out a spark' | *x̌él̓x̌* 'be sparking' (AG) |

With *-t* 'transitive,' CəCT roots fall into two subclasses, the far greater number being in the first:

(1) with no schwa preceding the *-t*

| | |
|---|---|
| *pəskʷt* 'call him names' | *páskʷt* 'be calling him names' |
| *p̓əyx̌t* 'squeeze it' | *p̓éyx̌t* 'be squeezing it' |
| *mətqʷt* 'dip it' | *mátqʷt* 'be dipping it' |
| *səy̓t* 'tickle him' | *séy̓t* 'be tickling him' |
| *səwq̓t* 'look for it' | *séwq̓t* 'be looking for it' |
| *ɬətx̌t* 'shake it back and forth' | *ɬétx̌t* 'be shaking it back and forth' |
| *ɬəl̓qt* 'dip it' | *ɬél̓qt* 'be dipping it' |
| *ɬəlq̓ʷt* 'snatch it off him' | *ɬál̓q̓ʷt* 'be snatching it off him' |
| *x̌əpx̌t* 'spread it, scatter it' | *x̌épx̌t* 'be spreading it, be scattering it' |
| *x̌əyq̓t* 'press on it' | *x̌éyq̓t* 'be pressing on it' |
| *x̌əlx̌t* 'throw sparks on it' | *x̌él̓x̌t* 'be throwing sparks on it' (AG) |
| *c̓əyxʷt* 'dry it' | *c̓éy̓xʷt* 'be drying it' |
| *kʷəyx̌t* 'stir it' | *kʷéy̓x̌t* 'be stirring it' |
| *xʷəlp̓t* 'fan him' | *xʷélp̓t* 'be fanning him' |
| *x̌əlc̓t* 'twist it around' | *x̌élc̓t* 'be twisting it around' |
| *qʷəl̓st* 'boil it (as an egg)' | *qʷál̓st* 'be boiling it' |
| *hənqʷt* 'warm it up' | *hán̓qʷt* 'be warming it up' |
| *həyqʷt* 'recruit him' | *háy̓qʷt* 'be recruiting him' |
| *ʔəwk̓ʷt* 'use it up' | *ʔéw̓k̓ʷt* 'be using it up' (AG) |

(2) with a schwa preceding the *-t*. I have found only one example:

*c̓ə́lxət* 'delouse him' *c̓élxət* 'be delousing him (a child)'

With *-əm* 'intransitive' and *-əl* 'move toward,' some but perhaps not all CəCT roots appear in the perfective as CÁCəT- (the Á being the /e/ or /a/ that appears in the progressive of the *-t* form), and these form their progressives in ways varying slightly depending on the type of consonant in the second position.

(1) If the second consonant is an obstruent, the stressed full vowel is lengthened (for CC though not for AG) and the schwa is dropped (CÁTəT- → CÁ(·)TT-):

*mátəqʷəm* 'bubble up' *má·tqʷəm* (CC), *mátqʷəm̓* (AG) 'be bubbling up'
(cf. *mátqʷt* 'dip it' *mátqʷt* 'be dipping it')

(2) If the second consonant is a resonant, this is glottalized in the progressive and the schwa following it is dropped (CÁRəT- → CÁR̓T-), as in:

*kʷeyəx̌əm* 'move' *kʷéy̓x̌əm̓* 'be moving'
(cf. *kʷáyx̌t* 'move it' *kʷéy̓x̌t* 'be moving it')
*ƛ̓éləx̌əm* 'spark' *ƛ̓él̓x̌əm̓* 'be sparking' (AG)
(cf. *ƛ̓ə́lx̌* 'spark' *ƛ̓él̓x̌* 'be sparking')
*hánəqʷəm* 'get warm' *hán̓qʷəm* 'be getting warm'
(cf. *hánqʷt* 'warm it up' *hán̓qʷt* 'be warming it up')
*qʷáməx̌ʷəl* 'get thin' *qʷám̓əx̌ʷəl̓* 'be getting thin'
(cf. *cqʷə́mx̌ʷ* 'thin, skinny')

The last progressive form, 'be getting thin,' seems irregular in not losing its first schwa.

There are words that are composed of stems of these shapes with these suffixes and forming their progressives in these ways. Their roots have not yet been recorded bare of suffixes, but possibly they too are of the shape CəCT. These include:

*páləxʷəm* 'steam (from heat, as a pot)' *pál̓xʷəm̓* 'be steaming'
(AG denied ***pálxʷt*, but cf. *spáləxʷəm* 'steam')
*p̓ələk̓ʷəm* 'boil up (as water from paddling)' *p̓ál̓k̓ʷəm* 'be boiling up'
*łátəqʷəm* 'boil' *łátqʷəm̓* 'be boiling' (AG)
*łát̓əq̓ʷəm* 'snore' *łá·t̓q̓ʷəm* 'be snoring' (CC)
*lát̓əqʷəl* 'get soft (as fish in the sun)' *lá·t̓qʷəl* 'be getting soft' (CC)
*kʷátəxʷəm* 'burst into flame' *kʷá·təxʷəm* 'be blazing' (JP)
*xʷánək̓ʷəm* 'make a blowing noise, breathe heavily' *xʷán̓k̓ʷəm* 'be making a blowing noise, etc.'

With other suffixes, CəCT roots show the forms seen with *-t*, except that in the perfective the stress may be on either the root or the suffix, while in the progressive it seems to be always on the root.

*c̓əy̓xʷéls* 'dry fish' *c̓éy̓xʷəls* 'be drying fish'
(cf. *c̓ə́y̓xʷt* 'dry it,' *c̓éy̓xʷt* 'be drying it')
*x̌ə́lc̓əst* 'wring its neck' *x̌ál̓c̓əst* 'be wringing its neck'
(cf. *x̌ə́lc̓t* 'twist it,' *x̌élc̓t* 'be twisting it,' *-əs* 'face, front end')
*səwq̓ə́nəq* 'look for a person' *séw̓q̓ənəq* 'be looking for a person'
(cf. *səwq̓* 'seek,' *séw̓q̓* 'be seeking,' *-ə́nəq* 'another person')
*łəlqə́csəm* 'put one's hands into water' *łélqəcsəm* 'be putting ...'
(cf. *łəl̓qt* 'dip it, launch it,' *łél̓qt* 'be dipping it,' *-cəs* ~ *-écəs* ~ *-ə́cəs* 'hand,' *-əm* 'intransitive')

### 7.2.11. Unique Progressives

Three roots form their progressives in wholly irregular ways:

(1) *x̌téʔ* 'do,' *x̌ə́t̓ə* 'be doing' (also 'be saying'), in which we see a unique replacement of the unglottalized /t/ in the perfective by a glottalized /t̓/ in the progressive. This root appears with *-əm* as

*x̌té·əm* 'prepare (as food or tea)' *x̌ət̓é·m* 'be preparing'

(2) *θə́t* 'say,' *x̌ə́t̓ə* 'be saying' (also 'be doing'), in which there is a (so far) unique example of the progressive of one verb also serving as the progressive of another.

(3) *kʷə́lləx* 'shoot,' *ʔéʔkʷəl̓ləx* 'be shooting,' in which there is a (so far) unique prefixed progressive marker.

## 7.3. PLURALS

Many, but evidently not all, verbs have plural forms in the perfective and/or progressive aspect. (This section deals with plurals of these forms only. Plurals of duratives and resultatives are discussed under those headings.)

Depending on the transitivity of the verb, plural forms can indicate plurality in the subject, object, event, or result. The plural of an intransitive form can indicate a plural subject; thus, the plural of *ném̓* 'go,' *néləm̓,* can only mean 'several go.' However, the plural of *t̓ə́q̓ʷ* 'break or snap (as a rope or stick),' *t̓ə́q̓ʷt̓əq̓ʷ,* can mean 'several break' or 'one gets broken up into lengths,' and the plural of *c̓ə́q̓ʷ* 'get pierced,' can mean 'get pierced all over' or 'get pierced many times (as by a thistle).' The plural of a transitive form can indicate a plural object as well as a plural subject or event; thus, the plural of *t̓ᵊíq̓ʷət* 'hit him with the fist,' *t̓ᵊál̓əq̓ʷət,* can mean 'one hits several,' 'several hit one,' or 'one hits one several times.' JP glossed *ləmlə́meʔt,* the plural of *ləm̓éʔt* 'kick him,' as 'kick a lot' – 'one kicks several,' 'several kick one,' or 'one kicks the hell out

of one'! Plural forms may therefore, at least with some verbs, serve to produce a kind of intensive or iterative aspect.

Plural verb forms are optional. Plurality of subject or object need not be indicated in any way. Plurality of a third person is often indicated by the particle *ʔé·ɬtən,* which may obviate the need for indicating it with the verb. Plurality of events can be indicated by adverbs such as *c̓əxʷlé* 'occasionally,' *yáθ* 'always,' and so on. Plurals of verbs are only moderately common in my texts, and for many verbs I have been unable to elicit plural forms, especially plural progressives.

Plurals, like progressives, are formed differently according to the shape of the root.

### 7.3.1. CAC Plural Perfectives

CAC roots, bare and with *-t* and *-əm*, regularly make plurals of their perfectives with an infixed *-lə-* (which occasionally appears as *-əl-*) or *-l̓ə-* (which occasionally appears as *-ʔəl-*) and, if the vowel is /i/, a lowering to /e/ or, in the presence of a rounded back velar, to /a/. The variations in the infix are not predictable at this time. Here are examples of perfectives followed by their plurals:

| | |
|---|---|
| *cám* 'go/come up from the shore' | *cáləm* 'several go/come up ...' |
| *q̓áy* 'die' | *q̓áləy* 'several die' |
| *ɬaxʷ* 'go/come down to the shore' | *ɬál̓əxʷ* 'several go/come down ...' |
| *ɬák̓ʷ* 'fly' | *ɬál̓ək̓ʷ* 'several fly' |
| *q̓ʷím* 'disembark' | *q̓ʷáləm* 'several disembark' |
| *t̓ᶿíq̓ət* 'step on it' | *t̓ᶿéləq̓ət* 'step on several, several step on it' |
| *t̓ᶿíq̓ʷət* 'punch him' | *t̓ᶿál̓əq̓ʷət* 'punch several, etc.' |
| *θíc̓ət* 'stab him' | *θél̓əc̓ət* 'stab several, etc.' |
| *ɬípət* 'cut it up' | *ɬéləpət* 'cut it into pieces, etc.' |
| *ɬíc̓ət* 'cut it across' | *ɬéʔəlc̓ət* 'cut it into slices, etc.' |
| *c̓ísəm* 'grow' | *c̓éləsəm ~ c̓é·lsəm* 'several grow' |
| *xéq̓əm* 'open the mouth' | *xél̓əq̓əm* 'open the mouths' |
| *xʷísət* 'shake it up' | *xʷéʔəlsət* 'shake them up, etc.' |
| *q̓íḵʷət* 'bite him' | *q̓él̓ək̓ʷt* 'bite several, bite in several places, several bite him' |

(The plural of 'bite' was recorded without a schwa before the *-t*. I cannot explain this apparent irregularity.)

The few irregular plural perfectives will be identified along with irregular plural progressives below.

#### *7.3.1.1. CAC Plural Progressives*

CAC roots, like other types, generally base their plural progressives on the shape of the root as reflected in the simple (non-plural) progressive. As long as

the shape of the root is clearly reflected by CV reduplication in the simple progressive, the plural progressive is formed by CVC reduplication of the root with the stress on the first vowel and the second appearing as schwa, as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *k̓ʷáqʷ* ‘get hit’ | *k̓ʷák̓ʷəqʷ* (prog.) |
| *k̓ʷálə̓qʷ* (pl. perf.) | *k̓ʷáqʷk̓ʷəqʷ* (pl. prog.) |
| *k̓ʷáqʷət* ‘hit/club him’ | *k̓ʷák̓ʷəqʷət* (prog.) |
| *k̓ʷálə̓qʷət* (pl. perf.) | *k̓ʷáqʷk̓ʷəqʷt* (pl. prog.) |
| *t̓áxʷ* ‘go/come down’ | *t̓át̓əxʷ* (prog.) |
| *t̓ál̓əxʷ* (pl. perf.) | *t̓áxʷt̓əxʷ* (pl .prog.) |
| *łák̓ʷ* ‘fly’ | *łáłək̓ʷ* (prog.) |
| *łál̓ək̓ʷ* (pl. perf.) | *łák̓ʷłək̓ʷ* (pl. prog.) |
| *t̓ícəm* ‘swim’ | *t̓ít̓əcəm* (prog.) |
| *t̓él̓əcəm* (pl. perf.) | *t̓ícət̓əcəm* (pl. prog.) |

In the following, the progressive is irregular but the plural progressive seems to follow the pattern of the previous set:

| | |
|---|---|
| *qʷél* ‘speak’ | *qʷáʔqʷəl̓* (prog.) |
| *qʷéʔəl* (pl. perf.) | *qʷál̓qʷəl̓* (pl. prog.) |

In the next two examples, the shape of the root is obscured by its simple (non-plural) progressive form, and so the plural progressive is formed by reduplication of the initial CVC of this simple progressive form, and the stress may be on the second vowel, as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *cám* ‘go/come back up’ | *cákʷəm* (prog.) |
| *cáləm* (pl. perf.) | *cəkʷcákʷəm* (pl. prog.) |
| *ném̓* ‘go’ | *hán̓əm̓* (prog.) |
| *nélə̓m̓* (pl. perf.) | *hənhán̓əm̓* (pl. prog.) |

The irregularities of these simple progressives have been dealt with earlier (in §7.2.1).

Two CAC roots are irregular in the formation of their plural perfectives by CVC reduplication, and in one the irregularity is taken further in the plural progressive.

| | |
|---|---|
| *t̓íləm* ‘sing’ | *t̓ít̓əl̓əm̓* (prog.) |
| *t̓əlt̓íləm* (pl. perf.) | *t̓ít·l̓t̓əl̓əm̓* (pl. prog.) |
| *kʷél* ‘hide’ | *kʷəkʷíl̓* (prog.) |
| *kʷəlkʷél* (pl. perf.) | (no pl. prog. recorded) |
| *kʷélx* ‘hide him’ | *kʷékʷəlx* ~ *kʷéʔkʷəl̓x* (prog.) |
| *kʷəlkʷélx* (pl. perf.) | (no pl. prog. recorded) |

Finally, JP gave an irregular plural progressive in the following set:

| | |
|---|---|
| *łípət* 'cut it up (a carcass)' | *łíłəpət* 'be cutting it up' |
| *łéləpət* 'cut it into pieces' | *łél̓əpət* 'be cutting it into pieces' |

Here it appears that the plural progressive is formed from the plural perfective following a pattern in which a medial resonant is simply glottalized, as if *łéləpət* were a simple (non-plural) perfective. AG, on the other hand, glottalized the resonant in the perfective and so could not produce such a contrast.

### 7.3.2. HAC and HACəC plurals

In the few examples recorded, HAC and HACəC roots form their plural perfectives as CAC roots do but differ in their plural progressives in the placement of the stress and appearance of glottal stops:

| | |
|---|---|
| *háy* 'stop' | *há·y̓* (prog.) |
| *háləy* [háli] (AG) (pl. perf.) | (no pl. prog. recorded) |
| *ʔík̓ʷ* 'be lost, die' | *ʔíʔk̓ʷ* 'be getting lost' |
| *ʔéləkʷ* (pl. perf.) | (no pl. prog. recorded) |
| *ʔítət* 'go to bed, sleep' | *ʔíʔtət* (prog.) |
| *ʔaʔəltət* (pl. perf.) | *ʔətʔíʔtət* (pl. prog.) |
| *ʔíməx* 'walk' | *ʔím̓əx* //ʔíʔm̓əx//? (prog.) |
| *ʔəm̓íməx* (pl. perf.) | *ʔəm̓í·m̓əx* //ʔəmʔíʔm̓əx//? (pl. prog.) |

In the last two examples, the stress in the plural progressive is on the second vowel rather than on the first. The plural progressive of *ʔítət* 'sleep' could more easily be identified as the product of CVC reduplication if it were ***ʔətʔítət* or based on the progressive form ***ʔəʔíʔtət,* but the latter is phonologically impossible. The recorded form may be a kind of compromise, as may be the plural progressive of *ʔíməx* 'walk.' The /a/ rather than /e/ in the plural perfective of *ʔítət* 'sleep' is clearly not produced by a rounded uvular, as in a number of CAC roots, and so its presence implies, I believe, that the second vowel was once **u,* that is, 'sleep' was **ʔitut* (cf. Lushootseed *ʔítut* 'sleep').

One HAR root resembles the irregular TAR root *t̓íləm* 'sing' in forming its plural perfective by CVC reduplication:

| | |
|---|---|
| *híləm* 'fall, roll' | *híl̓əm* (prog.) |
| *həlhíləm* (pl. perf.) | *hilhíl̓əm* (DK) (pl. prog.) |

### 7.3.3. CAH Plurals

I have not recorded any plural forms of TAH or HAH roots. From the following examples, RAH roots appear to form plural perfectives by CV reduplication with the stress on the second vowel:

| | |
|---|---|
| *mé$^{ʔ}$x* ‘remove it’ | *hám̓e$^{ʔ}$x* (CC), *hám̓əx* (AG) (prog.) |
| *məmé$^{ʔ}$x* (pl. perf.) | *həmhám̓əx* (AG) (pl. prog.) |
| *lé$^{ʔ}$x ~ lí$^{ʔ}$x* ‘put it away’ | *hál̓ex* (prog.) |
| *ləlé$^{ʔ}$x ~ ləlí$^{ʔ}$x* (pl. perf.) | *həlhál̓əx* (AG) (pl. prog.) |

### 7.3.4. CəC Plural Perfectives

CəC roots seem to follow more than one pattern and, as they do in forming progressives, behave differently as bare roots and when transitivized with *-t*. As bare roots, CəC roots seem to form their plural perfectives in two ways:

(1) by reduplication of the first consonant and strengthening of the vowel to /e/ or /a/, a schwa being present only if one of the consonants is a resonant ($C_1$ə$C_2$ → $C_1$Á$C_1$(ə)$C_2$), as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *náq$^{w}$* ‘fall asleep’ | *ná·nq$^{w}$* //nánəq$^{w}$// ‘several fall asleep’ |
| *k$^{w}$án* ‘become possessed’ | *k$^{w}$ékk$^{w}$ən* ‘several become possessed’ |
| *x$^{w}$áy* ‘wake up’ | *x$^{w}$áx$^{w}$əy* ‘several wake up’ |
| *tás* ‘arrive there’ | *téts* (CC) ‘several arrive there’ |
| *wəłáx̌* ‘stand up suddenly’ (< *wə-* ‘suddenly’) | *wəłéłx̌* ‘several stand up suddenly’ (AG) |

AG glossed *téts* as ‘arrive there in a group,’ identifying the simple progressive, *tətás,* as ‘arrive there one by one.’ Perhaps one person cannot “be arriving” in Halkomelem, one being either there or not. I have recorded no plural progressive for this word.

(2) by CVC reduplication with stress on the second schwa ($C_1$ə$C_2$ → $C_1$ə$C_2C_1$ə$C_2$), as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *c̓áq̓$^{w}$* ‘get pierced’ | *c̓əq̓$^{w}$c̓áq̓$^{w}$* ‘get pierced all over’ |
| *lák$^{w}$* ‘get broken’ | *lək$^{w}$lák$^{w}$* ‘several get broken’ |
| *pán* ‘get buried’ | *pənpán* ‘several get buried’ |

I have recorded only a few examples of each of these two types and must acknowledge the possibility that they are not alternatives of the same form but are actually two different forms. The only possible evidence I have for this is what may be two plurals of *k$^{w}$án*. As a bare root, *k$^{w}$án* is usually translated ‘get started,’ meaning ‘go into a trance-like state as a winter dancer does,’ and I have glossed it ‘become possessed.’ I have assumed that it is the root of *k$^{w}$ánət* ‘take it,’ *k$^{w}$ánnəx$^{w}$* ‘get it,’ and so on, and it does literally mean ‘be taken.’ A plural formed by the first rule identified above, *k$^{w}$ék$^{w}$ən,* was given by AG and glossed ‘they get started.’ But there is another word, *k$^{w}$ənk$^{w}$án* ‘be captured’ (‘be taken by several’?), which seems to be a plural of *k$^{w}$án* formed by the second rule. Alternatively, we might consider *k$^{w}$án* ‘become possessed’ and the root *k$^{w}$án-* of *k$^{w}$ánət* ‘take it’ as homophones that form their plurals by different rules.

With *-t* (also *-x* and *-əm*), CəC roots form their plural perfectives by the second of the two patterns seen with the bare root, as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *θǩʷə́t* 'pull it taut' | *θəǩʷθə́ǩʷt* 'pull several taut' |
| *t̓ᶿx̌ʷə́t* 'wash it' | *t̓ᶿəx̌ʷt̓ᶿə́x̌ʷt* 'wash several' |
| *pə́nət* 'bury it' | *pənpə́nət* 'bury several' |
| *nə́p̓əx* 'eat it' | *nəp̓nə́p̓əx* 'eat several, chew it up' |
| *nə́qəm* 'dive' | *nəqnə́qəm* 'several dive' |

### *7.3.4.1. CəC Plural Progressives*

Like the simple progressives, the plural progressives of CəC roots are formed differently depending on whether the initial consonant is an obstruent or a resonant.

TəT (and TəR?) roots form the plural progressives of bare roots by infixing *-əl-* between the first consonant and the first schwa of the simple progressives ($C_1əC_1ə́C_2 \rightarrow C_1ələC_1ə́C_2$), as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *t̓ət̓ə́q̓ʷ* 'be breaking' | *t̓ələt̓ə́q̓ʷ* 'several are breaking' |
| *səsə́q̓* 'be cracking' | *sələsə́q̓* 'several are cracking' |

TəT roots form the plural progressives of their forms with *-t* by CVC reduplication of the form that appears in the simple progressive with the reduction of one (usually the second) vowel to schwa ($C_1ÁC_2\text{-}t \rightarrow C_1ÁC_2C_1əC_2\text{-}t$). The pattern is seen in the following sets:

| | |
|---|---|
| *t̓ə́q̓ʷ* 'break, snap' | *t̓ət̓ə́q̓ʷ* (prog.) |
| *t̓əq̓ʷt̓ə́q̓ʷ* (pl. perf.) | *t̓ələt̓ə́q̓ʷ* (pl. prog.) |
| *t̓q̓ʷə́t* 'cut it off' | *t̓ə́q̓ʷt* (prog.) |
| *t̓əq̓ʷt̓ə́q̓ʷət* (pl. perf.) | *t̓ə́q̓ʷt̓əq̓ʷt* (pl. prog.) |
| | |
| *sə́q̓* 'crack, tear, split' | *səsə́q̓* (prog.) |
| *sésq̓* (pl. perf.) | *sələsə́q̓* (pl. prog.) |
| *sq̓ét* 'split it, tear it' | *séq̓t* (prog.) |
| *səq̓sə́q̓ət* (pl. perf.) | *séq̓səq̓t* (pl. prog.) |

The plural perfective of the first set might be translated 'cut it up into lengths,' and of the second 'split it up,' 'tear it into shreds,' or 'tear several.'

RəC roots form their plural progressives of both bare roots and transitive forms by reduplication of the initial hə̓ʀ̊ of the simple progressive with the first resonant unglottalized (at least in the forms recorded) and the stress on the second schwa, as in the following sets:

| | |
|---|---|
| *nə́qʷ* 'fall asleep' | *hə́n̓qʷ* (prog.) |
| *nə́·nqʷ* (pl. perf.) | *hənhə́n̓qʷ* (pl. prog.) |
| *nəẃəx* 'insert it' | *hə́n̓wəx* (prog.) |
| *nəẃnə́ẃəx* (pl. perf.) | *hənhə́n̓wəx* (pl. prog.) |

| | |
|---|---|
| *náqəm* ‘dive’ | *háṅqəm* (prog.) |
| *nəqnáqəm* (pl. perf.) | *hənháṅqəm* (pl. prog.) |
| *wáq̓ʷ* ‘drift away’ | *həẇq̓ʷ* (prog.) |
| *wəq̓ʷwáq̓ʷ* (pl. perf.) | *həwháẇq̓ʷ* (pl. prog.) |

AG also gave a form *wáq̓ʷwəq̓ʷ* ‘be idling along under power,’ which appears to be formed as a transitive would be.

There is one RəR root that is irregular in every form:

| | |
|---|---|
| *náyəm* ‘laugh’ | *néy̓əṁ* (prog.) |
| *hənníyəm* (pl. perf.) | *nəynéy̓əṁ* (pl. prog.) |

### 7.3.5. CəCT Plurals

CəCT roots form their plurals by reduplication of the CəC- or CAC- of the simple (non-plural) form, as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *łál̓qt* ‘dip it, immerse it’ | *łél̓qt* (prog.) |
| *łəlłál̓qt* (pl. perf.) | *łél̓łəl̓qt* (pl. prog.) |

As we have seen earlier (§7.2.7), *θáyt* ‘fix it,’ although it is a TəR root plus *-t*, behaves like a CəCT root. The following set further illustrates this:

| | |
|---|---|
| *θáyt* ‘fix it’ | *θéy̓t* (prog.) |
| *θəyθáy̓t* [θiθəy̓t] (pl. perf.) | *θéy̓θəy̓t* [θéy̓θiʔt] (pl. prog.) |

A few words composed of CACC stems that may be expansions of CəCT roots and the suffix *-əm* have plurals formed by CVC reduplication, such as:

| | |
|---|---|
| *ṗáləḵʷəm* ‘boil’ | *ṗál̓ḵʷəm* (prog.) |
| *ṗəlṗáləḵʷəm* ‘sev. boil’ (pl. perf.) | (no pl. prog. recorded) |
| *x̌éləx̌əm* ‘spark’ | *x̌él̓x̌əṁ* ‘be sparking’ |
| *x̌əlx̌éləx̌əm* ‘spark repeatedly’ (CC) | (no pl. prog. recorded) |

### 7.3.6. HəC(C)V(C) Plurals

The few words of these shapes do not follow a consistent pattern. One resembles CAC roots in forming its plural perfective with a full vowel and infixed *-l-*, and it resembles specifically HACəC words in having an “extra” glottal stop in the plural:

| | |
|---|---|
| *ʔáxəl* ‘paddle’ | *ʔíʔxəl̓* (prog.) |
| *ʔél̓əxəl* (pl. perf.) | *ʔəxʔíʔxəl̓* (pl. prog.) |

Another forms its plural perfective by CVC reduplication of the simple perfective (cf. *ṫíləm* ‘sing,’ above) and its plural progressive by CVC reduplication of its simple progressive:

| | |
|---|---|
| *ʔámət* 'sit down, get up' | *ʔámə̓t* (prog.) |
| *ʔəmə̓ámət* (pl. perf.) | *ʔəmə̓á·mə̓t* (pl. prog.) |

Another forms its plural perfective in a unique way and its plural progressive by CVC reduplication of the simple progressive but without the "extra" glottal stop:

| | |
|---|---|
| *ʔáɬtən* 'eat' | *ʔíʔɬtən* (prog.) |
| *ʔéʔəɬtən* (pl. perf.) | *ʔəɬʔíɬtən* (pl. prog.) |

And here may belong the following:

| | |
|---|---|
| *háyeʔ* (JP), hə́yeʔ (AG) 'leave' | *háy̓ə* (AG) (prog.) |
| *hələ́yéʔ* (AG) (pl. perf.) | *həyháy̓ə* (AG) (pl. prog.) |

## 7.4. DIMINUTIVES

Verbs may have diminutive and diminutive plural forms in the progressive aspect. There are no diminutive perfective forms. Diminutive forms may indicate that the subject or the object is small, as in:

*t̓ət̓íʔt̓ələm̓.* 'A little thing (as a child) is singing.'
(dim. of *t̓íləm* 'sing')

*ʔəliʔíʔɬtən.* 'A lot of little ones are eating.'
(dim. pl. of *ʔáɬtən* 'eat')

*t̓θəlit̓θə́x̌ʷəsəm.* 'They are washing their little faces.'
(dim. pl. of *xʷt̓θx̌ʷásəm* 'wash one's face')

*c̓əléʔc̓əw̓ətən.* 'The little ones are helping.'
(dim. pl. of *c̓éwəɬtən* 'help')

*ʔi cən c̓əléʔc̓əwət.* 'I am helping the little one.'
(dim. pl. of *c̓éwət* 'help him')

*ni cən təlitést kʷθə məlíʔməqʷ.* 'I was approaching the little ducks.'
(dim. pl. of *tsət* 'approach him' and dim. pl. of *máʔəqʷ* 'duck')

Diminutives are formed by CV reduplication of simple progressive forms. If the simple progressive is already formed by reduplication of the root, the diminutive form will thus be doubly reduplicated, and in it the first consonant of the root will appear three times. For the different types of roots, there are differences in placement of stress and quality of vowel. A glottal stop after the stressed vowel seems usual unless it is the final vowel.

For diminutives of TAT and TAR roots, the progressive $C_1ÁC_1əC_2$ is reduplicated as $C_1əC_1ÁʔC_1əC_2$, as in:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *p̓ét̓θ* 'sew' | *p̓ép̓ət̓θ* (prog.) | *p̓əp̓éʔp̓ət̓θ* (dim.) |
| *c̓éwət* 'help him' | *c̓éc̓əw̓ət* (prog.) | *c̓əc̓éʔc̓əwət* (dim.) |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *ṯicəm* 'swim' | *ṯíṯəcəm* (prog.) | *ṯəṯíʔəcəm* (dim.) |
| *ṯíləm* 'sing' | *ṯíṯəl̓əm̓* (prog.) | *ṯəṯíʔəl̓əm̓* (dim.) |

For diminutives of other roots and perhaps of derivatives of all roots, there seems to be a general rule reduplicating the first consonant of the progressive with the vowel /i/, as in:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *tsát* 'approach it' | *tést* (prog.) | *titést* (dim.) |
| *łx̌íləx* 'stand' | *łx̌íl̓əx* (prog.) | *łiłx̌íl̓əx* (dim.) |
| *q̓ʷəyíləx* 'dance' | *q̓ʷəyə́l̓əx* (prog.) | *q̓ʷiq̓ʷəyə́l̓əx* (dim.) |
| *pé·ls* 'blow' | *pəpé·ls* (prog.) | *pippé·ls* (dim.) |
| *qʷə́l̓qʷəl̓* 'tell' | *qʷí·l̓qʷəl̓* (prog.) | *qʷiʔqʷí·l̓qʷəl̓* (dim.) |
| *həwə́l̓əm* 'play' | *hiẇə́l̓əm̓* (prog.) | *hihiẇə́l̓əm* (dim.) |
| *ʔítət* 'sleep' | *ʔíʔtət* (prog.) | *ʔiʔíʔtət* (dim.) |
| *ʔə́łtən* 'eat' | *ʔíʔłtən* (prog.) | *ʔiʔíʔłtən* (dim.) |

There is only one root with an initial resonant for which I have recorded a diminutive glossed as such:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *yá·ys* 'work' | *yá·y̓əs* (prog.) | *hiyáy̓əs* (dim.) |

Here perhaps the initial resonant has been converted into an *h*, as in the progressives of roots with initial resonant followed by schwa.

JP gave two forms that he glossed as progressives of *mə́k̓ʷəlcəp* 'gather firewood,' *həm̓k̓ʷə́l̓cəp* and *him̓k̓ʷə́l̓cəp* 'be gathering firewood.' Perhaps the second is a diminutive, 'be gathering scraps of firewood.'

### 7.4.1. Diminutive Plurals

Diminutive forms are made plural with an *-l-* infix. For diminutives formed from TAT and TAR roots, where the first vowel is a schwa, the infix is *-li-*, as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *p̓əp̓éʔp̓əṯθ* 'be sewing (dim.)' | *p̓əlip̓éʔp̓əṯθ* (dim. pl.) |
| *ṯəṯíʔṯəl̓əm̓* 'be singing (dim.)' | *ṯəliṯíʔṯəl̓əm̓* (dim. pl.) |

Or the infix is simply *-l-* replacing the second consonant, as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *c̓əc̓éʔc̓əwət* 'be helping him (dim.)' | *c̓əlé ʔc̓əwət* (dim. pl.) |
| *ṯəṯíʔṯəcəm* 'be swimming (dim.)' | *ṯəlíʔṯəcəm* (dim. pl.) |

For diminutives formed from roots of other types, where the first vowel is *i*, the infix is *-əl-*, as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *titést* 'be approaching it (dim.)' | *təlitést* (dim. pl.) |
| *łiłx̌íl̓əx* 'be standing (dim.)' | *łəlíłx̌íl̓əx* (dim. pl.) |
| *ʔiʔíʔtət* 'be sleeping (dim.)' | *ʔəliʔíʔtət* (dim. pl.) |
| *ʔiʔíʔłtən* 'be eating (dim.)' | *ʔəliʔíʔłtən* (dim. pl.) |

A few diminutive plural forms have specific nominal meanings. The diminutive plural of *c̓ísəm* 'grow' is *c̓əlíʔsələm* 'little ones are growing,' also 'grove of young trees.' Two are used as names for arthropods, *cəlicéx̌əm* 'sand fleas (amphipods)' (from *cx̌ám* 'jump,' *céx̌əm* 'be jumping') and *q̓əliq̓áwətəm* 'clicking grasshoppers' (from *q̓áwətəm* 'beat a drum'). An introduced plant, 'ground ivy *(Glecoma hederacea),*' is *i̓θəlé?i̓θəxʷəm,* the diminutive of *i̓θéi̓θəxʷəm* 'blue' (showing, incidentally, that 'blue' is a progressive form, since only progressives have diminutives).

## 7.5. THE DURATIVE ASPECT

A number of verbs have a durative aspect, and there are a few verbs whose durative forms occur more commonly than other forms. Many verbs, however, appear not to have durative forms.[3]

The durative aspect indicates that an action is prolonged or a position held, as illustrated by the examples below. The durative aspect intersects with the progressive aspect; many, though not all, duratives appear in both perfective and progressive forms.

The durative is marked by the appearance of a stressed full vowel as the final vowel of the stem. Depending on the type of root, there may also be CV reduplication.

TAT, TAR, and TəT roots reduplicate the first consonant of the root with /ə/ appearing as the intervening vowel in the perfective and /i/ in the progressive. Compare the following sets of non-durative (first line) and durative (second line) forms in the perfective (left column) and progressive (right column):

| | |
|---|---|
| *k̓ʷécət* 'look at it' | *k̓ʷék̓ʷəcət* 'be looking at it' |
| *k̓ʷək̓ʷcét* 'watch it, keep your eye on it' | *k̓ʷik̓ʷcét* 'be watching it, etc.' |
| *q̓ík̓ʷət* 'bite it' | *q̓íq̓ək̓ʷət* 'be biting it' |
| *q̓əq̓k̓ʷét* 'hold it in your teeth' | *q̓iq̓k̓ʷét* 'keep holding it ...' |
| *i̓θíq̓ət* 'step on it' | *i̓θíi̓θəq̓ət* 'be stepping on it' |
| *i̓θəi̓θq̓ét* 'hold it down with your body' | *i̓θii̓θq̓ét* 'keep holding it down ...' |
| *kʷíxət* 'name him' | *kʷíkʷəxət* 'be naming him' |
| *kʷəkʷxít* 'call him by nickname' | *kʷikʷxít* 'be calling him by ...' |
| *θx̌át* 'push it away' | *θéx̌t* 'be pushing it away' |
| *θəθx̌ét* 'hold it away, hold it back' | *θiθx̌ét* 'keep holding it ...' |
| *qʷél* 'speak' | *qʷáqʷəl̓* 'be speaking' |
| *qʷəqʷél̓* 'give a speech' | *qʷiqʷél̓* 'be giving a speech' |

3 Forms that Leslie (1979) identifies as "augmentative" (p. 44) and "stative" (p. 47) belong here, I believe.

The first five of the six sets of examples just given might suggest that the durative is marked by a suffix *-é ~ -í* that follows the second consonant of the root and is followed by the transitivizer *-t*. However, the last set seems to show that the durative is formed by a process that occurs within the word regardless of morpheme boundaries. (The form *p̓əp̓ékʷ* 'afloat' may also belong here, but see §7.7.6).

There are TAT and TəT roots that seem to have sets of forms that are not as complete as those just given. In the following example, the expectable progressive is missing and forms that appear to be perfective and progressive duratives (in the second line) are glossed as simple progressive.

| | |
|---|---|
| *kʷécəm* 'scream' | (**kʷékʷəcəm̓*, not recorded) |
| *kʷəkʷcém* 'be screaming' | *kʷikʷcém̓* 'be screaming' |

In the next two examples, there seems to be only one durative form.

| | |
|---|---|
| *xéq̓əm* 'open the mouth' | *xéxəq̓əm̓* 'be opening the mouth' |
| (**xəxq̓ém*, not recorded) | *xixq̓ém̓* 'have your mouth open' |
| *q̓ʷxát* 'pet it' | *q̓ʷéxt* 'be petting it' |
| (**q̓ʷəq̓ʷxít*, not recorded) | *q̓ʷiq̓ʷxít* 'make up to it/him/her' |

The object of the last form can be an animal or a human member of the opposite sex.

TAH roots with *-t* 'transitivize' form their duratives (as TAT roots with *-t* do) by placing the stressed vowel between the final consonant of the root (*ʔ* in the examples below) and the *-t*. (In the non-durative transitives of TAT roots, this slot is occupied by schwa, but in TAH counterparts by zero; cf. *k̓ʷécət* 'look at it,' *kʷeʔt* 'drop it.') Reduplication appears in the progressive only. Compare the following non-durative (first line) and durative (second line) forms. Both perfective and progressive duratives were given by DK; AG had only the perfective durative, which he glossed as 'be leaving it alone.'

| | |
|---|---|
| *kʷéʔt* 'drop it, let it go' | *kʷəkʷéʔt* 'be dropping it, letting it go' |
| *kʷəʔét* 'leave it alone' | *kʷəkʷəʔét* 'be leaving it alone' |

The duratives in the following set were given by DK only:

| | |
|---|---|
| *t̓ᶿéʔt* 'chew it' | *t̓ᶿət̓ᶿéʔt* 'be chewing it' |
| *t̓ᶿəʔét* 'continually chew it' | *t̓ᶿət̓ᶿəʔét* 'be continually chewing it' |

The perfective durative in the following was given by DK; AG did not have it.

| | |
|---|---|
| *séʔt* 'raise it, lift it' | *səséʔt* 'be raising it, be lifting it' |
| *səʔét* 'keep it lifted' | |

However, the following pair appear to be durative and may be derived from *séʔt* 'raise it' in the sense, as DK suggested, of 'keep his/her hopes up.'

*səsəʔét* 'flirt with him/her' *sisəʔét* 'be flirting with him/her'

Both DK and AG gave these forms.

TəR roots with *-t* form their duratives with a stressed full vowel between the second consonant and the *-t* but without reduplication and apparently without separate perfective and progressive forms, as in the following examples:

*kʷánət* 'take it'
*kʷəkʷán̓ət* 'be taking it'
*kʷənéʔt* (JP), *kʷən̓ét* (AG) 'hold it, be holding it'
*kʷán̓əm* 'get some, get'
*kʷəkʷán̓əm̓* 'be getting some'
*kʷən̓é·m̓* 'have some, have'

*c̓ámət* 'take it in your mouth'
*c̓əc̓ám̓ət* 'be taking it in your mouth'
*c̓əméʔt* (JP), *c̓əm̓ét* (AG) 'hold it in your mouth, be keeping it in ...'
*c̓əm̓é·m̓* 'be having something in your mouth'
*cámət* (JP), *cám̓ət* (AG) 'pack it, load it on your back'
*cəcám̓ət* 'be loading it up ...'
*cəméʔt* (JP), *cəm̓ét* (AG) 'carry it on your back'
*cám̓əm* 'pack something'
*cəcáməm̓* 'be packing something'
*cəm̓é·m̓* 'be carrying something'

One CəCT root (noted so far) has what seems to be a durative form:

*łál̓qt* 'dip it, immerse it' *łél̓qt* 'be dipping it'
*lál̓qìt* 'soak it' *łél̓qìt* 'be soaking it'

The following Tə́RəT root has a durative with the last vowel stressed and a full vowel. DK gave a form with CVC reduplication:

*x̌ánəq̓* 'open the eyes' (no prog. recorded)
*x̌anx̌anéq̓* 'keep the eyes open'

JP and AG gave the same simple form but differed in the progressive and durative:

*x̌ánəq̓t* 'open them (the eyes)'
*x̌əx̌ánəq̓t* (AG) 'be opening them from time to time'
*x̌anáq̓t* (JP), *x̌ənéq̓t* (AG) 'keep the eyes open'

Another verb with a probable durative form is:

*ʔá·ɬ* 'go/come aboard' (no prog. recorded)
*ʔəl̓áʔaɬ* 'aboard'

A derivative *ʔəlɫə́leʔct* 'load it up' (< *-əleʔc* 'vessel') implies an /l/ in the root and suggests an underlying form, //ʔaləɫ//, for *ʔá·ɫ* (cf. //spaləl̓// for *spá·l̓* 'raven').

What appear to be durative progressive forms occur as terms for recreational activities:

*xixk̓ʷám̓* 'be in swimming' (cf. *xák̓ʷəm* 'bathe,' *xáxʷək̓ʷəm* 'be bathing')
*kʷikʷəlíl* 'be playing hide-and-seek' (cf. *kʷe·l* 'hide,' *kʷəkʷí·l̓* 'be hiding')
*cicƛ̓ím* 'be having a jumping contest' (cf. *cƛ̓ə́m* 'jump,' *céƛ̓əm* 'be jumping')
*xixpám̓* 'be whistling for amusement' (cf. *xápəm* 'whistle,' *xáxəpəs* 'be whistling at him')

Durative stems (or what appear to be durative stems) also take the reflexive and reciprocal suffixes *-θət* 'oneself' and *-təl̓* 'each other,' as in:

*qiqəw̓áθət* 'be sun-bathing' (cf. *qə́wət* 'warm it,' *qə́wəθət* 'warm oneself')
*θəθx̌ítəl̓* 'push each other' (cf. *θx̌ə́t* 'push him away,' *θəθx̌ét* 'keep it pushed away')
*mimƛ̓ítəl̓* 'be paying each other back, be getting even' (cf. *máƛ̓ət* 'repay him')
*q̓əq̓x̌átəl* 'insult each other' (cf. *q̓x̌ə́t* 'insult him,' *cq̓íx̌* 'black')
*xixƛ̓íθət* 'be bragging about one's (a male's) sexual experiences' (lit. 'be keeping oneself in a state of tumescence,' < *xáƛ̓* 'get an erection')

There are a few words that I suspect may be durative forms but cannot positively identify as such because I have not yet recorded their roots in other forms:

*c̓ɫém̓* 'hear'
*x̌ɫém* 'watch'
*ləhél̓* 'play slahal'
*məyáʔt* 'come down in price'
*x̌ʷəx̌ʷəʔét* 'imitate him, do as he does'
*x̌ʷəx̌ʷəʔéqət* 'imitate his speech, repeat his words'
*q̓ʷəq̓ʷəné·m* 'have one's voice change (as a boy at puberty)'

*c̓íc̓ɫém̓* 'be hearing'
*x̌ix̌ɫém* 'be watching'
*líləhèl̓* 'be playing slahal'
*həm̓yáʔt* 'be coming down in price'
*x̌ʷìx̌ʷəʔét* 'be imitating him'
*x̌ʷix̌ʷəʔéqən* 'be repeating ...'
*q̓ʷìq̓ʷəné·m* 'be having ...' (< *q̓ʷí·n̓* 'ear'?)

*x̌ʷəyém* 'tell a story' (JP), *x̌ʷix̌ʷəyém̓* 'be telling a story' (JP), *x̌ʷəx̌ʷəyém* 'tell stories' (CC)
*c̓ic̓k̓ʷéʔɫ* 'have the hiccups' (progressive?)
*t̓ᵊit̓ᵊɫít* 'be barely hanging on with the teeth or fingers' (DK) (progressive?)

### 7.5.1. Plural Duratives

Durative forms may be pluralized and diminutivized. As with non-duratives, different root types follow different patterns in forming plurals. Duratives formed from TAT, TAH, and probably some other root types are made plural

with an /l/ infix, as in the following examples (recorded duratives on the first line, plural duratives on the second):

*kʷəkʷcém* 'be screaming' *kʷikʷcém* 'be screaming continuously'
*kʷələkʷcém* 'several are screaming'

(no form recorded) *xixc̓ém* 'have your mouth open'
*xələxʷém* 'several have their mouths open'

*c̓əʔét* 'leave it sitting' (no form recorded)
*c̓ələc̓ét* 'leave them sitting'

(The root of the first example is √*kʷec*. AG gave *wəkʷéc* 'scream suddenly.' JP, DK, and AG all identified *kʷécəm* as 'scream' and *kʷəkʷcém* as 'be screaming,' but the latter resembles a durative rather than a progressive. AG said there might be a **kʷékʷəcəm,* the expected progressive of *kʷécəm,* but he had not heard it.)

Duratives formed from TəR roots are made plural by CVC reduplication, as in:

*kʷən̓ét* 'have it, hold it, be holding it'
*kʷənkʷən̓ét* 'hold several, several hold it'

*c̓əm̓ét* 'hold it in your mouth, be holding it in your mouth'
*c̓əmc̓əmét* 'several are holding them in their mouths' (DK) (probably *c̓əm̓c̓əm̓ét*)

### 7.5.2. Diminutive Duratives

Diminutives of duratives, to judge from the few examples I have, are formed like diminutives of non-durative forms, with CV reduplication with an /i/ vowel and with an /l/ infix for plural, as in:

*kʷən̓ét* 'have it, be holding it' (dur.)
*kʷənkʷən̓ét* 'have several, several have it' (dur. pl.)

*kʷiʔkʷən̓ét* 'have it ...' (dim. dur.)
*kʷəlikʷən̓ét* 'have several ...' (dim. dur. pl.)

*c̓əmét* 'hold it in one's mouth' (dur.)
*c̓əmc̓əmét* 'several are holding it in their mouths' (dur. pl.)

(no dim. dur. recorded)
*c̓əlic̓əmét* 'the little ones are holding it in their mouths' (DK) (dim. dur. pl.)

Because the diminutive occurs only in the progressive aspect, the existence of diminutives of these forms shows that they do function as progressives.

## 7.6. THE DISPOSITIONAL-ITERATIVE ASPECT

A number of roots have a form that has two closely related senses. When used without suffixes, it indicates that there is an inclination or propensity toward the action of quality expressed by the root; when used with suffixes, it indicates that the action occurs repeatedly. For these forms with the first sense, the term

"dispositional" or "potential' may be useful, while for the second sense the term "iterative' seems appropriate.[4]

The dispositional-iterative form is produced by CVC reduplication with both vowels schwa (regardless of the vowel of the root) and the stress on the first ($C_1AC_2$, etc. → $C_1$ə$C_2C_1$ə$C_2$). For example, from *qéṅ* 'steal' comes *qáṅqəṅ* 'thief, likely to steal'; from *ƛ̓ʷəɬ* 'spill, capsize' comes *ƛ̓ʷáɬƛ̓ʷəɬ* 'cranky, likely to capsize.'

These forms, it should be noted, may differ from some plural forms of some roots only in where the stress falls. For example, compare *sáq̓səq̓* 'easy to split, easy to tear' and *səq̓sáq̓ət* 'split it up, tear it into shreds, tear several,' both from *sáq̓* 'get split, get torn, get cracked.'

Words consisting of the bare root reduplicated in this fashion can have the meaning (someone/something) disposed/inclined/likely to do whatever the root means. Often the first gloss given is an English noun or noun phrase, but adjectives also appear, and verbs with the sense of habitual action, as in the following (a warning about an unwelcome visitor):

(a) syá· čxʷ ʔə θəwƛ̓a. wəyáθ wəcƛ̓ʷéƛ̓ʷəc. cƛ̓ʷácƛ̓ʷəc. ƛ̓əw qənqən.
syá· čxʷ ʔə θəwƛ̓a wə-yáθ wə-c-ƛ̓ʷéƛ̓ʷəc
be.alerted you OBL DEM(FP) EST-always EST-get-be.looking
c-ƛ̓ʷácƛ̓ʷəc ƛ̓e wə-qənqən
get-look(DISP) also EST-steal(DISP)
'Watch out for her. She's always peeking. She's a snooper. She also steals.'

Here *cƛ̓ʷéƛ̓ʷəc* 'be peeking' (from *cƛ̓ʷéc* 'catch sight of something') is in the progressive aspect, while *cƛ̓ʷácƛ̓ʷəc* 'snooper, snoopy' and *qánqən* 'thief, likely to steal' are dispositional-iterative forms.

Other such forms with similar meanings include:

*qʷálqʷəl* 'talkative, outspoken' (< *qʷél* 'speak,' but cf. *qʷál̓qʷəl̓* 'tell')
*wát̓ᶿwət̓ᶿ* 'easily offended' (< *wét̓ᶿ* 'become offended')
*náɬnəɬ* 'willing, co-operative' (cf. *níɬət* 'decide it, set a time for it')
*t̓ámt̓əm* 'cautious, wary' (cf. *t̓áməθət* 'be wary, be suspicious')
*nác̓nəc̓* 'changeable' (< *néc̓* 'different,' cf. *néc̓t* 'change it')
*qáx̌qəx̌* 'slippery' (cf. *qíx̌ət* 'make it slide,' *qìx̌əθéləm* 'I slipped,' lit. 'I was slid')
*ƛ̓ʷáƛ̓ƛ̓ʷəƛ̓* 'lascivious, someone who always wants sex' (< *ƛ̓ʷéƛ̓* 'copulate')
*t̓ákʷt̓əkʷ* 'mud, muddy place' (< *t̓ákʷ* 'get stuck in mud')
*ƛ̓ʷáṅƛ̓ʷəṅ* 'catching, contagious' (cf. *ƛ̓ʷəníləm* 'transfer,' *ƛ̓ʷənwílt* 'transfer it, as from one canoe to another')
*mát̓mət̓* 'limber' (cf. *mət̓át* 'bend it')

4 Earlier, I called this simply "dispositional." It is the "potential" of Leslie (1979, 42) and the "generalizing aspect" of Thompson and Thompson's description (1971, 279) of Clallam.

A few such dispositional forms with similar meanings seem to require a prefix – *s-* 'nominalizer,' *šx*$^{w}$- 'oblique nominalizer,' or *x*$^{w}$*s-* ~ *nəx*$^{w}$*s-* 'habitual':

*šx*$^{w}$*ə́k̓*$^{w}$*x*$^{w}$*əkʼ*$^{w}$ 'drunkard' (cf. *x*$^{w}$*ə́k̓*$^{w}$*ət* 'polish it' and its resultative *šx*$^{w}$*ə́x*$^{w}$*əkʼ*$^{w}$ 'polished, drunk'; thus 'someone who is inclined to get "polished"')
*šx*$^{w}$*nə́y̓nəy̓* 'someone who laughs at the least little thing' (cf. *nə́yəm* 'laugh')
*x*$^{w}$*sʔə́n̓ənɬ* 'obedient' (< *ʔə́·nɬ* 'obey, agree')

Another word that may belong here is *xsʔə́tətət* 'shrew' (< *ʔítət* 'sleep,' lit. 'inclined to sleep' or possibly 'cause sleep,' probably because the animal is said to be found sleeping beside the trail and to be useful as a charm under a cradle to make a child sleep (CC). (The initial *xs-* is unique in my corpus. The *x-* may be CC's variant form of *šx*$^{w}$-. See §12.1.4.)

Other such forms seem to have specialized meanings that are not easily linked to the preceding ones, such as:

*ɬ̓əx*$^{w}$*ɬ̓əx*$^{w}$ 'move one's residence down to the shore' (< *ɬ̓áx*$^{w}$ 'go/come down ...')
*cə́mcəm* 'move one's residence up away from the shore' (< *cə́m* 'go/come up ...')
*cə́k*$^{w}$*cək*$^{w}$ 'low tide' (< *cək*$^{w}$ 'far')
*sxə́m̓xəm̓* 'low tide, low water' (< *xém* 'go aground')
*cə́wcəw* 'out on the water, the offing' (cf. *cécəw* 'shore'?)
*q*$^{w}$*ə́l̓q*$^{w}$*əl̓* 'tell, relate' (< *q*$^{w}$*él* 'speak')
*ʔə́l̓əl̓yə* 'dream' (< *ʔə́lyə* 'have a vision')

The forms *q*$^{w}$*ə́lq*$^{w}$*əl* 'talkative' and *q*$^{w}$*ə́l̓q*$^{w}$*əl̓* 'tell' are the only pair contrasting dispositional and possibly iterative meaning.

Dispositional-iterative forms are also used as stems for various suffixes, generally with an iterative meaning, as in:

*ɬ̓ə́k*$^{w}$*ɬ̓ək*$^{w}$*əl* 'cross back and forth' (as in *ɬ̓ə́k*$^{w}$*ɬ̓ək*$^{w}$*əl šx*$^{w}$[h]*ə́y̓q*$^{w}$*ələɬ* 'ferry,' lit. 'steamer that crosses back and forth,' < *ɬ̓ék*$^{w}$*əl* 'cross over,' cf. *ɬ̓éɬ̓ək*$^{w}$*əl* 'be crossing over,' prog.)
*yəx̌ə́x̌̓x̌əx̌̓θət* 'be zigzagging along' (cf. *x̌éx̌̓ət* 'cross him, contradict him,' *x̌ə́x̌̓əθət* 'turn aside, swing around')
*ɬ̓*$^{θ}$*ə́p̓ɬ̓*$^{θ}$*əp̓nəx*$^{w}$ 'keep opening and shutting the eyes' (cf. *ɬ̓*$^{θ}$*ə́p̓nəx*$^{w}$ 'shut one's eyes,' *wəɬ̓*$^{θ}$*íɬ̓*$^{θ}$*əp̓nəx*$^{w}$ *čx*$^{w}$ *ʔal̓* 'keep your eyes shut,' prog.)
*xə́q̓xəq̓əm* 'Sansum Narrows,' lit. 'keeps opening and shutting its mouth,' in Symplegades fashion in a myth (cf. *xéq̓əm* 'open one's mouth,' *xixq̓ém̓* 'have one's mouth open,' dur. prog.)
*k̓*$^{w}$*ə́ck̓*$^{w}$*əcnəx*$^{w}$ 'see him from time to time' (cf. *k̓*$^{w}$*ə́cnəx*$^{w}$ 'see him,' *k̓*$^{w}$*ék̓*$^{w}$*əcnəx*$^{w}$ 'be seeing him')
*c̓ə́wc̓əẃət* 'help him from time to time' (cf. *c̓éwət* 'help him,' *c̓éc̓əẃət* 'be helping him')

*c̓əwc̓əwítəl̓* ‘help each other on repeated occasions’ (cf. *c̓əc̓əwítəl̓* ‘help each other,’ dur.)
*kʷáckʷəcəm* ‘scream from time to time’ (cf. *kʷécəm* ‘scream,’ *kʷəkʷcém* ‘be screaming continuously,’ dur.)
*łáḵʷłəḵʷxən* ‘be tripping repeatedly’ (< *łáḵʷxən* ‘trip,’ < *łíḵʷ* ‘get snagged,’ *-xən* ‘foot’)
*qʷəlqʷəlá·yθən* ‘outspoken’ (JP), ‘blabbermouth (CC) (< *-á·yθən* ‘mouth’)

### 7.6.1. Progressives of Dispositional-Iterative Forms

For most of these dispositional-iterative forms, a separate progressive or a perfective/progressive distinction would seem unnecessary. Nevertheless, it seems that a progressive dispositional-iterative form does exist, although perhaps only for those that are specialized in meaning such that they have no iterative force. One such is *qʷál̓qʷəl̓* ‘tell, report’; *qʷí·l̓qʷəl̓* ‘be telling, be reporting.’ This progressive dispositional form occurs fairly often nominalized in the sense of ‘what X has been telling’ or, freely translated, ‘according to X,’ as in *sqʷí·l̓qʷəl̓s kʷθə syəyál̓əxʷa·ɬ* ‘according to the old people.’

The only other progressive dispositional forms recorded are:

*mí·t̓mət̓θət* ‘be getting limber’ (< *mát̓mət̓θət* ‘get limber,’ < *mát̓mət̓* ‘limber’; cf. *mət̓át* ‘bend it’) (AG)
*ḵʷí·cḵʷəc* ‘be watching and waiting’ (which AG gave but could not give a perfective for, but cf. *cḵʷácḵʷəc* ‘snooper’)

Thus, it appears that the formula for producing the progressive dispositional from the perfective dispositional may be $C_1$ə$C_2C_1$ə$C_2 \rightarrow C_1$í·$C_2C_1$ə$C_2$.

### 7.6.2. Plurals of Dispositional-Iterative Forms

Dispositional forms can be made plural with an *-l-* infix. There seems to be variation in vowel and stress. Compare the following singular (left column) and plural (right column) forms:

| | |
|---|---|
| *qán̓qən̓* ‘thief’ | *nəxʷsqəlánqən̓* (DK), *qélən̓qən̓* (AG) ‘thieves’ |
| *qʷál̓qʷəl̓* ‘tell’ | *qʷəlál̓qʷəl̓* ‘several tell’ (AG) |
| *qʷí·l̓qʷəl̓* ‘be telling’ | *qʷəlí·l̓qʷəl̓* ‘several are telling’ (AG) |
| *wát̓θwət̓θ* ‘easily offended’ | *wél̓ət̓θwət̓θ* ‘several easily offended ones’ (AG) |
| *mát̓mət̓* ‘limber, springy’ | *mél̓ət̓mət̓* ‘several limber ones’ (AG) |
| *qáx̌qəx̌* ‘slippery’ | *qél̓əx̌qəx̌* ‘several slippery ones’ (AG) |

### 7.6.3. Diminutives of Dispositional-Iterative Forms

The only diminutives I have recorded for dispositional forms are of *qʷí·l̓qʷəl̓* ‘be telling’ as given by AG. They are formed as are other diminutives of verbs. The singular diminutive is *qʷiʔqʷí·l̓qʷəl̓* ‘the little guy is telling’ and the plural is *qʷəliʔqʷí·l̓qʷəl̓* ‘the little guys are telling.’

## 7.7. RESULTATIVE FORMS

Many verbs, though not all, have resultative forms.[5] These denote the result, product, or finished state of the activity denoted by the base form of the verb. Resultative forms can often be translated with English past participles or adjectives, for example, *sṗéṗəṯ$^{\theta}$* 'sewed' (cf. *ṗéṯ$^{\theta}$* 'sew,' *ṗéṯ$^{\theta}$ət* 'sew it'), *sníṅəẇ* 'advised' (cf. *níẇət* 'advise him'), *shá·ẏ* 'finished, ready' (cf. *háy* 'finish'), *stətés* 'near' (cf. *tás* 'arrive there,' *tsát* 'approach it'), *sθəθékʷ* 'straight' (cf. *θəkʷ* 'get taut,' *θkʷát* 'pull it'), *sṯ$^{\theta}$x̌$^{w}$écəs* 'with washed hands' (cf. *ṯ$^{\theta}$x̌$^{w}$écsəm* 'wash one's hands'), *sx̌ánəp* 'plowed' (cf. *x̌ánəp* 'plow a field').

The word *sṗéṗəṯ$^{\theta}$* is also used in *sṗéṗəṯ$^{\theta}$ məšín* 'sewing machine' and *sṗéṗəṯ$^{\theta}$ x̌$^{w}$íləm* 'sewing thread,' but this does not seem to be a usual usage of resultative forms; these may be simply translations of the English terms.

Resultatives are ordinarily formed by prefixing *s-*$_2$ 'resultative' (§12.1.2) to an internally modified form of the root or root with suffixes. The type of internal modification varies with the type of root; the resultatives of CAC and CəCC roots are modified as they are for progressives, but the resultatives of CəC roots differ from their progressives in having a full second vowel instead of a schwa. (Details appear below.)

The suffixes that may appear in resultatives include *-əm* 'intransitive,' *-əl* 'move toward,' and a number (as yet undetermined) of lexical suffixes. The transitive suffixes *-t, -nəx$^{w}$,* and *-x,* and the reflexive and reciprocal suffixes, do not appear in resultative forms. On the other hand, resultatives may be transitivized with the suffix *-stəx$^{w}$*$_1$ 'causative' (see §9.3).

Resultatives do not share the perfective-progressive distinction found elsewhere in the aspect system, but they do have plural, diminutive, and diminutive plural forms.

A few forms that appear to be resultatives do not take the *s-* 'resultative' prefix. There are also a few resultatives that appear with a suffixed *-t* 'stative' (§12.1.6).

### 7.7.1. Resultatives of CAC and CəCC Roots

Resultatives of roots of these shapes are regularly produced by prefixing *s-* 'resultative' to a form that is identical with the progressive of the bare root (or with what we may infer that form would be from the progressive of the transitive). Compare the following sets:

| PERFECTIVE | PROGRESSIVE | RESULTATIVE |
|---|---|---|
| *ṗéṯ$^{\theta}$* 'sew' | *ṗéṗəṯ$^{\theta}$* 'be sewing' | *sṗéṗəṯ$^{\theta}$* 'sewed' |
| *yákʷət* 'smash it' | *yáẏəkʷət* 'be smashing it' | *syáẏəkʷ* 'smashed' |
| *q̓$^{w}$ím* 'disembark' | *q̓$^{w}$íq̓$^{w}$əm* 'be disembarking' | *sq̓$^{w}$íq̓$^{w}$əm* 'ashore' |

5 I have adopted the term used by Leslie (1979). These are the "participles" of Galloway (1977) and they correspond to the "stative" forms in the Thompsons' description (1971) of Clallam.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *níc̓ət* 'advise him' | *níc̓əwət* 'be advising him' | *sníc̓əwc̓* 'advised' |
| *c̓éʔənt* 'straighten it' | *c̓éc̓əc̓ət* 'be straightening it' | *sc̓éc̓əc̓* 'straight' |
| *xákʷət* 'bathe him' | *xáxʷəkʷət* 'be bathing him' | *sxáxʷəkʷ* 'bathed' |
| *híqət* 'put it under' | *híʔqət* 'be putting it under' | *síʔq* 'underneath' |
| *háy* 'finish' | *há·yc̓* 'be finishing' | *shá·yc̓* 'finished, ready' |
| *ʔáɬ* 'stretch' | *ʔáʔɬ* 'be stretching' | *sʔáʔɬ* 'stretched out' |
| *ɬéʔt* 'try it' | *ɬəɬéʔt* 'be trying it' | *sɬəɬéʔ* 'tried' |
| *séʔ* 'rise' | *səséʔ* 'be rising' | *ssəséʔ* 'raised' |
| *c̓éʔ* 'land atop' | *c̓əc̓éʔ* 'be landing atop' | *sc̓əc̓éʔ* 'atop' |
| *xʷét* 'lower it' | *xʷəxʷét* 'be lowering it' | *šxʷəxʷé* 'down, lowered' |
| *xʷpá·t* 'inflate it' | *xʷpəpáʔət* 'be inflating it' | *šxʷpəpá* 'inflated' |
| *méʔx* 'remove it' | *hám̓èʔx* 'be removing it' | *səm̓éʔ* 'off' |
| *mátqʷt* 'immerse it' | *mátqʷt* 'be immersing it' | *smátqʷ* 'immersed' (AG) |
| *ɬál̓qt* 'dip it' | *ɬél̓qt* 'be dipping it' | *sɬél̓q* 'in the water' |
| *c̓áy̓xʷt* 'dry it' | *c̓éy̓xʷt* 'be drying it' | *sc̓éy̓xʷ* 'dry, dried' |

### 7.7.2. Resultatives of CəC Roots

Resultatives of roots of this shape are produced by prefixing *s-* 'resultative' to a form that resembles the progressive of the bare root (not the form with *t-* 'transitivizer') except that there is a full vowel between the reduplicated first consonant and the second consonant. Which full vowel will appear is not (at this stage of analysis) predictable. Compare the following sets exemplifying TəT, TəR, and RəT roots:

| PERFECTIVE | PROGRESSIVE | RESULTATIVE |
|---|---|---|
| *táṡ* 'arrive there' | *tətáṡ* 'be arriving there' | *stətéṡ* 'near' |
| *tsát* 'approach it' | *tést* 'be approaching it' | |
| *θáḵʷ* 'get taut' | *θəθáḵʷ* 'be getting taut' | *sθəθéḵʷ* 'straight' |
| *θḵʷət* 'pull it' | *θéḵʷt* 'be pulling it' | |
| *qʷáṡ* 'sink' | *qʷəqʷáṡ* 'be sinking' | *sqʷəqʷíṡ* 'sunk' |
| *qʷsát* 'sink it' | *qʷást* 'be sinking it' | |
| *ɬəq̓ʷ* 'break, snap' | *ɬəɬáq̓ʷ* 'be breaking' | *sɬəɬíq̓ʷ* 'cut off, cut up, shear' |
| *ɬq̓ʷát* 'cut it off' | *ɬáq̓ʷt* 'be cutting it off' | |
| *sáq̓* 'split, tear' | *səsáq̓* 'be splitting' | *ssəsíq̓* 'split, torn' |
| *sq̓ét* 'split it' | *séq̓t* 'be splitting it' | |
| *tθ̓áx̌ʷ* 'get washed' | *tθ̓ətθ̓áx̌ʷ* 'be getting washed' | *stθ̓ətθ̓íx̌ʷ* 'washed' |
| *tθ̓x̌ʷát* 'wash it' | *tθ̓áx̌ʷt* 'be washing it' | |
| *c̓áq̓ʷ* 'get pierced' | *c̓əc̓áq̓ʷ* 'be getting pierced' | *sc̓əc̓áq̓ʷ* 'pierced, shot' |
| *c̓q̓ʷát* 'pierce it' | *c̓áq̓ʷt* 'be piercing it' | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *pán* 'get buried' | *pəpán* 'be getting buried' | *spəpín̓* 'buried' |
| *pánət* 'bury it' | *pəpán̓ət* 'be burying it' | |
| *q̓ʷál* 'get cooked' | *q̓ʷəq̓ʷál* 'be getting cooked' | *sq̓ʷəq̓ʷíl̓* 'cooked, ripe, well taught' |
| *q̓ʷálət* 'roast it' | *q̓ʷəq̓ʷál̓ət* 'be roasting it' | |
| *kʷán* 'become possessed' | *kʷəkʷán̓* 'be going into a trance' | *skʷəkʷín̓* 'possessed, in a trance' |
| *kʷánət* 'take it' | *kʷəkʷán̓ət* 'be taking it' | |
| *łámət* 'pick them' | *łałám̓ət* 'be picking them' | *słəłím̓* 'picked' |
| *qáwət* 'warm it' | *qáẇət* 'be warming it' | *sqəqíẇ* 'heated beside the fire, exposed to the heat' (AG) |
| *xʷáy* 'wake up' | *xʷəxʷáy̓* 'be waking up' | *šxʷəxʷáy̓* ~ *šxʷəxʷíʔ* //s-xʷəxʷíy̓//? 'awake' |
| *θáyt* 'fix it' | *θéy̓t* 'be fixing it' | *sθəθáy̓* ~ //s-θəθíy̓//? 'right' |
| *məq̓* 'get full' | *hám̓q̓* 'be getting full' | *səm̓íq̓* 'full' |
| *náqʷ* 'fall asleep' | *hán̓qʷ* 'be falling asleep' | *səníqʷ* 'asleep' |
| *lákʷ* 'break' | *hál̓kʷ* 'be breaking' | *səl̓íkʷ* 'broken' |
| *náp̓əx* 'eat it' | *hán̓p̓əx* 'be eating it' | *sən̓íp̓* 'eaten on' |

### 7.7.3. Resultatives of Other Tri-Consonantal Roots

A few other words that appear to be tri-consonantal roots of shapes other than CəCC form their resultatives in a way that does not reflect the progressive form. Their resultatives have a stressed full vowel between the second and third consonant. Compare the following sets:

| PERFECTIVE | PROGRESSIVE | RESULTATIVE |
|---|---|---|
| *łéʔx̌t* 'put it on a dish, serve it' | *łałéʔx̌t* 'be putting it on a dish, be serving it' | *słəʔéx̌* 'dished out, laid out on a mat, served' |
| *k̓ʷíʔxət* 'pitch it up' | *k̓ʷək̓ʷíʔxʷt* 'be pitching it up' | *sk̓ʷəʔíxʷ* 'pitched up' |
| *x̌ʷá·t̓t* 'brace it' | *x̌ʷəx̌ʷá·t̓t* 'be bracing it' | *sx̌ʷəʔát̓* 'braced' |
| *x̌é·t̓ᶿt* 'measure it' | *x̌əx̌é·t̓ᶿt̓* 'be measuring it' | *sx̌əʔét̓ᶿ* 'marked, evident' |
| *tpáɬt* 'stretch it' | *tápəɬt* 'be stretching it' | *stpáɬ* 'stretched (as hide)' |
| *t̓ɬáq̓ʷ* 'get twisted' | *t̓áɬəq̓ʷ* 'be getting twisted' | *st̓ɬáq̓ʷ* 'aching from a twist' (AG) |
| *kʷtáxʷ* 'enter' | (prog. not recorded) | *skʷtéxʷ* 'inside' |
| *xʷálək̓ʷt* 'wrap it up' | *xʷəxʷálək̓ʷt* 'be wrapping ...' | *šxʷəlák̓ʷ* 'wrapped up' |

### 7.7.4. Resultatives of Irregular Roots

Perhaps the only truly irregular roots are *θát* 'say' and *x̌té* 'do,' which have the same progressive form, *x̌áɬə* 'be saying, be doing,' and the same resultative, *sx̌ɬé ~ sx̌ɬéʔ ~ sx̌əɬéʔ* 'said that way, so-called, done that way, the same, prepared.'

### 7.7.5. Resultatives with Suffixes

There are a few words formed with the suffixes *-əm* 'intransitive' and *-əl* 'move toward' that have resultatives that incorporate the suffix. These resultatives resemble those of the set identified above as "other tri-consonantal roots" in that they have a stressed full vowel before the final consonant, in this case that of the suffix.

| PERFECTIVE | PROGRESSIVE | RESULTATIVE |
|---|---|---|
| *ɬáyəm* 'stick' | *ɬíɬəyəm* 'be sticking' | *sɬəyám̓* 'stuck' |
| *q̓áləm̓* 'camp' | (no prog. recorded) | *sq̓əlím̓* 'camped' |
| (no perf. recorded) | *qəqáməl̓* 'be rising' | *sqəm̓íl̓* 'high (the tide)' |
| *qx̌ám* 'bounce off, be jarred off' | *qáx̌əm̓* 'be bouncing off, be getting jarred off' | *sqx̌ím̓* 'off' (AG) |
| *náqəm* 'dive' | *háṉqəm* 'be diving' | *səṉqém̓* 'submerged, under' (AG) |
| *p̓á·m* 'swell, rise' | *p̓əp̓á·m̓* 'be swelling' | *sp̓əhám̓* 'swollen' (AG) |
| *yá·m* 'order' | *həyá·m̓* 'be ordering' | *səyá·m̓* 'ordered' (AG) |
| *tíʔəl* 'become lonely' | (no prog. recorded) | *sɬəʔíl̓* 'lonely' |
| *ʔéyəl* 'get out of the way, leave' | *ʔé·yəl* 'be leaving' | *sʔəyél̓* (CC, JP), *sʔeyíl̓* (AG) 'away, gone' |
| *híləm* 'roll over, fall off' | *híl̓əm̓* 'be rolling over, be falling off' | *səhíl̓* 'fallen off, fallen down' |
| *hí·lt* 'roll it over, push it off' | *híʔəl̓t* 'be rolling it over' | |

Lexical suffixes are also incorporated into resultatives, which vary in form according to type of root and type of suffix. The data are too little for a full account, but it seems that the only resultatives with suffixes in which the roots have the shapes that appear in their plain (non-suffixed) resultatives are those formed from TAT and CəCT roots and unstressed suffixes. In other resultatives with suffixes the roots appear in simpler shapes. Also, it seems that a few suffixes have forms that appear only in resultatives, such as *-ənáp* (otherwise *-ánəp*) 'ground.'

The following examples illustrate the variations in type of root and suffix so far recorded. (There are so many gaps in the data, such as unrecorded perfective and progressive forms, that it seems better to simply list the resultatives and add whatever relevant data there are in parentheses rather than to tabulate as in previous sections.)

(1) TAT roots with stress on the root:

*słíłəc̓aqʷ* ‘with one’s hair cut short (as traditional for mourners)’ (< *-aqʷ* ‘head,’ res. of *łíc̓aqʷəm* ‘get one’s hair cut’; cf. *łíc̓ət* ‘cut it,’ *słíłəc̓* ‘cut’)
*š[xʷ]títəc̓əs* ‘with bow hauled up on the shore’ (< *-əs* ‘face, forward end’; cf. *tíc̓ət* ‘haul it up onto the shore,’ *stítəc̓* ‘hauled up’)
*š[xʷ]títəc̓nəc* ‘with stern hauled up on the shore’ (< *-nəc* ‘rump, bottom, stern’)

(2) TAT roots with stress on the suffix:

*słəc̓náp* ‘disked, harrowed’ (< *-ánəp* ‘ground,’ res. of *łc̓ánəp* ‘disk or harrow a field’; cf. *łíc̓ət* ‘cut it’) (AG)
*šxʷłəłc̓éləxʷθəł* ‘kerfed and bent’ (< *-éləxʷθəł* ‘tongue,’ res. of *xʷłc̓éləxʷθəłt* ‘kerf it [wood for a bent-wood box]’; cf. *łíc̓ət* ‘cut it’) (JP)

(3) HAT roots with stress on the root:

*šxʷʔáʔp̓əs* ‘with wiped face’ (< *-əs* ‘face,’ res. of *xʷʔap̓əsəm* ‘wipe one’s face’; cf. *ʔép̓ət* ‘wipe it’) (AG)

(4) TAH roots with stress on the suffix:

*šxʷqʷənéc* ‘with a hole in the bottom’ (< *-nəc* ‘bottom,’ res. of *xʷqʷéʔnəct* ‘make a hole in the bottom of it’; cf. *qʷéʔt* ‘make a hole in it,’ *sqʷəqʷé* ‘with a hole in it’)
*šxʷənéc* ‘sitting on the floor’ (< *-nəc* ‘bottom’; cf. *xʷét* ‘lower it,’ *šxʷəxʷé* ‘lowered, down’)

(5) TəT, TəR, and RəT roots seem all to have the stress on the suffix:

*st̓ᶿx̌ʷécəs* ‘with clean hands’ (< *-cəs* ‘hand,’ res. of *t̓ᶿx̌ʷécsəm* ‘wash one’s hands’; cf. *t̓ᶿx̌ʷát* ‘wash it,’ *st̓ᶿət̓ᶿíx̌ʷ* ‘washed’)
*st̓ᶿx̌ʷəxén̓* ‘with clean feet’ (< *-xən* ‘foot, leg,’ res. of *t̓ᶿx̌ʷəxénəm* ‘wash one’s feet’) (AG)
*st̓q̓ʷécəs* ‘missing a finger’ (< *-cəs* ‘hand’; cf. *t̓q̓ʷát* ‘cut it off,’ *st̓ət̓íq̓ʷ* ‘cut off, shear’)
*st̓q̓ʷxén* ‘missing a leg’ (< *-xən* ‘foot, leg’) (JP)
*sƛ̓xʷícən* ‘covered’ (< *-əcən* ‘surface,’ res. of *ƛ̓xʷíct* ‘cover it’; cf. *ƛ̓xʷát* ‘cover him,’ *sƛ̓əƛ̓éxʷ* ‘covered’)
*sƛ̓xən̓áp* ‘plowed’ (AG) (< *-ənəp* ‘ground,’ res. of *ƛ̓xánəp* ‘plow’; cf. *ƛ̓xét* ‘open it’)
*spən̓ás* ‘with earth thrown in one’s face, besprinkled ritually with ochre, feathers, etc.’ (< *-əs* ‘face,’ res. of *pánəst* ‘throw earth in his face, besprinkle him with ochre, etc.’; cf. *pánət* ‘bury it,’ *spəpín̓* ‘buried’)
*sq̓ʷəmənáp* ‘weeded’ (< *-ánəp* ‘ground,’ res. of *q̓ʷámənəp* ‘pull up weeds’; cf. *q̓ʷámət* ‘pluck it’)

*sèy̓q̓ás* ‘sharpened’ (< *-əs* ‘face,’ res. of *yáq̓əst* ‘sharpen it, grind it, file it’; cf. *háy̓q̓əst* ‘be sharpening it’; cf. *yáq̓ət* ‘grind it up’)
*səlkʷáʔayθən* ‘with a broken mouth’ (< *-áyəθən* ‘mouth,’ res. of *ləkʷá·yʷən* ‘get one’s mouth broken’; cf. *ləkʷ* ‘get broken, break,’ *hál̓kʷ* ‘be breaking,’ *ləkʷát* ‘break it,’ *hál̓kʷət* ‘be breaking it,’ *səl̓íkʷ* ‘broken’)

(6) CəCT roots with stress on the root:

*słél̓qəlweʔs* ‘with one’s paddle in the water’ (<*-ál̓weʔs* ‘paddle,’ res. of *łəlqálweʔsəm* ‘hold one’s paddle in the water’; cf. *łálqt* ‘dip it,’ *słélq* ‘in the water’)
*sx̌álc̓aqʷ* ‘silly, crazy’ (< *-aqʷ* ‘head’; cf. *xálc̓t* ‘twist it, rotate it,’ *sx̌əlx̌élc̓* ‘twisted [plural]’)
*sx̌ál̓c̓əyəθən* ‘crooked-jawed (salmon)’ (< *-áyəθən* ‘mouth’)

### 7.7.6. Anomalous Resultative Forms

At least two roots have resultatives formed in the expected way but with the addition of the suffix *-t* ‘stative.’ Compare the following:

| PERFECTIVE | PROGRESSIVE | RESULTATIVE |
|---|---|---|
| *kʷélx* ‘hide it’ | *kʷékʷəl̓x* ‘be hiding it’ | *skʷékʷəlt* ‘hidden’ |
| *kʷél* ‘hide’ | *kʷəkʷíl̓* ‘be hiding’ | |
| *pél̓t* ‘skim it’ | *pépələt* ‘be skimming it’ | *spépəlt* ‘skimmed’ |

There are a few forms that seem to be resultatives without the *s-* prefix.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *p̓ák̓ʷ* ‘rise to the surface’ | *p̓əp̓ák̓ʷ* ‘be rising to the surface’ (AG) | *p̓əp̓ék̓ʷ* ‘floating, afloat’ (CC, JP, AG)<br>*sp̓əp̓ék̓ʷ* ‘afloat’ (CC, DK) |

CC gave both *p̓əp̓ék̓ʷ* and *sp̓əp̓ék̓ʷ* ‘floating, afloat.’ AG denied the form with *s-* but gave a causative, *p̓əp̓ék̓ʷstəxʷ* ‘keep it afloat,’ which supports the identification of *p̓əp̓ék̓ʷ* as a resultative.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *x̓ák̓ʷən̓* ‘go out (as a fire)’ | *x̓əx̓ák̓ʷən̓* ‘be going out’ | *x̓ék̓ʷən̓* ‘out, extinguished’ |
| *x̓ák̓ʷən̓t* ‘put it out’ | *x̓əx̓ák̓ʷən̓t* ‘be putting it out’ | |

The form *x̓ék̓ʷən̓,* with its stress on the first vowel, does not resemble either a resultative or a durative, but semantically it seems to fit the resultative slot.

The following verb has two possible resultative forms:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *θqénx* ‘stand it up in the ground’ | *θáqnəx* ‘be standing it up ...’ | *sθqén* ‘held upright’<br>*θqét* ‘1. be spitted upright by a fire; 2. tree, mast’ |

The first, *sθqén*, is more like what one might expect; the second, *θqét*, is clearly based on the same root, but hard to explain.

### 7.7.7. Plurals of Resultatives

In general, plural forms of the resultative resemble plural progressives as simple (non-plural) resultatives resemble simple progressives. (Or so it seems, but there are great gaps in the data; plural resultatives are somewhat easier to elicit than plural progressives, but for many verbs I have neither form.)

Resultatives formed from TAT and TAR roots are made plural by CVC reduplication of the root. Compare the following perfective, resultative, and plural resultative forms:

| PERFECTIVE | RESULTATIVE | PLURAL RESULTATIVE |
|---|---|---|
| *q̓ʷím* 'disembark' | *sq̓ʷíq̓ʷəm* 'ashore' | *sq̓ʷímq̓ʷəm* 'several ashore' |
| *łík̓ʷət* 'hook it' | *słíłək̓ʷ* 'hooked' | *słík̓ʷłək̓ʷ* 'several hooked' |
| *q̓ík̓ʷ* 'get bitten' | *sq̓íq̓ək̓ʷ* 'bitten (in one place)' | *sq̓ík̓ʷq̓ək̓ʷ* 'bitten up, bitten in several places' |
| *pá·yt* 'bend it' | *spápəy̓* 'bent' | *spáy̓pəy̓* 'winding' |
| *łéq̓ət* 'lay it down' | *słéłəq̓* 'lying' | *słéq̓łəq̓* 'several lying' |
| *tíc̓ət* 'haul it up' | *stítəc̓* 'hauled up' | *stíc̓təc̓* 'several hauled up' |

Resultatives formed from RAH and RəC roots seem to be made plural in two ways:

(1) by reduplication of the schwa and resonant following the /s-/, probably identifiable as CVC reduplication with loss of the /h/, as in:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *mé?x* 'remove it' | *səm̓é?* 'off' //s-həm̓é?// | *səməm̓é?* 'several off' //s-həmhəm̓é?// |
| *náp̓əx* 'eat it' | *sənáp̓* 'eaten on' | *sən̓ən̓áp̓* 'eaten up' |

(2) by infixing /-əl-/ after the /s-/ (or after the lost /h/), as in:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *náqʷ* 'fall asleep' | *sənáqʷ* 'sound asleep' | *sələnáqʷ* 'several sound asleep' |

The next example could be formed by either of these methods:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *lé?x* 'put it away' | *səl̓é?* 'put away' | *sələlə́?* 'several put away' |

Resultatives formed from TəT and TəR roots are made plural by infixing /-əl-/ after the first root consonant of the simple resultative, as in:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *t̓ᶿáx̌ʷ* 'get washed' | *st̓ᶿət̓ᶿíx̌ʷ* 'washed' | *st̓ᶿələt̓ᶿíx̌ʷ* 'several washed' |
| *qʷás* 'go into the water' | *sqʷəqʷís* 'in the water' | *sqʷələqʷís* 'several in the water' |
| *pán* 'get buried' | *spəpín̓* 'buried' | *spələpín̓* 'several buried' |

A resultative formed of a TəR root with *-əm* is made plural by CVC reduplication:

*q̓ə́ləm̓* 'camp out' *sq̓əlím̓* 'camped out' *sq̓əlq̓əlím̓* 'several camped out'

Resultatives formed from TAH roots are made plural by infixing /-əl-/ after the first root consonant of the simple (non-plural) resultative, as in:

*t̓ᵊéʔt* 'chew it' *st̓ᵊət̓ᵊéʔ* 'chewed' *st̓ᵊələt̓ᵊéʔ* 'several chewed up'
*qʷé·t* 'make a hole in it' *sqʷəqʷé* 'hole' *sqʷələqʷé* 'full of holes'

Resultatives formed from HAC roots are made plural by full reduplication of the root as it appears in the simple resultative with the stress on the second vowel:

*háʔkʷ* 'be used' *sháʔkʷ* 'used' *shəkʷháʔkʷ* 'several used'

### 7.7.8. Diminutives of Resultatives

The diminutive form of a resultative indicates small size in the person or thing referred to or small amount in the attribute denoted. Diminutives of resultatives are formed by further CV reduplication with stress and vowel quality depending on type of root.

Resultatives of CVC roots form their diminutives with the formula s-$C_1$Á$C_1$ə$C_2$ → s-$C_1$ə$C_1$Á(ʔ)$C_1$ə$C_2$, as in:

*spípəw̓* 'frozen' *spəpíʔpəw̓* 'poor little frozen thing' (CC)
*sq̓áq̓əy̓* 'dead' *sq̓əq̓áq̓əy̓* 'little dead thing' (DK)
*spápəy̓* 'bent' *spəpáʔpəy̓* 'slightly bent, slightly drunk' (AG)

Resultatives of CəC, RAH, and (presumably) TAH roots (those for which the first vowel is schwa) form their diminutives with the formula s-$C_1$ə$C_1$Á$C_2$ → s-$C_1$ìC$_1$(ʔ)$C_1$Á$C_2$, as in:

*spəpín̓* 'buried' *spìppín̓* 'little buried thing' (CC)
*st̓ᵊət̓ᵊíx̌ʷ* 'washed' *st̓ᵊìt̓ᵊt̓ᵊíx̌ʷ* 'little washed thing' (CC)
*sθəθék̓ʷ* 'straight, taut' *sθiθəθék̓ʷ* 'a bit tight' (AG)
*səm̓éʔ* //s-həm̓éʔ// 'off, removed' *sì·méʔ* //s-hìhəm̓éʔ// 'small thing removed' (CC)

### 7.7.9. Diminutive Plurals of Resultatives

Diminutive forms of CəC and RAH resultatives are made plural, like the resultatives themselves, by infixing /-əl-/ after the first root consonant, as in:

*st̓ᵊət̓ᵊíx̌ʷ* 'washed' *st̓ᵊìt̓ᵊt̓ᵊíx̌ʷ* (dim.)
*t̓ᵊələt̓ᵊíx̌ʷ* (pl.) *st̓ᵊəlìt̓ᵊt̓ᵊíx̌ʷ* (dim. pl.)
*spəpín̓* 'buried' *spìppín̓* (dim.)

| | |
|---|---|
| *spələpín̓* (pl.) | *spəlìppín̓* (dim. pl.) |
| *səm̓é?* 'off' | *sì·mé?* (dim.) |
| *səməm̓é?* (pl.) | *səl̓ì·mé?* (dim. pl.) |

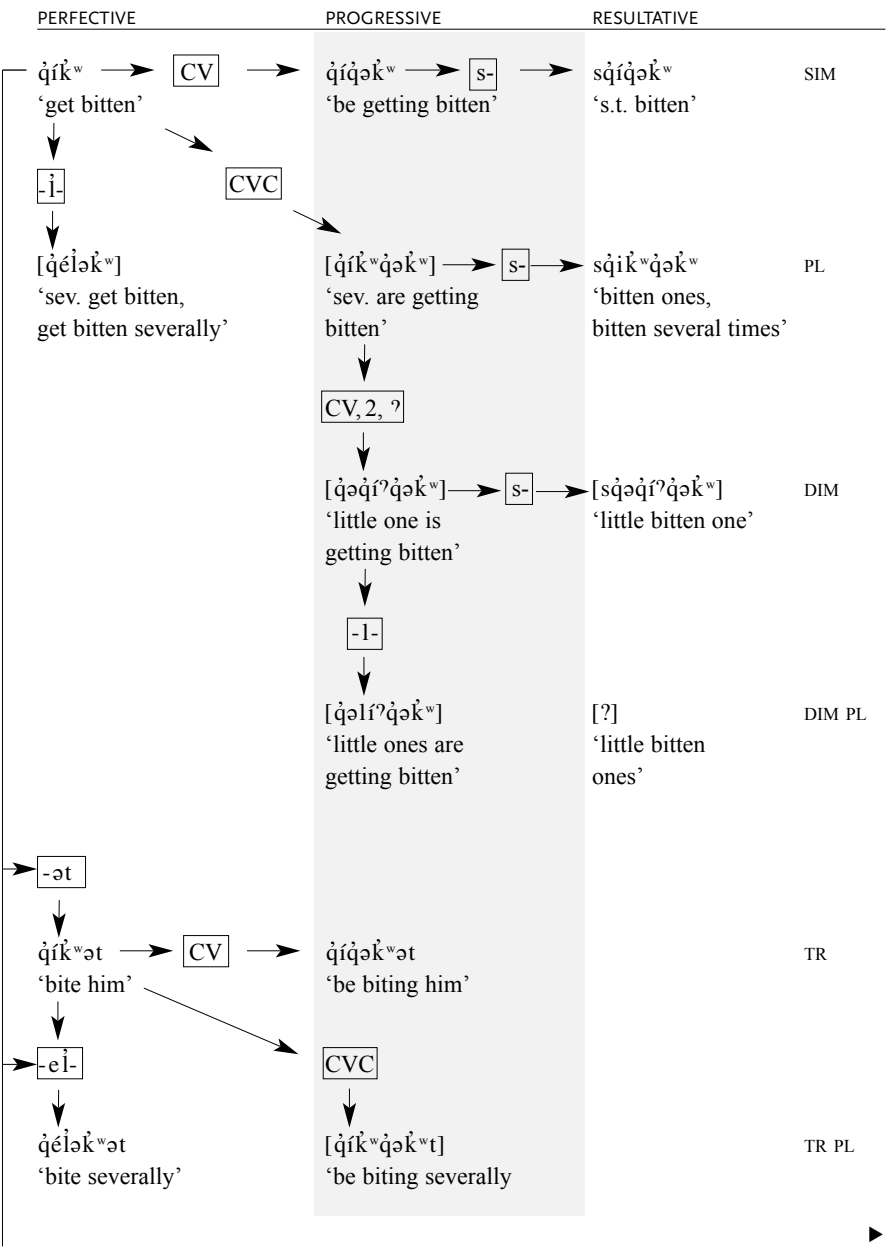
I have no examples of diminutive plurals of resultatives of CAC roots.

## 7.8. PARADIGMS

I have attempted to bring together some of the data presented in the preceding sections to show full paradigms of a few representative verbs in the form of flowcharts (Diagrams 1 to 3). In the diagrams, forms appearing in square brackets are inferred from analogous forms in the same paradigm or in paradigms of roots of the same shape, but these are unattested. The blocks enclose symbols for rules for modifying the shape of the root. These are:

| | |
|---|---|
| 2 | move stress to second vowel |
| C | reduplicate as CəC |
| CV | reduplicate as CV́Cə |
| CV, 2 | reduplicate as CəCV́ |
| CVC | reduplicate as CV́CCəC |
| ə | reduce full vowel to schwa |
| A | raise schwa to full vowel or reinstate full vowel |
| 0 | reduce vowel to zero |
| ʔ | infix glottal stop after (full) vowel |
| -i- | infix -i- |
| -il- | infix -il- |
| -l- | infix *-əl-* or *-lə-* |
| -l̓- | infix *-əl̓-* or *-l̓ə-* |
| s- | prefix *s-* 'resultative' |
| C > l | change reduplicated consonant to *-l-* |
| R̊ | glottalize resonant |
| Ciʔ | reduplicate with iʔ |

**Diagram 1. *q̓íḵʷ* 'get bitten'**



**(cont.)**

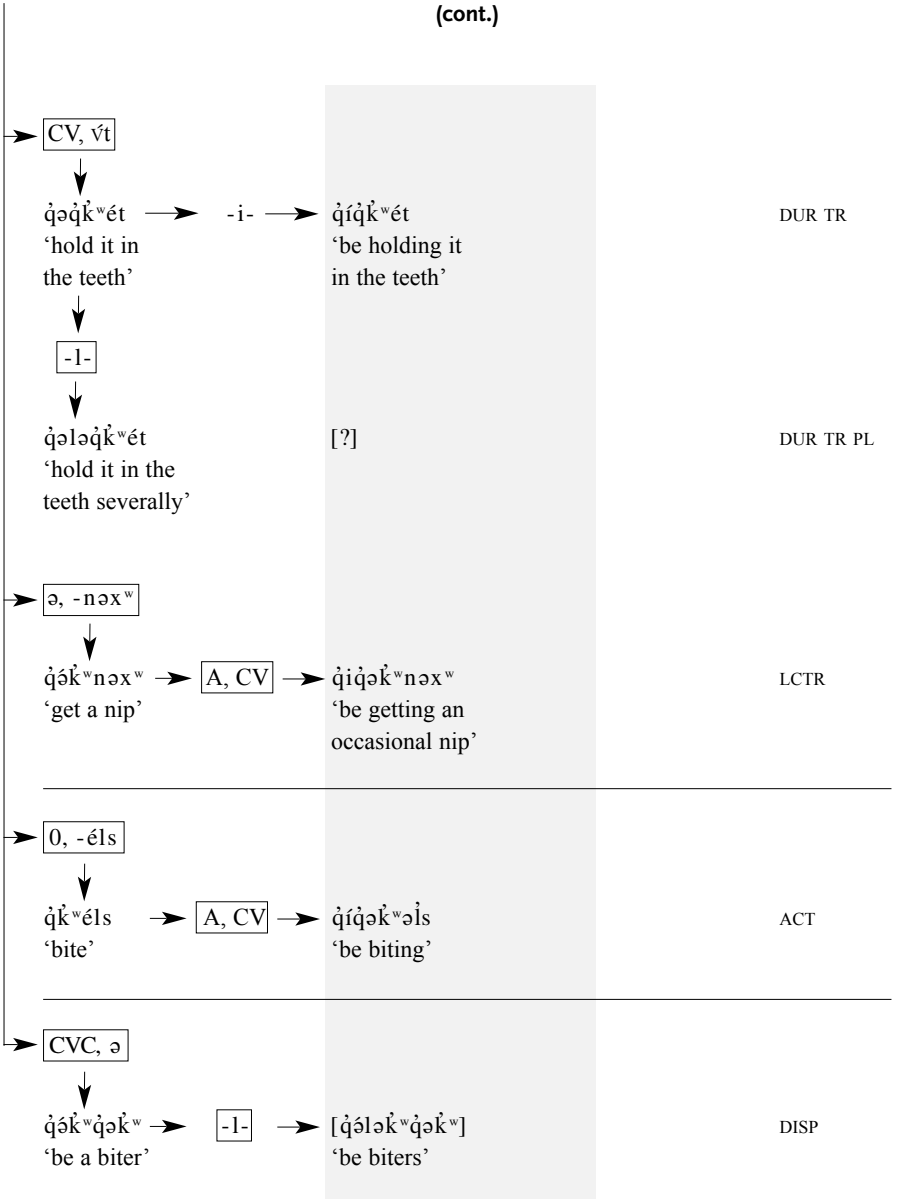
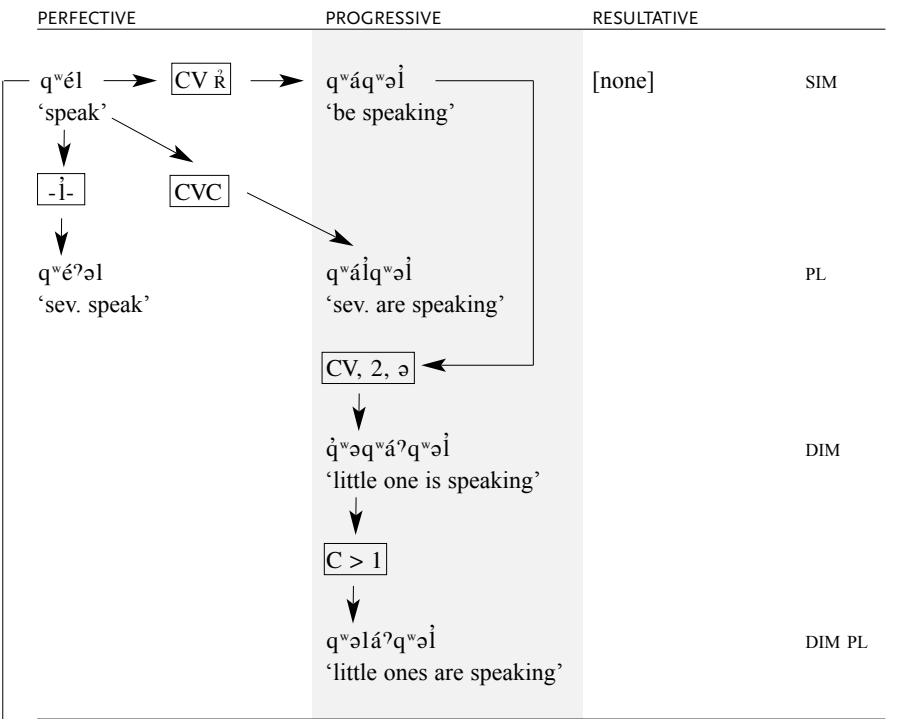
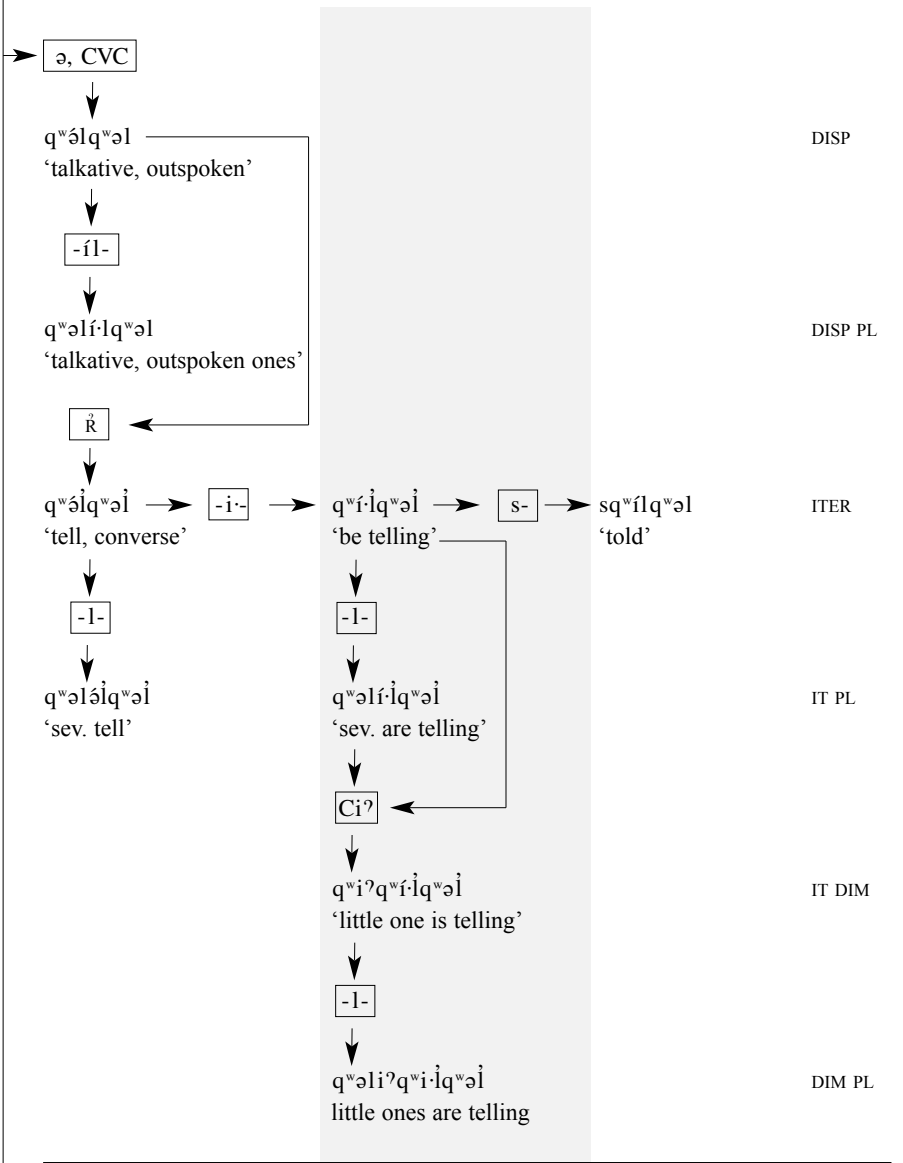

CV, v́t
q̓əq̓ḵʷét
'hold it in the teeth'
-i-
q̓íq̓ḵʷét
'be holding it in the teeth'
DUR TR
-l-
q̓əlәq̓ḵʷét
'hold it in the teeth severally'
[?]
DUR TR PL
ə, -nəxʷ
q̓ə́ḵʷnəxʷ
'get a nip'
A, CV
q̓iq̓əḵʷnəxʷ
'be getting an occasional nip'
LCTR
0, -él̓s
q̓ḵʷél̓s
'bite'
A, CV
q̓íq̓əḵʷə̓l̓s
'be biting'
ACT
CVC, ə
q̓ə́ḵʷq̓əḵʷ
'be a biter'
-l-
[q̓ə́lәḵʷq̓əḵʷ]
'be biters'
DISP

**Diagram 2.** ***q*ʷ*él* 'speak'**



**(cont.)**


ə, CVC
qʷə́lqʷəl
‘talkative, outspoken’
-íl-
qʷəlí·lqʷəl
‘talkative, outspoken ones’
R̊
qʷə́l̓qʷəl̓
‘tell, converse’
-i·-
qʷí·l̓qʷəl̓
‘be telling’
s-
sqʷílqʷəl
‘told’
-l-
qʷələ́l̓qʷəl̓
‘sev. tell’
qʷəlí·l̓qʷəl̓
‘sev. are telling’
Ci?
qʷi?qʷí·l̓qʷəl̓
‘little one is telling’
qʷəli?qʷi·l̓qʷəl̓
little ones are telling
DISP
DISP PL
ITER
IT PL
IT DIM
DIM PL

**(cont.)**

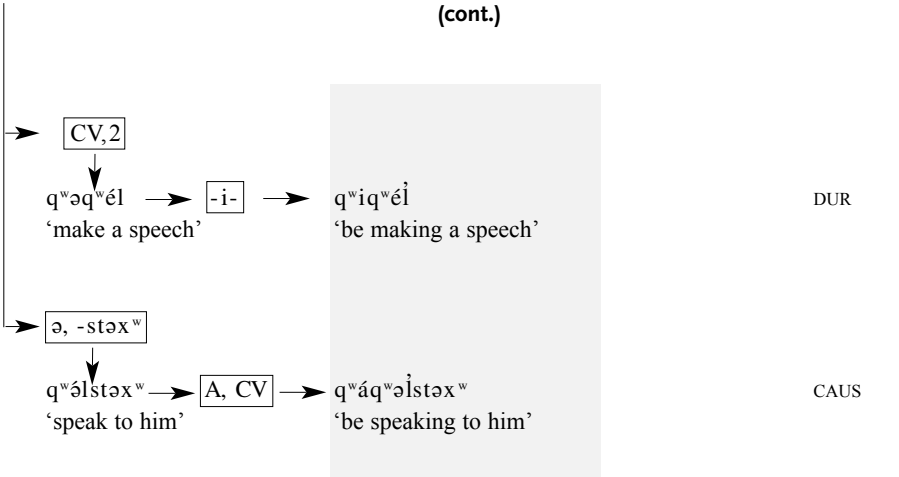
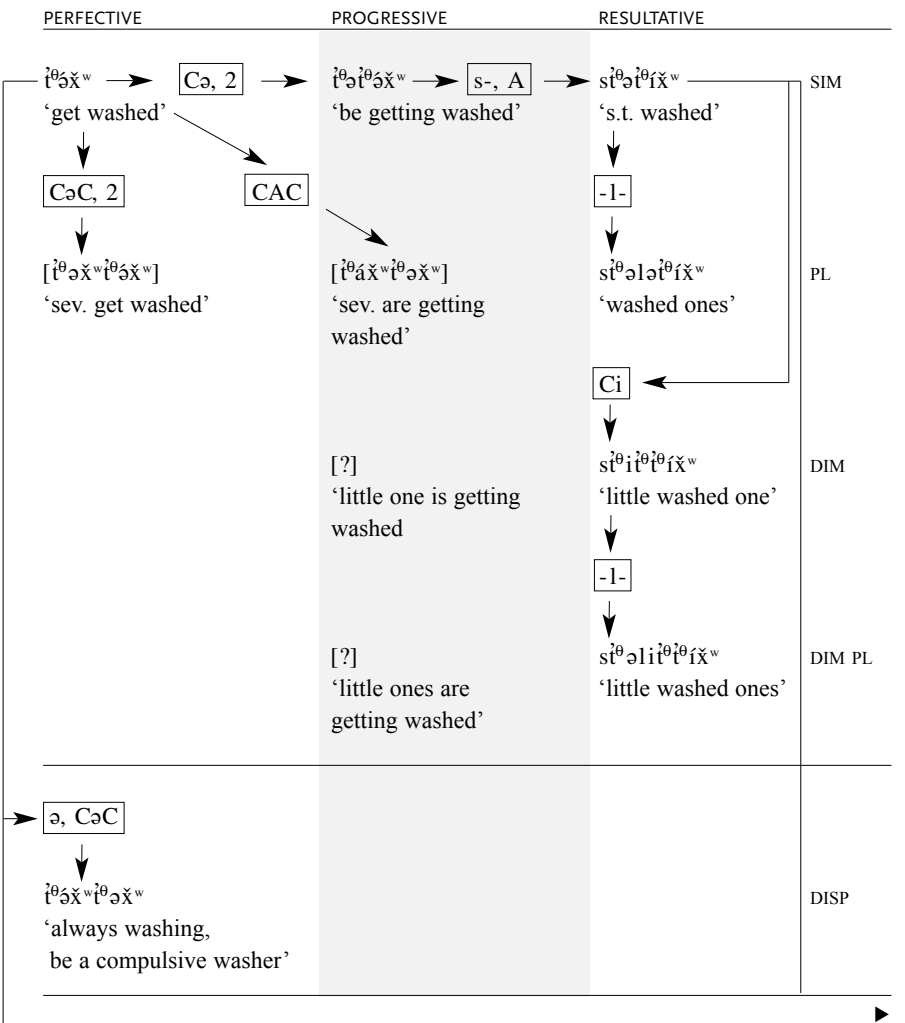
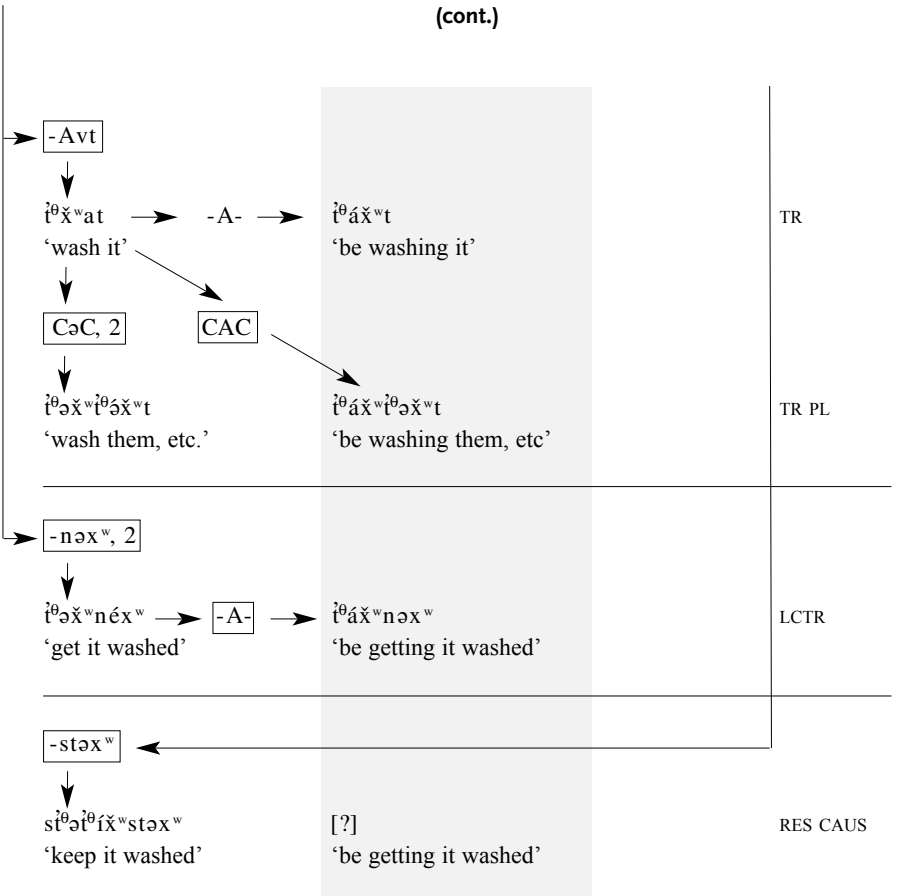

CV,2
qʷəqʷél
‘make a speech’
-i-
qʷiqʷél̓
‘be making a speech’
DUR
ə, -stəxʷ
qʷálstəxʷ
‘speak to him’
A, CV
qʷáqʷəl̓stəxʷ
‘be speaking to him’
CAUS

**Diagram 3. *t̓ᵊə́x̌ʷ* 'get washed'**

| PERFECTIVE | PROGRESSIVE | RESULTATIVE | |
|---|---|---|---|
| t̓ᵊə́x̌ʷ → Cə, 2 → | t̓ᵊət̓ᵊə́x̌ʷ → s-, A → | st̓ᵊət̓ᵊíx̌ʷ | SIM |
| 'get washed' | 'be getting washed' | 's.t. washed' | |
| ↓ CəC, 2 ↓ CAC | | ↓ -l- ↓ | |
| [t̓ᵊəx̌ʷt̓ᵊə́x̌ʷ] | [t̓ᵊáx̌ʷt̓ᵊəx̌ʷ] | st̓ᵊələt̓ᵊíx̌ʷ | PL |
| 'sev. get washed' | 'sev. are getting washed' | 'washed ones' | |
| | | Ci ↓ | |
| | [?] | st̓ᵊit̓ᵊt̓ᵊíx̌ʷ | DIM |
| | 'little one is getting washed | 'little washed one' | |
| | | ↓ -l- ↓ | |
| | [?] | st̓ᵊəlit̓ᵊt̓ᵊíx̌ʷ | DIM PL |
| | 'little ones are getting washed' | 'little washed ones' | |
| ə, CəC ↓ | | | |
| t̓ᵊə́x̌ʷt̓ᵊəx̌ʷ | | | DISP |
| 'always washing, be a compulsive washer' | | | |



**(cont.)**


-Avt
t̓θx̌ʷat
‘wash it’
-A-
t̓θáx̌ʷt
‘be washing it’
TR
CəC, 2
CAC
t̓θəx̌ʷt̓θəx̌ʷt
‘wash them, etc.’
t̓θáx̌ʷt̓θəx̌ʷt
‘be washing them, etc’
TR PL
-nəxʷ, 2
t̓θəx̌ʷnéxʷ
‘get it washed’
-A-
t̓θáx̌ʷnəxʷ
‘be getting it washed’
LCTR
-stəxʷ
st̓θət̓θíx̌ʷstəxʷ
‘keep it washed’
[?]
‘be getting it washed’
RES CAUS

### 7.8.1. Problematic Paradigms

There are a few verbs that pose special problems in that they have forms that cannot yet be clearly identified as to aspect.

A root √*łəx̌* 'stand up' has perfective forms with the prefix *wə-* 'suddenly': *wəłáx̌* 'stand up suddenly' (AG); *wəłéłx̌* 'several stand up suddenly' (AG). This root without a suffix has no known progressive forms.

However, a derivative with *-íləx* (no gloss assignable, possibly composed of *-íl* 'move toward' and an element *-x*, cf. *ʔíməx* 'walk,' *q̓ʷəyíləx* 'dance,' *-xən* 'foot') appears in two or more aspects. Its forms are:

1 *łx̌íləx* 'stand up' (JP, AG, DK)
2 *łəlłx̌íləx* (JP), *łəlx̌íləx* (AG, DK) 'several stand up (in unison)'
3 *łx̌íl̓əx* 'be standing' (JP, AG, DK)
4 *łəx̌łəx̌íl̓əx* 'several are standing' (JP, AG, DK)
5 *łáx̌əl̓əx* 'be in the act of standing up, stand up from time to time' (AG)
6 *ləłx̌íl̓əx* 'they are standing around' (DK)
7 *łiłx̌íl̓əx* 'the little guy is standing up' (AG)
8 *łəliłx̌íl̓əx* 'the little guys are standing up' (AG)

The first of these is the simple perfective and the usual word one elicits for 'stand.' Form 2 is clearly the plural perfective. Forms 3 and 4 were identified as progressive and plural progressive, although they do not exactly follow any pattern. Then AG gave form 5, which looks like a good progressive on the model *t̓əm̓íwst* 'chop its trunk,' *t̓ám̓əẇ̓st (~ t̓ət̓ám̓əẇ̓st)* 'be chopping its trunk.' (Note also *q̓ʷəyíləx* 'dance,' *q̓ʷəyál̓əx* 'be dancing,' although the stress in the progressive is still on the second vowel.) But if form 5 is the progressive, what then are forms 3 and 4? They may be, or once have been, duratives. Form 6 looks like a durative used for recreational activities, but it also looks like form 7, which is a diminutive (a diminutive of a durative?) with the usual diminutive /i/ appearing as /ə/. Form 8 is readily identifiable as the plural of form 7.

# 8
# Morphology of the Root 2: The Noun

Nouns contrast with verbs in that they may take the possessive affixes and are not (or not usually) inflected for the progressive aspect, while verbs (with a few exceptions) must be nominalized to take the possessives, and they are (with a few exceptions) inflected for the progressive aspect. Like verbs, nouns may have plural and diminutive forms, and a few nouns have what seem to be resultative forms. Noun roots differ also from verb roots in their usual shapes. (For verbs functioning as nouns, see §8.9).

## 8.1. TYPES

In composition, nouns fall into several types, depending on whether they are simple roots or roots with suffixes, the type of root and suffix, and whether they have the prefix *s-* nominalizer. These types are:

(1) *Simple bare nouns.* These are noun roots that are free forms, such as:

| | |
|---|---|
| *tén* 'mother' | *máṅə* 'child' |
| *céləx* 'hand' | *qə́ləm* 'eye' |
| *ṯéləẇ* 'arm' | *ʔéšxʷ* 'harbour seal' |
| *léləm̓* 'house' | *ṯáməṅ* 'wall' |
| *qáʔ* 'water' | *xéɬ* 'path' |
| *táx̌ʷac* 'bow' | *x̌ćés* 'island' |

(2) *Simple s- nouns.* These are formed from what appear to be bound noun roots or roots with noun-like meanings, as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *sṯ̓θám̓* 'bone' | *sx̌áṅə* 'foot' |
| *swáy̓qeʔ* 'male, man' | *sqéwθ* 'potato' |

| | |
|---|---|
| *smé·nt* 'rock, mountain' | *syáɬ* 'wood' |
| *scátx̌* 'halibut' | *sməyəθ* 'deer' |
| *stálə̓w̓* 'river' | *syíc̓əm* 'sand' |

These roots have not been recorded apart from these words and their derivatives. The shapes of roots of this and the preceding type are discussed below.

(3) *Derived s- nouns.* These are formed from verb roots, verb roots with grammatical affixes, or (rarely) adjectives with the prefix *s-* 'nominalizer,' as in:

*snét* 'night' (< *nét* 'be night')
*spíw̓* 'ice' (cf. *píw̓ət* 'freeze it')
*słáməxʷ* 'rain' (< *ɬáməxʷ* 'rain')
*snás* 'fat' (< *nás* 'fat, fatty')
*syá·ys* 'work' (< *yá·ys* 'work')
*skʷíx* 'name' (cf. *kʷíxət* 'name him')
*sʔáɬtən* 'food' (< *ʔáɬtən* 'eat')
*sʔíc̓θəm* 'clothing' (< *ʔíc̓θəm* 'get dressed')
*spəhéls* 'wind' (< *pá* 'get blown,' *-els* 'activity')

The semantic relationship between these nouns and the verbs they are derived from is discussed in §12.1.1.

(4) šxʷ- *nouns.* These are formed from verbs or adjectives with the compound prefix *šxʷ-* 'oblique nominalizer (place of, time of, means of, reason for),' as in:

*šxʷʔéx̌əθ* 'bed' (< *ʔéx̌əθ* 'lie down')
*šxʷələ́* 'life' (< *hələ́* 'alive')
*šxʷk̓ʷámk̓ʷəm* 'strength, power' (< *k̓ʷámk̓ʷəm* 'strong')

See also §12.1.4.

(5) *Nouns with lexical suffixes.* There are a great variety of these; see §13.4.3.

## 8.2. SHAPES OF NOUN ROOTS

Noun roots differ from verb roots in their most common shapes and in having a greater variety of shapes. The most common shape of the noun root is CVCVC, while that of the verb root is CVC. Of a set of 273 noun roots pulled from my lexical file, just over half have the shape CVCVC, and if we add those of the shapes CV·RC and CV·C, which may have an underlying CVCVC shape, the total is nearly 60 percent. The next most common shapes are CVC (nearly 10 percent), CVCC (nearly 10 percent), CVCV, CVCCVC, and CCVC. There may be a few others.

Some, or even many, of the longer forms may, of course, consist of old roots and affixes no longer identifiable as such. The number of apparent CVCVC

roots ending in *-əm* and *-ən* suggest that in some instances these endings may be suffixes, perhaps *-əm* 'intransitive' and possibly *-ən* as a variant of *-tən* 'instrument.' But there are also a number of apparent CVCVC roots ending in *-eʔ, -aʔ, -ən̓, -əl̓, -əy̓,* and *-əw̓*, suggesting that there may once have been some noun-forming process involving resonants or glottalized resonants at work on CVC roots.

The following are some examples of noun roots (or presumable noun roots), grouped by shape. (I am not counting the nominalizing prefix *s-*.)

With the shape CVC are:

*spáxʷ* 'tripe'
*smákʷ* 'ball'
*sɬ̓θám̓* 'bone'
*sɬ̓θáḵʷ* 'bug, worm'
*xés* 'sea lion'
*qáʔ* 'water'
*q̓ám̓* 'kelp'
*syáɬ* 'wood'
*mén* 'father'
*tén* 'mother'
*tín̓* 'hummingbird'
*séy* 'wool, fur'
*xéɬ* 'path, door'
*qéq* 'baby'
*sqʷə́ɬ̓θ* 'willow grouse'
*swém* 'horse clam'
*téɬ* 'fathom' (i.e., the length of the outstretched arms; cf. *təɬét* 'unfold it')

With the shape CVCV are:

*mán̓ə* 'child' (kin term)
*sɬ̓θánə* 'sculpin'
*sə́sə* 'widgeon'
*skʷám̓ə* 'ratfish'
*ḵʷə́l̓ə* 'belly'
*sx̌án̓ə* 'foot, leg'
*qʷə́l̓e* 'hemlock bough'
*həmá* 'pigeon'
*mél̓ə* 'bait'
*ɬ̓θáyə* 'fur seal'
*síl̓ə* 'grandparent'
*láqʷə* 'quiver, handbag'
*q̓ə́w̓ə* 'new dancer's staff'
*x̌ʷíx̌ʷə* 'large red sea urchin'
*swíw̓ə* 'eulachon' ('hooligan')
*ʔéx̌ə* 'Canada goose'

With the shape CVCC are:

*smátx̌ʷ* 'sculpin (sp.?)'
*mál̓qʷ* 'uvula'
*ɬá́ʔxʷ* 'grand fir'
*ɬ̓θíqt* 'flicker'
*séy̓q̓* 'clay'
*scátx̌* 'halibut'
*ḵʷə́tq̓* 'frog'
*ḵʷíʔxʷ* 'pitch'
*sqéwθ* 'potato'
*héwt* 'rat'
*ʔéy̓x̌* 'crab'
*mé́ʔt* 'lining of abdominal cavity of sturgeon'
*ɬ̓ém̓xʷ* 'gooseberry'
*θík̓ʷt* 'sea cucumber'
*ɬ̓θál̓c̓* 'scale (of fish or reptile)'
*sx̌ə́mḵʷ* 'fish-roe cheese'
*sc̓éxt* 'stick of wood'
*ḵʷə́l̓c̓* 'dried herring'
*qélq* 'rose hip'
*qíw̓x̌* 'steelhead'
*ʔéšxʷ* 'harbour seal'
*ʔéwḵʷ* 'possessions'
*q̓ʷéx̌t* 'root plot, garden, orchard'

With the shape CCVC are:

*t̓qʷə́m* ‘thimbleberry’
*ƛ̓pét* ‘storage bag’
*ƛ̓léy̓* ‘shovelnose canoe’
*k̓ʷsíc* ‘cut-throat trout’
*sq̓łán* ‘bow of canoe’
*słc̓ém̓* ‘weasel’
*ƛ̓síp* ‘licorice fern root’
*ƛ̓cés* ‘island’
*sk̓ʷqéq* ‘robin’

With the shape CVCVC are:

*spéʔəθ* ‘black bear’
*mə́θəł* ‘Indian hemp’
*mə́sən* ‘gall’
*smélək̓ʷ* ‘hide shirt’
*méc̓ən* ‘black haw berry’
*máʔəqʷ* ‘larger bird’
*smə́q̓ʷaʔ* ‘great blue heron’
*tə́məs* ‘sea otter, velvet’
*téʔəł* ‘harpoon head’
*stál̓əw̓* ‘river’
*t̓ámən* ‘wall’
*t̓éləw̓* ‘arm, wing’
*t̓éqeʔ* ‘salal berry’
*θámən* ‘eyebrow’
*sθə́qəy̓* ‘sockeye’
*st̓ᵊícəm* ‘hazelnut’
*séʔəq* ‘brake-fern root’
*słéwət̓* ‘herring’
*słéwən* ‘sleeping mat’
*lə́wəx̌* ‘rib’
*sc̓áłaʔ* ‘leaf’
*xéwəq* ‘carrot’
*kʷə́xʷəθ* ‘coho’
*k̓ʷál̓əxʷ* ‘chum salmon’
*k̓ʷáxʷaʔ* ‘box’
*sqə́maʔ* ‘breast, milk’
*sqéləx̌* ‘digging stick’
*sqəléw̓* ‘beaver’
*q̓éməy̓* ‘adolescent girl’
*x̌ácaʔ* ‘lake’
*sx̌áy̓əs* ‘head’
*sqʷəméy̓* ‘dog’
*sq̓ʷəléxʷ* ‘small bird’
*sp̓ísəc̓* ‘conifer cone’
*mə́t̓ᵊəł* ‘pus’
*smə́ləc̓* ‘horsefly’
*mécən* ‘testicle’
*méqeʔ* ‘snow (on the ground)’
*máqʷəm* ‘bog’
*smə́yəθ* ‘deer, animal, meat’
*tə́məł* ‘red ochre’
*stál̓əs* ‘spouse’
*tə́x̌ʷac* ‘bow’
*stíwən* ‘living sibling’s child’
*t̓ác̓aʔ* ‘skewer for herrings’
*st̓íwəq̓ʷ* ‘fuller’s earth’
*θáθən* ‘mouth’
*t̓ᵊéleʔ* ‘heart’
*sák̓ʷəm* ‘whole bark’
*sáx̌ʷəl̓* ‘grass’
*słénəy̓* ‘woman’ (but cf. *łə́nət* ‘weave it’)
*slém̓əθ* ‘fish club’
*céləx* ‘hand’
*sxəmén* ‘enemy, rival’
*kʷásən* ‘star’
*k̓ʷét̓ən̓* ‘mouse’
*k̓ʷə́ləw̓* ‘skin’
*sk̓ʷə́yəθ* ‘slave’
*qə́ləm* ‘eye’
*qə́ləx̌* ‘salmon eggs’
*sq̓ə́məl̓* ‘paddle’
*q̓əq̓íʔ* ‘gut’
*x̌éc̓ət* ‘fireweed’
*qʷəʔáp* ‘crabapple’
*qʷə́nəs* ‘whale’
syíc̓əm ‘sand’

*wénəm* 'orphan'
*ʔánəẇ̓* 'tallow'
*sʔáxʷaʔ* 'butter clam'
*ʔíməθ* 'grandchild'
*sʔánəm* 'harpoon shaft'
*ʔéləx* 'sibling, cousin of opposite sex'

With the shape CV·C are:

*spá·l̓* 'raven'
*slí·m* 'sandhill crane'
*q̓ʷí·n̓* 'ear'
*hú·n̓* 'pink (humpback) salmon'
*wí·l̓* 'tule'
*mí·t̓* 'blue grouse'
*k̓ʷé·c̓* 'dogfish'

Some, but not all, of these have an underlying shape //CVRVC// (see §1.5.6).

With the shape CV·RC are:

*k̓ʷá·nt̓* 'porpoise'
*ʔé·yt* 'lingcod'
*smé·nt* 'stone, mountain'

These probably have an underlying shape //CVRəC// (see §1.5.3).

With the shape CVCCVC are:

*sp̓áɬxʷəm* 'lung'
*málx̌ʷəl* 'Indian plum'
*st̓ʰéʔqən* 'cattail'
*ɬéẇ̓qəm̓* 'mussel'
*c̓áʔk̓ʷaʔ* 'skunk cabbage'
*x̌áʔqən* 'marten'
*swíẇ̓ləs* 'adolescent boy'
*sc̓ínkʷaʔ* 'lightning snake'
*sk̓ʷálwəs* 'co-parent-in-law, blood kin's spouse's blood kin'
*spéɬx̌ən* 'prairie, pasture'
*méxc̓əń* 'louse'
*sésq̓əc* 'sasquatch'
*láʔθən* 'dish'
*kʷámləxʷ* 'root'
*swáy̓qeʔ* 'male, man'
*sʔáɬqəy̓* 'snake'
*q̓íʔt̓aʔ* 'swing'

With the shape CCVCC are:

*ɬqélc̓* 'moon'
*sθx̌áʔs* 'Dolly Varden trout'
*sƛ̓xé·kʷ* 'silverweed'

With the shape CVCVCV are:

*máx̌ʷəyə* 'navel'
*sx̌əmálə* 'small sea snail'
*smət̓əlí* 'beaver-tooth dice game'
*t̓ʰáməkʷa* 'kelp greenling (tommycod)'

With the shape CVCVCVC are:

*páxələqʷ* 'yellow cedar'
*ɬáməqʷaʔ* 'sole'
*q̓ʷəlítəq* 'seagull'
*yáx̌ʷəleʔ* 'eagle'
*sálaʔac* 'house mat'
*q̓əy̓íʔəc* 'elk'
*syáɬəwaʔ* 'wealth'

There are a few presently unanalyzable nouns of other shapes with four or more consonants, but it seems likely that these and a number of those above will eventually prove to be composed of roots and suffixes.

There are also a few nouns showing CVC reduplication with stress in the first vowel. Some of these have the *s-* prefix but most do not. A disproportionate number are names of animals and plants. Several may be imitative of sounds.

It is also possible that some of these are verb forms. The pattern $C_1ÁC_2C_1əC_2$ is that of the plural progressive of the verb, as in *łáḵʷłəḵʷ* 'several are flying,' from *łáḵʷ* 'fly.' Two or three of the words of this shape listed below may have this source, but three of the list definitely do not, since they are loans from Chinook Jargon (marked CJ). The pattern $C_1əC_2C_1əC_2$ is that of the dispositional form of the verb, which may be glossed as a noun, as in *qə́n̓qən̓* 'steal habitually, thief,' from *qén̓* 'steal.' I have omitted identifiable dispositional forms from the list, but it may include others not identified.

With the shape $C_1ÁC_2C_1əC_2$ are:

*músməs* 'cow, bull' (CJ)
*t̓ᶿíxʷt̓ᶿəxʷ* 'fishhawk'
*sqʷín̓qʷən̓* 'bead'
*xápxəp* 'an unidentified kind of bird, said to whistle' (cf. *xápəs* 'whistle')
*sx̌ʷéyx̌ʷəy* 'a cleansing ritual performed by masked dancers'
*tíntən* 'bell, time o'clock' (CJ)
*t̓ᶿíkt̓ᶿək* 'wagon, buggy' (CJ)

With the shape $C_1əC_2C_1əC_2$ are:

*táqʷtəqʷ* 'red snapper'
*x̌ə́x̌ʷx̌əx̌ʷ* 'oyster'
*q̓ə́x̌q̓əx̌* 'tin'
*x̌ʷə́n̓x̌ʷən̓* 'bullroarer'
*t̓ᶿə́xʷt̓ᶿəxʷ* 'stinging nettle'
*sq̓ə́ɬq̓əɬ* 'muskrat'
*x̌ə́m̓x̌əm̓* 'flowering stalk of the horsetail'
*ʔə́n̓ən̓* //ʔə́n̓ʔən̓// 'magpie'
*qʷə́mqʷəm* 'bittern' (probably this bird, said to be named for its call)

## 8.3. PLURALS

Nouns referring to human beings all have plural forms, and the use of these forms seems to be obligatory. Nouns referring to body parts, a few animals, and some of the most important artifacts and other inanimate things have plurals that are commonly used. But plurals do not occur for all nouns referring to animals and inanimate things, and the use of most such plurals is optional. When asked for plural forms of names of animals, JP hesitated on several, gave forms that he said were probably correct, and added that they were seldom used. On others, he immediately said that there were no plurals. It seems also that the plural forms that are optional are more likely to be used for a group of the referent, while plural forms used regularly mean simply more than one. The plural of a few words means 'kinds of'; for example, *máʔəqʷ* 'larger bird' (often glossed 'duck') has a plural *məmáʔəqʷ* 'different kinds of larger birds, mixed ducks' (cf. English 'fish, fishes'). Plurality can, of course, also be indicated by the verb.

As with verbs, plurality in nouns is marked by internal modification of the root in a variety of ways. Plurals may be marked by: (1) an infixed *-l-*, with or without glottalization, and with the stress either preceding of following the infix, (2) CV reduplication, with the stress on either the first or the second vowel, (3) CVC reduplication, with the stress on either the first or the second vowel, or (4) a change in the vowel alone.

To some extent the type of plural marking in nouns is predictable from the shape of the root, but to a lesser extent than with the verbs. To some extent, too, the relationship between root shape and plural marking in the noun parallels that relationship in the verb. There are noun plural forms, however, that have no counterpart among verb plurals, although they may resemble other forms of the verb. I will point to similarities and differences in the presentation below.

There are questions that are not yet answerable. If verbs and nouns have different rules for forming plurals (as the data suggest), which rule applies to a noun derived from a verb root? If roots of different shapes follow different rules, when a full vowel appears as schwa in the presence of a lexical suffix that has this effect, is the plural based on the surface shape with schwa or on the underlying shape with the full vowel?

In the following presentation of plural forms, I have sorted by type of plural marker, merging nouns with roots of different shapes when they have similarly formed plurals.

### 8.3.1. With Infixed *-l-*

These vary in where the stress falls and whether the *-l-* is glottalized. The types are:

(1) With the stress on the first vowel, the infix following it. Nearly all of the nouns that have plurals of this type have roots of the shape CAC-, that is, they have an initial consonant, a full vowel, and a second consonant, and whether there is more is not relevant. (Verbs with CAC roots also usually have plurals of this type and of similar subtypes.) There are four subtypes.

(1a) With the infix appearing as *-lə-* unglottalized (CÁC- → CÁləC-)

| | |
|---|---|
| *sṫ$^{\theta}$áṁ* 'bone' | *sṫ$^{\theta}$áləm* 'bones' |
| *sṫépəẏ* 'snag' | *sṫéləpəẏ* 'snags' |
| *sc̓éxt* 'stick' | *sc̓éləxt* 'sticks' |
| *sqéwθ* 'potato' | *sqéləwθ* 'potatoes' |
| *šx$^{w}$ʔáq̓$^{w}$aʔ* 'sibling, cousin' | *šx$^{w}$ʔáləq̓$^{w}$aʔ* 'siblings, cousins' |

If the root vowel is *i*, the plural has *e*.

| | |
|---|---|
| *ṫ$^{\theta}$íkṫ$^{\theta}$ək* 'wagon' | *ṫ$^{\theta}$éləkṫ$^{\theta}$ək* 'wagons' |
| *šx$^{w}$əmník$^{w}$* 'living parent's sibling' | *šx$^{w}$əmnélək$^{w}$* 'living parent's siblings' |

(1b) With the infix as *-l̓ə-* (CÁC- → CÁl̓əC). There seems to be nothing that distinguishes the roots of this set from the last.

| | |
|---|---|
| *θáθən* 'mouth' | *θál̓əθən* 'mouths' |
| *k̓ʷáxʷaʔ* 'box' | *k̓ʷál̓əxʷaʔ* 'boxes' |
| *q̓éməy̓* 'teenage girl' | *q̓él̓əməy̓* 'teenage girls' |
| *skʷíx* 'name' | *skʷél̓əx* 'names' (AG) |
| *łéc̓tən* 'knife' | *łél̓əc̓tən* 'knives' |

The last example is a derivative of a verb root; cf. *łíc̓ət* 'cut it' and its plural *łéʔəlc̓ət* 'cut it into slices.'

(1c) With *-l̓ə-* reordered as *-ʔəl-* (CÁC- → CÁʔə1C-. The schwa is often assimilated to the stressed vowel and sometimes, for some speakers, the glottal stop is then lost, resulting in a long vowel. In all of the roots that have plurals with this reordering, the second consonant may be identified as a coronal obstruent, but not all roots of this shape have plurals of this form; cf. *θáθən* 'mouth' in set (1b) above.

| | |
|---|---|
| *sc̓áłaʔ* 'leaf' | *sc̓áʔalłaʔ* 'leaves' |
| *xéł* 'path, door' | *xéʔelł* 'paths, doors' |
| *kʷásən* 'star' | *kʷáʔalsən* 'stars' |
| *x̌ácaʔ* 'lake' | *x̌áʔəlcaʔ* 'lakes' |
| *sʔáθəs* 'face' | *sáʔalθəs ~ sá·lθəs* 'faces' (JP) |
| *yásaqʷ* 'hat' | *yáʔalsaqʷ* 'hats' |
| *mécən* 'testicle' | *méʔəlcən* 'testicles' |
| *púł* 'boat' | *púʔəlt* 'boats' |
| *snéc̓əłtxʷ* 'affine' | *snéʔəlc̓əłtxʷ* 'affines' |
| *néc̓əwtxʷ* 'house next door' | *né·lc̓əwtxʷ* 'houses next door' |
| *sʔáθnəc* 'bay' | *sʔél·θnəc* 'bays' |

This last may belong here in spite of the vowel change. The root is probably √*ʔeθ-* of unknown meaning (see §13.3), appearing with schwa before *-nəc* 'bottom.' (Cf. CAC verbs with *-nəxʷ* where the vowel appears as schwa in the perfective but in its full form in the progressive.)

(1d) With *-l-* following the vowel and no schwa (CVC- → CV1C-). Only the following have been noted, one with a full vowel and three with unstressed schwas:

| | |
|---|---|
| *qéqələ* 'baby' (CC) | |
| *sqéqələ* 'boy baby' (JP) | *sqélqələ* 'babies' (JP) |
| *məstáyəxʷ* 'person' | *məlstáyəxʷ* 'persons' |
| *stəqáyeʔ* 'wolf' | *stəlqáyeʔ* 'wolves' |
| *šxʷməkʷəʔélə* 'grave, family plot' | *šxʷməlkʷəʔélə* 'graveyard' |

This last example may have a full vowel in the root; cf. *cmékʷeʔ* 'participate in a funeral.'

(2) With the stress in the second vowel, following the infix. These are also mostly CAC roots but there seem to be fewer with plurals of this type. (There

are no verb roots noted with plurals of this type, but verb and noun diminutives commonly have this plural.)

(2a) With *-əl-* unglottalized (CV́C- → Cə1V́C-)

| | |
|---|---|
| *pítxən* 'lizard, salamander' | *pəlítxən* 'lizards, salamanders' |
| *músməs* 'cow, bull' | *məlúsməs* 'cows, cattle' |
| *stíqìw* 'horse' | *stəlíqìw* 'horses' |
| *sqéʔeq ~ sqé·q* 'junior sibling, cousin' | *sqəlé·q* 'junior siblings, cousins' (JP) |
| *máqsən* 'nose' | *məláqsən* 'noses' |

(2b) With *-əl̓-* (CV́C- → Cəl̓V́C-)

| | |
|---|---|
| *sqéʔəq* 'junior sibling, cousin' | *sqəl̓éʔəq* 'junior siblings, cousins' (CC) |
| *sx̌él̓əqəm* 'fierce being' | *sx̌əl̓éləqəm* 'fierce beings' |

(2c) With *-ələ-*, neither vowel stressed ($C_1$əC$_2$V́- → $C_1$ə1ə$C_2$V́-). Nouns that have plurals of this form have an unstressed schwa as the first vowel, but not all nouns of this shape have plurals of this form; cf. (1d) above. (Verb forms that have this shape, e.g., some duratives and some resultatives, also have plurals of this type.)

| | |
|---|---|
| *t̓ᶿəmé·n* 'arrow [bone pointed?]' | *t̓ᶿələmé·n* 'arrows' |
| *sxəmén* 'enemy, rival' | *sxələmén* 'enemies, rivals' |
| *kəpú* 'coat' | *kələpú* 'coats' |
| *kʷəšú* 'pig' | *kʷələšú* 'pigs' |

The first of these probably has the root of *st̓ᶿam̓* 'bone' and the plural might be seen as a reduction of *st̓ᶿáləm̓* 'bones'; the others have roots of the shapes seen. The last two are loans from Chinook Jargon, suggesting that this plural formation is productive for words of this shape.

### 8.3.2. With CV Reduplication

These vary in stress and quality of the stressed vowel.

(1) With stress on the first vowel ($C_1$V́$C_2$- → $C_1$V́$C_1$ə$C_2$-). There are only a few nouns with plurals of this type. (There are no verbs recorded with plurals formed this way, but it is a common way of forming progressives.)

| | |
|---|---|
| *st̓ᶿóq̓ʷ* 'worm, bug' | *st̓ᶿót̓ᶿəq̓ʷ* 'worms, bugs' |
| *qʷól̓ə* 'bough (esp. hemlock)' (JP) | *qʷóqʷəl̓ə* 'boughs' (JP) |
| *qʷóqʷəl̓ə* 'hemlock' (CC) | |
| *sq̓ʷələ́x* 'small bird' | *sq̓ʷóqʷələx* 'small birds' |

(2) With stress on the second vowel ($C_1$V́$C_2$- → $C_1$ə$C_1$V́$C_2$-). There are a number of nouns with plurals of this type, falling into several subtypes. In nearly all instances, the second consonant is a resonant or a pharyngeal. (Among

verb plurals, there is a parallel in two roots with the shape RAH, but this is the common form of reduplication producing progressives of TAH roots.)

(2a) With no change in vowel. Most have the shape CAH.

| | |
|---|---|
| *spéʔeθ* 'black bear' | *spəpéʔeθ* 'black bears' |
| *máʔaqʷ* '"duck" (larger bird)' | *məmáʔaqʷ* 'several kinds of "ducks"' |
| *sɬ̓θéʔqən* 'cattail' | *sɬ̓θəɬ̓θéʔqən* 'place where only cattails grow' |
| *láʔθən* 'dish' | *ləláʔθən* 'dishes' |
| *lá·k* 'log (cut for a mill)' | *ləlá·k* 'logs' |
| *qáʔ* 'water' | *təmqəqáʔ* 'freshet time' |
| *ká* 'car' | *kəká·* 'cars' (JP) (DK gave *kəlá·* but JP rejected it) |
| *stíwən* 'living sibling's child' | *stətíwən* 'living sibling's children' |
| *sḵʷáyəθ* 'slave' | *sḵʷəḵʷéyəθ* 'slaves' ("but seldom used" – JP) |

(2b) With an initial resonant appearing initially as *h* and medially doubled, the vowel unchanged (RV́C- → həRRV́C-). As usual, following the prefix *s-*, the *h* is lost. (A similar appearance of R as *h* is seen in the progressives of verbs of the shapes RAH and RəC. See also [2e] below.)

| | |
|---|---|
| *léləm̓* 'house' | *həlléləm̓* 'houses' |
| *syálɨ̓əxʷaʔ* 'old person' | *səyyálɨ̓əxʷaʔ* [sìyáʔlaxʷaʔ] 'old persons' |
| *swáy̓qeʔ* 'male, man' | *səwwáy̓qeʔ* [suwáy̓qeʔ ~ suw·áy̓qeʔ] 'males, men' |

(2c) With a vowel change from *ə* to *e*. Only one noun is recorded with a plural of this type: *máṅə* 'child, offspring,' *méṁaṅə* 'children, offspring.' (There is a parallel in the plurals of some verbs of the shape TəT.)

(2d) With a vowel change from *ə* to *i* ($C_1əC_2$- → $C_1əC_1íC_2$-). Nearly all have the shape TəR- (obstruent-schwa-resonant). (No verbs are known to have plurals of this type, but verb roots with schwa may have resultatives with similar forms.)

| | |
|---|---|
| *táməxʷ* 'land, earth' | *tətíməxʷ* 'countries, pieces of land' |
| *tánəqsən* 'mallard' | *tətínəqsən* 'mallards' |
| *kʷə́mləxʷ* 'root' | *kʷəkʷímləxʷ* 'bunch of roots' |
| *sḵʷálwəs* 'co-parent-in-law, blood relative's affine' | *sḵʷəḵʷílwəs* (once recorded *sḵʷəlḵʷílwəs*) 'co-parents-in-law, secondary affines' |
| *qə́ləm* 'eye' | *qəqíləm* 'eyes' |
| *sq̓ə́məl* 'paddle' | *sq̓əq̓íməl* 'paddles' |
| *sx̌ə́ṅə* 'foot, leg' | *sx̌əx̌íṅə* 'feet, legs' |
| *qʷəq̓tén* 'shoulder' | *qʷəqʷíq̓tən* 'shoulders' |
| *θqét* 'tree' | *θəθíqət* (JP), *θəqθáqət* (CC) 'trees' |

The last two examples have roots of shapes different from those preceding, and are probably not simple nouns; *qʷəq̓tén* may be composed of a root plus the suffix *-tən ~-tén* 'instrument,' and *θqét* may be a verb form (see §7.7.6).

(2e) With an initial resonant appearing as *h* initially in the plural and with a change of the vowel from *ə* to *i* (Rə́C- → həRíC-). Again, following *s-* the *h* is lost. (There is one wholly irregular verb, *náyəm* 'laugh,' that has the plural resembling this type.)

| | |
|---|---|
| *yáx̌ʷələ* 'eagle' | *həyíx̌ʷlə* 'eagles' |
| *smáyəθ* 'deer, animal, meat' | *səmíyəθ* 'deer (pl.)' |
| *smáq̓ʷaʔ* 'great blue heron' | *səmíq̓ʷaʔ* 'great blue herons' |
| *snáxʷəɬ* 'canoe' | *səníxʷəɬ* 'canoes' |
| *swáq̓ʷaʔɬ* (JP), *swáẇq̓ʷaʔɬ* (CC) 'mountain-goat wool blanket' | *səwíq̓ʷaʔɬ* 'mountain-goat wool blankets' (AG) |
| *syáwən* 'possessing song' | *səy̓íwən* [siʔyíwən] 'different kinds of possessing songs' |

(3) In a word beginning with two consonants, reduplication of the first separated by an unstressed schwa ($C_1C_2$Ý- → $C_1$ə$C_1C_2$Ý-). Only one example has been recorded: *tc̓ál̓məxʷ* 'wild animal,' *tətc̓ál̓məxʷ* 'all kinds of wild animals' (CC).

### 8.3.3. With CVC Reduplication

These vary with stress and vowel quality.

(1) With stress on the first vowel ($C_1$Ý$C_2$- → $C_1$Ý$C_2C_1$ə$C_2$-). Only one example has been recorded: *sp̓áq* 'white patch' (on the skin; cf. *p̓áq̓* 'white'), *sp̓áqp̓əq* 'white patches.' (Verbs of the shape CAC have plural progressives of the shape $C_1$Á$C_2C_1$ə$C_2$ and dispositional-iteratives of the shape $C_1$ə́$C_2C_1$ə$C_2$.)

(2) With the stress in the second vowel ($C_1$V$C_2$- → $C_1$ə$C_2C_1$Ý$C_2$-). There are a number of nouns with plurals of this type, all so far recorded having a resonant as second consonant and all but one with a full vowel. Not all nouns of this shape have plurals of this type, however. (Two CAR verbs and a number of CəC verbs have plural perfectives formed this way.)

| | |
|---|---|
| *stáməx* 'warrior' | *stəmtáməx* 'warriors' |
| *stál̓əs* 'spouse' | *stəltál̓əs* 'spouses' |
| *stál̓əẇ* 'river' | *stəltál̓əẇ* 'rivers' |
| *t̓élәẇ* 'arm, wing' | *t̓əlt̓élәẇ* 'arms, wings' |
| *t̓ámən* 'wall (of house)' | *t̓əmt̓ámən* 'walls' |
| *síl̓ə* 'grandparent, etc.' | *səlsíl̓ə* 'grandparents, etc.' |
| *θámən* 'eyebrow' | *θəmθámən* 'eyebrows' |
| *słénəy̓* 'female, woman' | *słənɬénəy̓* 'females, women' |
| *x̌̓ímən* 'tendon' | *x̌̓əmx̌̓ímən* 'tendons' |
| *céləx* 'hand' | *cəlcéləx* 'hands' |

| | |
|---|---|
| *šxʷáməcən* 'fisher (the animal)' | *šxʷəmxʷáməcən* 'fishers' |
| *x̌éləẇ* 'spoon' | *x̌əlx̌éləẇ* 'spoons' |
| *wénəm* 'orphan' | *wənwénəm* 'orphans' |
| *ʔíməθ* 'grandchild, etc.' | *ʔəm̓íməθ* 'grandchildren, etc.' |
| *ʔéləx* 'sibling of opposite sex' | *ʔəl̓éləx* 'siblings of opposite sex' |

The following nouns with long vowels have underlying CAR shapes and have plurals of this type with the long vowel retained in the plural.

| | |
|---|---|
| *spá·l̓* //spáləl̓// 'raven' | *spəlpá·l̓* 'ravens' |
| *sné·nt* //snénət// 'stone, mountain' | *sənné·nt* 'stones, mountains' |

The following probably have underlying CəRəR̰ shapes (see §1.5.6), but their plurals are of the same type.

| | |
|---|---|
| *q̓ʷí·n̓* 'ear' | *q̓ʷənq̓ʷí·n̓* 'ears' |
| *wí·l̓* 'tule' | *xʷwəlwí·l̓əɬp* 'place where only tules grow' |

(3) With stress on a later vowel

| | |
|---|---|
| *spəlqʷíl̓ᶿeʔ* 'dead person' | *spəlpəlqʷíl̓ᶿeʔ* 'dead persons' |
| *səm̓áy̓eʔ* 'bee, wasp' | *səm̓səmáy̓əʔélə* 'bees' or wasps' nest' |
| *sqʷəméy̓* 'dog' | *sqʷəmqʷəméy̓* 'dogs' |

### 8.3.4. With Vowel Change Only

There are a few nouns with plurals of this type. They are not necessarily the products of the same process and are better examined one by one.

(1) The plural of *syéy̓e* (also recorded *syéy̓eʔ*) 'friend, relative' (from *yéy̓ə ~ yéy̓eʔ* 'tightly bound, secure,' that is, 'someone to whom one is bound') is phonetically [sìyéy̓ə], which is probably /syəyéy̓ə/, formed by CV reduplication.

(2) The plural of [siʔém̓] 'rich person, leader, lord, lady, Sir, Ma'am' is [si·ʔém̓]. These are probably /səy̓ém̓/ and /səyəy̓ém̓/, the plural again formed by CV reduplication. The word looks as though it might be the resultative form of an unrecorded root **yəm* or **yeʔ* with the suffix *-əm*. Compare /səy̓ém̓/ and the plural /səyəy̓ém̓/ with *səm̓éʔ* 'removed' and its plural *səməm̓éʔ,* the resultatives of the root of *méʔx* 'remove it' (see §7.7.2). However, the word exists as a cognate or loan in several other languages in the region, namely Squamish *siʔámʔ,* Northern Straits *siʔém̓,* Lushootseed *siʔáb.* Kuipers (1967, 374) suggests that the Squamish *siʔámʔ* is from *hiʔámʔ* 'return home' from the root √*hamʔ, həmʔ* 'be covered, come home' (cognate of Musqueam *ʔəm̓í* 'come'), inviting comparison with Latin *dominus.* Bates et al. (1994, 14) identify the Lushootseed *siʔáb* as a nominalization of *ʔiʔáb* glossed 'wealth' and as "an endearing term of address to a little boy," but they give no example of the usage of *ʔiʔáb* with the meaning 'wealth,' their evidence for this gloss evidently being

simply a verb *ʔíʔabil* ‘become wealthy’ (cf. Musqueam *səy̓ámθət* ‘get rich, become a rich person’).

(3) The plural of *spáɬx̌ən* ‘prairie, pasture’ is *spé·ɬx̌ən* ‘prairies, pastures.’ It seems possible that the long vowel in the plural is the result of the loss of an infix *-l-*, the underlying form being //spə́lə́ɬx̌ən//. If so, the pattern does not exactly match any of those recorded.

(4) The plural of *swíẇləs* ‘teen-age boy, young man’ is *swá·ẇləs*. The singular may be in origin the diminutive of a form **swáləs*, compare Lushootseed *swəlús* ‘young man of noble parentage’ (Bates et al. 1994, 247). Following the pattern of *snáxʷəɬ* ‘canoe’ and *sníṅxʷəɬ* ‘little canoe’ (see §8.4.2. below), we get *swíẇləs*. The plural is formed as in *snáṅnəxʷəɬ* ‘little canoes,’ being //swə́ẇələs// with the usual metathesis of the resonant and schwa and the two adjacent schwas producing a long full vowel.

(5) The plural of *scəwtéɬ* ‘man’s sister’s husband, man or woman’s child’s spouse’ is *sciwətéɬ*. I cannot explain this apparent irregularity.

### 8.3.5. Suppletion

There is one instance of this, in which the plural has another plural form: *sx̌íx̌qəɬ* ‘child,’ *stéʔexʷəɬ* ‘children,’ *stəwíxʷəɬ* ‘bunch of children, many children.’ The form of the singular suggests that it is the diminutive of an unrecorded **sx̌áqəɬ* (see §8.4.2.), probably from the root of *x̌əqíɬ* ‘give birth.’ The plural is clearly from a different root. The third form is hard to explain. It may be a unique example of a different kind of plural. The terms denote ‘child’ and ‘children’ referring to life status, not to kinship (see §21.1.1).

## 8.4. DIMINUTIVES

Like plurals, diminutive forms are not available for all nouns. Those for which diminutives have been recorded include terms for persons, body parts, animals, artifacts, and natural features, but the list is not long. Again, as with plurality, a diminutive sense can also be expressed in the verb.

It seems likely that speakers vary in their use of diminutive forms. CC and DK produced them in elicitation more freely than JP and, I believe, used them more often. This may reflect a sex difference; women may use diminutives more than men do. Diminutive forms not only express the sense of smallness but can also convey a sense of endearment. They are used when speaking about and to children. A little girl may be called *tétəṅ* ‘little mother’ (DK’s father called her this) and a little boy *mémәṅ* ‘little father.’ Persons feeling close use diminutives to one another. In response to a diminutive used to her, DK used the diminutive of *swétə* ‘sweater’:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (a) | ʔi | cən | wəɬ-yə-hə́m̓əx | θə | nə-swéwtə. (DK) |
| | AUX | I | already-along-be.removing | ART | my-sweater(DIM) |

‘I am already taking off my little sweater.’

And they are used in speaking of little animals. Someone, DK remembered, after looking into a nest of baby mice, said:

(b) ƛ̓éẇq̓əm tə qəqəlám̓s i səsé?stxʷəs tə məlímqsəns. (DK)
ƛ̓éẇq̓əm tə qəqəlám̓-s ʔəy̓ səsé?-stəxʷ-əs tə
be.glittering ART eye(DIM.PL)-3POS and be.rising-CAUS-3TR ART
məlímqsən-s
nose(DIM.PL)-3POS
'Their little eyes were glittering and they were lifting up their little noses.'

Probably English with 'little eyes' and 'little noses' does not convey the feeling of the Halkomelem diminutives.

When CC could not produce a diminutive for snake, she suggested it was because snakes are not "cute." Anyway, one can refer to the young of an animal simply by suffixing *-a·lɬ* 'young' to the uninflected form of the name. Occasionally this suffix occurs with diminutive forms.

Diminutives can also belittle. In relating a bit of gossip, a speaker referred, a bit sarcastically, to a married woman's secret lover as her *stá?tləs* 'little husband.'

Used in speaking of oneself, diminutives can express humility – real or required by etiquette. About 1917, Herman Guerin was instructed to begin a speech at a potlatch-like event with (c).

(c) qʷəl-st-ámə cən ce? tən̓a ʔé·nθə sisləwa? ʔəθk̓ʷə́k̓ʷəyəθ. (HG)
qʷəl-st-ámə cən ce? tən̓a ʔé·nθə sisləwaʔ
speak-COM-you(PL) I FUT this I poor(DIM)
ʔəT-sk̓ʷə́k̓ʷəyəθ
your-slave(DIM)
'I, your poor little slave, will speak to you.'

Diminutives are formed in far fewer ways than are plurals. They are nearly all produced by reduplication of the first consonant. A schwa in the root generally becomes *i* in the diminutive, a repeated resonant is often glottalized, and a glottal stop may follow a full vowel.

### 8.4.1. With $C_1$ Reduplication and No Vowel Change

The nouns that follow this rule all have a full vowel in the root or base form. All but a few of this shape follow this rule.

(1) With no glottal stop ($C_1ÁC_2$- → $C_1ÁC_1C_2$-). A resonant may be glottalized in the diminutive.

| | |
|---|---|
| *pút* 'boat' | *púpt* 'little boat' |
| *spún* 'spoon' | *spúpən̓* 'little spoon' |
| *púс* 'cat' | *púps* 'little cat, kitten' |
| *mén* 'father' | *mémən̓* 'little father' |

| | |
|---|---|
| *smé·nt* //sménət// ‘stone’ | *smém̓nət* ‘little stone’ |
| *máqʷəm* ‘bog’ | *mám̓qʷəm* ‘little bog’ |
| *tén* ‘mother’ | *tétən̓* ‘little mother’ |
| *st̓ᶿám̓* ‘bone’ | *st̓ᶿát̓ᶿəm̓* ‘little bone’ |
| *céləx* ‘hand’ | *cécləx* ‘little hand’ |
| *skʷáyeʔ* ‘squirrel’ | *skʷákʷyeʔ* ‘little squirrel’ |
| *k̓ʷét̓ən̓* ‘mouse’ | *k̓ʷék̓ʷt̓ən̓* ‘little mouse’ |
| *k̓ʷáxʷaʔ* ‘box’ | *k̓ʷák̓ʷxʷaʔ* ‘little box’ |
| *swétə* ‘sweater’ | *swéwtə* ‘little sweater’ |

(2) With a glottal stop after the vowel ($C_1$A- → $C_1$Aʔ$C_1$-)

| | |
|---|---|
| *sc̓áɬaʔ* ‘leaf’ | *sc̓áʔc̓ɬaʔ* ‘little leaf’ |
| *xéɬ* ‘path, road, door’ | *xéʔxɬ* ‘little path’ |
| *x̌ácaʔ* ‘lake’ | *x̌áʔx̌caʔ* ‘little lake’ |
| *t̓ᶿíkt̓ᶿik* ‘wagon, etc.’ | *t̓ᶿíʔt̓ᶿikt̓ᶿik* ‘baby buggy’ (JP) |
| *stál̓əw̓* ‘river’ | *stáʔtləw̓* (JP), *státələw̓* (CC) ‘creek’ |

In the following, after the glottal stop, the expected sequence of two identical consonants is reduced to one: *θáθən* ‘mouth,’ *θáʔθən* ‘little mouth.’

### 8.4.2. With $C_1$ Reduplication and Vowel Change

(1) Without glottalization ($C_1$ə-, $C_1$- → $C_1$i$C_1$-)

| | |
|---|---|
| *p̓ə́wəy̓* ‘flounder’ | *p̓íp̓əwəy̓* ‘little flounder’ |
| *mə́qsən* ‘nose’ | *mím̓qsən* ‘little nose’ |
| *smə́q̓ʷaʔ* ‘heron’ | *smím̓q̓ʷaʔ* ‘little heron’ |
| *smə́yəθ* ‘deer’ | *smím̓yəθ* ‘fawn, little deer’ |
| *tə́məxʷ* ‘earth, land’ | *títməxʷ* ‘little piece of land’ |
| *tə́nəqsən* ‘mallard’ | *títnəqsən* ‘little mallard’ |
| *tə́xʷθəɬ* ‘tongue’ | *títxʷθəɬ* ‘little tongue’ |
| *snə́xʷəɬ* ‘canoe’ | *sníṅxʷəɬ* ‘little canoe’ |
| *ləmətú* ‘sheep’ | *líl̓mətú* ‘little sheep’ |

In the next two examples, a final *-ṅə* in the simple form becomes *-neʔ* in the diminutive, perhaps reflecting a historically earlier form of the word; cf. *NStr ŋə́nəʔ* ‘child’).

| | |
|---|---|
| *mə́ṅə* ‘child (kin term)’ | *mím̓neʔ* ‘little child’ |
| *sx̌ə́ṅə* ‘foot’ | *sx̌íx̌neʔ* ‘little foot’ |

The following have a shift in stress from the second vowel in the simple form to the first in the diminutive:

| | |
|---|---|
| *sqʷəméy̓* ‘dog’ | *sqʷíqʷmey̓* ‘little dog, puppy’ |
| *θqét* ‘tree’ | *θíθqət* ‘little tree’ |

| | |
|---|---|
| *ƛ̓cés* ‘island’ | *ƛ̓íƛ̓cəs* ‘little island’ |
| *sɬ̓θ̓q̓əm* ‘drop’ | *sɬ̓θ̓íɬ̓θ̓q̓əm* ‘little drip’ (AG) |

(2) With a glottal stop after the i ($C_1$ə- → $C_1$i$^{ʔ}C_1$-)

| | |
|---|---|
| *sθáqəy̓* ‘sockeye’ | *sθíʔθqəy̓* ‘little sockeye’ |
| *sɬ̓θ̓ə́k̓ʷ* ‘bug, worm’ | *sɬ̓θ̓íʔɬ̓θ̓k̓ʷ* ‘little bug, little worm’ |
| *c̓séy̓* ‘Douglas-fir’ | *c̓íʔc̓səy̓* ‘little Douglas-fir’ (CC) |

### 8.4.3. With CV Reduplication

There are a few words in which $C_1$Á- is reduplicated $C_1$Á$C_1$ə-:

| | |
|---|---|
| *sc̓éxt* ‘stick’ | *sc̓éc̓əxt* ‘little stick’ |
| *síl̓ə* ‘grandparent, etc.’ | *sísələ* ‘grandpa, grandma (address)’ |
| *yásaqʷ* ‘hat’ | *yá·ysaqʷ* //yáyəsaqʷ// ‘little hat’ |

There are a few words in which an unstressed schwa is reduplicated along with the first consonant:

| | |
|---|---|
| *səmáy̓eʔ* ‘bee, wasp’ | *səsəmáy̓eʔ* ‘little bee, little wasp’ |
| *spəlqʷíɬ̓θ̓eʔ* ‘dead person’ | *spəpələqʷíɬ̓θ̓eʔ* ‘screech owl’ |
| *xʷənítəm* ‘White person’ | *xʷəxʷənítəm* ‘White child’ |

There are a few words in which a stressed schwa is replaced by *i* or *iʔ:*

| | |
|---|---|
| *k̓ʷə́lə́w̓* ‘skin’ | *k̓ʷík̓ʷələ́w̓* ‘little skin’ |
| *sk̓ʷə́yəθ* ‘slave’ | *sk̓ʷík̓ʷəyəθ* (JP), *sk̓ʷə́kʷəyəθ* (AG, HG) ‘little slave, small pet animal’ |
| *xʷə́lməxʷ* ‘Indian, tribe’ | *xʷíxʷəlməxʷ* ‘little Indian’ |

There are also a few diminutives formed in unique ways. It will be better to consider these after the diminutive plurals.

## 8.5. DIMINUTIVE PLURALS

Diminutives of nouns are pluralized either with an infixed *-l-* or with a vowel change.

### 8.5.1. With Infixed *-l-*

Most nouns with diminutives of type 1 (those with an original full vowel) and some nouns of type 2 (those with schwa replaced by *i*) have diminutive plurals with *-əl-* preceding the vowel: $C_1$Á$C_1$- → $C_1$əlÁ$C_1$-. I will list base forms (left column), as well as diminutives (middle column) and diminutive plurals (right column), but give glosses for the uninflected forms only.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *púsˑ* ‘cat’ | *púps* | *pəlúps* |
| *smé·nt* ‘rock’ | *smém̓nət* | *sməlém̓nət* |
| *céləx* ‘hand’ | *cécləx* | *cəlécləx* |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *skʷáyeʔ* 'squirrel' | *skʷákʷyeʔ* | *skʷəlákʷyeʔ* |
| *ṗáwəy̓* 'flounder' | *ṗípəwəy̓* | *ṗəliṗəwəy̓* |
| *máqsən* 'nose' | *míṁqsən* | *məlíṁqsən* |
| *táməxʷ* 'land' | *títməxʷ* | *təlítməxʷ* |

In the next, English provided the base form:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| skiff | *skíkf* 'skiff' | *skəlíkf* 'skiffs' |

In the next, no diminutive singular has been recorded:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *sḵʷłé·y* (JP), *sḵʷłéy* (CC) 'little-neck clam' | — | *sḵʷəlíḵʷłey* 'small little-neck clams' |

In the next, the *-l-* of the plural is glottalized:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *ḵʷéɬən̓* 'mouse' | *ḵʷéḵʷɬən̓* 'little mouse' | *ḵʷəɬéḵʷɬən̓* 'little mice' |

If a glottal stop appears in the diminutive, it also appears in the diminutive plural:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *sc̓áɬaʔ* 'leaf' | *sc̓áʔc̓ɬaʔ* (dim.) | *sc̓əláʔc̓ɬaʔ* (dim. pl.) |
| *xéɬ* 'road' | *xéʔxɬ* (dim.) | *xəléʔxɬ* (dim. pl.) |

In the next three, a glottal stop appears in the plural although there is none in the singular:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *sc̓éxt* 'stick' | *sc̓éc̓əxt* (dim.) | *sc̓əléʔc̓əxt* (dim. pl.) |
| *θqét* 'tree' | *θíθqət* (dim.) | *θəlíʔθqət* (dim. pl.) |
| *ɬéwəɬ* 'shell' | *ɬéɬəwəɬ* (dim.) | *ɬəléʔɬwəɬ* (dim. pl.) |

### 8.5.2. With Vowel Change

Some nouns that have schwa in the base form replaced by *i* in the diminutive have a diminutive plural in which the *i* is replaced by schwa. There may also be another schwa before $C_2$. The rule is $C_1$íC$_1$C$_2$- → $C_1$əC$_1$(ə)C$_2$-.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *ƛ̓cés* 'island' | *ƛ̓íƛ̓cəs* 'islet' | *ƛ̓əƛ̓əcəc* 'islets' |
| *sqʷəméy̓* 'dog' | *sqʷíqʷməy̓* 'little dog' | *sqʷəqʷəmey̓a·lɬ* 'puppies' |
| *qʷłéy̓* 'driftwood log' | — | *qʷəqʷłey̓* 'scraps of driftwood' |

If $C_1$ is a resonant, it may be doubled after the stress:

*smáyəθ* 'deer' *smíṁyəθ* (dim.) *smámməyəθ* (dim. pl.)
*snáxʷəɬ* 'canoe' *sníṅxʷəɬ* (dim.) *snəṅnəxʷəɬ* (dim. pl.)

## 8.6. PROBLEMATIC DIMINUTIVES

There are a dozen or so nouns that have diminutive or diminutive plural forms that are irregular enough to call for special comment and, in several instances,

to suggest a reinterpretation of the base form. I list these here followed by their plural, diminutive, and diminutive plural forms, with a dash where no form has been recorded.

(1) *sṫ$^{\theta}$áṁ* 'bone,' *sṫ$^{\theta}$áləṁ* (pl.), *sṫ$^{\theta}$áṫ$^{\theta}$əṁ* (dim.), *ṫ$^{\theta}$ə́ṫ$^{\theta}$əláṁ* (CC) (dim. pl.). The diminutive plural may be a diminutivized plural rather than the usual pluralized diminutive. The final full vowel and missing *s-* are not explainable.

(2) *qə́ləm* 'eye,' *qəqíləm* (pl.), —, *qəqəláṁ* (DK) (dim. pl.). The diminutive plural is similar to (1) in the final vowel.

(3) *máʔəq$^{w}$* 'duck,' *məmáʔəq* (pl.), *míṁəq$^{w}$* (dim.), *məlíṁəq$^{w}$* (dim. pl.). The diminutive suggests that the base may be //mə́ʔəq$^{w}$//. The diminutive plural is regularly formed from the diminutive.

(4) *léləṁ* 'house,' *həlléləṁ* (pl.), *líl̓əṁ* (dim.), *hə́ll̓èṁ* (CC), *hə́ləl̓lèṁ* (JP) (dim. pl.). The plural implies a base //lə́lələṁ//, but the diminutive implies a base //lə́ṁ//. The diminutive plural could have the same base as the plural and the stress and/or vowel pattern of (1) and (2).

(5) *sƛ̓éləqəm* 'fierce thing,' *sƛ̓əl̓éləqəm* (pl.), *sƛ̓íʔƛ̓ələqəm* (dim.), *sƛ̓əƛ̓él̓əqəm* (dim. pl.). CC identified the Chilliwack as *sƛ̓eʔéləqəm,* probably //sƛ̓əʔéləqəm//. Such a base would account for the Musqueam diminutive and diminutive plural forms.

(6) *sʔáθəs* 'face,' *sʔáʔəlθəs* (pl.), *sʔəθás* (JP), *sʔáʔθəs* (DK) (dim.). The diminutive form given by JP seems to be the product of nothing but a shift in stress. It has no parallel, unless it is in (7). A diminutive plural was not recorded.

(7) *spá·l̓* 'raven,' *spəlpá·l̓* (pl.), *spəlál̓* (dim.) 'crow,' *spəlápləl̓* (dim. pl.) 'crows.' The long vowel in 'raven' is probably the result of the loss of the first of two identical resonants (see §1.5.6). This is nicely reflected in the diminutive plural; *spəlápləl̓* implies a diminutive **spápləl̓,* which in turn implies a base **spáləl̓,* which is what, with the loss of the medial resonant, became *spá·l̓*. The word *spəlál̓* 'crow,' however, does not fit into this sequence. As a diminutive of 'raven,' if it is, it must be the product of the same rule that produced JP's diminutive of 'face' (6).

(8) *q̓$^{w}$í·ṅ* 'ear,' *q̓$^{w}$ənq̓$^{w}$í·ṅ* (pl.), *q̓$^{w}$iq̓$^{w}$í·ṅ* (CC), *q̓$^{w}$íq̓$^{w}$nəṅ* (JP) (dim.), *q̓$^{w}$əliq̓$^{w}$í·ṅ* (CC) (dim. pl.). CC's diminutive is the product of CV reduplication but with the stress on the second vowel, which is not usual. JP gave his diminutive during elicitation, saying he had never heard the word used but it would be *q̓$^{w}$íq̓$^{w}$nəṅ*. This form, if produced by the usual rule, implies a base **q̓$^{w}$ə́nəṅ,* which is in fact 'ear' in the Nanaimo dialect and no doubt what became, through loss of the medial resonant, the Musqueam *q̓$^{w}$í·ṅ*.

(9) *spə́łx̌ən* 'prairie,' *spé·łx̌ən* (pl.), *spépłx̌ən* (dim.), *spəlépłx̌ən* (dim. pl.). As indicated under plurals, the long vowel in the plural may be the product of the loss of an infixed *-l-*. On the other hand, the diminutive form implies a short full vowel in the base.

## 8.7. RESULTATIVE FORMS

There are several words formed from nouns with a prefix *s-* and meaning 'possessing' or having a meaning similar to that of an English past participle used adjectivally; for example, from *télə* 'money' we have *stétələ* 'having money, monied.' Some, though not all, of these resemble the resultative forms of verbs and so I am tentatively identifying them as resultative forms of nouns and the prefix as *s-*$_2$ 'resultative.'

A small set (of four so far) are formed from nouns that have not undergone any internal modification. The nouns appear below on the left and their resultative forms on the right.

| | |
|---|---|
| *méxc̓ən̓* 'louse' | *sméxc̓ən̓* 'lousy' |
| *k̓ʷə́l̓ə* 'belly' | *sk̓ʷə́l̓ə* 'pot-bellied' |
| *qə́nəxʷ* 'gullet' | *sqə́nəxʷ* 'greedy' |
| *t̓ᶿə́y̓stən* 'antler' | *st̓ᶿə́y̓stən* 'buck with antlers' |

These might, without too great a stretch, be glossed 'loused,' 'bellied,' 'gulleted,' and 'antlered.' The first of these has a diminutive, *smím̓xc̓ən̓* 'lousy little thing,' from *mím̓xc̓ən̓* 'little louse.'

In the others recorded, the noun undergoes internal changes (reduplication, stress shift, etc.) resembling those we see in the resultative forms of verbs (see §7.7).

| | |
|---|---|
| *sméləkʷ* 'warrior's hide shirt' | *smémələk̓ʷ* 'wearing a warrior's shirt' |
| *méqeʔ* 'fallen snow' | *sméməqeʔ* 'all snowy' |
| *télə* 'money' | *stétələ* 'having money' (DK) |
| *łéc̓tən* 'knife' | *słéłəc̓tən* 'armed with a knife' (AG) |
| *x̌ímən* 'tendon' | *sx̌íx̌əmən* 'powerful, muscular' |
| *k̓ʷáxʷaʔ* 'box' | *sk̓ʷáxʷk̓ʷaxʷaʔ* 'boxed (pl.)'[1] |
| *qáʔ* 'water' | *sqəqáʔ* 'watery, thin (as soup)' |
| *táməxʷ* 'earth' | *stəmíxʷ* 'dirty (as clothes)' |
| *mə́n̓ə* 'child' | *səm̓néʔ* 'having a child, one who has a child' |
| *snə́xʷəł* 'canoe' | *sən̓xʷéł* 'one who has a canoe' |
| *sk̓ʷə́yəθ* 'slave' | *sk̓ʷəyáθ* 'one who has a slave' |

There is also a jokingly produced hybrid form: *skík f* 'skiff,' *skík ft* 'skiffed, having a skiff' (DK). Here the final *-t* may be *-t* 'stative' or may be the English *-ed.*

The following have been recorded as verbs only, the first formed with *xʷə-* 'become' and the second with *-stəxʷ*$_1$ 'causative,' both affixes that are commonly used with resultatives of verbs:

1 So recorded, the second vowel may be a schwa echoing the others.

| | |
|---|---|
| *k̓ʷíʔxʷ* ‘pitch’ | *xʷəsk̓ʷəʔíxʷ* ‘become pitched up’ |
| *ləsék* ‘bag, sack’ | *sliləsékstəxʷ* ‘have it bagged’ |

There are perhaps semantic limits only on what nouns can have resultative forms. Not enough examples have yet been collected to determine whether they are formed in ways altogether parallel to the formation of resultatives of verbs.

## 8.8. THE INFLECTION OF VERBS DERIVED FROM NOUNS

Nouns may be used to produce verbs by means of several prefixes, among them *c-* ‘get, make, do,’ *ɬ-* ‘partake,’ *txʷ-* ‘buy.’ These verbalized nouns may have progressive forms, as in:

(a) ʔi cən txʷ-łéʔłəc̓tən. (AG)
AUX I buy-knife(PROG)
‘I am buying a knife.’ (cf. *łéc̓tən* ‘knife’)

(b) ʔi cən txʷ-séʔpləl̓. (AG)
AUX I buy-bread(PROG)
‘I am buying bread.’ (cf. *səplíl* ‘bread’)

(c) ni txʷ-kəká· kʷθə John. (AG)
AUX buy-car(PROG) ART John
‘John is buying a car.’ (cf. *ká·* ‘car’)

Again, however, not enough examples have yet been collected to determine whether these progressives are formed in ways altogether parallel to the formation of progressives of verbs, or whether there are fuller paradigms.

## 8.9. VERBS THAT ACT AS NOUNS

There are some verb forms that can be glossed as nouns. As indicated in §7.4.1, *cəlicéx̌əm,* the diminutive plural of *céx̌əm* ‘be jumping,’ literally, ‘little ones are jumping’ means ‘sand fleas’; in §7.6, *qə́n̓qən̓,* the dispositional-iterative of *qén̓* ‘steal,’ means both ‘likely to steal’ and ‘thief”; and in §7.7.6, the possible resultative *θqét* means both ‘standing upright (as a spit by the fire)’ and ‘tree.’ Of course, any verb form can be preceded by an article and serve as a relative clause, so perhaps that is what these forms are when functioning as nouns.

In general, the capacity to take the possessive affixes seems to distinguish nouns from verbs. However, there are verb forms that function as nouns and do take possessives, such as *hə́y̓qʷ* ‘be burning (from *yə́qʷ* ‘burn’), fire’; *hə́l̓kʷ* ‘be breaking (from *lə́kʷ* ‘break’), pocketknife’; and *ʔa´t̓* ‘stretch, slingshot.’ I cannot say how many such verb forms there are.

# 9
# Morphology of the Root 3: Adjectives and Adjective-like Words

Adjectives proper constitute a small class of words that are distinct from both verbs and nouns. Morphologically, adjectives are like verbs and unlike nouns in that they do not take possessives directly; they must first be nominalized with *s-* 'nominalizer.' They are like nouns and unlike verbs, however, in not having progressive forms. Like both verbs and nouns, they have plural and diminutive forms. However, verbs have diminutives of progressive forms only, while nouns and adjectives have diminutives based on otherwise uninflected forms. Syntactically, adjectives differ from verbs in that they can appear before nouns in predicates (see §3.7.3). Numerals form a class of adjective but will be dealt with in §19.

Adjectives proper are simple and complex. Simple adjectives are mainly bare roots (with or without internal modification for plurality or diminutiveness), while complex adjectives are formed from adjective roots and lexical suffixes.

As indicated in §3.8.3.4, in addition to adjectives proper there are a number of words that can be described as adjective-like.

## 9.1. SHAPES OF ADJECTIVE ROOTS

Adjective roots appear in the common shapes of verb roots, that is, CVC and CVRC, but also in a few others. The examples that follow include most of the adjective roots so identified.

With the shape CV there is only *θí* 'big' (possibly //θíh// and so CVC; see §1.5.8).

With the shape CVC are the following:

*p̓áq̓* 'white'
*nás* 'fat'
*łáqʷ* 'wet'
*cákʷ* 'far'
*qál* 'bad'
*qáx̌* 'many, much'
*ʔáy̓* 'good'
*máqʷ* 'thick (around, as a rope)'
*t̓θác* 'stiff'
*x̌áp* 'deep'
*x̌áx̌ʷ* 'hard, solid, difficult'
*x̌íʔ* 'expensive, important, difficult'
*x̌ʷám* 'fast'
*x̌ít̓θ* 'not fully cooked, not ripe'

Three words denoting dimensions seem to each consist of a CVC root and a suffix *-t* 'stative' (§12.1.6):

*ƛ̓éqt* 'long' *łq̓ét* 'wide' (cf. *łéq̓ət* 'lay it down')
*płét* 'thick (as cloth, bushes, etc.)'

Four words denoting colours each consist of a CVC root and the prefix *c-* (§12.2.1):

*ckʷím* 'red' *cxʷík̓ʷ* 'grey'
*cq̓íx̌* 'black' *cqʷáy* 'green, yellow, pale'

And three others may consist of CVC roots reduplicated:

*pέʔpeʔ* 'fuzzy, woolly' *yéy̓eʔ* (//yéʔyeʔ//) 'secure, tight, connected'
*x̌éʔx̌eʔ* 'holy, forbidden, extraordinary'

With the shape CVCC are:

*θéʔt* 'dark' *x̌áy̓ƛ̓* 'cold'
*x̌éẇs* 'new'

With the shape CCVC is *tsás* 'poor (especially in possessions), pitiful, suffering.' With CVCV is *x̌élə* 'scarce.' With CVCVC are:

*xəlák̓ʷ* 'round' *xʷátəs* 'heavy'
*hílək̓ʷ* 'happy' *ʔəxʷín̓* 'little'
*səléweʔ* 'pitiful' *mál̓əl̓* 'soft, spongy'
*líl̓əq* 'easy, cheap' *cícał* 'high' (√*cał*)
*mím̓əǹ* 'little' (cf. *máǹə* 'child')

Several have an initial *s-*, which may be *s-*$_2$ 'resultative':

*sƛ̓ís* 'somewhat dark skinned' *smét̓ᶿən* 'proud'
*stámkʷ* 'blunt' *scəẇét* 'smart'

A few are of shapes that suggest roots that have undergone internal modification. Four, each denoting the lower end of a variable quality, look as though they are formed of CVC roots with CV reduplication and, in three of the four, an infixed glottal stop. The pattern is not identifiable with any appearing elsewhere. These are:

*təʔíˑtx* 'narrow (as something flat)
*qʷəʔíqʷs, qʷəʔiˑyəqʷs* 'thin (as a rope or stick)'
*c̓əc̓íˑƛ̓* 'short' (cf. *c̓íƛ̓* 'how long!'; see §20.2)
*xʷəʔáxʷeʔ* 'light (not heavy)' (cf. *xʷéʔt* 'lighten it, make it less')
*k̓ʷák̓ʷəs* (JP, AG), *k̓ʷáʔk̓ʷəs* (CC) 'hot (in temperature, spicy, passionate)'
(< *k̓ʷés* 'get burnt' with a vowel change; cf. *k̓ʷék̓ʷəs* 'be getting burnt' [AG])

Formed by CVC reduplication is *kʷámkʷəm* 'strong.'

## 9.2. PLURALS

Plural forms of adjectives are used in predicates, such as the plural of *p̓áq̓* 'white' in (a).

(a) wəmákʷ p̓ep̓q̓. (CC)
wə-mákʷ p̓ep̓q̓
EST-all white(PL)
'They are all white.'

And they are used to modify plural nouns, as in (b).

(b) ʔéləy məlstáyəxʷ. ʔəwəteʔ šxsḵʷéys kʷeθ nem̓ sq̓əq̓ám̓ət. (JP)
ʔéləy məlstáyəxʷ ʔəwəteʔ šxʷ-sḵʷéy-s kʷə
good(PL) person(PL) none OBLNOM-impossible-3POS ART
ʔəT-s-nem̓ sq̓əq̓ám̓ət
your-NOM-go being.joined
'They are good people. There is no reason why you can't mix with them.'

In (b), both *ʔáy̓* 'good' and *məstáyəxʷ* 'person' are pluralized. However, a plural adjective may be enough to show plurality; in (c), the adjectives are plural forms but the noun is singular.

(c) ƛ̓íʔs kʷs m̓ís ʔéləy məstáyəxʷ, kʷáləm̓kʷəm̓ məstáyəxʷ. (JP 1)
[s-c-]ƛ̓íʔ-s kʷ s-m̓í-s ʔéləy məstáyəxʷ
[NOM-get-]value-3POS ART NOM-come-3POS good(PL) person
kʷáləm̓kʷəm̓ məstáyəxʷ
strong(PL) person
'They wanted them to become good people, strong people.'

Plurals are marked in adjectives in ways similar to those marking plurals in verbs and nouns, with an infixed *-l-*, CV reduplication, or CVC reduplication.

Most roots with full vowels form plurals with infixed *-l-*. The stress is on the vowel preceding the *-l-*, and there is no glottalization in the following (the plural form follows the singular):

| | |
|---|---|
| *x̌éẇs* 'new' | *x̌éləẇs* |
| *ƛ̓éqt* 'long' | *ƛ̓éləqt* |
| *kʷáləm̓kʷəm̓* 'strong' | *kʷáləm̓kʷəm̓* |

The *-l-* is glottalized in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *nás* 'fat' | *nál̓əs* |

The *-l-* and glottal stop are metathesized in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *sméɬ̓θən* 'proud' | *sméʔəlɬ̓θən* |

The stress follows the *-l-* in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *x̌éʔx̌eʔ* 'holy' | *x̌əléʔx̌eʔ* |

One adjective with stressed schwa has its plural formed with *-l-* and a full vowel in place of the schwa:

| | |
|---|---|
| *ʔə́ỷ* 'good' | *ʔéləỷ* |

Several of the CəC shaped adjectives have CV reduplication and a full vowel in place of schwa or zero:

| | |
|---|---|
| *ṗə́q̓* 'white' | *ṗéṗq̓* |
| *qə́l* 'bad' | *qéqəl* |
| *xʷə́təs* 'heavy' | *xʷáxʷtəs* |
| *pɬét* 'thick' | *pépɬət* |
| *ɬq̓ét* 'wide' | *ɬéɬqət* |

One adjective with a full vowel has its plural formed with CV reduplication:

| | |
|---|---|
| *θí* 'big' | *θíθə* |

A few with initial CəC- and CC- have plurals formed with CVC reduplication:

| | |
|---|---|
| *səléweʔ* 'poor' | *səlsəléweʔ* |
| *xəláḱʷ* 'round' | *xə̀lxəláḱʷ* |
| *tsás* 'poor' | *təstəsás* |

The following seems irregular:

| | |
|---|---|
| *mím̓ən̓* 'little' | *ʔəmə́mən̓* |

## 9.3. DIMINUTIVES

The few examples of diminutives of adjectives that have been recorded resemble diminutives of nouns.

Adjectives with full vowels show reduplication of the first consonant with a glottal stop after the vowel or glottalization of a resonant.

| | |
|---|---|
| *x̌éw̓s* 'new' | *x̌éʔx̌əw̓s* 'new little (one)' |
| *nás* 'fat' | *náṅs* 'fat little (one)' |
| *smét̓ᶿən* 'proud' | *smém̓t̓ᶿən* 'proud little (one)' |

Those with initial Cə or CC show reduplication of the first consonant, /i/ replacing /ə/, and possibly a glottal stop following the vowel.

| | |
|---|---|
| *ṗə́q̓* 'white' | *ṗíṗq̓* ~ *ṗíʔṗq̓* 'white little (one)' |
| *xəláḱʷ* 'round' | *xixəláḱʷ* 'round little (one)' |
| *xʷə́təs* 'heavy' | *xʷíʔxʷtəs* 'heavy little (one)' |
| *tsás* 'poor' | *títsəs* 'poor little (one) |
| *səléweʔ* 'pitiful' | *sísləweʔ* 'pitiful little' |

There is one instance of triplication of the initial consonant: *θí* 'big,' *θiθəθí* 'a little bigger.'

## 9.4. DIMINUTIVE PLURALS

Diminutive plurals are formed either from the diminutive by an infixed *-l-* or from the base form by CV reduplication and schwa replacing a full vowel.

| base | plural | diminutive | diminutive plural |
|---|---|---|---|
| *ṗáq̓* 'white' | *ṗéṗq̓* | *ṗíṗq̓ ~ ṗíʔṗq̓* | *ṗəlíṗq̓ ~ ṗəlíʔṗq̓ ~ ṗáṗəq̓* |
| *tsás* 'poor' | *təstəsás* | *títsəs* | *təlítsəs* |
| *nás* 'fat' | *náləs* | *náṅs* | *náṅnəs* |
| *θí* 'big' | *θíθə* | *θiθəθí* | *θəliθəθí ~ θəliʔθəθí* 'become a little bigger' |
| *səléweʔ* 'pitiful' | *səlsəléweʔ* | *sísləweʔ* | *səlísləweʔ* |

## 9.5. VERBS FORMED FROM ADJECTIVE ROOTS

Adjective roots can take the prefix *xʷə-* 'become' or the reflexive suffix *-θət ~ -θát* with the sense 'become' (see §10.5.1), as in:

*xʷəθí* 'get big' (< *θí* 'big')
*xəʷəθíθə* 'get big, get bigger'
*násθət* 'get fat' (< *nás* 'fat')
*ʔəy̓θát* 'get better' (< *ʔáy̓* 'good')
*k̓ʷaṁk̓ʷəṁθət* 'get stronger' (< *k̓ʷáṁk̓ʷəṁ* 'strong')

Adjectives can also take the suffix *-stəxʷ* 'causative' (see §10.3), as in:

*k̓ʷáṁk̓ʷəṁstəxʷ* 'strengthen' (< *k̓ʷáṁk̓ʷəṁ* 'strong' )
*x̌éʔx̌əstəxʷ* 'believe to be sacred' (< *x̌éʔx̌eʔ* 'holy')

## 9.6. COMPLEX ADJECTIVES

These are adjective-like words composed of adjective roots and lexical suffixes, in which the root denotes some quality and the suffix a class of phenomena. They can often be literally translated with an English compound ending in *-ed,* as in:

| COMPOUND | ROOT | SUFFIX |
|---|---|---|
| *θíqsən* 'big-nosed' | *θí* 'big' | *-əqsən* 'nose' |
| *ʔəy̓áθ* 'sharp' | *ʔáy̓* 'good' | *-aʔθ* 'edge(lip, mouth)' |
| *qəláʔθ* 'dull' | *qə́l* 'bad' | *-aʔθ* 'edge (lip, mouth)' |
| *t̓θćit̓θeʔ* 'stiff-textured' | *t̓θć* 'stiff' | *-ít̓θeʔ* 'blanket' |
| *xʷθíqən* 'loud' | *θí* 'big' | *-qən* 'throat' |
| *pəɬtá·yθən* 'thick-lipped' | *pɬát* 'thick' | *-a·yθən* 'mouth' |
| *ɬcíws* 'tired' | *ɬác* 'become possessed, out of control'? | *-iẇs* 'body' |

See §13 for other examples.

Complex adjectives may have plural forms. Compare (a) with (b) and (c) with (d):

(a) θíxən tə sṫ$^{θ}$q̓ə́m. (AG)
θí-xən tə sṫ$^{θ}$q̓ə́m
big-foot ART drop
'There's a big drop.'

(b) θíθəxən tə słə́məx$^{w}$. (AG)
θíθə-xən tə słə́məx$^{w}$
big(PL)-foot ART rain
'The rain is in big drops.'

(c) x$^{w}$ƛ̓əqtíwən tθeʔ θqét. (JP)
x$^{w}$-ƛ̓eqt-iwən tθéʔ θqét
inside-long-rump that tree
'That tree is tall.'

(d) x$^{w}$ƛ̓əlqtíwən tə θəqθə́qət. (JP)
tall(PL) ART trees
'The trees are tall.'

Of course, adjective roots with lexical suffixes also form words that are clearly nouns, such as *p̓q̓ə́lqən* 'mountain goat' (< *p̓ə́q̓* 'white,' *-əlqən* 'animal fur, hair').

## 9.7. ADJECTIVE-LIKE WORDS

As indicated in §3.8.3.4, adjective-like words and phrases are produced by enclosing a noun, adverb, or interrogative word with *wə- … al̓* or a noun with *s- … -aʔł*.

Resultative forms of verbs (§7.7) and (in the few cases where they exist) of nouns (§ 8.7) can also modify nouns. A few examples are:

*stətés* 'near' (< *tə́s* 'arrive there'; cf. *tsə́t* 'approach')
*sθəθék̓$^{w}$* 'straight' (< *θə́k̓$^{w}$* 'get taut'; cf. *θk̓$^{w}$ə́t* 'pull')
*stétəw* 'bright' (< √*tew-;* cf. *téwəl* 'light up')
*stəmíx$^{w}$* 'dirty' (< *tə́məx$^{w}$* 'earth')
*sqəqáʔ* 'thin, watery (as soup)' (< *qáʔ* 'water')
*sən̓x$^{w}$éł* 'having a canoe' (< *snə́x$^{w}$əł* 'canoe')
*sṫəʔíl̓* 'lonely' (< *ṫíʔəl* 'become lonely')
*sə́l̓q$^{w}$* 'lonely' (< ?)
*sál̓ləs* 'half drunk' (< ?)
*šx$^{w}$íx$^{w}$əq* 'lively, cheerful' (< ?)

Other adjective-like words with initial *s-* are:

*sʔə́m̓ət* 'lazy' (< *ʔə́mət* 'sit')
*sqə́nəxʷ* 'greedy' (< *qə́nəxʷ* 'gullet')
*sk̓ʷə́l̓ə* 'pot-bellied (< *k̓ʷə́l̓ə* 'belly')

Two other verb forms can have adjectival meanings. They appear in predicates but I have not recorded them as modifiers. These are:

(1) Dispositional-iterative forms of verbs (§7.6), such as:

*mə́t̓mət̓* 'limber' (√*mə́t̓-;* cf. *mət̓ə́t* 'bend')
*k̓ʷə́łk̓ʷəł* 'cranky (likely to capsize)' (< *k̓ʷə́ł* 'spill')
*qʷə́lqʷəl* 'talkative' (< *qʷél* 'speak')

(2) Perfective and/or progressive forms with *-əm* 'intransitive' (§10.2.1), such as:

*q̓étəm* 'sweet'
*t̓ᵊét̓ᵊəxʷəm* 'blue'
*séx̌əm* 'sour'
*t̓ᵊáq̓ʷəm*, *t̓ᵊát̓ᵊəq̓ʷəm* 'rotten'
*níqʷəm* 'soft, flexible'
*títəxʷəm* 'slimy'
*ƛ̓éƛ̓əłəm̓* 'salty' (< √*éłəm* 'salt')

For more examples of these two forms, see §7.6. and §10.2.1.

A few other adjective-like words are formed with *-əm* ~ *-ə́m* ~ *-ém* suffixed to adjectives or verbs, such as:

*ʔəy̓ə́m* 'strong' (< *ʔə́y̓* 'good')
*qələ́m* (JP), *qəqəl̓ém̓* (CC) 'weak' (< *qə́l* 'bad')
*xʷʔə́y̓əm* 'clear (water)' (< *ʔə́y̓* 'good')
*xʷqə́ləm* 'murky (water)' (< *qə́l* 'bad')
*x̌ʷí·m* (//x̌ʷə́m-əm// 'fast (water)' (< *x̌ʷə́m* 'fast')
*qáʔəm* 'watery' (as potatoes, cf. *sqəqáʔ* 'watery, as of soup, < *qáʔ* 'water')
*ʔíʔtətəm* 'sleepy' (< *ʔíʔtət* 'be sleeping')

# 10
# Non-Personal Affixes 1: Voice

A number of verb suffixes show how the participants in an event relate to it. These include the transitive, intransitive, causative, applicative, reflexive, reciprocal, permissive, and subordinate passive suffixes.

## 10.1. TRANSITIVE SUFFIXES

The suffixes *-t, -nəx*$^{w}$, and *-x* mark forms as simple transitive, that is, they indicate that both a subject and an object are involved in the event, they provide the necessary base for the object person markers and the third-person transitive subject marker, and they make it possible for a verb to have an object as a direct adjunct. The transitivizers *-t, -nəx*$^{w}$, and *-stəx*$^{w}$, are productive, but *-x* occurs in a only small number of words. Semantically, the differences among them involve the categories of control and perhaps others.

A transitivizer can be suffixed to a verb root (which may, depending on the transitivizer, take a different shape from the one it assumes when appearing bare of affixes) or to a stem composed of a verb root and one or more lexical or grammatical affixes (other than the person markers and a few others that normally follow transitivizers). A transitivizer can appear in any aspect of the verb but the dispositional-iterative and resultative. (See §7 for the forms of roots with these suffixes and §14.2.5 for the object person markers.)

### 10.1.1. *-t* 'transitive' (TR)

This is the general or unmarked transitive suffix. It appears as *-(V)t* except when followed by *-S* 'first/second-person singular object,' with which it coalesces as *(V)θ*. The presence or type of vowel depends on the form of the root or stem to which the *-t* is suffixed.

### 10.1.2. *-nəxʷ* 'limited control transitive' (LCTR)

This indicates that the subject is acting unintentionally, with difficulty, or with the possibility of failure.[1] It appears as *-nəxʷ* (or *-néxʷ* with TəT roots) when not followed by a first- or second-person object marker, otherwise as *-n-*. Allomorphs *-ləxʷ* ~ *-l-* appear with a few roots ending in /l/.[2]

Differences in meaning between *-t* and *-nəxʷ* may be seen in the following sets of roots, *-t* form and *-nəxʷ* form:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *kʼʷéc* 'see' | *kʼʷécət* 'look at it' | *kʼʷə́cnəxʷ* 'see it' |
| *kʷə́n* 'get taken' | *kʷə́nət* 'take it' | *kʷə́nnəxʷ* 'get it' |
| *ʔíkʼʷ* 'be lost' | *ʔíkʼʷət* 'throw it away' | *ʔə́kʼʷnəxʷ* 'lose it' |
| *tíqʼʷ* 'bump' | *tíqʼʷət* 'bump it (on purpose)' | *tə́qʼʷnəxʷ* 'bump him (accidentally)' |
| *tə́qʼʷ* 'break, be cut off, be cut in two' | *tqʼʷát* 'cut it off, cut it in two' | *tə́qʼʷnəxʷ* 'accidentally cut it off, manage to cut it off' |
| *cə́qʼʷ* 'get pierced, get shot' | *cqʼʷát* 'pierce it, poke it, shoot it' | *cə́qʼʷnəxʷ* 'manage to shoot it' |
| *kʼʷáqʷ* 'get hit' | *kʼʷáqʷət* 'hit it, club him' | *kʼʷə́qʷnəxʷ* 'hit it accidentally, hit it (as a baseball)' |

As these sets show, a *-nəxʷ* form may be glossed like the corresponding *-t* form but with the addition of 'accidentally' or 'manage to' ( i.e., 'do after some effort') or because of the semantics of English, it may be glossed with a different word. In each case, the *-nəxʷ* form indicates that the agent is not fully in control of the situation or is playing a less active part in it, 'seeing' rather than 'looking at,' 'getting' rather than 'taking,' 'losing' rather than 'throwing away.' The form *kʼʷə́qʷnəxʷ* is 'hit it' when 'it' is a baseball, AG explained, "because there is a chance of missing it."

The allomorph *-ləxʷ* occurs in:

*łə́qəlləxʷ* 'know it, understand it' (root otherwise unrecorded)
*cə́lləxʷ* 'catch up with him' (cf. *cé·lt* 'follow him')
*tə́lləxʷ* (JP), *tə́lnəxʷ* (CC) 'understand it, learn about it' (cf. *tə́l* 'be understood, be settled'; *tə́ʔəlt* 'learn it')

### 10.1.3. *-x* 'transitive' (TR)

This seems to be similar to *-t* in meaning and function. It occurs in fewer than twenty words (so far recorded), most of them expressing movement. It carries no implication of limited control. Leslie (1979) noted that his Cowichan

1 Thompson (1979) discusses control as a major category in Salishan. Arnold Guerin pointed out the "possibility of failure" as a component in the meaning of limited control.

2 Galloway (1977) identifies the *-əxʷ* of *-nəxʷ* and *-stəxʷ* as a third-person object marker following *-n-* and *-st-*, the counterpart of *-Ø* following *-t* and *-x*, but it seems simpler to treat *-nəxʷ* and *-stəxʷ* as simply allomorphs of *-n-* and *-st-*.

consultants shifted or corrected from *-š̓* (the Cowichan equivalent of the Musqueam *-x*) to *-t,* and he therefore supposed that *-š̓* is simply an allomorph of *-t*. At Musqueam, CC and JP did not do this, and I am inclined to give *-x* separate status. But the evidence is slight. I have only two possible cases of *-x* contrasting with *-t:*

(1) CC gave *lé·ʔx* as 'put it away' and *lé·ʔt* as 'make it secure'; however, JP regarded *lé·ʔt* as the Cowichan equivalent of his *lí·ʔx* (and CC's *lé·ʔx*) 'put it away.'

(2) In Text 22, JP first used *x̌é·lt* 'apply it' when a ritualist applies powerful words to the sea lion he has carved of cedar, while later he used *x̌élx* 'apply it' when the ritualist applies ochre, oil, and the eyes of a real sea lion. If *-x* has any meaning other than that of *-t,* it may be to indicate physical movement.

This suffix appears in the following:

*mé·ʔx* 'take it off, remove it' (< *mé·ʔ* 'come off, run (as a dye)'; cf. *xʷmé·ʔx* 'open it')
*télx* (JP), *xʷtélx* (CC) 'follow it (as a trail), notice it' (cf. *tél* (JP), *té·l* (CC) 'copy, follow suit')
*téyqx* 'move it (as something from one room to another)' (cf. *téyqəl* 'move, change residence')
*náẇəx* 'put it in, insert it' (cf. *səńíẇ* 'inside')
*łélx̣* 'move it back from the centre of the fire, take it off the stove' (cf. *łé·l* 'move shoreward,' *łəlíləm* 'move back from the fire, move back into the crowd away from the centre of the big house')
*x̌pílx* 'sink it' (< *x̌píl* 'go under'; cf. *x̌píləstəxʷ* 'sink it')
*kʷ´élx* 'hide him' (cf. *kʷé·l* //kʷ´él-əl// 'hide')
*yəléwx* 'pass him' (< *yəlélew* 'past'; cf. *yəléwəl* 'get past')
*wélx* 'throw it' (cf. *wé·ls* //wél-él-s// 'throw wealth at a potlatch, have a "scramble"')
*háʔkʷəx* 'use it' (< *háʔkʷ* 'be used')
*híwx* 'bring it out into the centre of the house, bring him forward' (cf. *híwəl* 'move toward the fire')
*xʷíwx* //xʷhiwx// 'move it to the centre of the fire' (cf. *xʷíwəl* 'move upstream,' *ʔəhíẇ* 'upstream')
*ʔíɬ̓θəx* 'put it on, wear it' (cf. *ʔíɬ̓θəm* 'get dressed,' lexical suffix *-iɬ̓θeʔ* 'blanket, robe')
*θqénx* 'stand it upright (as a mast)' (< *sθqén* 'be held upright'; cf. *θqét* 1. 'be standing upright as a spit by a fire,' 2. 'tree')

The progressive of the passive of the last appears in (a).

(a) yəθə́qnəxəm tə swéʔs tə čík̓mən. (JP)
yə-θəqén-x-əm tə s-wéʔ-s tə čík̓mən
along-be.held.upright(PROG)-TR-INTR ART NOM-own-3POS ART iron
'The telephone poles are being stood up [set in their holes by the telephone company].'

## 10.2. INTRANSITIVE SUFFIXES

These are *-əm* 'intransitive,' *-éls* 'activity,' *-ə́nəq* 'someone,' and *-ə́łtən* 'someone.'[3] Verbs with these suffixes are grammatically intransitive, that is, they cannot take the first- and second-person object suffixes or the third-person transitive subject suffix, nor can they have an object as a direct adjunct. However, they are active or agent-oriented, and many with *-əm* and perhaps all with the other three suffixes are transitive in sense. Some of these with *-əm* and *-éls* can have objects in oblique phrases (see §3.4).

The suffixes *-əm* and *-éls* generally do not occur with the same root, but there are at least two exceptions. These will illustrate the differences between root, transitive, and these two intransitive forms.

| ROOT | TRANSITIVE | INTRANSITIVE | ACTIVITY |
|---|---|---|---|
| *pə́n* 'get buried' | *pə́nət* 'bury it' | *pə́nəm* 'plant' | *pənéls* 'bury something' |
| *kʷə́n* 'get taken' | *kʷə́nət* 'take it' | *kʷə́nəm* 'get' | *kʷí·ls* 'grab hold' |

The suffixes *-ə́nəq* and *-ə́łtən* have each been recorded with only a small number or roots, and neither suffix with roots that take *-éls*.

### 10.2.1. *-əm* 'intransitive' (INTR)

Verbs bearing this suffix are subject-centred, that is, they indicate that the condition exists in the subject, or the action is performed by the subject, or that the action has consequences for the subject. This suffix appears as *-ə́m* or *-ém* with TəT roots in the perfective (see §7.2.6), as *-ém* in the durative (see §7.5) aspect, and otherwise as *-əm*. It occurs in several sorts of words:

(1) Adjective-like verbs formed from non-active roots (many occurring only with this suffix) that denote conditions or qualities. Several of these evidently usually appear in the progressive aspect and a few (like 'blue') seem to appear only in the progressive. Words of this sort include:

*q̓éṫəm, q̓éq̓əṫəm* '(taste) sweet' (cf. *sq̓éq̓əṫəm* 'something sweetened')
*ṫéṫᵊəm, ṫéṫəṫᵊəm* 'sour, bitter' (cf. *ṫṫᵊámθət* 'become sour,' *ṫəléʔṫəṫᵊəm* 'sorrel, *Rumex acetosella* L.')
*kʷékʷəłəm̓* 'taste brackish'
*séx̌əm* 'taste not sweet, sour'
*x̌éłəm* 'salt, salty, salt salmon,' *x̌éx̌əłəm̓* 'taste salty'
*ṫᵊéṫᵊəqəm̓* 'be smelling of sweat' (CC)
*méx̌əm, mém̓əx̌əm* 'smell like burning rags' (CC)
*xʷéxʷəsəm̓* 'smell of urine'
*séyəm* 'be sore, sting, taste strong' (cf. *sáyəmθət* 'ache')
*tíṫəxəm* 'slimy' (cf. *stíxəm* 'slime')
*łéłəc̓əm̓* 'smell faintly of burning rushes or ferns' (CC)

3 These last two might better go with the lexical suffixes (§13).

*xʷéxʷəqəm̓* ‘smell or taste of rotten meat or fish’
*t̓ᶿéyəm* ‘sticky, tacky, get stuck (as a cross-cut saw in a log)’
*niqʷəm* ‘soft, flexible’
*t̓ᶿáɬəm* ‘get cold (the body),’ *t̓ᶿáʔt̓ᶿəɬəm̓* ‘be feeling cold’ (cf. *st̓ᶿáɬəm* ‘cold [the illness], *t̓ᶿéɬ* ‘cool off [the day],’ *t̓ᶿét̓ᶿəɬ* ‘cool, shady, soothing, nourishing’)
*t̓ᶿét̓ᶿəxʷəm̓* ‘blue’
*šxʷkʷíɬəm* ‘noisy’

(2) Intransitive verbs formed from non-active roots that name processes or actions that are inherently intransitive. In their relations with forms with other affixes, they fall into several subclasses:

(2.1) Those that have no (known) transitive counterparts with *-t* ‘transitive.’ Most of these also seem to have bound roots.

*p̓á·m* ‘swell, rise’
*c̓ísəm* ‘grow’
*qéwəm* ‘rest’
*hét̓ᶿəm* ‘breathe’
*hésəm* ‘sneeze’
*t̓áqʷəm* ‘cough’
*θxʷám* ‘bleed’
*x̌é·m* ‘cry, weep’
*qə́wəm* ‘howl’
*t̓éyəm* ‘stick, adhere’
*qƛ̓ám* ‘bounce off, shake loose’
*c̓ánəm* ‘shake (as a Shaker)’
*c̓tém* ‘creep’
*xtém* ‘swim under water (as a fish)’
*méqəm* ‘jump (as a fish)’
*p̓éq̓əm* ‘bloom’ (cf. *p̓áq̓* ‘white’)

(2.2) Those with transitive counterparts with *-t* contrasting with *-əm* that are causative in meaning. Compare the intransitive (left column) and its transitive counterpart (right column):

*p̓íləm* ‘overflow’
*híləm* ‘roll, fall off’
*pk̓ʷám* ‘splash, billow out’
*kʷéyəx̌əm* ‘move’
*hánəqʷəm* ‘get warm’
*mátəqʷəm* ‘bubble up’
*p̓í·lt* ‘let it overflow’
*hí·lt* ‘roll it, push it off’
*pk̓ʷát* ‘scatter it around’
*kʷáyx̌t* ‘move it’
*hánqʷt* ‘warm it up’
*mátqʷt* ‘dip it in water’

(2.3) Those that can be transitivized by suffixing *-t* ‘transitive’ after the *-əm* ‘intransitive.’ The two suffixes form a transitive the object of which is the goal of the action. (Or, alternatively, we might suppose that the root takes a redirective suffix *-mət*. See §10.4.5.) In some of these there is a shift in stress. Compare the intransitives (left column) with their transitive counterparts (right column):

*t̓ícəm* ‘swim on the surface’
*náqəm* ‘dive’
*síx̌ʷəm* ‘wade’
*c̓íləm* ‘climb’
*cƛ̓ám* ‘jump’
*t̓ícəmət* ‘swim for it’
*nəqámət* ‘dive for it’
*sx̌ʷímət* ‘wade for it’
*c̓íləmət* ‘climb onto it’
*cƛ̓ámət* ‘jump for it, jump him’

(2.4) Those formed from non-active roots plus *-íl* 'move toward, become.' Among these are (on the right):

| | |
|---|---|
| *wáq̓ʷ* 'drift, flow downstream' | *wəq̓ʷíləm* 'move downstream' |
| *ʔáy̓* 'good' | *ʔəy̓íləm* 'become clear (the day)' |

For others, see the suffix *-íl* (§12.3.1).

(3) Grammatically intransitive verbs formed from roots that are logically transitive, that is, name actions that have patients. Some of these roots are active, such as *sáwq̓* 'seek,' while others (probably the majority) are non-active, such as *pán* 'get buried.' In either case, the form with *-əm* is active, such as *sáwq̓əm* 'seek' and *pánəm* 'plant.' We may distinguish two subclasses.

(3.1) Those with *-əm* suffixed to roots alone, that is, without lexical suffixes. Many or perhaps all of these can have objects in oblique phrases. A few do not seem to have transitive counterparts with *-t*. Three such are: *t̓ᶿí·m* 'pick berries' (cf. *sɬ̓ᶿí·m* 'berries'), *síʔx̌əm* 'duck, dodge,' and *x̌téʔəm* 'prepare' (< *x̌téʔ* 'do').

However, most have transitive counterparts with the transitive suffix *-t* or *-x* in place of *-əm*, although the meaning may differ somewhat. Compare the intransitive forms (left column) with their transitive counterparts (right column):

| | |
|---|---|
| *t̓ᶿé·m* 'chewed' | *t̓ᶿéʔt* 'chewed [it]' |
| *k̓ʷxém* 'count' | *k̓ʷxét* 'count [them]' |
| *ʔá·m* 'call' | *ʔá·t* 'call [him]' |
| *ʔít̓ᶿəm* 'get dressed' | *ʔít̓ᶿəx* 'put [it] on, wear [it]' |
| *pánəm* 'plant' | *pánət* 'bury [it, him]' |
| *kʷánəm* 'get' | *kʷánət* 'get [it], take [it]' |
| *sáləm* 'spin wool' | *sálət* 'spin [it]' |
| *q̓ʷáləm* 'bake' | *q̓ʷálət* 'roast [it]' |
| *ɬát̓əm* 'rake herring or eulachon' | *ɬt̓át* 'flick [it], hit with a swiping motion' |
| *ɬí·m* 'pick (as fruit)' | *ɬíməɬ* 'pick [them]' |
| *θáyəm* 'bake bread' | *θáyt* 'fix [it]' |
| *náyəm* 'laugh' | *náyt* 'laugh at [him]' |
| *yá·m* 'place an order' | *yá·t* 'warn [him]' |

(3.2) Those in which *-əm* is suffixed to a stem composed of a root and a lexical suffix related as verb and object. In these words, if the suffix names a body part, the *-əm* indicates that the action is undergone by the subject. In contrast, the *-t* in a transitive counterpart indicates that the action is undergone by another. Compare:

| | |
|---|---|
| *xʷt̓ᶿx̌ʷásəm* 'wash one's face' | *xʷt̓ᶿx̌ʷást* 'wash his face' |
| *p̓é·əqʷəm* 'straighten one's hair' | *p̓é·əqʷt* 'stroke his head/hair' |

(4) Verbs formed from nouns. I have not recorded many of these. The process may not be productive.

*patənəm* 'hoist sail' (< *pástən* 'sail'; cf. *pá·t* 'blow on it,' *-tən* 'instrument')
*q̓áwətəm* 'drum (v.)' (< *q̓áwət* 'drum (n.)'; cf. *q̓áwətt* 'drum for him')

One such group of words requires the prefix *c-* 'get, do,' as in:

*cténəm* 'call (someone) "mother"' (< *tén* 'mother')
*cménəm* 'call (someone) "father"' (< *mén* 'father')
*csì̓lé·m* 'call (someone) "grandparent"' (< *sí̓lə* 'grandparent')

(5) Co-ordinate passive forms (see §14.2.6)
(6) A few nouns that may simply be nominalized verbs the roots of which have not been recorded, such as *sṯ̓ʰícəm* 'nut, hazelnut,' *sák̓ʷəm* 'whole bark,' *sθéyəm* 'guest,' *sṯ̓éxəm* 'lower-class person or group of slave descent.'

### 10.2.2. *-éls* 'activity' (ACT)

This suffix appears as *-éls* in all perfective forms except for a very few (as yet unpredictable) perfectives in which it is *-əls*. In progressives it appears as *-əl̓s* or, suffixed to stems with lexical suffixes, as *-i·ls*. (See §7 for the forms of stems appearing with *-éls*.)

Many verbs with *-éls* are glossed as transitive verbs without objects or with 'something' object. Compare the following activity forms (left column) with their counterparts with the transitivizers *-t* or *-x:*

| | |
|---|---|
| *pəθéls* 'spread something' | *péθət* 'spread it' |
| *pánəls* 'bury something' | *pánət* 'bury it' |
| *ṯ̓əméls* 'chop' | *ṯ̓əmət* 'chop it' |
| *nəwéls* 'insert something' | *náwəx* 'insert it' |
| *ṯ̓ʰq̓ʷéls* 'hit' | *ṯ̓ʰíq̓ʷət* 'hit it' |
| *x̌̓kʷéls* 'pinch' | *x̌̓kʷát* 'pick it up with the fingertips' |

But often the *-éls* form is given a restricted meaning referring to some habitual or ritual activity, as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *pk̓ʷéls* 'smoke fish' | *pék̓ʷət* 'warm it up' |
| *p̓x̌̓éls* 'harpoon sturgeon' | *p̓éx̌̓lt* 'feel for it' |
| *x̌̓əyq̓éls* 'knead bread' | *x̌̓áyq̓t* 'press down on it' |
| *θəyqʷéls* 'dig a grave' | *θéyqʷət* 'dig it' |
| *q̓péls* 'collect money' | *q̓pát* 'put them together' |
| *kʷətxʷéls* 'bring something in' | *kʷtéxʷt* 'bring/take it in' |
| *ʔəxí·ls* 'tow something' | *ʔáxəl* 'paddle' |

The term *p̓x̌̓éls* is literally 'feel for something,' as a harpooner must do with his vertically held harpoon, and *kʷətxʷéls* refers especially to bringing a picture of

a deceased person to display it in the big house. The long vowel of *ʔəxí·ls* is the result of the loss the first of a pair of resonants.

The *-éls* form may also have a subject-centred or intransitive meaning comparable to that of *-əm* with the sense of (3.2) above. Compare these *-éls* forms and the transitives with *-t:*

| | |
|---|---|
| *łəx̌éls* 'help yourself (to food)' | *łéʔx̌t* 'put it in a dish' |
| *pəhéls ~ péls* 'blow (as the wind)' | *pá·t* 'blow on it, blow it out' |
| *pəẇéls* 'freeze (INTR)' | *píẇət* 'freeze it' |
| *px̌ʷéls* 'blow (as a whale or a shaman through his hands)' | *páx̌ʷət* 'blow on it (as a shaman), expelling chewed medicine on it' |

A number of words for recently introduced tools and utensils consist of progressive *-éls* forms, usually but not always with the compound prefix *šxʷ-* 'means of' (§12.1.4), as in:

*šxʷłíłəc̓əl̓s* 'saw' (cf. *łíc̓ət* 'cut it,' *łíłəc̓ət* 'be cutting it')
*šxʷc̓áq̓ʷəl̓s* 'fork (table or pitch)' (cf. *c̓q̓ʷát* 'pierce it,' *c̓áq̓ʷt* 'be piercing it')
*šxʷpépəkʷ̓nəcì·l̓s* 'tea kettle' (cf. *pékʷ̓nəct* 'put a pot on the fire')
*p̓íp̓ətθəl̓s* 'wringer on washing machine' (cf. *p̓ítθət* 'squeeze it, wring it out')

### 10.2.3. *-ánəq* 'someone else, another person'

Verbs formed with this and the next suffix, like verbs formed with *-əm* and *-éls,* are intransitive and active. However, while verbs with *-əm* may have a reflexive sense and those with *-éls* have implied objects that are not human, the implied objects of verbs with *-ánəq* and *-áłtən* are other persons. Some verbs with *-ánəq* are:

*səwq̓ánəq* 'look for a person, engage in a search' (cf. *sáwq̓* 'seek,' *sáwq̓əm* 'seek,' *sáwq̓t* 'look for him')
*łəẇánəq* 'perform a cure' (cf. *łéẇət* 'treat him, heal him')
*x̌̓xʷánəq* 'win, win a contest' (cf. *x̌̓xʷát* 'beat him, as in a game')
*całtənánəq* 'rent out (as a landlord), make a loan' (cf. *cáłtən* 'borrow, rent (as a tenant),' *cáłtənt* 'lend it')
*nəwèyałánəq* 'advise someone else's child' (cf. *níẇət* 'advise him,' *nəẇéyał* 'advise a child,' *sníẇ* 'advice')
*x̌̓ánəq* 'potlatch (v.),' *sx̌̓ánəq* 'potlatch (n.)' (cf. *x̌̓éʔt* 'go get him, pick them up, invite him/them'; *x̌̓éxən* 'invite,' < *-xən* 'foot,' *sx̌̓éxən* 'feast, local gathering.' The term *sx̌̓ánəq* may literally mean 'a gathering of people invited from elsewhere.')

This suffix can follow *-əs* 'recipient' and *-łc-* 'benefactive' (see §10.4.3 and 10.4.4 below). An example with *-əs* is *ʔiẇəsánəq* 'give directions' (< *ʔíẇəs* 'give directions,' composed of √*ʔiẇ-* 'instruct' + *-əs* 'recipient'; cf. *ʔíẇəst* 'show him, guide him'). For examples with *-łc-,* see §10.4.4.

### 10.2.4. *-əɬtən ~ -əɬtín* 'someone, another'

This is probably related to the particle *ʔé·ɬtən* 'third-person plural.' It seems similar or identical in meaning to *-ánəq* 'another.' It has been recorded in fewer words.

*c̓éwəɬtən* 'help, give help' (cf. *c̓éwət* 'help him')
*q̓éwəɬtən* 'pay, make payment' (cf. *q̓éwət* 'pay him')
*x̌íwəɬtən* 'restrain (as someone else's child from causing a disturbance)' (cf. *x̌íwət* 'restrain him, stop him')
*háyqʷəɬtən* 'recruit' (cf. *háyqʷət* 'recruit him')

## 10.3. THE CAUSATIVE SUFFIX *-stəxʷ₁*

The suffix *-stəxʷ₁* 'causative' (CAUS) indicates that the subject makes the object do, causes the object to be, or puts the object in whatever act, quality, or state that is named by the root or stem. This suffix also serves as or is homophonous with *-stəxʷ₂* 'comitative' (see §10.4.1 below). Historically it may be composed of *-s* 'permissive' (see §10.7 below) plus *-t* 'transitive.'

This suffix has several allomorphs. When final in a word, it appears as *-stəxʷ,* except when preceded by a TəT root, in which case it bears the stress and appears as *-stéxʷ,* or when preceded by a suffix ending in a resonant, in which case it appears as *-əstəxʷ*. When followed by *-əs* 'third-person (transitive or subordinate) subject,' the unstressed *-stəxʷ* may be reduced to *-stxʷ-*. When followed by one of the object person markers, it appears as *-st-,* which, unlike *-t* 'transitive,' does not coalesce with the first- and second-person singular object markers.

The suffix *-stəxʷ₁* has two senses: (1) 'cause to be' and (2) 'cause to do.' It has the first sense when suffixed to non-active verbs (see §10.3.1 for "active" versus "non-active"), resultative forms of verbs, verbs bearing intransitive suffixes, reflexive and reciprocal suffixes, adjectives, and verbs formed from nouns. It has the second sense when suffixed to active verbs.

### 10.3.1. In the sense 'cause to be'

With many non-active verbs, the transitive suffixes are causative in sense. Compare the following roots (left column) and transitives formed with *-t, -nəxʷ,* and *-x:*

| | |
|---|---|
| *c̓éʔ* 'land atop' | *c̓éʔt* 'put it on top' |
| *qʷás* 'go into the water' | *qʷsát* 'put it into the water' |
| *x̌áɬ* 'hurt' | *x̌ɬát* 'hurt him' |
| *q̓áy* 'die' | *q̓áynəxʷ* 'manage to kill him' |
| *méʔ* 'come off' | *méʔx* 'take it off, remove it' |
| *p̓íləm* 'overflow' | *p̓í·lt* 'let it overflow' |
| *pk̓ʷám* 'splash, billow out' | *pk̓ʷát* 'scatter it about' |
| *kʷéyəx̌əm* 'move' | *kʷáyxt* 'move it' |

These transitives might also be glossed 'cause it to land atop,' 'cause it to go into the water,' 'cause him to hurt,' 'manage to cause him to die,' and so on.

For many non-active verbs, however, *-stəxʷ₁* has the same effect. Compare the following roots and their causative forms:

| | |
|---|---|
| *níʔ* 'be there' | *níʔstəxʷ* 'have it there' |
| *ɬáǩʷ* 'go home' | *ɬáǩʷstəxʷ* 'take/bring him home' |
| *ɬáxʷ* 'go/come shoreward' | *ɬáǩʷstəxʷ* 'take/bring him to the shore' |
| *cám* 'go/come inland' | *cámstəxʷ* 'take/bring him inland' |
| *háyeʔ* 'go away' | *həyéʔstəxʷ* 'take him away' |
| *yəẇéʔ* 'go along' | *yəẇéʔstəxʷ* 'take him along' |
| *ʔəm̓í* 'come' | *ʔəm̓ístəxʷ* 'bring it here' |
| *ʔíməx* 'walk' | *ʔíməxstəxʷ* 'make him walk' |
| *sí·ʔsiʔ* 'fear' | *sí·ʔsiʔstəxʷ* 'frighten him' |

These might also be glossed 'cause it to be there,' 'cause him to be home,' 'cause him to be down on the shore,' and so on.

So far I have discovered only one instance of a non-active root or stem taking both *-stəxʷ₁* and one of the transitivizers, apparently with the same meaning: *x̌píl̓x* 'sink it' and *x̌píləstəxʷ* 'sink it.' These are based on *x̌píl̓* 'go under' (< *x̌áp* 'deep,' *-il* 'move toward') and are glossed identically. Something close to a contrasting pair is seen in *ɬél̓x* 'move it back from the centre of the fire' and *ɬé·ləstəxʷ* 'move it toward the shore.' But the *-x* form is based on the root *ɬel̓,* seen also in *ɬəl̓íləm* 'move back from the fire (INTR),' while the *-stəxʷ* form is based on a derivative, probably the root *ɬel̓* with the suffix *-əl ~ -íl* 'move toward.'

Very commonly, *-stəxʷ₁* follows resultatives (see §7.7). Compare the following perfectives (left), resultatives (centre), and transitivized resultatives (right):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *háy* 'finish' | *shá·y̓* 'finished' | *shá·y̓stəxʷ* 'have it finished' |
| *θáyt* 'fix it' | *sθəθáy̓* 'right' | *sθəθáy̓stəxʷ* 'keep it on course' |
| *qʷé·t* 'perforate it' | *sqʷəqʷé* 'perforated' | *sqʷəqʷéstəxʷ* 'leave a hole in it' |
| *ɬálqt* 'dip it' | *słélq* 'in the water' | *słélqstəxʷ* 'keep it in the water' |
| *wíl̓* 'appear' | *swíẇəl̓* 'visible' | *swíẇəl̓stəxʷ* 'keep it in sight' |
| *x̌éɬ̓θt* 'measure it' | *sx̌eʔéɬ̓θ* 'measured, marked, distinguished' | *sx̌əʔéɬ̓θstəxʷ* 'blaze (as a trail), designate (as a time), keep track of it' |

The suffix *-stəxʷ₁* 'causative' can follow the intransitive suffix *-əm,* with a shift in stress to the *-əm:*

*ʔəɬ̓θémstəxʷ* 'dress him' (> *ʔíɬ̓θəm* 'get dressed, dress oneself')
*c̓à·ləc̓áməstəxʷ* 'take it over to the other side' (< *c̓á·l̓əc* 'cross over')
*nəʔéməstəxʷ* 'take it there, recite it' (< *ném̓* //nɪʔ-əm// 'go')

It can follow *-ánəq* 'someone else' and *-áɬtən* 'other':

*nəẇèyəɬánəqstəx*$^{w}$ 'get him to give advice to someone else's child' (< √*niẇ* 'advise,' *-éyəɬ* 'child')
*kʷənəẇsánəqstəx*$^{w}$ 'get him to work contagious magic on others' (< *kʷənəẇsánəq* 'work contagious magic on others,' < *kʷánəẇs* 'work contagious magic,' composed of *kʷán* 'get taken,' *-əẇs* 'body')
*q̓ewəɬtínəstəx*$^{w}$ 'punish him,' lit. 'make him pay'

It can follow the reflexive *-θət* (§10.5 below):

(a) siʔámθətstáṁx łə ʔaɬ̓. (AG)
siʔém̓-θət-st-áṁx łə ʔaɬ̓
rich.person-self-CAUS-me PER just
'I hope that I get wealthy.'

It can follow *-təɬ̓* 'reciprocal' (§10.6 below). Compare the reciprocal forms (left column) and their causatives (right column):

| | |
|---|---|
| *θáləqtəɬ̓* 'separate from one another' | *θələqtáləstəx*$^{w}$ 'separate them, divide it' |
| *sálsələq̓tàɬ̓* 'even with one another' | *səlsələq̓tálstəx*$^{w}$ 'divide it equally' |
| *kʷiʔáʔtəl* 'keep away from one another' | *kʷitáləstəx*$^{w}$ 'move them apart' |

In the next two examples, *-stəx*$^{w}{}_{1}$ follows an adverb and a personal word:

*qəɬ̓étstəx*$^{w}$ 'do it to him again' (< *qəɬ̓ét* 'again') (AG)
*ʔ̓ástəx*$^{w}$ 'make it so, go ahead with it' (< *ʔ̓a* 'be third person') (AC)

Adjectives (left below) can take *-stəx*$^{w}{}_{1}$ to form causatives (right):

| | |
|---|---|
| *k̓ʷáṁk̓ʷəṁ* 'strong' | *k̓ʷáṁk̓ʷəṁstəx*$^{w}$ 'strengthen it' |
| *x̌ʷóm* 'fast' | *x̌ʷámstəx*$^{w}$ 'speed it up' |
| *cícəɬ* 'high' | *cícəɬstəx*$^{w}$ 'pile them high' |
| *x̌éʔx̌e* 'sacred' | *x̌éʔx̌estəx*$^{w}$ 'believe it sacred' |

Verbs formed from nouns can take *-stəx*$^{w}{}_{1}$ to form causatives. Compare the noun (left), noun stem with verbalizing prefix (centre), and causative (right):

*swáy̓qeʔ* 'man' *xʷəswáy̓qeʔ* 'become a man' *xʷəswáy̓qeʔstəx*$^{w}$ 'make a man of him'

### 10.3.2. In the sense 'cause to do'

Finally, *-stəx*$^{w}{}_{1}$ can be suffixed to active (but intransitive) verbs to produce causative forms with the sense 'cause to do.' These verbs include some active roots, like *k̓ʷéc* 'see,' and some inactive roots with *-əm* 'intransitive' and *-éls* 'activity.' With such verbs there is a clear contrast between forms with the transitivizers *-t, -x,* and *-nəx*$^{w}$ and those with *-stəx*$^{w}$. Compare the following active but intransitive, transitive, and causative forms:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *k̓ʷéc* ‘see’ | *k̓ʷécət* ‘look at it’ | *k̓ʷáɔstəxʷ* ‘show it to him, make him see it’ |
| | *k̓ʷáɔcnəxʷ* ‘see it’ | |
| *ʔíɬˀθəm* ‘dress’ | *ʔíɬˀθəx* ‘wear it’ | *ʔəɬˀθémɔstəxʷ* ‘dress him, put it on him’ |
| *ɬˀθx̌ʷéls* ‘wash’ | *ɬˀθx̌ʷát* ‘wash it’ | *ɬˀθx̌ʷélsstəxʷ* ‘have him wash it’ |
| √*pit* | *pátnəxʷ* ‘recognize it’ | *pátstəxʷ* ‘make him identify it’ |
| *qáʔqaʔ* ‘drink’ | *qáʔqət* ‘drink it’ | *qáʔqəstəxʷ* ‘give it to him to drink’ |
| √*nəp̓* ‘eat’ | *náp̓əx* ‘eat it’ | *nəp̓ámɔstəxʷ* ‘make him eat it’ |
| *ʔáɬtən* ‘eat’ | — | *ʔáɬtənstəxʷ* ‘feed him’ |

In these cases, the forms with *-t, -x*, and *-nəxʷ* are purely transitive with no causative sense, while the forms with *-stəxʷ*$_1$ are transitive and causative in that their objects are caused to do whatever is expressed by the verb. Or to put it differently, their objects are agents in implied (embedded) clauses. A couple of sentences will illustrate these syntactic relations:

(a) ném̓ k̓ʷáɔstəxʷ tə John ʔə kʷθə x̌éẇs ʔənpút. (AG)

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ném̓ | k̓ʷec-stəxʷ | tə | John | ʔə | kʷθə | x̌éẇs | ʔən-pút |
| go | see-CAUS | ART | John | OBL | ART | new | your-boat |

‘Go show John your new boat.’

In (a), ‘John’ is the grammatical object of the causativized verb and ‘your boat’ is in an oblique phrase. But in the implied (embedded) clause, ‘John’ is subject and ‘your boat’ is object.

(b) ɬˀθx̌ʷélsstəxʷ čx̌ʷ kʷθən̓ ʔíməθ ʔə tə šxʷʔíʔɬtən. (AG)

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ɬˀθəx̌ʷ-éls-stəxʷ | | čx̌ʷ | kʷθə | ʔən | ʔíməθ | ʔə | tə |
| get.washed-ACT-CAUS | | you | ART | your | grandchild | OBL | ART |
| šxʷʔíʔɬtən | | | | | | | |
| dishes | | | | | | | |

‘Have your grandson wash the dishes.’

In (b), ‘your grandson’ is the grammatical object of the causativized verb and ‘the dishes’ is in an oblique phrase, while in the implied clause ‘your grandchild’ is subject and ‘the dishes’ is object.[4]

## 10.4. APPLICATIVES

The applicative or “redirective” suffixes “redirect” the verb so that what would otherwise have to be in an oblique relationship to it can be its grammatical object. They function as the English prefix *be-* might function if used consistently, as in the second of the following two sentences:

4 I am indebted to Donna Gerdts for my understanding of this, among many features of the language.

(1) *I sprinkled water* (object) *on him* (oblique).
(2) *I besprinkled him* (object) *with water* (oblique).

Or the suffix *-t* (of "gift" from "give") in the second of the following two:

(1) *I gave a book* (object) *to him* (oblique).
(2) *I gifted him* (object) *with a book* (oblique).

And as in these examples, the Halkomelem applicatives generally make it possible for a person rather than a thing to occupy the position of object.[5]

There are five applicatives: *-stəx*$^{w}_{2}$ 'comitative' (COM), *-nəs* 'goal' (GOAL), *-məṯ* 'concern' (CON), *-əs* 'recipient' (RECIP), and *-łc-* 'benefactive' (BEN). Each of these has a range of meanings, expressed by various English prepositions, and the ranges overlap, so that it is difficult to label them in any very useful way. I have tried to give labels according to what seems to be most distinctive about each, but these labels should be interpreted loosely. The label 'comitative,' for example, is a meant to reflect the need for an English 'with' in glossing a number of forms with *-stəx*$^{w}_{2}$, but some forms with this suffix require 'to' and some 'for.' Where *-stəx*$^{w}_{2}$ requires 'for,' it overlaps in meaning with *-łc-*, which, following established practice, I have labelled 'benefactive.' But, as Galloway (1977, 251) says of the Upriver *-łc-*, it can also be "malefactive." What is listed here as *-məṯ* presents particular difficulties that require further work. All but *-əs* 'recipient' and *-łc-* 'benefactive' are also transitivizers. The suffix *-əs* can be followed by a transitivizer but need not be, while *-łc-* must be followed by a transitivizer.

The grammatical function of the applicatives seems similar to that performed by many of the lexical suffixes (see §13.4.1) in verbs. For example, the lexical suffix *-aq*$^{w}$ 'head' in the verb *méəq*$^{w}$*t* 'decapitate him' (< *mé?* 'be removed'; cf. *mé?x* 'remove it') provides an object incorporated within the verb and so redirects the verb so that the owner of the head can be its grammatical object. Indeed, the redirective *-əs* 'recipient' may be identical with or a development of the lexical suffix *-əs ~ -ás* 'face.'

### 10.4.1. *-stəx*$^{w}_{2}$ 'comitative' (COM)

This is identical in its forms with *-stəx*$^{w}_{1}$ 'causative,' with which it may be historically identical. It expresses relationships between verb stems and grammatical objects of the sorts commonly expressed in English by *with, for, to,* and perhaps *about.*

The status of *-stəx*$^{w}_{2}$ as something other than a causative can be seen in the following examples. First, compare roots (left), *-t* forms (centre), and *-stəx*$^{w}_{2}$ forms (right) with glosses constructed to show systemic relations (in square brackets):

5 See Gerdts 1988 on the syntactic functions of applicatives.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *háy* 'finish' | *háyt* 'finish it' | *háystəxʷ* 'get rid of it' |
| ['be finished'] | ['make it finished'] | ['be finished with it'] |
| *x̌áɬ* 'hurt' | *x̌ɬát* 'hurt him' | *x̌áɬstəxʷ* 'pity him' |
| ['feel pain'] | ['make him feel pain'] | ['feel pain with/for him'] |

Because these roots are non-active, the forms with *-t* are causative in sense, and the forms with *-stəxʷ*$_2$ express a different kind of relationship.

Second, consider the two meanings of an active verb based on the root of *q̓éwət* 'pay him (for labour)' and their forms with *-stəxʷ*$_1$ 'causative' and *-stəxʷ*$_2$ 'comitative':

| | |
|---|---|
| *q̓éwəɬtən* 'pay penance for sins' | *q̓ewəɬtínəstəxʷ*$_1$ 'punish him' ['make him pay'] |
| *q̓éwəɬtən* 'pay people' | *q̓ewəɬtínəstəxʷ*$_2$ 'pay his way' ['pay for him'] |

Other forms with *-stəxʷ*$_2$ illustrate the variety of English prepositions required in translation:

| | |
|---|---|
| *ɬéẃ* 'run away' | *ɬéẃstəxʷ* 'run away with him/her' |
| *xtém* 'swim' | *xtéməstəxʷ* 'swim away with him' |
| *qʷél* 'speak' | *qʷálstəxʷ* 'speak to him' |
| *θát* 'say' | *θátstəxʷ* 'tell him' ['say to him'] |
| *xʷəʔí·nt* 'say what' | *xʷəʔí·ntstəxʷ* 'say what to him' |
| *x̌téʔ* 'do' | *x̌téʔstəxʷ* 'do to him' |
| *qəl̓ét* 'do again' | *qəl̓étstəxʷ* 'do to him again' |
| √*cə-* 'do what' | *céstəxʷ* 'do what with him' |
| *swéʔ* 'one's own' | *swéʔstəxʷ* 'keep it for him' |
| *ʔáy̓* 'good' | *ʔáy̓stəxʷ* 'like it' ['feel good about it'?] |
| *qál* 'bad' | *qálstəxʷ* 'dislike it' ['feel bad about it'?] |

These last two might also be interpreted as formed with *-stəxʷ*$_1$ 'causative,' that is, 'make it good' and 'make it bad.' Such ambiguities suggest that *-stəxʷ*$_2$ 'comitative' may have developed out of *-stəxʷ*$_1$ 'causative.'

### 10.4.2. *-nəs* 'goal' (GOAL)

This appears in a few words where the object is a goal that might otherwise be expressed by an oblique adjunct. Like *-x* 'movement transitive,' it carries no implication of limited control. It appears as *-ns* after a stressed vowel and otherwise as *-nəs,* except for one word so far recorded in which it appears as *-ləs*.

The following are all of the words so far recorded with *-nəs* (the intransitive bases are on the left and forms transitivized with *-nəs* are on the right):

| | |
|---|---|
| *ʔəm̓í* 'come' | *ʔəm̓íns* 'come after him, come for him' |
| *ném̓* 'go' | *nəʔémnəs* 'go after him' |

| | |
|---|---|
| *xʷəʔí* 'reach here' | *xʷəʔíns* 'reach it here' |
| **xʷəníʔ* | *xʷən̓íns* 'reach it there' |
| *ʔə́mət* 'sit' | *ʔə́mətnəs* 'sit for her (as a suitor)' |
| *hék̓ʷ* 'remember' | *hə́k̓ʷnəs* 'remember it' |
| *mélq* 'forget' | *mə́lqnəs* 'forget it, have it slip one's mind' |

(The stem **xʷəníʔ* has not been recorded, but it must be composed of *xʷə-* 'become' and *níʔ* 'be there' and the counterpart of *xʷəʔí*.)

The allomorph *-ləs* appears in *ʔéyələs* 'leave him.' The root √*ʔey* is implied by *ʔéyəl* 'get out of the way' (with *-əl* 'move toward') and by *sʔəy̓néc* 'out of the road' (with *-nəc* 'base, butt'). See §14.2.5 for a paradigm with the object person markers.

### 10.4.3. *-əs* 'recipient' (RECIP)

This indicates the presence of a recipient. As suggested above, it may be historically identical with *-əs* ~ *-ás* 'face, round object, forward end'; it has the same umlauting effect of converting an /e/ in the stem into an /a/. It is not a transitivizer and is therefore probably not relatable to *-nəs* 'directional,' which is. It can occur finally or followed by a *-t* 'transitivizer,' which allows the recipient to be the grammatical object.

This suffix is not positively identifiable in very many words. Examples of which we can be certain include two with final *-əs:*

*ʔíw̓əs* 'show, guide' (< √*ʔíw̓* 'instruct')
*syə́θəs* 'tradition' (< *yə́θ* 'tell')

Examples with *-t* transitivizer include the following:

*ʔíw̓əst* 'show him how' (< √*ʔíw̓* 'instruct')
*yə́θəst* 'tell him' (< *yə́θ* 'tell')
*ʔáməst* 'give to him' (√*ʔem* 'give')
*ʔáx̌ʷəst* 'give to him' (< √*ʔex̌ʷ* 'give')

The root *ʔiw̓* 'instruct' is implied by *xʷʔə́w̓cəs* 'instruct manually' (with *-cəs* 'hand'), *ʔem* 'give' by *ʔéʔəm* 'give,' *ʔé·m̓əm̓* 'be giving,' *ʔə́mnəct* 'put money down on it' (with *-nəc* 'base'), and *ʔex̌ʷ* by *xʷʔə́x̌ʷmət* 'covet it.'

The difficulties we encounter in trying to identify this suffix may be illustrated by the following two pairs of words:

| | |
|---|---|
| *k̓ʷɬét* 'spill it' | *k̓ʷɬást* 'pour water on it' |
| *kʷéʔt* 'let it go' | *kʷáʔast* 'turn it loose (as a horse), cast him off (as a lover)' |

In the first of these, it seems reasonable to identify the suffix as 'face' and interpret the word as 'pour on the face/front of it.' In the second, however, it would be stretching the meaning of 'face' a bit far, and it seems more reasonable to identify the suffix as simply indicating a recipient.

### 10.4.4. *-łc-* 'benefactive' (BEN)

Like *-t* 'transitive,' this may appear with a vowel, as *-(V)łc-,* the presence or type of vowel depending on the preceding root or stem. In function *-łc-* relates an active verb and its patient to a "beneficiary," someone who is affected (not necessarily beneficially) by or has an interest in the act. With a benefactive form, a patient must appear in an oblique phrase. If *-t* 'transitive' follows the *-łc-,* the beneficiary is the grammatical object. Compare (a) and (b):

(a) ni cən yə́x̌ʷət tə x̌ʷíl̓əm.
ni cən yə́x̌ʷ-ət tə x̌ʷíl̓əm
AUX I free-TR ART rope
'I untied the rope.'

(b) ni cən yə́x̌ʷəłcət tə Tom ʔə tə x̌ʷíl̓əm.
niʔ cən yə́x̌ʷ-əłc-ət tə Tom ʔə tə x̌ʷíl̓əm
AUX I free-BEN-TR ART Tom OBL ART rope
'I untied the rope for Tom.'

The suffix *-łc-* may be followed by *-t* 'transitive,' *-əm* 'intransitive,' and *-ənəq* 'another.' It has not been recorded in word final position or with a transitivizer other than *-t*. In the following, the transitivizer *-x* is replaced by *-t* following *-łc-: nə́p̓əx* 'eat it,' *nə́p̓əłcət* 'eat it for him.'

It appears that any active verb may have a benefactive counterpart. Some benefactives, however, are interpreted idiomatically. Compare the following:

| | |
|---|---|
| *k̓ʷáqʷət* 'strike it' | *k̓ʷáqʷəłcət* 'strike it for him' |
| *x̌téʔəm* 'make' | *x̌téʔəłcət* 'make it for him' |
| *k̓ʷécət* 'look at it' | *k̓ʷécəłcət* 'read it to him' |
| *x̌áləł* 'paint it, write it' | *x̌áləłcət* 'write for him/to him' |
| *kʷənét* 'hold it' | *kʷənéłcət* 'owe him' (lit. 'hold it for him') |
| *k̓ʷəy̓ét* 'stop him' | *k̓ʷətéłcət* 'refuse something to him, deny him something' |
| *kʷəʔét* 'leave it alone' | *kʷəʔéłcət* 'leave it be for him, respect his right to it' |

A benefactive can be the counterpart of either a transitive or an intransitive active form with *-əm* 'intransitive' or *-éls* 'activity,' thus: *k̓ʷłét* 'spill it,' *k̓ʷłéls* 'pour,' *k̓ʷłáłcət* 'pour it for him, spill it for him.'

Context may show the difference. Compare (c) and (d):

(c) ni cən k̓ʷłáłcət ʔə kʷθə tí.
niʔ cən k̓ʷəł-łc-t ʔə kʷθə tí
AUX I spill-BEN-TR OBL ART tea
'I poured tea for him.'

(d) ni cən k̓ʷłáłcət ʔə kʷθə tís. (AG)
ni ʔ cən k̓ʷəł-łc-t ʔə kʷθə tí-s
AUX I spill-BEN-TR OBL ART tea-3POS
'I spilled his tea for him.'

Evidently if it is *his* tea, as in (d), it has already been poured, and so it must be spilled.

Followed by *-əm* 'intransitive,' *-łc-* indicates that the act is performed for someone but without specifying the person, as in *méʔəłcəm* 'remove something for someone' (cf. *méʔx* 'remove it'), *kʷənéłcəm* 'carry something for someone' (cf. *kʷənét* 'hold it'). But context can indicate for whose benefit the act is performed, as in (e).

(e) ʔi cən xʷṯ̓θq̓áləs. ʔáwe· yəxʷ čxʷ ṯ̓éʔtəxʷ méʔəłcəm.
ʔi cən xʷ-ṯ̓θəq̓-áləs ʔáwə ʔə yəxʷ čxʷ ṯ̓éʔ-t-əxʷ
AUX I in-press-eye not ROG INF you try-TR-you
méʔ-əłc-əm
come.off-BEN-INTR
'I got something in my eye. Would you like to try to get it out for me?'

The only other suffix recorded after *-łc-* is *-ənəq* 'another,' which appears in:

*kʷənèłcánəq* 'owe people' (lit. 'hold for people')
*šxʷè·łcánəq* 'potlatch gift for a designated person' (cf. *xʷé·łcət* 'throw down a gift,' < *xʷét* 'lower it') (JP)
*syeqəłcánəq* 'replacement for a person (as one slave given for another)' (JP) (cf. *ʔəy̓éqt* 'exchange it')

### 10.4.5. *-mət* 'concern' (CON)

This suffix can appear variously *(-ámət ~ -əmət ~ -mət ~ -mít ~ -méʔt)*. It may be that the first element is in origin simply *-əm* 'intransitive,' with a stressed vowel when in the durative aspect, and the final is *-t* 'transitive.' If so, however, the combination seems to have come to lead a life of its own. It transitivizes verbs that are (with a few exceptions) non-active. If the verb denotes a physical activity, the grammatical object is usually its goal; if a mental activity, its target and/or cause. English translations can require the prepositions *after, for, to, at, by,* or simply *concerning,* hence the admittedly tentative label.

The development of a new suffix out of a combination seems traceable. First, as indicated above (§10.2 [2.2]), several verbs ending in *-əm* can take *-t* to produce transitives the objects of which are goals, as in:

*c̓íləmət* 'climb up it' (< *c̓íləm* 'climb up')
*nəqémət* 'dive for it' (< *náqəm* 'dive') (AG)

There are also a few verbs that do not appear with *-əm* that take *-əmət* with the same effect, such as:

*ya·ysámət* 'work on it/at it' (< *yá·ys* //yáyəs// 'work')
*q̓ətínəmət* 'go along (as through a village) inviting them' (cf. *q̓ətáθən* 'go along')
*q̓əpsámət* 'get together and go after him' (< *q̓pást* 'call them together')

There are verbs with *-əm* of less concrete meaning that take *-t*, such as:

*yáx̌cəmət* 'ask for it' (< *yáx̌cəm* 'make a request')
*xá·ɬəmət* 'accept him (as suitor), take care of him' (< *xáʔɬəm* 'agree, give assent')
*t̓θx̌ʷímət* ~ *t̓θáx̌ʷmət* 'pity him, be merciful to him' (< *t̓θíx̌ʷəm* 'pity, be merciful')

Other verbs without *-əm* can take *-mət* ~ *-mét* ~ *-méʔt* ~ *-mít* with the range of meanings indicated above:

*yák̓ʷmət* 'hire him' (< *yék̓ʷ* 'hire')
*qʷə́lmət* 'scold him' (< *qʷél* 'speak')
*ʔəlyámət* 'dream about him' (< *ʔə́lyə* 'have a vision')
*hák̓ʷmət* (JP), *hák̓ʷmeʔt* (AG, DK) 'come to remember him' (< *hék̓ʷ* 'remember')
*ɬcíwsmət* 'get tired of him' (< *ɬcíws* 'get tired')
*síwəlmət* 'be aware of him' (AG) (< *síwəl* 'be aware')
*c̓íwəl̓meʔt* 'get annoyed with him' (AG) (< *c̓íwəl̓* 'get annoyed')
*x̌̓íʔmət* 'prefer it, want it' (< *x̌̓íʔ* 'valuable')
*híləkʷmət* 'welcome it' (< *híləkʷ* 'happy')
*qx̌eləmít* 'gang up on him' (< *qx̌éləc* 'many persons')
*k̓ʷí·ck̓ʷəcmət* 'watch something for him' (< *k̓ʷéc* 'see')
*məq̓mít* 'get full of it' (ES/AG) (< *máq̓* 'get full')
*t̓éyəq̓meʔt* 'get angry with him' (< *t̓éyəq̓* 'get angry')

The last was AG's term, but he accepted a passive *t̓iq̓ámətəm*, used by CC, which implies a differently shaped active.

The above is not an exhaustive list. This suffix or combination of suffixes may be productive. Moreover, AG gave a form *słcíẇsmeʔt* 'tired of him,' composed of *słcíẇs* 'tired,' which appears to be a resultative form, suggesting that, like *-stəxʷ* 'causative,' *meʔt* may be suffixed to resultatives.[6]

## 10.5. REFLEXIVES

These are *-θət*, *-námət*, and *-stənámət*. Undoubtedly they are composed of the transitivizers *-t*, *-nəxʷ*, and the causative *-stəxʷ*, respectively, plus one or more other suffixes. But they occur more widely than the transitivizers and causative

6 Gerdts (1999, 85-86) identifies a Cowichan applicative *-meʔ* (which is followed by *-t* 'transitive') as a benefactive, the counterpart of *-ɬc-*, used with intransitive verbs.

do alone or with the person markers, and are more conveniently treated as separate entities.

### 10.5.1. *-θət* 'oneself'

This produces a large number of reflexive forms that include the counterparts not only of English *raise oneself* and *shake oneself* but also of many English intransitive forms like *spread out* and *get fat.* It is no doubt composed of *-t* 'transitive' and a suffix //-Sat// 'self.' It appears as *-θát* following a CəC root in its CəC form, otherwise it appears as *-θət*. Like some other suffixes with an /a/ vowel, it converts an /e/ in the stem to /a/. It seems to be fully productive with roots that take *-t,* it joins them in the same fashion as *-t,* and progressives are formed by the same rules, all of this giving good evidence that it is nothing other than *-t* plus a //-Sat//. Forms with *-θət* paralleling forms with *-t* include:

| | |
|---|---|
| *sé$^{ʔ}$t* 'raise it' | *sá$^{ʔ}$θət* 'raise oneself' |
| *péθət* 'spread it out' | *páθəθət* 'spread out (INTR)' |
| *x̌á$^{ʔ}$t* 'comfort him' | *x̌á$^{ʔ}$θət* 'calm down' |
| *hí·lt* 'roll it off' | *hí·lθət* 'let oneself fall' (cf. *híləm* 'fall off, roll') |
| *tsát* 'approach it, bring it close' | *tsáθət* 'approach' (cf. *tás* 'arrive there') |
| *k̓$^{w}$łét* 'tip it over, spill it' | *k̓$^{w}$łáθət* 'capsize' |
| *k$^{w}$ə́yx̌t* 'move it, shake it' | *k$^{w}$ə́yx̌θət* 'move, act' (cf. *k$^{w}$éyəx̌əm* 'shake') |

The reflexive *-θət* also follows roots that do not take or are not prepared to take *-t,* providing an inchoative meaning, 'get oneself, make oneself, become,' as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *nás* 'fat' | *násθət* 'get fat' |
| *k̓$^{w}$és* 'get scorched' | *k̓$^{w}$ásθət* 'become hot (weather)' |
| *łáq$^{w}$* 'wet' | *łəq$^{w}$θát* 'get all wet' |
| *k$^{w}$ə́n* 'become possessed' | *k$^{w}$ənθát* '"get started" (become possessed)' |
| *$^{ʔ}$ə́y̓* 'good' | *$^{ʔ}$əy̓θát* 'get better' |
| *θí* 'big' | *θiθát* 'get bigger' |
| *si$^{ʔ}$ém̓* 'rich person' | *si$^{ʔ}$ám̓θət* 'become rich' |

Here too belong words in which *-θət* follows *-əm* 'intransitive,' with a shift of stress to that suffix, as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *t̓$^{θ}$áq̓$^{w}$əm* 'be rotten' | *t̓$^{θ}$q̓$^{w}$ámθət* 'become rotten' |
| *háq̓$^{w}$əm* 'stink' | *həq$^{w}$ámθət* 'stink' ['become stinky'?] |

And possibly formed with *-əm* are:

| | |
|---|---|
| *sx̌́éləqəm* 'fierce (being)' | *x̌́əlqə́mθət* 'be exceptionally bad' |
| *šx$^{w}$né$^{ʔ}$əm* 'shaman' | *x$^{w}$ən̓ə́mθət* 'train to become a shaman' |

I have recorded one example of the reflexive and inchoative senses in contrast; AG gave *łqʷáθət* 'wet one's pants' and *łəqʷθát* 'get wet' (< *łáqʷ* 'be wet').

### 10.5.2. *-námət* 'oneself (limited control)'

This is the reflexive of *-nəxʷ* 'transitive (limited control).' It can mean 'do to oneself unintentionally,' 'do to oneself in spite of difficulties,' or 'be able to do (get started doing) in spite of difficulties.' It is no doubt composed of *-nəxʷ* (probably the *-na-*) plus *-ət* 'self,' perhaps linked with *-əm* 'intransitive.' It appears as *-lámət* following a final *-l* in a stem, otherwise as *-námət*.

That *-námət* is to *-nəxʷ* as *-θət* is to *-t* is shown by the following set:

| | |
|---|---|
| *kʷáləxt ~ kʷálləxt* 'shoot him intentionally' | *kʷálləxθət* 'shoot oneself intentionally' (CC) |
| *kʷálləxnəxʷ* 'shoot him accidentally' | *kʷálləxnàmət* 'shoot oneself accidentally' (CC) |

Like *-θət, -namət* can be suffixed to both forms that ordinarily take transitive suffixes and forms that do not. In the following, *-namət* is suffixed to a root that usually takes the transitivizer *-nəxʷ:*

*təq̓ʷnámət* 'bump oneself accidentally' (cf. *táq̓ʷnəxʷ* 'bump him accidentally,' *tíq̓ʷət* 'bump him on purpose')
*k̓ʷəqʷnámət* 'hit/chop oneself accidentally' (cf. *k̓ʷáqʷnəxʷ* 'hit/chop him accidentally,' *k̓ʷáqʷət* 'hit him on purpose')
*k̓ʷəcnámət* 'see oneself (as when walking past a mirror or in a dream)' (cf. *k̓ʷácnəxʷ* 'see him,' *k̓ʷécət* 'look at him,' *k̓ʷək̓ʷcásəm* 'be looking at oneself in a mirror,' < *k̓ʷéc* 'see,' *-ás* 'face,' *-əm* 'intransitive')
*seʔnámət* 'manage to raise oneself (raise oneself but only after difficulty)' (cf. *sáʔθət* 'raise oneself,' *séʔt* 'raise him, lift it')

In the following, *-námət* is suffixed to intransitive forms, including some with *-əm* 'intransitive' and *-éls* 'activity.' Here *-námət* can have the sense 'do in spite of oneself' as well as 'do in spite of difficulties,' as in:

*náyəmnámət* 'get to laughing in spite of oneself' (< *náyəm* 'laugh')
*i̓éyəq̓námət* 'get mad against one's intention' (< *i̓éyəq̓* 'get angry')
*nəqʷnámət* 'oversleep (i.e., sleep beyond one's intentions), get to sleep in spite of difficulties' (< *náqʷ* 'fall asleep')
*kʷəʔəlsnámət* 'lose one's grip, let go unintentionally' (< *kʷəʔéls* 'let go'; cf. *kʷéʔt* 'let it go, drop it')
*i̓íləmnàmət* 'get to singing' (< *i̓íləm* 'sing')
*ʔíməxnàmət* 'be able to walk' (< *ʔíməx* 'walk')
*kʷ'é·llàmət* 'manage to get a hideout' (< *kʷé·l* 'hide'; cf. *kʷélx* 'hide him')
*θínàmət* 'improve, get lucky, recover strength' (< *θí* 'big')
*ʔəy̓námət* 'good to watch, good to see' (< *ʔáy̓* 'good'; cf. *ʔəy̓θát* 'get better)

Perhaps *-námət* in this last implies good in the eyes of others, regardless of the subject's own intentions.

### 10.5.3. *-stənámət* 'oneself (causative)'

This is the reflexive of *-stəx*$^{w}{}_{1}$ 'causative' and is probably composed of this suffix plus *-námət* 'oneself (limited control).' Its basic meaning is 'make oneself,' but it may be translated as 'feel' or 'pretend to.' The allomorph *-stánəmət*, reducible to *-stánmət*, appears after an unstressed stem, while *-stənámət* appears after a stem that bears a stress. Some examples are:

*yèʔetstənámət* 'make oneself vomit' (cf. *yéʔetstəx*$^{w}$ 'make him vomit')
*x̌əɬstánəmət* 'feel sorry for oneself' (cf. *x̌áɬstəx*$^{w}$ 'feel sorry for him')
*łəy̓stánmət* 'feel cheap' (cf. *łéʔit* //łéy̓ət// 'insult him')
*q̓àq̓əy̓stənámət* 'pretend one is sick' (< *q̓áq̓əy̓* 'sick')
*šx*$^{w}$*àx*$^{w}$*əǩ*$^{w}$*stənámət* 'pretend one is drunk' (< *šx*$^{w}$*áx*$^{w}$*əǩ*$^{w}$ 'drunk')

## 10.6. THE RECIPROCAL *-təl̓* 'EACH OTHER'

The only reciprocal suffix that has been recorded is *-təl̓* 'each other,' which appears as *-tál̓* in a few words that may be durative or resultative forms and when it is followed by *-stəx*$^{w}$ 'causative.' The distinction between full and limited control seen in the transitives seems to be lacking in the reciprocal. The suffix *-təl̓* may be composed of *-t* 'transitive' plus an element *-al̓*. However, it differs from *-t* 'transitive' in that it may appear without the schwa that normally precedes the *-t* with a CAC root, as in:

*tástəl̓* 'collide' (< *tás* 'get hit'; cf. *tásət* 'hit it')
*tíq̓*$^{w}$*təl̓* 'collide' (*tíq̓*$^{w}$ 'bump'; cf. *tíq̓*$^{w}$*ət* 'bump it')

Like *-θət*, it converts an /e/ in the stem to /a/ (as in a few examples given below). Its reciprocal sense may be illustrated by the following:

*ləq̓áɬtəl̓* 'jibe, be properly aligned' (< *ləq̓éɬ* 'be on the mark, be just right'; cf. *ləq̓éɬt* 'put it right,' *ləq̓áɬθət* 'get in line')
*ʔəy̓áqtəl̓* 'exchange with each other' (cf. *ʔəy̓éqt* 'exchange it, replace it')
*xəmá·ntəl̓* 'be enemies, be rivals' (< *xəmén* 'enemy, rival'; cf. *xəmé·nt* 'play against him')
*x*$^{w}$*cáməstəl̓* 'meet one another' (< *x*$^{w}$*cáməs* 'meet'; cf. *x*$^{w}$*cáməst* 'meet him')
*cx̌ámətəl̓* 'jump and grab one another' (< *cx̌ám* 'jump'; cf. *cx̌ámət* 'jump at him')
*ṫáx̌ətəl̓* 'distribute game/catch' (cf. *ṫx̌áθət* 'divide, branch out,' *ṫáx̌əst* 'give him his share')
*ṫéyəmtəl̓* 'stick together' (< *ṫéyəm* 'stick, adhere')

Some words with *-təl̓* have been recorded in what appears to be the progressive only, such as:

*kʷəkʷáʔtəl̓* 'separate, divorce' (cf. *kʷéʔt* 'let it go, drop it,' *kʷəkʷéʔt* 'be letting it go')
*q̓əq̓áʔtəl̓* 'happen to meet unexpectedly' (cf. *q̓áʔt* 'put it together,' *q̓áʔθət* 'join')
*x̌əx̌íʔtəl̓* 'like each other' (< *x̌íʔ* 'dear, important, difficult'; cf. *sx̌íʔ* 'something wanted, liked')

Other words with *-təl̓* occur in what appears to be the durative aspect, such as:

*θəθx̌íʔtəl̓* 'push each other' (cf. *θəθx̌ét* 'keep pushing (dur.),' *θx̌ət* 'push it,' < *θəx̌* 'move under pressure')
*c̓əc̓əwítəl̓* 'help each other' (cf. *c̓éwət* 'help him')
*q̓əq̓x̌ətəl̓* 'insult each other' (cf. *q̓x̌ət* 'insult him,' *cq̓íx̌* 'black')
*pəptítəl̓* 'challenge each other' (cf. *ptém* 'ask')

Others are glossed in a way that suggests they are in a progressive durative form, such as:

*mimx̌ítəl̓* 'be paying each other back (as in a feud)' (cf. *máx̌ət* 'repay him,' *máṁəx̌ət* 'be repaying him')
*qʷiqʷəṁcástəl̓* 'be having their arms around each others necks' (cf. *qʷəmcəst* 'hug him, put one's arms around his neck')

Forms produced by still other internal modification of the root are:

*nəc̓nác̓təl̓* 'differ from one another' (< *néc̓* 'be different')
*cáckʷtəl̓* 'be far apart' (< *cákʷ* 'far')
*qʷəl̓qʷəl̓təl̓* 'talk together' (< *qʷəl̓qʷəl̓* dispositional of *qʷél* 'speak')
*səlsəlq̓tàl̓* 'even with one another' (< *səl̓íq̓* 'even, equal,' the resultative of *ləq̓ét* 'make it even')

The suffix *-təl̓* can be followed by *-stəxʷ* 'causative,' as in:

*q̓áʔtáləstəxʷ* 'put them together' (< *q̓áʔt* 'put it together')
*θələqtáləstəxʷ* 'separate it, divide it' (< *θáləqtəl̓* 'separate from one another')
*səlsəlq̓táləstəxʷ* 'divide evenly' (< *sálsəlq̓tàl̓* 'even with one another')

## 10.7. THE PERMISSIVE *-s*

The suffix *-s* 'permissive' (PERM) occurs in imperative constructions with the sense "let" as in "Let him go," or "Let it be" as in "Let it be you." It may be suffixed to transitive and intransitive verbs and to personal words. Historically, it may be the *-s* of *-stəxʷ* 'causative,' but that suffix is itself a transitivizer and never follows one, while *-s* 'permissive' has much greater freedom in what it can follow, as illustrated in the following:

(a) ḵʷə́nəts čxʷ.
ḵʷə́n-ət-s čxʷ.
be.taken-TR-PERM you
'Let him have it.'

(b) híləms łe ʔaḷ.
híləm-s łe ʔaḷ.
fall-PERM PER just
'Just let it fall.'

(c) x̌ás łe ném̓.
x̌á-s łe ném̓
BE3P-PERM PER go
'Let *him* go.'

(d) nə́wəs łe ném̓.
nə́wə-s łe ném̓
be.you-PERM PER go
'*You* be the one to go.'

(e) táxʷs čxʷ ʔəsx̌téʔstəxʷ.
táxʷ-s čxʷ ʔə-s-x̌téʔ-stəxʷ
later-PERM you your-NOM-do-CAUS
'Do it later.'

(f) spépəḵʷs čxʷ ʔaḷ.
s-pépəḵʷ-s čxʷ ʔaḷ
RES-warm-PERM you just
'Leave it warming.'

(g) ʔéliʔs čxʷ. (AG)
éləy̓-s čxʷ
good(PL)-PERM you
'Make them good.' (said when ordering shoes)

(h) ʔə́wəs téʔs čxʷ ḵʷə wét sṯálkʷł hə́y̓θəstèʔep. (CC 10)
ʔə́wə-s téʔ-s čxʷ ḵʷə wét sṯálkʷł
not-PERM appear-PERM you ART who non-dancer
hə́y̓θəs-t-èʔep
be.telling-TR-you(PL)
'You will not tell any non-dancer.' (lit. 'Let it be none [ʔə́wəteʔ] the [hypothetical] non-dancer whom you [plural] tell.')

(i) mèsí, nəšx̌ʷʔáq̓ʷaʔ. háystəxʷ čxʷ tə tsás ʔəššqʷéləwən. ƛ̓ás čxʷ k̓ʷə cícəł siʔém̓ héʔk̓ʷənəsəxʷ. (CC)
mèsí nə-šx̌ʷʔáq̓ʷaʔ háy-stəxʷ čxʷ tə tsás
thanks my-sibling stop-CAUS you ART pitiful
ʔəs-šxʷqʷéləwən ƛ̓a-s čxʷ k̓ʷə cícəł siʔém̓
your-feeling BE3P-PERM you ART above lord
héʔk̓ʷ-ənəs-əxʷ
remember-GOAL-you
'Halleluia, my brother/sister. Get rid of your sad thoughts, and remember God.' (lit. 'Let it be the Lord Above whom you are remembering' – a Shaker counsel)

## 10.8. THE SUBORDINATE PASSIVE *-ət*

The suffix *-ət* 'subordinate passive' (SUBPAS) follows the passive personal suffixes in subordinate passive forms (see §14.2.6). It may be identical with *-t* 'stative' (§12.1.6).

# 11
# Non-Personal Affixes 2: Aspectual and Modal Affixes

These are two sets of elements that appear first and last in the predicate head. They are tentatively grouped together here simply because they stand apart from the derivational affixes and the inflectional affixes of the voice and personal systems. Further analysis may suggest a different grouping.

## 11.1. ASPECTUAL PREFIXES

These are some nine elements that express distinctions mainly of a temporal sort that might be called aspectual. They are: *wə-*$_2$ 'established,' *wəɬ-* 'already,' *xʷən-* 'still,' *yə-*$_1$ 'along,' *wə-*$_3$ 'suddenly,' *yə-*$_2$ 'first,' *nəxʷs-* 'habitually,' *xʷə-* 'become,' *təw-* 'somewhat.' These appear in the predicate and, with the exception of *wə-*$_2$ and *wəɬ-,* invariably before the head. These two, *wə-*$_2$ and *wəɬ-,* can also appear before a directional auxiliary, while *wə-*$_2$ can also appear before an adverb. Because the head of a predicate can be any kind of word, these elements may precede *s-*$_1$ '(word) nominalizer' (see §12.1.1) and the possessives *nə-* 'my' and *ʔən~ ~ ʔəT-* 'your' or *s-*$_2$ 'resultative.'

The two, *wə-*$_2$ 'established' and *wəɬ-* 'already,' are also particle-like in that they may become attached to a preceding particle, auxiliary, or adverb. Because of these features, they were identified in §2.6 as "ambivalent affixes." They are not particles as defined in §2.5 in that they seem (with the possible exception of *wə-*$_2$ in some usages) grammatically related simply to the following word rather than to some larger construction. They are also neither mobile, as the predicate particles are, nor separable from their head words as the articles may be separated from their noun heads by various modifiers.

Some of these prefixes can co-occur. Table 11.1 shows in Roman numerals the relative positions in which they have been recorded and in Arabic numerals the order in which they are described below. The suffixes in the same column seem to occupy the same position and not to co-occur.

*Table 11.1*

**Aspectual Prefixes**

| I | II | III | IV |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. *wə-*$_2$ 'established' | 4. *xʷən-* 'still' | 5. *yə-*$_1$ 'along' | 6. *xʷə-* 'become' |
| 2. *wəɬ-* 'already' | | | 7. *wə-*$_3$ 'suddenly' |
| 3. *təw-* 'somewhat' | | | 8. *yə-*$_2$ 'first' |
| | | | 9. *nəxʷs-* 'habitually' |

Examples are too few for absolute certainty, but there are instances of *wə-*$_2$ before *xʷən-, yə-*$_1$, and *xʷə-;* of *wəɬ-* before *yə-*$_1$, *xʷə-,* and *wə-*$_3$*;* of *təw-* before *xʷən-* and *yə-*$_2$*;* and of *xʷən-* before *yə-*$_1$. In the materials dictated by CC and JP, I have noted only one instance of *wə-*$_2$ and *wəɬ-* co-occurring, with *wəɬ-* preceding *wə-*$_2$. On the other hand, AG used *ʔuʔ-* (corresponding to *wə-*$_2$) before *wəɬ-* (see §4.3.1, following example [k]). More work is needed, especially on the various uses and privileges of occurrence of *wə-*$_2$.

### 11.1.1. *wə-*$_2$ 'established' (EST)

This is used often and in a variety of ways with functions and meanings that are not yet clear. The gloss 'established' is an approximation of one apparent meaning but perhaps misses others. In some constructions, it seems simply to link one element with another. It is possible that two or more homophonous elements have been identified here as *wə-*$_2$.

As used by older people (AC, CC, JP), *wə-*$_2$ appears in slower, more deliberate speech as *wə-* but in more rapid or informal speech, it may become attached to a preceding element (a particle, auxiliary, or adverb) as *-əw* or *-w,* as in *s-* + *wə-* can become *səw, niʔ-* + *wə-* can become *niẇ* or *nəw, ƛ̓e* + *wə-* can become *ƛ̓əw*. Most younger speakers, however, are said not to use the *wə-* form but to say *ʔəw* or *ʔəẇ (ʔu* or *ʔuʔ)* in the Cowichan manner, as did DK and AG.

*wə-*$_2$ is clearly distinct from the subordinating particle *wə-*$_1$ 'if, when, that,' which is always accompanied by a subordinate subject marker and which, in the speech of CC and JP, is invariably *wə-* (see §4.2, "Subordinate Clauses"). It is also distinct from *wə-*$_3$ 'suddenly' (see below).

*wə-*$_2$ commonly appears preceding a predicate head that is itself preceded by an auxiliary or some other word, and it usually seems to add so little lexical meaning to the construction that one is tempted to suppose that it simply serves some grammatical function, perhaps to link the predicate head more clearly to

whatever precedes it. However, the following pair of sentences contrasting the absence and presence of *wə-*$_2$ (unfortunately, the only such pair available) shows that it can indicate an established or continuing state or an established fact:

(a) ʔi cən c-nə́xʷəɬ.
AUX I get-canoe
'I have a canoe. I have obtained a canoe.'

(b) ʔi cən wə-c-nə́xʷəɬ.
AUX I EST-get-canoe
'I own a canoe. I do have a canoe.'

Other examples are not incompatible with this interpretation:

(c) ʔíɬ cən wəcnə́xʷəɬ.
ʔí-əɬ cən wə-c-nə́xʷəɬ
AUX-past I EST-get-canoe
'I had a canoe.'

(d) ʔi wə-ʔí kʷθə nə-mə́n̓ə. (CC)
AUX EST-be.here ART my-child
'My son is here.'

(e) ni ʔəw ʔə́y̓. niẇ ʔə́y̓.
niʔ ʔə wə-ʔə́y̓ niʔ wə-ʔə́y̓
AUX ROG EST-good AUX EST-good
'Is it good? It's good.'

(f) x̌̓a m̓əw híẇaqʷ.
x̌̓á m̓ə wə-hiẇaqʷ
BE3P CERT EST-head
'He's the head.'

However, in the following, the *wə-*$_2$ is prefixed to a verb complement referring to an activity that has not yet begun:

(g) kʷənθát cən wəkʷətxʷə́l̓cəp. (CC)
kʷən-θát cən wə-kʷə́təxʷ-ə́l̓cəp
be.taken-self I EST-be.entering-firewood
'I'm going to start packing in wood.'

With a few adverbs, such as *ṅán* 'too, very,' *yáθ* 'always,' *mák̓ʷ* 'all,' and *ṫát* 'long before,' *wə-*$_2$ usually, if not always, appears prefixed to both the adverb and the predicate head, as in:

(h) wəṅán wəqə́x̌. ~ wəṅánəw qə́x̌.
wə-ṅán wə-qə́x̌
EST-too EST-many
'It's too much. There are too many.'

(i) wəyáθ cən wəc̓éc̓əwət.
wə-yáθ cən wə-c̓éc̓əw-ət
EST-always I EST-be.helping-TR
'I'm always helping him.'

(j) wəmə́k̓ʷ wəp̓ép̓q̓.
wə-mə́k̓ʷ wə-p̓ép̓q̓
EST-all EST-white(PL)
'They're all white.'

(k) wət̓ə́t wəšxʷnéʔem.
wə-t̓ə́t wə-šxʷnéʔem
EST-earlier EST-shaman
'She had previously been a shaman.'

(l) wəṅán čxʷ wənəsx̌ə́ʔ.
wə-ṅán čxʷ wə-nə-s-c-x̌ə́ʔ
EST-very you EST-my-NOM-do-value
'I really love you. I love you very much.' (lit. 'You are very much what I want.')

(m) ʔi ct wəɬwəṅánəw mi xʷcákʷ. (JP 22)
ʔi ct wəɬ-wə-ṅán wə-ʔəm̓i xʷ-cákʷ
AUX we already-EST-very EST-come move.toward-far
'We've come too far.'

Following *sc̓éc̓əṅ* 'really,' *wə-*$_2$ appears before the head only, as in:

(n) sc̓éc̓əṅ wəʔə́y̓.
really EST-good
'It's really good.'

(o) sc̓éc̓əṅ wə-θá·qʷ.
really EST-big.headed
'He's really got a big head.'

A prefix *wə-* commonly occurs with the particle *ʔal̓* 'just' (see §16.2.8). The combination *wə- ... ʔal̓* can have the sense 'just, only' given by *ʔal̓* alone, or it can simply identify what it encloses as an adjective-like form. I tentatively identify the prefix in this construction as *wə-*$_2$ but must point out that it can be ordered differently, as in:

(p) x̌ém i ni xʷəwəq̓áq̓əy̓ ʔal̓.
x̌ém ʔəy̓ niʔ xʷə-wə-q̓áq̓əy̓ ʔal̓
cry and AUX become-EST-sick just
'It [a baby] cried itself sick.'

Here *wə-*$_2$ follows rather than precedes *xʷə-* 'become,' but perhaps the *xʷə-* is prefixed to the whole construction *wəq̓áq̓əy̓ ʔal̓* 'sick.' (Other examples of constructions with *wə- ... ʔal̓* appear in §3.8.3.4).

Like any other aspectual prefix, *wə-*$_2$ can be preceded by *s-* 'clause nominalizer.' In (q), *wə-*$_2$ appears before an adverb in a nominalized clause:

(q) nəsx̌íʔ kʷ̓ə ʔəswəmák̓ʷələp ʔéʔəm. (CC)
nə-s-x̌íʔ kʷ̓ə ʔə-s-wə-mák̓ʷ-ələp ʔéʔəm
my-NOM-want ART your-NOM-EST-all-you(PL) give
'I want you all to give.'

In (r), *wə-*$_2$ appears twice, evidently linking the adverb that is the predicate of the main clause and the resultative form that is the predicate of the embedded nominalized clause:

(r) wəyáθ kʷs wəstəʔés kʷ̓ə ...
wə-yáθ kʷ s-wə-stəʔé-s kʷ̓ə
EST-always ART NOM-EST-like-3POS ART
'It was always as though ... It seemed that always ...' (JP 20)

*wə-*$_2$ also appears following *s-* 'clause nominalizer' in nominalized clauses that stand as sentences in narratives (see §4.3.4, "Nominalized Narrative Sentences").

*wə-*$_2$ is probably also what appears as *-əw-* in the demonstrative set *θəwx̌̓á* 'she,' *təwx̌̓á* 'he,' and so on (see §15.2.2.2).

### 11.1.2. *wəɬ-* 'already'

This appears commonly before a predicate head but, like *wə-*$_2$ 'established,' it can also appear before a directional auxiliary. Like *wə-*$_2$ too, it can appear in two different shapes. When attached to some preceding element, it can appear as *-əwɬ*, but more often it appears as *wəɬ*. It usually has the sense 'already' or forms what corresponds to an English present perfect tense, as in:

(a) ni? cən wəɬ-sx̌̓əx̌̓íq̓ʷ. (CC)
AUX I already-bundled
'I'm already bundled up.'

(b) ni wəɬ-ném̓ tánnəc tə łqélc̓. (CC)
AUX already-AUX(go) set ART moon
'The moon has just gone down.'

It may have the sense ‘still,’ as in:

(c) ƛ̓əwəɬ táwən. (AC)
also already-town
‘It’s more town.’ (i.e., ‘It’s still town all the way out there.’)

With a progressive form, it may have the sense ‘be starting to,’ as in:

(d) ni m̓ə wəɬyəhə́n̓əm̓. (CC)
niʔ m̓ə wəɬ-yə-hə́n̓əm̓
AUX CERT already-along-be.going
‘He’s starting to go.’

With a negative, *wəɬ-* may be translated ‘no longer, not anymore,’ as in:

(e) ni čxʷ wəɬc̓ísəm. wəɬʔə́wə čxʷ niʔəxʷ sƛ̓íƛ̓qəɬ. (JP)
niʔ čxʷ wəɬ-c̓ísəm. wəɬ-ʔə́wə čxʷ niʔ-əxʷ sƛ̓íƛ̓qəɬ
AUX you already-grow already-not you AUX-you child
‘You have grown up. You’re not a child anymore.’

What appears to be *wəɬ-* occurs in a few words that must be listed in the lexicon:

*wəɬyéy̓sələ* ‘two animals’ (< *yéy̓sələ* ‘two persons’ < *yəsélə* ‘two’)
*wəɬθíθə* ‘ritualist,’ i.e., a person who uses spells *(syəẇín̓)* professionally (possibly < *θí* ‘great’)

### 11.1.3. *təw-* ‘like, somewhat, a bit, sort of (like)’

This is possibly composed of a root *téʔ* ‘resemble, appear,’ which can be inferred from *təʔéməx* ‘resemble,’ *stəʔé* ‘like,’ and possibly *ʔə́wətəʔ* ‘none,’ and *wə-*$_2$ ‘established.’ The sense ‘like, resembling’ is seen in:

(a) təw-xʷənítəm. (AC)
like-White.person
‘They’re like White people.’

(b) təwʔíʔtət ʔal̓ tən̓ héy̓qʷ. (DK)
təw-ʔíʔtət ʔal̓ tə ʔən-héy̓qʷ
like-be.sleeping just ART your-be.burning
‘Your fire is just like it’s sleeping.’

(c) smə́təqsən təw-tə́ki (AC)
snotty like-turkey
‘snotty like a turkey’

(d) təwspəlqʷíl̓ᶿeʔ ʔám̓ət ni ʔə tə sʔéx̌q i wəłθéʔt (DK)
təw-spəlqʷíl̓ᶿeʔ ʔám̓ət ni ʔə tə sʔéx̌q ʔəẏ
like-owl be.sitting be.there OBL ART outside and
wəł-θéʔt
already-dark
'She's like an owl sitting outside in the dark.' (said by a man of his sulking wife)

This sense is stronger with the addition of *stəʔé* 'like' or the suffix *-aməx* 'resemble,' and such constructions are said to be more usual, as in (e) and (f).

(e) təw-xʷənítəm-àməx.
like-White.person-appear
'They look like White people.'

(f) təwsteʔé· k̓ʷ ləpláš. (DK)
təw-steʔé ʔə k̓ʷ ləpláš
somewhat-like OBL ART plank
'It's like a plank.' (a lady says of her own cake comparing it with her friend's)

The sense 'somewhat, a bit' appears to be more common, as in:

(g) təwcəcłánəp tətíməxʷ (JP 19)
təw-cicəł-ánəp tətíməxʷ
somewhat-high-ground lands
'somewhat higher ground'

(h) m̓i ce·p təwłtí. (DK)
ʔəm̓í ce·p təw-ł-tí
come you(PL) somewhat-partake-tea
'Come and have some tea.'

(i) mi łə təwq̓íḵʷəm. (AG)
m̓i łə təw-q̓íḵʷ-əm
come PER somewhat-bite-INTR
'Give me a bite.'

(j) təw-ʔí čxʷ ʔal̓. (JP)
somewhat-be.here you just
'Stay a while. Stay a while.'

(k) ʔi cən təwḵʷám̓ḵʷəm̓θət ḵʷən sni łtí. (JP)
ʔi cən təw-ḵʷám̓ḵʷəm̓-θət ḵʷə nə-s-niʔ ł-tí
AUX I somewhat-strong-self ART my-NOM-AUX partake-tea
'I became a little stronger when I drank tea.'

(l) təwxʷnáyəməs łq̓ə, siʔém̓.
təw-xʷ-náyəm-əs łə q̓ə, siʔém̓
like-inside-laugh-face PER EMPH sir
'Smile once in a while, Mister.' (said by an older relative to a sullen adolescent)

(m) səctəw háyeʔ i ct təwxʷənyəʔéy̓ yəʔəxʔíxəl i … (CC 4)
s-niʔ ct wə-háyeʔ ʔəy̓ [niʔ] ct
NOM-AUX we EST-leave and AUX we
təw-xʷən-yə-ʔéy̓ yə-ʔəxʔíxəl ʔəy̓
like-still-along-continue along-be.paddling(PL) and
'Then we left and we sort of continued paddling [leisurely] along when …'

From the sense 'somewhat' may come the use of *təw-* to form a weak imperative, as in:

(n) təw-x̌ál-ət łe. (DK)
like-write-TR PER
'Write it down.'

(Perhaps 'Write it down, eh?' or 'You might write it down,' said to be more polite than a simple *x̌álət łe* 'Write it down.')

Prefixed to derivatives of *k̓ʷín* 'how many' (§17.20), *təw-* gives the sense 'several,' as in:

(o) təwk̓ʷí·lə stéʔexʷəł
təw-k̓ʷin-ələ stéʔexʷəł
somewhat-how.many-person children
'several children'

(p) kʷθə təwk̓ʷánmàt wəqál ʔal̓ (JP 22)
kʷθə təw-k̓ʷin-mat wə-qál ʔal̓
ART somewhat-how.many-kind EST-bad just
'several bad things'

### 11.1.4. *xʷən-* 'still, soon'

This has been recorded most often with the meaning 'still':

(a) xʷən-yə-ʔíʔtət. (DK)
still-along-be.sleeping
'He's still sleeping.'

(b) kʷθə ʔəxʷín sx̌íx̌qəł nə xʷənsʔéx̌q (JP 2)
kʷθə ʔəxʷín sx̌íx̌qəł niʔ xʷən-sʔéx̌q
ART little child AUX still-outside
'a little child who was still outside'

(c) ḵʷəns xʷənsx̌íx̌qəɬ
ḵʷə nə-s-xʷən-sx̌íx̌qəɬ
ART my-NOM-still-child
'when I was still a child'

(d) xʷənnétəɬ i wəɬʔámət tə T. (CC 6)
xʷən-nétəɬ ʔəy̓ wəɬ-ʔámət tə T
still-morning and already-get.up ART T
'It was early morning when T got up.'

But in some contexts, perhaps only with verbs of motion, the gloss is 'soon':

(e) sc̓éc̓ən wə-ʔáy̓ wə-xʷən-háyeʔ-əs. (CC 13)
really EST-good if-soon-leave-3SUB
'It would be really good if she left soon.'

The word *xʷəntécəl* (< *técəl* 'arrive here') appears to be an idiom meaning 'early':

(f) ʔəm̓í cən xʷən-técəl.
come I soon-arrive.here
'I'll come early.'

### 11.1.5. *yə-*$_1$ 'along'

This has the sense 'while moving' or 'simultaneously.' It occurs commonly with progressive forms. It can indicate action progressing while the actor is moving or, perhaps, while other events are occurring. Compare (a) and (b):

(a) ʔi cən yə-hám̓eʔ-x.
AUX I along-be.removing-TR
'I'm removing them (while moving along).'

(b) ʔi cən hám̓eʔ-x. (CC)
AUX I be.removing-TR
'I'm removing them (but standing still).'

In (c), (d), and (e), *yə-*$_1$ is also prefixed to progressive forms:

(c) yə-t̓ít̓əl̓əm̓. (DK)
along-be.singing
'He's singing away [as a child might while playing].'

(d) səsəw ʔáx̌qəl θəwx̌a yəcháy̓wən. (CC 11)
s-ni-s wə-ʔáx̌qəl θəwx̌a yə-c-háy̓wən
NOM-AUX-3POS EST-go.out she along-do-singing.possessed
'Then she went out singing her possessing song *(syáwən)*.'

(e) ni yə-há·ẏ̓. (AG)
AUX along-be.stopping
'It's stopping. It is coming to a stop.'

In (f), it is prefixed to a durative form:

(f) haʔ čxʷ kʷə neṁ qíq̓əθàmx i neṁ cən yəkʷənét tən láysəns. (CC 21)
haʔ čxʷ kʷə neṁ qíq̓-ət-Samx ʔəẏ́ ném̓ cən
if you then AUX(go) be.bound-TR-me and AUX(go) I
yə-kʷən-é-t tə nə-láysəns
along-be.taken-DUR-TR ART my-license
'If you have me arrested, I'll take along my [Shaker minister's] licence.'

In (g), it is prefixed to a resultative form:

(g) səw hə́yeʔ θə skʷáye ḵʷíʔ yəšxʷx̌ʷəx̌ʷq̓ʷíẇən tə sq̓áyəs sx̌pélqən. (JP 19)
s-wə-hə́yeʔ[-s] θə skʷáyeʔ ḵʷíʔ
NOM-EST-leave-3POS ART squirrel ascend
yə-šxʷx̌ʷəx̌ʷq̓ʷíẇən [ʔə] tə sq̓áyəs sx̌pélqən
along-bound.around.middle OBL ART down feather
'Then away climbed the squirrel, the downy feathers tied around its waist.'

In (h), it is prefixed to the nominalized head of a relative clause with an extracted instrument:

(h) x̌a ṁə niʔ yə-šxʷ-ḵʷáḵʷəqʷ-əl̓s ʔé·łtən. (CC)
BE3P CERT AUX along-OBLNOM-be.getting.hit-ACT 3PL
'That's what they were hitting with.'

It is prefixed to a few forms indicating location to produce forms indicating direction of motion. Compare (i) with (j) and (k) with (l):

(i) niʔ síʔq tə šxʷʔáṁət.
AUX under ART bed
'It's under the bed.'

(j) ném̓ cən ceʔ yə-síʔq.
go I FUT along-under
'I'm going under.'

(k) niʔ scłál̓wəł.
AUX above
'It's above.'

(l) wélx yəscłáɬwəł tə léləm̓.
wél-x yə-scłáɬwəł [ʔə] tə léləm̓
throw-TR along-above OBL ART house
'Throw it over the house.'

It is also prefixed to some of the numerals to produce forms used in counting canoes, cars, and so on. (For those recorded, see §19.2.)

**11.1.6. *yə-₂ ( ~ i-)* 'first, before doing anything else, above all (first)'**
This seems to appear with perfective forms only, in contrast to *yə-₁*, which usually appears with progressive forms. Most recorded instances have been in direct or implied commands or requests, as in (a) to (d) but not (e).

(a) yəʔáɬtən ce·p yél ʔəsném̓ ʔéyələsàɬxʷ. (CC)
yə-ʔáɬtən ce·p yél ʔə-s-ném̓ ʔéy-ləs-àɬxʷ
first-eat you then your NOM-go.away-TR-us
'Eat before you leave us.'

(b) ʔáy̓ kʷsyałé·lct, qəɬét hiθínəm. (JP 12)
ʔáy̓ kʷ s-yə-łé·l-ct, qəɬét həyθínəm
good ART NOM-first-go.shoreward-our again finish.eating
'We'd better go ashore first and again have something to eat.'

(c) ʔáwə ce·p yək̓ʷácnà·lt. (JP)
ʔáwə ce·p yə-k̓ʷec-n-àl-ət
not you first-see-TR-you-SUBPAS
'Don't let yourselves be seen.'

(d) ʔáwə ce·p isxáṅcəʔe·p. (JP 13)
ʔáwə ce·p yə-sxáṅcəʔ-e·p
not you first-be.prey-you
'Don't let it catch you.'

(e) ʔáwə ni·s yəq̓íʔθət i niʔ cən wəłxʷəníns. (JP)
ʔáwə niʔ-əs yə-q̓íʔθət ʔəy̓ niʔ cən
not AUX-3SUB first-react and AUX I
wəł-xʷə-níʔ-nəs
already-become-be.there-TR
'He did not react in time, and I went up to him.' (i.e., 'I caught him by surprise.')

**11.1.7. *nəxʷs- ( ~ xʷs-)* 'habitually' (HAB)**
It is possible that this is a compound prefix, but there is no evidence for it at present. It appears prefixed to perfective forms of verbs, as in (a) to (c).

(a) nəxʷshəwt̓ᶿéʔθəs. (JP)
nəxʷs-həwt̓ᶿéʔ-t-S-əs
HAB-tease-TR-me-3TR
'He has the habit of teasing me.'

(b) nəxʷsłáḵʷxən cən ʔəłʔíməxè·n. (JP)
nəxʷs-łáḵʷxən cən ʔəł-ʔíməx-è·n
HAB-trip I whenever-walk-I
'I'm always tripping whenever I walk.'

(c) nəxʷsc̓éwəłtən ḵʷəna Tom. (JP)
nəxʷs-c̓éw-əłtən ḵʷəna Tom
HAB-help-others that Tom
'Tom is always helping.'

(This last sentence was JP's comment after I had elicited a set of active and passive forms beginning with "Tom helps George.")

This prefix appears in terms for persons engaged in activities habitually or professionally, as in:

*nəxʷsʔəhé·wə* (CC), *nəxʷshé·ẇə* (JP) 'deer hunter, inland hunter' (< *ʔəhé·ẇə, hé·ẇə* 'hunt deer')
*nəxʷspáyətəɬ* 'duck hunter' (< *páyətəɬ* 'hunt ducks')
*nəxʷskʷáyx̌θət* 'good provider' (< *kʷáyx̌θət* 'act, move oneself')
*nəxʷsƛ̓ánəq* 'potlatcher' (< *ƛ̓ánəq* 'give a potlatch')

However, as the earlier examples show, this is an aspect marker, not simply an agent marker equivalent to the English *-er*.

The form *xʷs-* has been recorded in the following words only:

*xʷsləhél* 'good bone-game player' (< *ləhél* 'play the bone game') (JP)
*xʷsłəɬét̓ᶿ* ' person who always makes fun of others' (cf. *łəɬét̓ᶿt* 'make fun of him')
*xʷsłṗáƛ̓əm* '"real" (confirmed) smoker' (< *łṗáƛ̓əm* 'smoke tobacco') (DK)

## 11.2. MODAL SUFFIXES

Only two of these have been identified. They differ from the derivational suffixes in that they follow suffixes of the voice system, for example, *-əm* 'intransitive,' *-nəxʷ* 'transitive limited control,' *-θət* 'reflexive.' They may be followed by the third-person transitive subject marker.

### 11.2.1. *-álmən* 'want to, intend to, seem about to'

This is suffixed to verbs in both perfective and progressive aspects. It may appear as *-ál̓mən* in the progressive.

(a) ʔi cənəwɬ ʔìtətə́lmən. (DK)
ʔi cən wəɬ-ʔìtət-əlmən
AUX I already-sleep-want
'I want to sleep now.'

(b) ʔi cən həm̓x̌ələ́l̓mən. (CC)
ʔi cən həm̓x̌él-ə́l̓mən
AUX I be.fainting-want
'I'm about to faint.'

(c) kʷθəw stém ʔal̓ ni q̓áq̓əynəxʷəlmənəs (JP 22)
kʷθə wə-stém ʔal̓ niʔ q̓áq̓əy-nəxʷ-əlmən-əs
ART EST-what just AUX be.dying-TR-want-3SUB
'whatever they wanted to kill'

(d) x̌̓a sx̌̓íʔs kʷs kʷànnəxʷəlməns təwx̌̓a x̌ə́t̓e e tθe qə́l məstə́yəxʷ. (JP 25)
x̌̓a s-cx̌̓íʔ-s kʷ s-kʷàn-nəxʷ-əlmən-s
BE3P NOM-want-3POS ART NOM-being.taken-TR-want-3POS
təwx̌̓a x̌ə́t̓ə ʔə tθe qə́l məstə́yəxʷ
that be.doing OBL that bad person
'That is what that bad person who was doing that intended.'

### 11.2.2. *-í·ɬ ~ -íəɬ* (//-əyəɬ//) 'arrange to, seek to (arrange)'

The meaning of this suffix is not entirely clear. Examples of its use suggest that it indicates that an activity occurs outside the normal social group through a contractual arrangement. It appears as *-íʔəɬ* (//-əy̓əɬ//) in the progressive.

(a) niʔ ct ném̓ ʔəɬtən-í·ɬ. (DK)
AUX we go eat-arrange
'We invited ourselves to eat there [at a restaurant].'

(b) niʔ ct ném̓ ʔìtət-í·ɬ. (DK)
AUX we go sleep-arrange
'We went to a hotel.'

(c) ʔi ʔíʔiɬtən-iʔəɬ. (AG)
AUX be.eating-arrange
'He's eating in a restaurant.'

(d) ném̓ ɬe θáyəmθət-ì·ɬ nem̓ [ʔə] yəθéʔ. (JP)
go PER stay.with-arrange go OBL them
'Go and ask permission to stay with them.'

(e) niʔ θəθəy̓cəm-íʔəɬ.
AUX be.sleeping.together-arrange
'She/he is looking for someone to sleep with [have sex with].'

It also appears in *ʔ àmətí·ɬ* (< *ʔáməṯ* 'sit,' used for 'go to the bathroom' in some families).

# 12
# Non-Personal Affixes 3: Derivational Affixes

We will consider here all of the derivational affixes except the lexical suffixes, which will be presented in §13. Included here are the derivational affixes with purely grammatical meaning, the verbalizing prefixes, the verbal suffixes, and miscellaneous lexical prefixes.

## 12.1. PURELY GRAMMATICAL DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES

There are only three, or possibly four, simple prefixes, one compound prefix, and a suffix that belong here.

### 12.1.1. *s-*$_1$ 'word nominalizer' (NOM)

This prefix, perhaps the most commonly used in the language, appears in three kinds of words:

(1) Simple *s-* nouns (see §8.1 [2]), that is, nouns with bound roots (reduplicated forms showing *s-* to be a prefix), as in:

*sx̌áṅə* 'foot' (cf. *sx̌əx̌íṅə* 'feet')
*sqʷəméẏ̓* 'dog' (cf. *sqʷəmqʷəméẏ̓* 'dogs')
*sméʻnt* 'rock, mountain' (cf. *smənméʻnt* 'rocks, mountains')

(2) Derived *s-* nouns (see §8.1 [3]), that is, nouns formed from verb roots. These may name the object of the action designated by the verb, as in:

*sʔáɬtən* 'food' (< *ʔáɬtən* 'eat,' i.e., that which is eaten)
*sʔíṫ̓ᶿəm* 'clothing' (< *ʔíṫ̓ᶿəm* 'get dressed,' i.e., that which is put on)
*spíẇ̓* 'ice' (cf. *píẇ̓ət* 'freeze it,' i.e., that which is frozen)
*sx̌ṫ́éḵ̓ʷ* 'carving' (< *x̌ṫ́éḵ̓ʷ* 'carve,' i.e., that which is carved)
*skʷíx* 'name' (cf. *kʷíxət* 'name it,' i.e., that which is given as a name)
*sx̌ʷəẏ̓émṁ* 'story, myth' (< *x̌ʷəẏ̓émṁ* 'tell a story, recite a myth')[1]
*syáθəs* 'story, account' (cf. *yáθəst* 'tell him')

1 Some use the word *sx̌ʷəẏ̓émṁ* for any narrative, as JP did at times, but he also used it to refer to events involving *X̌éʻl̓s* and to the world before *X̌éʻl̓s* came (see §18.4.9, example [m]). I think

Or they may name the activities themselves, as in:

*syá·ys* 'work' (< *yá·ys* 'work')
*sx̌ə́nəq* 'potlatch' (< *x̌ə́nəq* 'give a potlatch')

In one instance, the noun designates the substance the presence of which is indicated by an adjective: *snás* 'fat, grease' (< *nás* 'fat' as person, 'fatty' as food).

(3) Nominalizations of predicate heads in relative clauses with extracted oblique adjuncts (cf. §4.1.1.2), as in:

(a) tə sʔə́łtən [ni·n sx̌téʔəm] (DK)
tə sʔə́łtən niʔ nə-s-x̌téʔəm
ART food AUX my-NOM-prepare
'the food that I prepared'

In this relative clause (bracketed), the head verb (*x̌téʔəm* 'prepare') is nominalized because the extracted word that the relative clause modifies (*sʔə́łtən* 'food') is the oblique object of this verb in a corresponding simple clause, such as:

(b) nék̓ θəł x̌téʔəm k̓ʷ sʔə́łtən. (DK)
nék̓ θəł x̌téʔəm [ʔə] k̓ʷ sʔə́łtən
go ADV prepare OBL ART food
'Go now and make dinner.' ('Go anyway and prepare some food.')

(Here the object must be identified as oblique even with the particle *ʔə* missing, because the verb is intransitive.)

Nominalizations of this kind seem analogous to at least some of those of the second kind – see (2) above – in their semantic relationship to the verbs from which they are derived; for example, *nəsx̌téʔəm* 'what I prepared' is to *x̌téʔəm cən* 'I prepare' as *nəsʔə́łtən* 'my food (what I eat)' is to *ʔə́łtən cən* 'I eat.' It seems likely that these two kinds of words are historically related. However, the nominalizations in relative clauses must have possessives, while nouns like *sʔə́łtən* 'food' need not, and so nouns like *sʔə́łtən* cannot simply be identified as relative clauses.

It seems useful to distinguish *s-* 'word nominalizer' and *s-* 'clause nominalizer,' although they are no doubt historically identical. The latter can be identified as a particle in the sense of an element that relates to a construction larger than a word. (See §2.7.)

### 12.1.2. *s-*$_2$ 'resultative' (RES)

This prefix occurs with nearly all resultative forms of the verb (see §7.7). It also

that in more traditional usage, a story involving animal characters or the work of *X̌é·l̓s* was a *sx̌ʷəy̓ém̓* and an account of an historical event or traditional practice was a *syáθəs*.

occurs with some forms of the noun that may be identified as resultative (see §8.7).

It is distinct from *s-*$_1$ 'nominalizer' in that resultative forms do not take possessives (and so are verbs, not nouns, morphologically defined), while the principal function of *s-* 'nominalizer' is precisely to convert a verb into a form that may take a possessive, that is, to make a noun (morphologically defined) of it.

The identify in sound of *s-*$_2$ 'resultative' and *s-*$_1$ 'nominalizer' may be a recent development in Halkomelem. In neighbouring Salish languages, the counterpart of Halkomelem *s-*$_2$ 'resultative' has an initial glottal stop and schwa, as in Squamish *ʔəs-* (Kuipers 1967, 111).

### 12.1.3. *xʷ-*$_1$ 'oblique relater' (OBREL)

This is a tentative identification. In a few instances, it appears that *xʷ-*$_1$ may relate a root and a lexical suffix as verb and instrument rather than verb and object, as in:

*xʷʔáẇcəst* 'show him with the hands' (< *ʔíẇ-* 'show,' *-cəs* 'hand,' *-t* 'transitive')
*xʷkʷéʔcəs* 'drop from the hands' (cf. *kʷéʔt* 'drop it, let it go')

in contrast to *kʷánəcəst* 'take his hand' (cf. *kʷánət* 'take it'), which has no prefix *xʷ-* and in which the root and lexical suffix are related as verb and object.

In some of the words where *xʷ-*$_1$ seems to have a locative sense, it may also mark an oblique relationship between root and suffix. Or, it may be that this function has developed from the locative sense of *xʷ-*$_3$ (cf. §12.4.8).

This interpretation of *xʷ-*$_1$ as an 'oblique relater,' although based on only a few examples, casts *xʷ-*$_1$ here in a role similar to the one it plays in the 'oblique nominalizer' *šxʷ-*.

### 12.1.4. *šxʷ-* 'oblique word nominalizer' (OBLNOM)

This is a compound of *s-*$_1$ 'word nominalizer' and *xʷ-*$_1$ 'oblique relater.' The usual Musqueam form is *šxʷ-* but both CC and JP occasionally used *š-*, which is the usual Cowichan form, often correcting afterwards to *šxʷ-*. In a few words and nominalized clauses, CC used *x-* in place of *šxʷ-*. I cannot account for this variation. In JP's Musqueam, the sequence *ʔəT-* 'your' followed by *šxʷ-* is realized as *ʔəθxʷ-*. This compound prefix appears in four kinds of words:

(1) Nominalizations of predicate heads in relative clauses with extracted oblique nominal adjuncts other than objects. The extracted nominal adjuncts are loci, goals, and instruments (see §4.1.1.2) and the *šxʷ-* can be glossed 'at which, to which, by which,' as in:

(a) ẖ̓a m̓ə tiʔí skʷəléx [ni nəšx̌ʷkʷə́ləxt]. (JP)
ẖ̓a m̓ə tiʔí skʷəléx niʔ nə-šx̌ʷ-kʷə́ləx-t
BE3P CERT this gun AUX my-OBNOM-shoot-TR
'This gun is the one that I shot it with.'

In the relative clause (bracketed), the head verb *kʷáləxt* 'shoot it' is nominalized with *šxʷ-* because the extracted *skʷəléx* 'gun' is the instrument of a corresponding simple clause:

(b) ni cən kʷə́ləx-t ʔə tiʔí skʷəléx.
AUX I shoot-TR OBL this gun
'I shot it with this gun.'

(2) Words that refer to instruments. These may be formed from verbs in the perfective or progressive aspects, without or with suffixes. The prefix has the sense 'means by which' and the root or stem designates the activity, as in:

*šxʷʔéx̌əθ* 'bed' (< *ʔéx̌əθ* 'lie down')
*šxʷ(h)əlí* 'life' ('the "soul" that leaves the body at death,' < *həlí* 'alive')
*šxʷʔə́y̓ə́m* 'power, strength' (< *ʔəy̓ə́m* 'strong')
*šxʷyá·y̓əs* 'tools' (< *yá·y̓əs* 'be working')
*šxʷƛ̓ə́xənəp* 'plow' (< *ƛ̓ə́xənəp ;* cf. *ƛ̓xə́*t 'open it up,' *-ə́nəp* 'ground')
*šxʷcícəxəl̓s* 'froe' (cf. *céxət* 'split it with a froe,' *-els* 'activity')

A few such words have the suffix *-tən* 'instrument,' which seems redundant:

*šxʷk̓ʷíʔtən* 'ladder' (< *k̓ʷíʔ* 'ascend')
*šxʷqáʔqaʔtən* 'drinking tube' (< *qáʔqaʔ* 'drink')

Words of this kind seem to be related to those of the previous set (the predicate heads nominalized with *šxʷ-*) in a way parallel to the relationship between the second and third set of words formed with *s-* (§12.1.1 above).

(3) Terms for persons. These include several kinship terms, which are given in §21. One of these is *šxʷsíl̓ə* 'grandparent's spouse, spouse's grandparent, grandparent's sibling's spouse' (< *síl̓ə* 'grandparent, grandparent's sibling'). This word and others might suggest that the prefix *šxʷ-* may be simply glossed 'in-law,' but a more accurate gloss might still be 'locus' or 'means,' *šxʷsíl̓ə* being literally 'one who is in the place of grandparent' or 'one who functions as grandparent.'

Other terms for persons include:

*šxʷswéʔ* 'master, owner' (< *swéʔ* 'property,' < *wéʔ* 'own')
*šxʷsiʔém̓* 'boss, leader' (< *siʔém̓* 'rich person, upper-class person')
*šxʷnéʔəm* 'shaman' (cf. *snéʔəm* 'shaman's tutelary, "Indian doctor's power"')

In these too, 'locus' or 'means' may be implied. The *šxʷnéʔəm* is both the possessor of and is possessed by his or her *snéʔəm*.

(4) Words in which a root and suffix are related obliquely. In words like the following, the *šxʷ-* cannot be interpreted as 'by which' or 'at which.' It seems rather that the *xʷ-* may serve to relate the root and suffix obliquely (cf. §12.1.3 above), and the *s-* then nominalizes this construction.

*šxʷmùsməsál̓əc* 'cow manure' (< *músməs* 'cow,' *-ál̓əc* 'dung')
*šxʷčìkənál̓əc* 'chicken manure' (< *číkən* 'chicken')
*šxʷləmélə* 'bottle' (< *lám* 'rum, liquor,' *-élə* 'place for, container for')
*šxʷpàtənélə* 'mast' (< *pátən* 'sail')

As with *s-* 'nominalizer,' we may distinguish *šxʷ-* as 'oblique word nominalizer' and as 'oblique clause nominalizer' (see §4.3.3).

### 12.1.5. *-aʔɬ* 'attributive' (ATT)

As mentioned in §3.8.3.4, when this is accompanied by *s-*$_1$ 'nominalizer' and sometimes internal change in the stem, it produces attributive or adjectival forms (§9.7).[2] Internal changes include the umlauting of /e/ to /a/ seen with several other suffixes but also a shift in stress. The latter appears in only two Musqueam forms given by JP and three Katzie forms given by SP. While the full form of the suffix is *-aʔɬ,* it is often heard as *-ał* or *-əɬ*. Some phrases with attributives formed by this combination of prefix and suffix are:

*šxʷálməxʷaʔɬ táməxʷ* 'Indian land' (< *xʷálməxʷ* 'Indian')
*šxʷənítəmaʔɬ sq̓ʷəyíləx* 'White-style dance' (< *xʷənítəm* 'White')
*smílkaʔɬ šxʷləmélə* 'milk bottle' (< E. 'milk')
*syəwáṅaʔɬ šxʷqʷéləwən* 'old people's ways of thinking' (< *syəwéṅ* 'forebears,' < *yəwéṅ* 'before')
*snáć̓aʔɬ q̓ʷéx̌t* 'someone else's "claim" (e.g., wapato pond)' (< *néć̓* 'different')
*scíɬaʔɬ məmáʔaqʷ* 'birds of the heights (high-flying birds, such as eagles, buzzards, etc.)' (cf. *cícəɬ* 'above,' JP)
*słənəyáʔɬ šxʷqʷáltən* 'woman's word, women's language' (< *słénəy̓* 'woman,' JP)
*stéʔexʷəlaʔɬ šxʷqʷáltən* 'baby talk' (as using /k/ for /q/, < *stéʔexʷəɬ* 'children,' JP)
*scáẇcəẇał słéwəl̓* 'pilchard' (lit. 'deep-sea herring,' < *cáẇcəẇ* 'offing,' CC)
*scəwcéẇał q̓ʷəlítəq* 'offshore seagull' (a tern?) (JP)
*scəwcáwəł q̓ʷáx̌ʷəqs* '*q̓ʷáx̌ʷəqs* (a type of *syáwən*) from the sea' (SP)
*skʷx̌ámaɬ (x̌ácaʔ)* 'Coquitlam Lake' (< *kʷíkʷəx̌əm* 'Coquitlam') (JP)
*sq̓ʷaṅx̌ílət stál̓əẇ* 'Fraser River' (< *q̓ʷáṅx̌əl, q̓ʷáʔaṅx̌əl̓* 'Kwantlen, i.e., river of the Kwantlen,' perhaps referring to the Fraser as it runs through Kwantlen territory only (SP)
*šxʷməθkʷəyáməł syáθ* 'Musqueam tradition, Musqueam inheritance' (SP)

A few attributive forms with *s-* ... *-aʔɬ* have become established in special senses, such as:

2 I assume that the prefix *s-* is *s-*$_1$ 'nominalizer' rather than *s-*$_2$ 'resultative' because the Squamish counterpart *-uɬ* takes the Squamish nominalizer *s-*, not *ʔəs-*, the Squamish counterpart of *s-*$_2$ (Kuipers 1967, 128).

*syíxaʔɬ* 'southern or Puget Sound canoe type' (< *yíx* 'Puget Sound,' JP)
*sqʷx̌ʷáṁəxaʔɬ* 'Squamish canoe type' (< *sqʷx̌ʷáṁəx* 'Squamish,' JP; DK gave *sqx̌ʷáṁəx*)

### 12.1.6. *-t* 'stative' (STAT)

This is a rare suffix. It appears in a few adjectives and nouns:

*ɬq̓ét* 'wide' (cf. *lq̓-* 'across, other side,' *ɬéq̓əməx* 'flat country,' *ɬq̓écəs* 'five,' *ɬéq̓ət* 'lay it down')
*pɬét* 'thick' (cf. Squamish *pəɬc* 'thick-lipped' and comparative data in Kuipers [1967, 248])
*x̌̓eqt* 'long'
*θqét* 'standing upright, tree' (cf. *θqén* 'be held upright,' *θqénx* 'stand it up')
*táyt* 'upstream' (cf. Cowichan *táyəl* 'go/come upstream')
*táywət* 'the "North" (i.e., Johnstone Strait and beyond)' (cf. *xʷtáyəwəl* 'the "Northern" tribes,' probably related to the last; the northern end of the Strait of Georgia begins "upstream")
*sx̌álə́c̓t* 'place where strong currents meet' (cf. *sx̌álə́c̓* 'current,' *x̌álc̓t* 'turn it')

It also appears in two anomalous resultative forms:

*skʷékʷəlt* 'hidden' (cf. *kʷélx* 'hide it,' *kʷékʷəl̓x* 'be hiding it,' *kʷé·l* 'hide,' *kʷəkʷí·l̓* 'be hiding')
*spépəlt* 'skimmed' (cf. *pé·lt* 'skim it,' *pépələt* 'be skimming it')

It may also be identical with *-t* 'subordinate passive' (§10.8).

## 12.2. VERBALIZING PREFIXES

There are seven prefixes that have lexical meanings and also serve to make verbs of nominal or adjectival roots or stems. They are: *c-* 'get, have, make, do,' *xʷə-* 'become,' *txʷ-*$_1$ 'buy,' *ɬ-*$_1$ 'partake,' *x̌̓-* 'go to,' *cɬ-* 'die of,' and *xʷ-*$_2$ 'move toward.' Of these, only *c-* and *xʷə-* require any discussion. For the others I have simply listed a few examples.

### 12.2.1. *c-* 'get, have, make, do'

This is a kind of all-purpose verbalizer that converts the root or stem to which it is prefixed into an incorporated object. It is probably what remains of an old root, as suggested by the reduplicated form *cəkʷ-*, given below. It may also be the initial element in the first- and second-person subject particles (§14.2.1), perhaps once serving as an auxiliary to which the pronominal forms now serving as subordinate subjects were added.

Prefixed to nouns, *c-* provides the most usual way of expressing 'get' or 'have,' and in this sense it seems fully productive. Alone, it has a perfective sense and is usually translatable as 'get.' With an auxiliary and *wə-*$_2$ 'established,' it has an imperfective sense and is usually 'have,' as in (a) to (c).

(a) c-wáč cən ceʔ.
get-watch I FUT
'I'm going to get a watch.'

(b) ʔí ʔə čxʷ wə-c-wáč.
here ROG you EST-get-watch
'Do you have a watch?'

(c) ʔí·ł cən wəcwáč.
ʔí-əł cən wə-c-wáč
here-past I EST-get-watch
'I used to have a watch.'

With bound roots or stems requiring *s-* (*s-* nouns), *c-* replaces the *s-*, as in:

(d) ʔí cən cnə́xʷəł.
'I have a canoe. I got a canoe.' (cf. *snə́xʷəł* 'canoe')

(e) ʔí cən xʷəcqʷəmə́y̓.
'I have become the owner of a dog.' (cf. *sqʷəmə́y̓* 'dog')

The sense of 'make' or 'do' may be restricted to contexts where this interpretation is more likely than 'have' or 'get.' Compare *cnə́xʷəł* 'have a canoe' in (d) with (f).

(f) scəẇét kʷscnə́xʷəłs.
scəẇét kʷ s-c-nə́xʷəł-s
clever ART NOM-make-canoe-3POS
'He is a good canoe-maker.' (lit. 'He is clever at his making a canoe.')

Other examples are:

*cmə́n̓ə* 'have a baby' (< *mə́n̓ə* 'child, offspring')
*cpéʔəθ* 'hunt black bear' (< *spéʔəθ* 'black bear')
*ctáktə* 'get a doctor' (< *táktə* 'medical doctor')
c*tétəm* 'be doing what' (< *stém* 'what')
*cłéwən* 'make mats' (< *słéwən* 'mat')
*cpátən* 'sail (v.)' (< *pátən* 'sail [n.]')
*cq̓íl̓ə* 'make dried fish' (< *sq̓íl̓ə* 'winter supplies, especially of dried salmon')
*cyə́wən* 'sing a winter dance song' (< *syə́wən* 'winter dance song')
*cyəẇín̓* 'recite a spell' (< *syəwín̓* 'spell')

With kinship terms, the prefix *c-* and the suffix *-əm* 'intransitive' give the sense 'call, address as,' as in:

*cménəm* 'call "father"' (< *mén* 'father')
*csìlé·m* 'call "grandparent"' (< *síl̓ə* 'grandparent')

There are two interrogative verbs formed with *c-:*

*ctétəm* 'be doing what'
*ctámət* 'do what, experience what, suffer what'

The first is formed with the root of *stém* 'what.' It seems to appear in the progressive only. The second is probably also formed with the same root and a suffix that causes a change from /e/ to /a/, possibly the final *-ət* of the reflexive *-θət,* which has the same effect; the term might more literally be interpreted 'what happens to oneself.'

The verb *ctámət* is perfective as given and has an anomalous progressive: *cək$^{w}$stám̓ət* 'be doing what, etc.' This form is interesting for two reasons. It shows *c-* undergoing reduplication (see §1.5.10 for /c/ and /k$^{w}$/ in reduplicated forms), and thus it must be functioning as a root. And it shows that the underlying form of the perfective is //c-stamət//. This raises the question whether words like *cnə́x$^{w}$əɬ* 'have a canoe, make a canoe,' *cpé$^{ʔ}$əθ* 'hunt black bear,' etc., are formed by prefixing *c-* to *-nə́x$^{w}$əɬ, -pé$^{ʔ}$əθ,* etc., or by prefixing *c-* to *snə́x$^{w}$əɬ, spé$^{ʔ}$əθ,* etc., and then deleting the *s*.

The prefix *c-* may also be identifiable with the initial element in the interrogative words *cə́stəx$^{w}$* 'do what with it' and *x$^{w}$cél* 'go where.' (See §17.7 and 17.9.)

Verbs formed with *c-* prefixed to roots of other sorts (verbal, adjectival, and even adverbial) are active but intransitive. It is not clear how productive the prefix is with such roots, but the following have been recorded:

*cḵ$^{w}$éc* 'get a look, see anything, happen to see' (< *ḵ$^{w}$éc* 'look'; cf. *ḵ$^{w}$écət* 'look at it,' *ḵ$^{w}$ə́cnəx$^{w}$* 'see it')
*ck$^{w}$ə́n* 'get a hold, get anything' (< *k$^{w}$ə́n* 'get taken'; cf. *k$^{w}$ə́nət* 'take it')
*cháq$^{w}$* 'catch a smell of something, get a whiff' (cf. *háq$^{w}$ət* 'smell it')
*cmáḵ$^{w}$* 'find something, salvage something' (cf. *máḵ$^{w}$ət* 'find it, salvage it')
*cpít* 'realize who someone is' (cf. *pátnəx$^{w}$* 'recognize him')
*cqə́x̌* 'have much, have lots of something' (< *qéx̌* 'much, many')
*cx̱̌íʔ* 'want something' (< *x̱̌íʔ* 'expensive, important')
*cx̱̌éʔ* 'do something again, resume' (< *x̱̌éʔ* 'again, also')
*cwéʔ* 'own' (< √*wéʔ* 'own')

Verbs formed with *c-* and verbal or adjectival roots present a problem in the way some relative clauses are formed. Because these verbs are active but intransitive, they can have oblique objects, as in (g).

(g) cx̱̌íʔ cən ʔə ḵ$^{w}$ə nəšx$^{w}$séʔt tə nəká·. (AG)

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| c-x̱̌íʔ | cən | ʔə | ḵ$^{w}$ə | nə-šx$^{w}$-séʔ-t | tə | nə-ká· |
| make-valuable | I | OBL | ART | my-OBLNOM-rise-TR | ART | my-car |

'I want something to lift my car with.'

In a relative clause formed through the extraction of an oblique object, the predicate head is nominalized with *s-* (see §4.1.2). However, for two of these verbs with *c-*, it appears that in relative clauses the *c-* is deleted. This, at any rate, seems the simplest interpretation of forms like the following:

(h) nəsmə́ḵʷ. (JP)
nə-s-[c-]mə́ḵʷ
my-NOM-make-find
'I found it.' (lit. 'It is what I found.')

(i) nəsx̌ʌ́ʔ kʷ səplíl. (AG)
nə-s-[c-]x̌ʌ́ʔ kʷ səplíl
my-NOM-make-valuable ART bread
'I want some bread.' (lit. 'Bread is what I want.')

(j) niw smə́ḵʷs ʔaḷ kʷθə niʔ háʔkʷəxəs. (JP)
niʔ wə-s-[c-]mə́ḵʷ-s ʔaḷ kʷθə niʔ háʔkʷ-əx-əs
AUX EST-NOM-make-find-3POS just ART AUX be.using-TR-3SUB
'He just picked up what he is using.' ('What he is using is just what he picked up.')

(k) x̌a kʷθə tʰéḷəs nəsx̌ʌ́ʔ. (JP 22)
x̌a kʷθə tʰéḷə-s nə-s-[c-]x̌ʌ́ʔ
BE3P ART heart-3POS my-NOM-make-valuable
'It is its heart that I want.'

On the other hand, verbs formed with *c-* in the sense 'get' or 'have' prefixed to noun roots can be nominalized with *s-* without the loss of the *c-*, as in:

(l) θə́yt cən ceʔ tə sálaʔac scléləmct. (CC)
θə́y-t cən ceʔ tə sálaʔac s-c-léləm̓-ct
be.made-TR I FUT ART mat NOM-have-house-our
'I'll fix the mats for our house.' (lit. 'I will fix the mats that will be what we will have as a house.')

(m) ni cən cmə́ḵʷ kʷθə téwəł nəsláʔθən. (CC)
niʔ cən c-mə́ḵʷ [ʔə] kʷθə téwəł
AUX I make-find OBL ART clam.shell
nə-s-c-láʔθən
my-NOM-have-plate
'I found a clamshell for my plate.' (lit. 'I found a clamshell that will be what I have as a plate.')

Prefixed to verbs with intransitive suffixes, *c-* gives a causative sense, as in:

*ckʷáyx̌θət* 'cause something' (< *kʷáyx̌θət* 'act, move oneself')
*cq̓éḷəm* 'convince oneself' (< *q̓él* 'believe,' *-əm* 'intransitive')
*cʔəyíləm* 'make good weather (magically)' (< *ʔəyíləm* 'become clear')

Several terms for colours occur with *c-*. These are:

*ckʷím* 'red' (cf. *skʷím* 'red,' *skʷíkʷəm* 'reddish')
*cq̓íx̌* 'black' (cf. *q̓íx̌əyə* 'Negro')
*cqʷáy* 'green' (CC), 'yellow or green' (JP), 'pale' (cf. *qʷáyəl* 'turn pale')
*cxʷík̓ʷ* (JP), *čxʷíq̓ʷ* (CC) 'grey'
c*páxʷ* 'blond' (cf. *spáxʷ* 'tripe')

Here *c-* is the counterpart of the separate prefixes for colour terms in closely related Salishan languages, such as *nə-* in Northern Straits. One colour term, *p̓áq̓* 'white,' occurs without *c-*. There is a parallel to 'pale/turn pale' above in *cqʷə́mx̌ʷ* 'thin, skinny' (cf. *qʷámax̌ʷəl* 'become thin, get skinny').

### 12.2.2. *xʷə-* ~ *xʷi-* 'become'

This provides the most common way of expressing 'become, come to be' (but cf. also the reflexive *-θət* in §10.5.1 and the verbal suffix *-əl* ~ *-íl* in §12.3.1). It appears as *xʷə-* in most contexts. In (a) it is prefixed to both an adjective and a verb:

(a) niw neṁ ʔal̓ xʷək̓ʷámṁk̓ʷəṁ kʷsnis xʷəkʷənétəs ni ʔə k̓ʷi sməstáyəxʷ. (JP 28)
ni wə-neṁ ʔal̓ xʷə-k̓ʷámṁk̓ʷəṁ kʷ s-ni-s
AUX EST-go just become-strong ART NOM-AUX-3POS
xʷə-kʷəné-t-əs ni ʔə k̓ʷi s-məstáyəxʷ
become-be.taken(DUR)-TR-3TR be.there OBL DEM NOM-person
'It [his vision] just gets so strong that he comes to have it in his "system."'

In (b), it is prefixed to a resultative form:

(b) ni xʷəsəṁné?. (DK)
ni xʷə-s-məṅə
AUX become-RES-child
'He has a kid.' (lit. 'He has become childed.')

And in (c), (d), and (e), it is prefixed to nominalized forms or nouns:

(c) xʷəʔəθwéʔələp. (JP 17)
xʷə-ʔəT-s-wéʔ-ələp
become-your-NOM-own-2PL
'It has become yours.'

(d) kʷθeʔ ni xʷə-sʔályə-s cí·tməxʷ (JP 28)
that AUX become-vision-3POS great.horned.owl
'that owl that had become his vision'

(e) ni ct łx̌íləxstəxʷ kʷsx̌̓as xʷəčífct. (AG)
ni ct łx̌íləx-stəxʷ kʷ s-x̌̓a-s xʷə-číf-ct
AUX we stand-CAUS ART NOM-BE3P-3POS become-chief-our
'We elected him chief.' (lit. 'We made him stand up so that he was the one who became our chief.')

This suffix appears as *xʷi-* before personal and interrogative words, as in (f), (g), and (h).

(f) héy̓ łe, xʷináwəs nem̓ xʷnəc̓íwən. (JP 10)
héy̓ łe xʷi-náwə-s nem̓ xʷnəc̓íwən
go.ahead PER become-you-PERM go investigate
'Well, now you go investigate.' ('It's your turn to ...,' lit. 'Let it become you to ...')

(g) xʷiʔánθə nem̓ x̌ésəl. (JP 10)
xʷi-ʔánθə nem̓ x̌ésəl
become-I go face.danger
'It's up to me to go face the danger.'

(h) héy̓ xʷistém (CC)
héy̓ xʷi-stém
go.ahead become-what
'What's next?'

### 12.2.3. *txʷ-*$_1$ 'buy'

(a) ném̓ čxʷ txʷsəplíl.
ném̓ čxʷ txʷ-səplíl
go you buy-bread
'Go buy bread.'

(b) txʷwéč cən ceʔ.
txʷ-wéč cən ceʔ
buy-watch I FUT
'I'll buy a watch.'

(c) ni cən txʷká·.
ni cən txʷ-ká·
AUX I buy-car
'I bought a car.'

### 12.2.4. *ł-*$_1$ 'partake, experience'

*łqáʔ* 'drink water' (< *qáʔ* 'water'; cf. *qáʔqaʔ* 'drink')
łtí 'drink tea' (< *tí* 'tea')
*łčém* 'eat "jam"' (< *čém* 'jam, any canned fruit')

*łčémt* 'make it into "jam"' (DK)
*łp̓áx̌əm* 'smoke (v.)' (cf. *sp̓áx̌əm* 'smoke [n.]')
*łk̓ʷək̓ʷíʔxʷ* 'be chewing gum' (< *k̓ʷíʔxʷ* 'pitch')
*łk̓ʷálk̓ʷəl̓ə* 'be having a bellyache' (< *k̓ʷál̓ə* 'belly')
*łqál̓qəl̓ə ~ cłqál̓ə ~ cłqáʔqələ* 'thirsty' (cf. *qáʔ* 'water')
*łx̌ʷáx̌ʷəsəm* 'eat whipped soapberries' (cf. *sx̌ʷésəm* 'soapberries')

The last may be a progressive in the pattern of *qʷél* 'speak,' *qʷáqʷəl̓* 'be speaking.'

### 12.2.5. *x̓-* 'go to'

*x̓táwən* 'go to town' (< *táwən* 'town')
*x̓néc̓əwtxʷ* 'visit, call on a neighbour' (< *néc̓əwtxʷ* 'next door, next room')

### 12.2.6. *cł-* 'die of'

*cłlém* 'die of drink' (< *lém* 'liquor,' < E. 'rum')
*cłqənxʷíləm* 'die of overeating' (< *qánəxʷ* 'gullet,' *-íləm* 'move toward'; cf. *sqánəxʷ* 'greedy')
*cłt̓ᶿáx̌tən* 'die of poison' (< *t̓ᶿáx̌tən* 'poison')

### 12.2.7. *xʷ-*$_2$ 'move toward'

With stems referring to location, *xʷ-*$_2$ seems to function as a verbalizer implying motion toward, as in:

*xʷcákʷ* 'go far' (< *cákʷ* 'far')
*xʷcál̓əqʷ* 'go up into the woods' (< *cál̓əqʷ* 'the woods, back country')
*xʷcícəł* 'go high' (< *cícəł* 'above')
*xʷcáw̓cəw̓* 'go out from shore' (< *cáw̓cəw̓* 'the offing')

It may co-occur with the suffix *-əl ~ -íl ~ -íləm* (§12.3.1), which has a similar function, as in:

*xʷx̓píl* 'go straight down into the ground' (< *x̓píl* 'go downward')
*xʷíwəl* 'move upstream, move toward the middle of the house' (< *híwəl* 'move closer to the fire')
*xʷcél* 'go where' (< √*cə-*, cf. *cástəxʷ* 'do what with it')

## 12.3. VERBAL SUFFIXES

There are four of these. The first is not always verbalizing since the root may itself be verbal.

### 12.3.1. *-əl ~ -íl* 'move toward, turn to, become'

This is very productive and can be followed by transitive and intransitive suffixes.

*ʔáx̌qəl* ‘go/come out’ (cf. *sʔéx̌q* ‘outside’)
*ʔəx̌qílt* ‘kick out (a sponger, spouse, etc.)’ (cf. *ʔáx̌qəl*)
*híwəl* ‘move toward the fire’ (cf. *híwx* ‘bring forward’)
*xʷíwəl* ‘go/come upstream’ (probably //xʷ-híwəl//, cf. *ʔəhíẇ* ‘upstream’)
*yəl̓éwəl* ‘get past’ (cf. *yəl̓éw* ‘past, passed,’ *yəl̓éẇx* ‘pass him’)
*x̌ípíl* ‘move downward, sink, go/come downstairs’ (prog. *x̌ípəl̓*, < *x̌íp* ‘deep’; cf. *x̌íx̌əp* ‘down’)
*x̌pílx* ‘sink it’ (cf. *x̌píl*, also *x̌píləstəxʷ* ‘sink it, abandon it’)
*qʷáyəl* ‘turn pale’ (cf. *cqʷáy* ‘yellow, green, pale’)
*qəlqí·l* ‘be ruined’ (< *qə́l* ‘bad,’ probably //qəlqə́ləl//)
*qəlqí·lt* ‘ruin it’ (cf. *qəlqí·l*)
*téwəl* ‘get light, dawn’ (cf. *téwət* ‘light it, throw a light on it’)

The compound suffix *-íləm* is *-il* plus *-əm* ‘intransitive’:

*həqíləm* ‘go under (a bed, house, etc.)’ (cf. *síʔq* ‘underneath,’ *híqət* ‘put it under’)
*wəq̓ʷíləm* ‘go/come downstream’ (< *wəq̓ʷ* ‘drift, float with the current’)
*ɬəl̓íləm* ‘move back from the fire, away from the centre of the house’ (cf. *ɬélx* ‘move it back from the fire, move it from the centre of the house’)
*xʷckʷíləm* ‘go far away’ (< *cákʷ* ‘far’)
*xc̓íləm* ‘go into the woods’ (cf. *xíc̓ət* ‘put it into the woods, thrust it in,’ *sxíxəc̓* ‘the woods, the bush’)
*kʷətxʷíləm* ‘go/come inside’ (cf. *kʷtáxʷ* ‘get inside’)
*qʷəhíləm* ‘go through’ (cf. *qʷé* ‘get through’)
*ʔəy̓íləm* ‘become clear (the weather)’ (< *ʔáy̓* ‘good’)
*x̌əxʷlaʔasíləm* ‘go to nothing, become worthless’ (< *x̌əxʷláʔas* ‘of no value’)
*qaʔqəʔíləm* ‘get the drinking habit’ (< *qáʔqaʔ* ‘drink’)

### 12.3.2. *-í·m* ‘die from’

This is possibly composed of some element of the shape //-əR-// and the suffix *-əm* ‘intransitive.’ It has not been recorded in many words. It may require a prefix *c-* or *s-*.

(a) niʔ cṯ̓ayəʔí·m. (CC)
niʔ c-ṯ̓áyə-í·m
AUX get-fur.seal-die.from
‘They died hunting fur seals.’

(b) niʔ sx̌̓qiɬí·m. (CC)
niʔ s-x̌̓qíɬ-í·m
AUX NOM[?]-give.birth-die.from
‘She died in childbirth.’

(c) cx̌ənx̌íˑm. (JP 4)
c-x̌íləx̌-íˑm
get[?]-make.war-die.from
‘“fallen in battle”’

The last example is something Raven says in a myth. Presumably the /n/ for /l/ is old-fashioned Musqueam.

### 12.3.3. *-áˑɬ* ‘travel by’

There is a word *ʔáˑɬ* ‘go aboard,’ and so words in which *-áˑɬ* appears as the second element might be considered compounds. However, compounds are rare or non-existent (in the present analysis) and besides, the meaning of *-áˑɬ* is not identical with that of *ʔáˑɬ*. Therefore *-áˑɬ* is listed here as a suffix. There is also a possible lexical suffix *-aˑɬ* ‘canoe, vehicle’ (§13.6, 32), for which I have only two clear attestations. In the sense ‘travel by,’ *-aˑɬ* appears to be fully productive.

(a) ném̓ ct wékən-àˑɬ. (CC 7)
go we wagon-travel.by
‘We’ll go by wagon.’

(b) ni ct nem̓ t̓θíkt̓θik-àˑɬ. (JP)
AUX we go wagon-travel.by
‘We went by wagon.’

(c) báysikl-àˑɬ čxʷ (JP)
bicycle-travel.by you
‘Use your bike.’

In (a), AC used a term for ‘wagon’ borrowed from English, while in (b), JP used one from Chinook Jargon.

*snáxəʷɬàˑɬ* ‘go by canoe’ (JP)
*lilúˑtàˑɬ* ‘go by train’ (JP) (> *lilút* > ‘railroad’)

### 12.3.4. *-áməx ~ -áˑməx* ‘look, appear’

The form *-áməx* is usual, as in:

*scəkʷəláməx* ‘how does it look?’ (< *scékʷəl̓* ‘how?’)
*ʔəy̓áməx* ‘pretty, handsome’ (< *ʔáy̓* ‘good’)
*qəláməx* ‘ugly’ (< *qál* ‘bad’)
*nəc̓áməx* ‘look different’ (< *néc̓* ‘different’)

The form *-áˑməx* was recorded in one word: *təʔáˑməx* ‘resemble’ (< *teʔ-* ‘be like’; cf. *steʔé* ‘like’). But perhaps the long vowel is a product of the root having a form *teʔe*. This word is used as in (a), (b), and (c).

(a) təʔá·məx [ʔə] ḵʷə məstə́yəxʷ. (JP)
resemble OBL ART person
'It looks like a person.'

(b) təʔá·məx ʔə kʷə təwx̌a [ʔə] x̌ ʔé·nθə.
resemble ROG then he OBL ART me
'Does he look like me?'

(c) ni ʔə cən kʷə təʔá·məx [ʔə] təwx̌a.
AUX ROG I then resemble OBL him
'Do I look like him?'

## 12.4. MISCELLANEOUS LEXICAL PREFIXES

There are a few prefixes with lexical meaning and less clear grammatical status than those presented under §12.2. They have not been recorded as co-occurring.

### 12.4.1. *mə-* 'come'

This is identifiable with the verb *ʔəm̓í* 'come' and in some contexts might easily be interpreted as *ʔəm̓i* used as an auxiliary. However, this interpretation is shown to be false by (a).

(a) səw mətécəls tə léləm̓ct. (CC 21)
s-wə-mə-técəl-s [ʔə] tə léləm̓-ct
NOM-EST-come-arrive.here-3POS OBL ART house-our
'Then she came to our house.'

Here the fact that the possessive *-s* follows *mətécəl* (rather than *mə*) shows that *mətə́cəl* is treated here as a single word, and *mə-* as a prefix. This might also be seen as a case of compounding.

This prefix has been recorded in:

*mətécəl* 'come here' (< *técəl* 'arrive here')
*məq̓á·nθət* 'come back here' (< *q̓á·nθət* 'return')
*məq̓ʷím* 'come ashore' (< *q̓ʷím* 'disembark')
*mək*ʷ*ánət* 'bring it' (< *k*ʷ*ánət* 'take it')
*mət́ák̓*ʷ*stəx*ʷ 'bring him home' (< *t́ák̓*ʷ*stəx*ʷ 'take him home')

### 12.4.2. *təm-* 'time of, season for'

*təmtém* 'when' (cf. *stém* 'what')
*təmlíleʔ* 'salmonberry season' (< *líleʔ* 'salmonberry')
*təmx̌áy̓x̌* 'winter' (< *x̌áy̓x̌* 'cold')

The prefix *tən-* ~ *tən̓-* in the following is probably a variant of the last:

*tənmíłə ~ təmmíłə* ‘winter dancing season’ (< *míłə* ‘dance possessed with one’s “song” [syə́wən]’) (CC)
*təm̓q*$^{w}$*átq*$^{w}$*ətxən* ‘period of continuous fog’ (cf. *sq*$^{w}$*átxən* ‘fog,’ *q*$^{w}$*iq*$^{w}$*tím̓xən* ‘drizzle’) (JP)

For others, see §22.2.7.

### 12.4.3. *tən-* ‘from’

*tənyíx* ‘a wet south wind’ (< √*yíx* ‘Puget Sound’; cf. *x*$^{w}$*əyíxəl* ‘Lushootseed speakers,’ *šx*$^{w}$*əyíxəlaʔɬ* ‘southern, of Puget Sound’)
*təncál̓əq*$^{w}$ ‘a squally west wind, “bush wind” from over Vancouver Island’ (< *cál̓əq*$^{w}$ ‘inland, “the bush”’)
*tənsx̌é·m* ‘a kind of “song” [syə́wən] that comes from crying’ (< *x̌é·m* ‘cry,’ *s-* ‘nominalizer’)
*tənsiʔém̓* ‘upper-class, from high-class people’ (< *siʔém̓* ‘rich, upper-class person’)
*tənsɬ̓éxəm* ‘of lower-class origin’ (< *sɬ̓éxəm* ‘lower-class group’)
*tənsc̓əléx*$^{w}$ ‘people from *sc̓əlex*$^{w}$ ‘p.n., the upper end of the Musqueam village’
*təns*$^{ʔ}$*əx̌qál̓wəɬ* ‘outsider, someone from outside the family’ (< *s*$^{ʔ}$*əx̌qál̓wəɬ* ‘outside’)

The prefix *təl-*, a variant of the last, is so far identified in the following words only. It may appear only before a glottal stop.

*təl̓ánəcə* ‘from where?’ (< *ʔánəcə* ‘where?’)
*təl̓í* (JP), *təlíʔ* (CC) ‘from’ (< *ʔí* ‘be here’)
*təl̓əθnəc* ‘a rainy southeast wind’ (< *sʔáθnəc* ‘bay’)
*šx*$^{w}$*təl̓á·wməx*$^{w}$ ‘where one is from’ (< *šx*$^{w}$- ‘where/why,’ -aw- ‘connector,’ *-məx*$^{w}$ ‘place, people’)

### 12.4.4. *tx*$^{w}$-$_{2}$ ‘(something) belonging to’

This seems to be used only with *wét* ‘who’ and with personal names.

(a) tx$^{w}$-wét ti$^{ʔ}$í.
belonging.to-who this
‘Whose is this?’

(b) tx$^{w}$-John tθe$^{ʔ}$.
belonging.to-John that
‘That’s John’s.’

(c) x̌̓a c̓ə k$^{w}$θə tx$^{w}$-Arnold. (AG)
BE3P QUOT that belonging.to-Arnold
‘It’s said to be the one that’s Arnold’s.’

Compare (c) with (d):

(d) ƛ̓a c̓ə swe ʔ ə ƛ̓ Arnold. (AG)
BE3P QUOT property OBL ART Arnold
'It is said to be Arnold's.'

### 12.4.5. *tx*$^{w}$*-*$_{3}$ 'remaining, only'

*tx*$^{w}$*k̓*$^{w}$*ín* 'how many more?' (< *k̓*$^{w}$*ín* 'how many?')
*tx*$^{w}$*nə́c̓aʔ* 'one more' (< *nə́c̓aʔ* 'one')
*tx*$^{w}$*áy* 'be only, be an exception, except for' (< *háy* 'be stipulated')
*wətx*$^{w}$*st̓*$^{θ}$*áṁ ʔal̓* 'nothing but bones, skinny' (< *st̓*$^{θ}$*áṁ* 'bone,' *wə- ... ʔal̓* 'only')

### 12.4.6. *ł-*$_{2}$ 'portion'

*łθə́ləq* 'some, a part' (cf. *θə́ləqθət* 'separate')
*łsə́q̓* 'half (portion of meat, a dollar, etc.)' (< *sə́q̓* 'be split, be torn')
*łt̓ə́q̓*$^{w}$ 'half (a stick, bone, etc.)' (< *t̓ə́q̓*$^{w}$ 'break')
*łspéləw* 'members of the Sparrow [surname] family'

### 12.4.7. *c̓ł-* 'fellow, co-'

This can be prefixed to nouns and a variety of verb forms.

*c̓łx*$^{w}$*ə́lməx*$^{w}$ 'fellow villagers, fellow Indians' (< *x*$^{w}$*ə́lməx*$^{w}$ 'village, tribe, Indian')
*c̓łx̌é·m* 'deceased child's spouse's parent, child's deceased spouse's parent' (i.e., 'co-parent-in-law after the death of a linking child,' lit. 'co-weeper,' < *x̌é·m* 'cry')
*c̓łʔəq̓*$^{w}$*íʔtəl̓* 'siblings and cousins' (< *ʔəq̓*$^{w}$*íʔtəl̓* 'be related as siblings or cousins')
*c̓łk*$^{w}$*íntəl̓* 'opponent in a fight' (< *k*$^{w}$*íntəl̓* 'fight')
*c̓łstéʔex*$^{w}$*əł* 'the other children' (lit. 'co-kids,' < *stéʔex*$^{w}$*əł* 'children')
*c̓łwét* 'someone you share with' (lit. 'co-owner,' < *wéʔ* 'own' or *wét* 'who?')
*c̓łmántəl̓* 'half-sibling with the same father' (< *mén* 'father,' *-təl̓* 'mutual')
*tə siʔéṁ ni c̓łq*$^{w}$*íq*$^{w}$*əltəl̓s* 'the big man he was talking with' (< *q*$^{w}$*íq*$^{w}$*əltəl̓* 'be talking together,' *-s* 'his'; lit. 'the rich man who was his interlocutor') (JP 3)

### 12.4.8. *x*$^{w}$*-*$_{3}$ 'inward'

A prefixed *x*$^{w}$- occurs in a large number of words. In many, its meaning and functions are, as yet, quite unclear. The label 'inward' is meant as a catch-all for occurrences of *x*$^{w}$- that have not been segregated under the labels 'move toward' and 'oblique relater.' I am assuming that all occurrences can ultimately be placed in one of these three categories. It may be that there are more than

three homophonous prefixes, or, on the other hand, there may be only one that has developed a wide range of meaning and function.

The notions inward, inhering, possessing seem to be conveyed by *xʷ-* in a number of sorts of words. Some of these are:

(1) Active verbs, such as:

*xʷcə́ləẇt* 'turn it inside out' (< *cə́ləẇt* 'turn it over, as a featherbed')
*xʷƛ̓xéx̌ət* 'cut it open, break it open' (< *ƛ̓xét* 'open it, as a can,' *-éx̌ən* 'side')

(2) With lexical suffixes. The prefix *xʷ-* occurs often, though not always, with *-íwən* 'behind/inside,' *-qən* 'throat/voice/speech,' and *-łél-* 'food'; it occurs fairly often with *-as* in the sense 'face,' but not 'moon, dollar'; and it occurs occasionally with others.

It is possible that some of these suffixes simply attract or require an accompanying *xʷ-*, but it seems also possible to identify this *xʷ-* with a locative 'in' or 'on' or a possessive 'with' or 'having,' although it is not possible to say why it should occur in one word and not in another. Compare the following with *xʷ-:*

*xʷθá·s* 'with a big face'
*xʷθəhíwən* 'with a big behind'
*xʷθíqən* 'loud' (lit. 'big-voiced')
*xʷθé·q* 'with a big penis'
*xʷc̓q̓ʷíwən* 'get pricked in the behind'
*xʷmaƛ̓łéləm* 'repay food'

with the following without *xʷ-:*

*θá·qʷ* 'big headed'
*θíqsən* 'with a big nose'
*θəháyəθən* 'with a big mouth'
*θiʔáləs* 'with big eyes'
*θé·q* 'with a big penis' (JP)
*c̓q̓ʷá·łcə* 'get pricked in the belly'
*c̓q̓ʷínəs* 'get pricked in the chest'
*maƛ̓é·lɨ̓θeʔ* 'repay wealth'

(3) In words concerned with opening and shutting, such as:

*xʷtə́q* 'shut (intr., as a door does)' (< *tə́q* 'be cut off, be taken by surprise')
*xʷtəqét* (CC), *təqét* (JP) 'shut it (anything vertical, as a door)'
*xʷwéɨ̓θt* 'lock it' (< *wéɨ̓θt* 'pry it')
*xʷləklít* 'lock it' (< *ləklí* 'key' [< F. *le clef* via CJ])
*xʷméʔx* 'unlock it' (< *méʔx* 'take it off, remove it')
*xʷyə́x̌ʷət* 'unlock it' (< *yə́x̌ʷət* 'untie it, free it')

(4) In words referring to mental states, such as:

*xʷx̌íʔ* 'stingy with money' (< *x̌íʔ* 'expensive, difficult')
*xʷlíl̓əq* 'generous' (< *líl̓əq* 'cheap, easy')
*xʷsíʔsiʔ* 'afraid, cowardly' (< *síʔsiʔ* 'fear')
*xʷqálwəł* 'mean, tough person' (< *qál* 'bad,' *-wəł* 'vessel')

(5) In place names. *xʷ-* occurs in a number of place names and in a few words for kinds of places, all formed from the names of plants or animals and often with the suffix *-əm* 'intransitive.' The sense of *xʷ-* here seems to be 'where there is/are –' or 'having –.' For example:

*xʷmáθkʷəy̓əm* 'p.n., Musqueam' (< *máθkʷəy̓* 'a species of plant')
*xʷqíməḵʷəm* 'p.n., a spring at Musqueam' (< *sqíməḵʷ* 'octopus,' once there in a legend)
*xʷsáʔq̓ʷ* 'p.n., a stream near Pitt Lake' (< *sáʔq̓ʷ* 'cow parsnip')
*xʷméc̓ənəłp* 'p.n., a site near St. Mungo's Cannery' (< *méc̓ənəłp* 'black haw')
*xʷc̓àl̓əḵʷáʔəm̓* 'a place where many skunk cabbages *(c̓áʔḵʷaʔ)* grow'
*xʷwəlwíʔl̓əłp* 'a place where nothing but tules *(wíʔl̓)* grow'

(6) In words for states of water or weather. These are formed, like those of the last set, with *-əm*.
*xʷʔáy̓əm* 'clear (water)' (< *ʔáy̓* 'good')
*xʷqáləm* 'murky' (< *qál* 'bad')
*xʷx̌ʷíʔm* 'be flowing fast' (< *x̌ʷáʔm* //xʷ-x̌ʷáʔm-əm// 'fast')
*xʷʔánəxʷəm* 'be slack water' (< *ʔánəxʷ* 'stop')
*xʷʔáθtè·nəm* 'become cloudy' (cf. *šxʷʔéθtən* 'cloud')

(7) With the meaning 'vulva.' This appears to be the only instance of a body-part prefix, the counterpart of the various suffixes referring to body parts. It occurs in:

*xʷθí* 'big vulva' (< *θí* 'big')
*xʷʔáy̓* 'clean vulva' (< *ʔáy̓* 'good, clean')
*xʷkʷənét* 'put one's hand on a woman's vulva'
*šxʷqʷín* 'woman's pubic hair' (cf. *qʷínəws* 'body hair,' *qʷíneq* 'male pubic hair')

and possibly in *xʷmáq̓ʷ* 'miscarry' (< *máq̓ʷ* 'burst').

In this set of words, does *xʷ-* have a meaning such as 'inward' used euphemistically or is there a missing lexical suffix that was deleted euphemistically?

(8) A prefix *nəxʷ-* apparently identical with *xʷ-* 'inward' has been recorded in one word only: *nəxʷməθkʷəyəmíẇs* 'a person originally from Musqueam but now living somewhere else' (< *xʷmáθkʷəy̓əm* 'Musqueam,' *-iẇs* 'body').

### 12.4.9. *wə-*$_3$ 'suddenly, with a burst'

Perhaps this should be classed with the aspectual prefixes. (For AG and perhaps others for whom *wə-*$_2$ is *ʔu-* or *ʔuʔ-* this is still *wə-*.) Its use is illustrated in (a) to (e).

(a) nəwł wəpə́ǩʷ tə sp̓áx̌əms. (CC)
ni wəł wə-pə́ǩʷ tə
AUX already suddenly-burst.forth.in.small.particles ART
sp̓áx̌əm-s
smoke-3POS
'His smoke has appeared. His smoke has suddenly burst out.'

(b) ni wəpə́ǩʷ kʷθə pá·ǩʷ. (AG)
ni wə-pə́ǩʷ kʷθə
AUX suddenly-burst.forth.in.small.particles ART
pá·ǩʷ
mature.Chinook.salmon
'The big old spring salmon splashed.'

The root √*pə́ǩʷ*, which appears in the last two examples, has not been recorded as such, but it appears in *pǩʷəm* 'billow forth, splash forth,' *pǩʷə́t* 'scatter it about (fine stuff like down),' *spǩʷə́m* 'dust,' and *spə́ǩʷ* 'flour.'

(c) ni cən cə́q̓ kʷsis wəkʷtə́xʷ. (DK)
ni cən cə́q̓ kʷ s-ni-s wə-kʷtə́xʷ
AUX I be.surprised ART NOM-AUX-3POS suddenly-enter
'I was surprised when she walked in [suddenly entered].'

(d) xʷənsnét i niwəł wəhíq. (AG)
xʷən-snét ʔəy̓ ni wəł-wə-híq
still-night and AUX already-suddenly-shove.off
'It was still night when he shoved off [suddenly launched his canoe].'

(e) ni wəkʷéc kʷθə ni· ǩʷí. (AG)
ni wə-kʷéc kʷθə ni ʔə ǩʷí
AUX suddenly-scream ART be.there OBL there
'There was a sudden scream over there.' (lit. 'An invisible one who is over there suddenly screamed.')

### 12.4.10. *hənˀ-* ~ *həmˀ-* ~ *ʔəmˀ-* ~ *hən-* 'come'

This has been recorded with only a few roots. The variation does not seem to be significant. (CC used *hənˀ-*. JP recognized that some people say *hənˀ-* but he generally said *həmˀ-* or *ʔəmˀ-*. AG used *hən-*.)

*həm̓céw* ‘come down to the shore’ (pl. *həm̓céləw*, cf. *cécəw* ‘shore’) (also figuratively ‘return from the dead’)
*həm̓cáwəyəs* ‘come back to life’ (cf. < *cécəw* ‘shore,’ *-əs* ‘face’?)
*həncál̓əqʷ* ‘get up to the house from the shore’ (< *cál̓əqʷ* ‘inland’) (AG)
*həm̓ámət* ‘get home’ (< *ʔámət* ‘sit,’ *xʷʔám̓ət* ‘be home’) (AG)
*hənxʷé* ‘get down (as from up in a tree)’ (cf. *xʷét* ‘lower it’) (AG)

# 13
# Non-Personal Affixes 4: Lexical Suffixes

It is possible to isolate nearly 150 elements that may be lexical suffixes or connectives plus lexical suffixes. About 100 occur in enough words to be clearly identifiable in meaning. A good many of these are very productive. Others have been recorded in only one or two words each and so are less easily glossed. Some can be identified only as possible lexical suffixes.

## 13.1. FORMS

The lexical suffixes themselves (disregarding the connectives) have a variety of forms: -C, -VC, -VCC, -CVC, -VCVC, -VCCC. Glottalized obstruents occur but seem less common in lexical suffixes than in roots.

The lexical suffixes are often joined to the root by a connective element that consists of a vowel – /ə/, /e/, or /a/ – plus a resonant – /l/, /w/, or /y/, with or without glottalization. With some lexical suffixes, the connective seems to add little or nothing to the meaning; for example, *-txʷ, -əltxʷ, -əwtxʷ,* and *-éwtxʷ* all seem to mean 'house.' But with others the connective appears to give a more restricted meaning, for example, *-éx̌ən* 'side, perimeter' and *-əléx̌ən* 'arm.'

Several lexical suffixes have alternate forms with a final *-ən,* such as *-aθ, -aθən,* etc., 'mouth,' etc.; *-ic, -icən,* etc. 'back,' etc.; and *-əqs, -əqsən,* etc. 'nose,' etc.

A few have long vowels, which are probably the result of the loss of the first of two identical resonants (see §1.5.6); thus, *-é·n* 'side' may be *-ən* 'ear' plus a final *-ən*.

Most lexical suffixes (without or with connectives) have unstressed and stressed variants, often with vowels of different quality. Where the stress falls can depend on the nature of the root, the presence of other suffixes, or the inflection of the whole word for plural, progressive, resultative, and so on (see §7). For a few lexical suffixes, a final /ɬ/ appears as /l/ before *-t* 'transitive,' an alternation not observed elsewhere in the language, and for a few others a final /n/ is lost before *-t* 'transitive.'

These variations have been an obstacle to identifying some lexical suffixes. The problem is further complicated by several cases of complete or partial homophony, where two or three suffixes are homophones in all or some of their variant forms.

The lexical suffixes usually follow bare roots or roots with *s-*$_1$ 'nominalizer.' Instances of a lexical suffix following a grammatical suffix exist but are rare. Instances of one lexical suffix following another are more common (see below). Roots to which lexical suffixes are added appear with different vowel grades, depending in the shape of the root and the type of suffix (see §7). Moreover, with certain suffixes, such as *-as* 'face,' and *-aq*$^w$ 'head,' an /e/ vowel in the root will appear as /a/ (see §1.5.12).

Some lexical suffixes, when used to refer to body parts and food, require (varying with the speaker) the prefix *x*$^w$*-*$_3$ 'inward' (§12.4.8) before the root.

## 13.2. MEANINGS

The lexical suffixes that can be clearly identified as to meaning denote body parts (head, hand, foot, etc.), some artifacts (house, canoe, paddle), some natural phenomena (vegetation, water, fish), a few statuses of persons (child, spouse), a few shapes (round object, long object, container) and parts (surface, edge, end, base), and a few other things less easily categorized.

The "somatic" suffixes (Kuipers 1967, 120), that is, those denoting body parts, form the largest and perhaps most complete set. But there seems to be no basis for setting them off from the others or giving them any kind of primacy. Some of the somatic suffixes can also have non-somatic reference, such as *-əqsən* 'nose, point of land'; *-as* 'face, round object, moon, dollar'; *-qən* 'throat, speech, meal, opening facing upward'; *-áləs* 'eye, net mesh.' In each of these, the somatic meaning may be historically and conceptually primary, but this is conjecture. Other somatic suffixes seem to be formed from suffixes of more general meaning by connectives that restrict to narrower, somatic meaning, as in *-əlέx̌ən* 'arm' from *-éx̌ən* 'side,' *-áyəθən* 'mouth' from *-áθən* 'margin,' and possibly *-əlməx*$^w$ 'breast, milk' from *-məx*$^w$ 'land, people.' Therefore it seems better not to prejudge the lexical suffixes as to primary meaning.[1]

A number of lexical suffixes appear commonly with numeral roots as numerical classifiers (see §19.2), but these too do not form an exclusive set. Most of them occur with other roots or stems. Nor does it seem possible to subcategorize the lexical suffixes on the basis of what grammatical affixes they may take. Some have not been recorded with *-t* 'transitive' or *-əm* 'intransitive,' but the

1 Hinkson (1999) has provided strong circumstantial evidence for the primacy of the body-part meanings of three lexical suffixes and their semantic extensions each in several directions.

reason may lie simply in the nature of things rather than in grammar.[2] Accordingly, I have not tried to sort out the lexical suffixes into types but treat them as a single set.

Many lexical suffixes are broad or abstract in meaning and without synonymous words in the lexicon. For example, there is no single word corresponding in meaning to *-mat* 'kind, part'; *-mən* 'residue'; *-əs* 'round object, face, moon, dollar'; *-éɬ* 'times'; *-qən* 'throat, voice, speech, meal, opening facing upward'; *-wəɬ* 'canoe, vessel, container'; or *-əɬp* 'plant, tree, vegetation.'

Other lexical suffixes, however, are matched by words with the same or closely similar meanings. Compare the suffixes in the left column with the words on the right:

| | |
|---|---|
| *-aqʷ* 'head' | *sx̌áy̓əs* 'head' |
| *-cəs* 'hand, bough' | *céləx* 'hand' |
| *-xən* 'foot, leg' | *sx̌án̓ə* 'foot, leg' |
| *-éwtxʷ* 'house' | *léləm̓* 'house' |
| *-əlweʔs* 'paddle' | *sq̓áməl̓* 'paddle' |

## 13.3. LEXICAL SUFFIXES AND RELATED WORDS

There are also a few instances where the lexical suffix and the word with the same meaning are clearly related. In one instance, the word seems to be no more than the suffix with an initial glottal stop and the prefix *s-*$_{1}$ 'nominalizer':

| | |
|---|---|
| *-ínəs* 'chest, beach' | *sʔíləs* (CC), *sʔínəs* (JP) 'chest' |

In another, a verb root consists of the lexical suffix with the addition of an initial glottal stop and the loss of a final glottal stop. Compare:

| | |
|---|---|
| *-íṯ̓θeʔ* 'robe, clothing' | *ʔíṯ̓θəm* 'get dressed' |
| | *ʔíṯ̓θəx* 'put it on' |
| | *sʔíṯ̓θəm* 'blanket, clothes' |

In a few words, the suffix appears on a single consonant, *m-, t-, y-, θ-:*

| | |
|---|---|
| *-áqsən* 'nose, point' | *máqsən* 'nose' |
| *-ələcən* 'testicles' | *mécən* 'testicle' |
| *-ápsəm* 'neck, nape' | *tápsəm* 'neck, nape' |

2 Leslie (1979, 68-85) separates what I am calling "lexical suffixes" into two groups, "non-inflective suffixes" and "lexical suffixes," asserting that the first group cannot take suffixes of the voice system while the second can. He further divides the second group according to whether they take *-əm* only, *-t, -təl̓,* and *-nəxʷ* only, or all four. However, I have some counter-examples, which I have tried to include in the data presented, and I believe that it is too soon to make any claims of this sort, for Musqueam at any rate.

| | |
|---|---|
| *-éləxʷθəɬ* 'tongue' | *tə́xʷθəɬ* 'tongue' |
| *-məxʷ* 'land, people' | *tə́məxʷ* 'land, earth' |
| *-ə́nəs* 'tooth' | *yə́nəs* 'tooth' |
| *-aθən* 'margin' | *θáθən* 'mouth' |

I have assumed that the initial consonant of the word was simply a dummy root that serves no purpose other than to provide a base for the suffix. However, Kinkade (1998) has argued that these words, *máqsən,* etc., may be the sources of the suffixes. That is, the suffixes were historically produced by lopping off the initial consonant of the free form. A possible example of this process can be seen in *ɬə́m̓xc̓ən* 'fine-tooth comb,' which may be composed of the root of *ɬə́mət* 'pick it/them' and *máxc̓ən̓* 'louse' minus the initial part.

In a few more words, there is a root, *ʔəθ ~ ʔeθ-* or *ʔəl- ~ ʔel-,* with or without *s-* 'nominalizer,' that seems to limit the suffix to a somatic or spatial reference.

| | |
|---|---|
| *-əs* 'round object, etc.' | *sʔáθəs* 'face' |
| *-nəc* 'butt, bay' | *sʔáθnəc* 'bay' |
| *-qən* 'throat, etc.' | *šxʷʔáθəqən* 'inside of throat' |
| *-qən* 'front, etc.' | *ʔéθəqən* 'front' |
| *-əqsən* 'nose, point' | *sʔálqsən* 'point of land' |
| *-éx̌ən* 'side' | *ʔíləx̌ən* 'end of house, road, etc.' |

In these words, it seems to me that the initial element is more likely a root with some (now unclear) semantic content.

Another possible example of the last type is *sʔíˑɬqəy̓* 'two-headed serpent' (which probably has the underlying form //sʔíləɬqəy̓//; cf. Cowichan and Northern Straits *sʔínəɬqəy̓*), which seems to be composed of an element *ʔil-* of unknown meaning and *ʔáɬqəy̓* 'snake.'

The word *sx̌áx̌əɬnet* 'Sunday, week' (< *x̌éʔx̌eʔ* 'holy') and a few others are formed with a linking element *-ɬ-,* which may be a reduction of *-aʔɬ* 'attributive,' and *nét* 'become night.' These terms, which are clearly of modern origin, might be identified as compounds (Gerdts and Hinkson 1996, 3) or as containing a new lexical suffix. I have listed them as containing a lexical suffix, number 34 in §13.6 (see also §22.2.3).

## 13.4. RELATIONS BETWEEN SUFFIX AND ROOT

Roots and lexical suffixes can be combined to relate to each other in different ways (roots and suffixes playing different grammatical roles) and to produce words that have different grammatical functions (as verbs, adjectives, or nouns). We can categorize these complex words by their type of root, the grammatical relation between root and suffix, and the grammatical functions that they have.

### 13.4.1. With Verbal Roots

A lexical suffix can be related to a verbal root as patient, locus, or instrument, that is, in a role played in syntax by an adjunct, or as head with the root as modifier.

#### *13.4.1.1. Root and Suffix Related as Verb and Patient, Locus, or Instrument*

This is probably the largest class of words with lexical suffixes. They are all verbs.

Words of this type may occur without any additional suffixes, being then necessarily intransitive:

*łáċcəs* 'get one's hand cut, cut one's hand (accidentally)' (< *łíċ-* 'cut,' *-cəs* 'hand')
*ləkʷá·yθən* 'get one's mouth broken' (< *ləkʷ* 'get broken,' *-áyəθən* 'mouth')
*ċálcəs* 'switch sides when paddling' (< *ċál-* 'switch,' *-cəs* 'hand')
*səwq̓ánəp* 'seek land to settle on' (< *sáwq̓* 'seek,' *-ənəp* 'land')
*t̓xʷálcəp* 'bring down firewood' (< *t̓áxʷ* 'move down to shore,' *-álcəp* 'fire, firewood')

Words of this type can also appear with suffixes of the voice system (see §10), except for the reflexive suffixes *-θət* and so on.

*łáċcəst* 'cut his hand' (< *łíċ-* 'cut,' *-cəs* 'hand,' *-t* 'tr.')
*łáċcəsnəxʷ* 'cut him on the hand (accidentally)' (< *-nəxʷ* 'tr. limited control')
*kʷəkʷánəcəstəl̓* 'be shaking hands' (cf. *kʷánət* 'take it,' *kʷánəcəs* 'take his hand,' *-təl̓* 'reciprocal')

Following lexical suffixes, a reflexive (or middle voice) sense is conveyed by *-əm* 'intransitive.' Compare the following pairs:

*xʷt̓ʰθx̌ʷást* 'wash his [another's] face' (< *xʷ-* 'inward,' *t̓ʰθə́x̌ʷ* 'get washed,' *-ás* 'face')
*xʷt̓ʰθx̌ʷásəm* 'wash one's [own] face'

*łíċaqʷt* 'cut one's hair' (< *łíċ-* 'cut,' *-aqʷ* 'head')
*łíċaqʷəm* 'get a haircut'

*θəyéʔłt* 'make his bed' (cf. *θáyt* 'fix it,' *-éʔł* 'bedding')
*θəyéʔłəm* 'make one's bed'

*xʷʔəlx̌łé·lt* 'go get food for him' (cf. *ʔáləx̌ət* 'go get it,' *-łél-* 'food')
*xʷʔəlx̌téləm* 'go get food for oneself'

There are also forms with *-əm* 'intransitive' where this suffix does not appear to have a reflexive meaning, as in *xəłáməy̓łəm* 'take care of a [anyone's] child' (cf. *xáʔłəmət* 'look after him, take care of it,' *-áy̓əł* 'child').

In most words of this type, the lexical suffix probably relates to the verb as patient. In a word like *xʷʔəlx̌łé·lt* 'go get food for him,' there seems to be no question that the suffix denotes a patient and also functions as an applicative (see §10.4), allowing the recipient to appear as the grammatical object.

In words containing a suffix referring to a body part, this suffix might be seen as locative, for example, in *xʷt̓ᵊx̌ʷát* as literally 'wash him on the face,' *lə́c̓cəs* as literally 'get cut on the hand.' Gerdts (1981) has argued, however, that these body-part suffixes denote patients and allow their possessors to appear as grammatical objects.

In the following word, it seems that the suffix denotes a patient and allows the instrument to appear as the grammatical object: *xʷləm̓łé·lt* 'throw it into the fire' (< *lám̓* 'get hit by something thrown'; cf. *lám̓ət* 'hit him with something thrown,' *-łél-* 'fire').

On the other hand, the suffix pretty clearly denotes a locus rather than a patient in the following:

*ʔə̀łtənáθən* 'eat along the way' (< *ʔə́łtən* 'eat,' *-áθən* 'margin, edge')
*xʷq̓əwílt* 'go with him in a canoe' (< *xʷ-* 'inward,' *q̓áʔ* 'accompany,' *-wíl-* ~ *-wəł* 'canoe')
*kʷéʔcəs* 'drop it from the hand' (cf. *kʷéʔt* 'drop it, let it go,' *-cəs* 'hand')

And the suffix denotes an instrument in the following examples:

*k̓ʷcáləs* 'see with one's own eyes' (< *k̓ʷéc* 'see,' *-áləs* 'eye')
*xʷʔə́w̓cəst* 'show him with the hands how something is done' (< *xʷ-* 'oblique,' *ʔíw̓-* 'understand'; cf. *ʔíwəs* 'show, guide,' *-cəs* 'hand')
*kʷəxʷqsə́nəm* 'peck (as a woodpecker)' (cf. *kʷáxʷət* 'knock on it,' *-əqsən* 'nose')
*yəp̓èp̓əƛ̓xéṅəm̓* 'be feeling along with the feet (in shallow water looking for cockles)' (< *yə-* 'along,' *p̓éƛ̓-* 'feel,' *-xən* 'foot')

### *13.4.1.2. Root and Suffix Related as Modifier and Head*

These are words that function as nouns, the root specifying the kind, by function or source, and the suffix designating the class (cf. §13.3.3.2 below):

*ʔitətéwtxʷ* 'hotel' (< *ʔítət* 'sleep,' *-éwtxʷ* 'house')
*qiq̓éwtxʷ* 'jail' (< *qíq̓* 'be bound, be put to jail')
*téyəwəł* 'racing canoe' (< *téy* 'race,' *-əwəł* 'canoe, vessel')
*x̌iləx̌áwəł* 'battleship' (< *x̌íləx̌* 'make war')
*łałək̓ʷə́wəł* 'flying machine, airplane' (< *łáłək̓ʷ* 'be flying')
*k̓ʷəyəkʷə́l̓xən* 'trolling line' (< *k̓ʷú·yəkʷ* 'troll,' *-əl̓xən* 'line')

This interpretation also seems possible for words with three other suffixes:

(1) The large number of words for instruments formed with the suffix *-tən ~ -təṅ ~ -tén,* such as:

*ṗə́ṫ$^{θ}$tən* 'needle' (< *ṗéṫ$^{θ}$* 'sew')
*łə́k̓$^{w}$tən* 'gaff hook' (cf. *łík̓$^{w}$ət* 'hook it')
*sə́l̓səl̓tən* 'spindle' (cf. *sə́lət* 'spin it')
*q̓$^{w}$éʔtən* 'broom' (cf. *q̓$^{w}$éʔt* 'sweep it')
*ƛ̓əx̌$^{w}$tén* 'blanket' (< *ƛ̓ə́x̌$^{w}$* 'get covered')
*ṫ$^{θ}$əx̌$^{w}$tén* 'cleansing rite' (< *ṫ$^{θ}$ə́x̌$^{w}$* 'get washed')

(2) Words formed with the suffix *-mən ~ -məṅ* 'instrument' (probably not productive):

*k̓$^{w}$q$^{w}$ə́mən* 'ax' (< *k̓$^{w}$áq$^{w}$* 'get hit with a clubbing motion')
*łə́ṫəməṅ* 'herring rake' (cf. *łṫét* 'flick it,' *łə́ṫəm* 'catch herring with a rake')

3) Words formed with the suffix *-mən ~ -eṁən* 'residue':

*lək$^{w}$éṁən* 'something broken (as the broken end of a stick)' (< *lə́k$^{w}$* 'break, get broken')
*łə́c̓mən* 'sawdust' (< *łíc̓-* 'cut')

### 13.4.2. With Adjective Roots

It seems that an adjective root and a lexical suffix can be related only as modifier and head, as in:

*θíqsən* 'big-nosed' (< *θí* 'big,' *-əqsən* 'nose')
*ƛ̓əqətə́psəm* 'long-necked' (< *ƛ̓éqt* 'long,' *-ə́psəm* 'neck')
*ƛ̓əqtél̓c̓* 'long-haired' (< *ƛ̓éqt* 'long,' *-el̓c̓* 'hair, line')
*ṗq̓ə́l̓qən* 'mountain goat' (< *ṗə́q̓* 'white,' *-əl̓qən* 'pelt')
*x̌eʔx̌eʔə́yəł* 'abnormal baby' (< *x̌eʔx̌eʔ* 'holy, forbidden,' *-əy̓əł* 'child')

Some of these words, like the last two above, are nominal in meaning, but most words of this type are adjectival in meaning. For example, *θíqsən* must be glossed 'big-nosed' or 'having a big nose' rather than simply 'big nose.' Compare (a) and (b):

(a) θíqsən tθeʔ. (AG)
θi-əqsən tθeʔ
big-nose that
'He has a big nose.'

(b) θí mə́qsən tθeʔ. (AG)
big nose that
'That's a big nose.'

These words may be used predicatively, as is *θíqsən* above, or attributively, as in (c) and (d).

(c) kʷθə θíqsən sqʷəméy̓ (AG)
kʷθə θi-əqsən sqʷəméy̓
ART big-nose dog
'the big-nosed dog'

(d) θə x̌əqtél̓c̓ q̓ém̓əy̓ (AG)
θə x̌éqt-él̓c̓ q̓ém̓əy̓
ART long-hair girl
'the long-haired girl'

Some lexical suffixes can form adjectives that can modify nouns of similar but narrower meaning, as in (e) to (g).

(e) kʷθə p̓q̓áls smé·nt (JP, AG)
kʷθə p̓áq̓-als smé·nt
ART white-spherical.object rock
'the white rock'

(f) tə sθé·łp θqét (AG)
tə s-θi-əłp θqét
ART NOM-big-vegetation tree
'the big tree'

(g) ʔəxʷínəẇs číkən (JP)
ʔəxʷín̓-iẇs číkən
small-body/bird chicken
'small chicken'

Words formed from numeral roots (see §19) have the same relationship to the nouns they modify, as in (h) and (i).

(h) tə nác̓əqən sítən (JP 4)
tə nác̓aʔ-əqən̓ sítən
ART one-container basket
'one basket'

(i) tə t̓x̌ám-ələ słənłénəy̓ (JP 4)
ART six-person women
'six women'

However, it seems that a suffix cannot appear with a noun of closely similar meaning; for example, one cannot say ***tə x̌əqtél̓c̓ méqən* 'long(-haired) hair.' These restrictions need to be explored.

### 13.4.3. With Noun Roots

A noun root or stem (as a root with *s-* 'nominalizer') and a lexical suffix can be related in one of two opposite ways, as head and modifier (the root or

stem designating the genus and the suffix the species) or as modifier and head (vice versa).

### *13.4.3.1. Related as Head and Modifier*

When a suffix denoting a body part follows a noun root or stem, it can have the sense of a noun possessor or the first member of an English compound, as in:

*sṯ̓θáṁaqʷ* 'skull' (< *sṯ̓θáṁ* 'bone,' *-aqʷ* 'head,' i.e., 'head-bones')
*sṯ̓θáṁcəs* 'bones of the hand, hand-bones' (< *-cəs* 'hand')
*qʷínəyəθən* 'beard' (< *qʷín* 'hair of face and body,' *-ayəθən* 'mouth')
*sɬəqʷáləs* 'gums' (< *stíqʷ* 'flesh,' *-ələs* 'tooth')
*snəsálməxʷ* 'butter' (< *snás* 'fat, grease,' *-álməxʷ* 'breast, milk,' i.e., 'milk-grease')

### *13.4.3.2. Related as Modifier and Head*

In the great majority of words with noun roots or stems, however, including some in which body-part suffixes are used in non-somatic senses, the root or stem is the modifier, specifying the kind, and the suffix is the head, identifying the class.

The root may identify the source or material, as it does in:

*ṯ̓θíwəq̓aqʷ* 'elder-head, i.e., an arrow with a blunt head of elderberry wood' (< *ṯ̓θíwəq̓* 'red elderberry,' *-aqʷ* 'head')
*ṯ̓áʔxʷcəs* 'grand fir bough' (< *ṯ̓áʔxʷ* 'grand fir,' *-cəs* 'hand, twig')
*musməsálməxʷ* 'cow's milk' (< *músməs* 'cow,' *-álməxʷ* 'breast, milk')
*salaʔacéwtxʷ* 'mat house' (< *sálaʔac* 'house-mat,' *-éwtxʷ* 'house')
*ʔéšxʷém̓ən* 'seal-oil' (< *ʔéšxʷ* 'seal,' *-ém̓ən* 'liquid')
*wi·léʔɬ* 'tule mat' (< *wí·l̓* 'tule,' *-éʔɬ* 'bedding')

Or the root may identify the purpose or end to which the head is dedicated:

*sax̌ʷəléwtxʷ* 'barn' (< *sáx̌ʷəl* 'grass, hay,' *-éwtxʷ* 'house')
*qewθéwtxʷ* 'potato cellar' (< *sqéwθ* 'potato,' *-éwtxʷ* 'house')
*sθeθəyənélə* 'blood vessel' (< *sθéθəy̓ən̓* 'blood,' *-élə* 'place for, container')
*putél̓weʔs* 'oar' (< *pút* 'boat,' *-él̓weʔs* 'paddle')

All the examples given so far in this section are words that function as nouns. However, there may also be words of this type that function as adjectives. The proper way of saying porpoise harpoon, JP said, is (or once was) *k̓ʷá·nṯ̓əłcə sʔánəm,* lit. 'porpoise *(k̓ʷá·nṯ̓)*-water *(-əłcə)* shaft *(sʔánəm).*' This example, although isolated in the present data, suggests the possibility that some of the lexical suffixes can (or once could) be used to produce modifying forms of nouns. I have not recorded any lexical suffix for 'harpoon' or 'spear,' and I believe that in traditional usage a simple noun could not modify another noun as in English "porpoise harpoon," although some present-day speakers use such

constructions. As others have suggested (e.g., T. Thompson in Haeberlin 1974, 220), the capacity to create forms with lexical suffixes is one that diminished early in the decline in fluency in the Coast Salish languages, and I suspect that this is one basis for statements we hear about how in previous generations people spoke "the old language."

## 13.5. COMPOUNDING OF SUFFIXES

Lexical suffixes can appear following other lexical suffixes, as in:

*t̓ᶿx̌áʔcəpmən* 'residue of a fire' (< *t̓ᶿx̌* 'be burnt up,' *-cəp* 'fire,' *-mən* 'residue')
*ʔəx̌əl̓qənálwət* 'buckskin shirt' (< *ʔəx̌ál̓qən* 'buckskin,' composed of *ʔix̌-* 'scrape' and *-ál̓qən* 'hide,' plus *-álwət* 'garment')
*nəwáqʷcəstən* 'thimble' (< *nəw-* 'enter,' *-aqʷ* 'head,' *-cəs* 'hand,' *-tən* 'instrument,' lit. 'instrument for inserting the head of the hand')
*sk̓ʷəcàstənáləs* 'eyeglasses' (< *sk̓ʷəcástən* 'mirror, window,' composed of *s-* 'nominalizer,' *k̓ʷéc* 'look,' *-as* 'face,' *-tən* 'instrument,' thus lit. 'instrument for seeing the face,' plus *-áləs* 'eye')

Two words, unusual in that lexical suffixes follow grammatical suffixes, are:

*sʔət̓ᶿámət̓əs* 'shawl' (< *sʔít̓ᶿəm* 'clothing,' composed of *s-* 'nominalizer,' the lexical suffix *-ɨt̓ᶿe* 'clothing, blanket,' and *-əm* 'intransitive' plus *-əs* 'face')
*qəqàmaʔstéyəɬ* 'be nursing a child' (< *qámaʔstəxʷ* 'nurse it,' composed of the root of *sqámaʔ* 'breast, milk' and *-stəxʷ* 'causative' plus *-əyəɬ* 'child')

## 13.6. THE INVENTORY

What follows is a list of well-identified lexical suffixes, each with illustrative words, followed by a second list of possible lexical suffixes, each with what appears to be evidence for its status. I have not included the suffixes that appear in personal names for reasons discussed at the end of this section.

The suffixes are ordered by initial consonant, without consideration of the vowels. The order is: *p, p̓, m, t, t̓, n, θ, t̓ᶿ, s, ɬ, x̓, l, c, c̓, x, kʷ, k̓ʷ, xʷ, q, q̓, x̌, qʷ, q̓ʷ, x̌ʷ, y, w, h.* Connective elements are ignored; for example, *-əlməxʷ* as a variant of *-məxʷ* is listed with *-məxʷ,* and *-əlməxʷ* as a separate suffix follows *-məxʷ.*

1 *-ép ~ -əp* 'base, bottom'? (cf. Haeberlin 1974, 230, 4.28 'bottom, back part') only in:

*tqép* 'tidal pound' (< *táq* 'be closed off')
*yáqʷəp* 'fell a tree by burning' (< *yáqʷ* 'burn')
*sqʷéq̓əp* 'shuttlecock cod lure' (< ?)

2 *-ép ~ -əp* 'hair'? (cf. Haeberlin 1974, 232, 11.3 Kal. 'rope, hair') only in:

*sq̓t̓ᶿép* (CC), *sq̓át̓ᶿəp* (JP) 'hair knot on top of head' (< ?)
*skʷáysəp* 'hair knot at back' (< ?)

3 *-ə́psəm ~ -əpsém-* ‘neck, nape’

*tə́psəm* ‘nape’ (< *tə-* dummy root?)
*ƛ̓əqtə́psəm* ‘long-necked’ (< *ƛ̓éqt* ‘long’)
*təməɬə́psəm* ‘pileated woodpecker’ (< *témaɬ* ‘red ochre’)
*ləkʷə́psəm* ‘break one’s neck’ (< *ləkʷ* ‘get broken’)
*ƛ̓əkʷəpsémt* ‘grab him by the neck’ (cf. *ƛ̓kʷát* ‘grab it’)

4 *-mət* ‘appearance’?

*ʔəy̓ə́y̓mət* (JP), *ʔiʔə́y̓mət* (AG) ‘pretty’ (< *ʔə́y̓* ‘good’)
*qəlqə́mət* ‘ugly’ (< *qə́l* ‘bad’)
*ʔəy̓ámət* ‘easy, easy-going, cheap’ (JP) (< *ʔə́y̓* ‘good’ + ?)

5 *-mat* ‘kind, piece, part’

*qə́x̌mat* ‘many kinds’ (< *qə́x̌* ‘many’)
*ɬə́xʷmat* ‘three pieces’ (< *ɬíxʷ* ‘three’)
*θímat, θíθəmat* ‘greater part, greater’ (< *θí* ‘big’)
*ʔəxʷínṁat* ‘smaller part, smaller portion’

6 *-mən ~ -ə́mən ~ -əmən̓ ~ -mín* ‘instrument’

*nə́ɬmən* ‘plan’ (cf. *níɬət* ‘set a time’)
*k̓ʷqʷə́mən* ‘axe’ (cf. *k̓ʷáqʷət* ‘hit it, as with a club’)
*ɬə́t̓əmən̓* ‘herring rake’ (< *ɬə́t̓əm* ‘rake herring’; cf. *ɬt̓et* ‘flick it’)
*kʷəcmín* ‘deer-hoof rattle’ (cf. *kʷécəm* ‘scream’)

7 *-mən ~ -mín ~ -mí·n* ‘location, position’

*yəwéṅmən* ‘area in front of house’ (< *yəẇéṅ* ‘before, first’)
*ʔəncémən* ‘all parts of the body’ (< *ʔə́nəcə* ‘where’)
*təsmín* ‘next younger sibling’ (< *tə́s* ‘arrive there’)
*tətésmən* ‘one closest’ (< *stətés* ‘near’)
*sənƛ̓eʔmí·n* ‘next older sibling’ (< *sə́nƛ̓eʔ* ‘senior sibling/cousin’)

8 *-mən ~ -émən ~ -mín* ‘residue’ (an extension of 7?)

*t̓ᶿə́ṁmən* ‘small bones left over after a meal’ (< *st̓ᶿə́ṁ* ‘bone’)
*ləkʷémən̓* ‘something broken, as the broken end of a stick’ (< *ləkʷ* ‘get broken’)
*t̓ᶿəx̌mín* ‘junk, worthless stuff’ (< *t̓ᶿə́x̌* ‘get used up’; cf. *t̓ᶿéx̌* ‘sell cheap, pawn’)
*sʔəlqə́nmən* ‘top of tree left after felling and sawing’ (< ?)
*xʷəšxʷtə́l̓əẇèmən* ‘become the track of a river’ (< *stə́l̓əẇ* ‘river,’ JP 13)

9 *-ém̓ən* ‘extracted liquid’ (an extension of 8?)

*ʔešxʷém̓ən* ‘seal oil’ (< *ʔéšxʷ* ‘harbour seal’)
*kʷ̓a·nɬ̓ém̓ən* ‘porpoise oil’ (< *kʷ̓á·nɬ̓* ‘porpoise’)
*sq̓ʷi·l̓məxʷém̓ən* ‘blackberry juice’ (< *sq̓ʷí·l̓məxʷ* ‘blackberries’)
*ckʷiém̓ən* ‘red liquid’ (< *ckʷím* ‘red’)

10 *-əmət̓ᶿ ~ -émət̓ᶿ* long object’

*sk̓ʷínəmət̓ᶿ* ‘how many (poles, etc.)?’ (< *k̓ʷín* ‘how many?’)
*nəc̓émət̓ᶿ* ‘one (long object)’ (< *nác̓aʔ* ‘one’)
*x̌̓əqtémət̓ᶿ* ‘tall (person)’ (< *x̌̓éqt* ‘long’)
*c̓əc̓í·x̌̓əmət̓ᶿ* ‘short (person)’ (< *c̓əc̓í·x̌̓* ‘short’)

11 *-məx ~ -áməx ~ -ám̓əx* ‘country, person’ (cf. 12)

*łéq̓əməx* ‘flats, flat country (as the Fraser delta)’ (cf. *łq̓ét* ‘wide’)
*stáməx* ‘warrior’ (dummy root *t-* ?)
*qáləməx* ‘Bud, Pal’ (cf. *qéqələ* ‘baby,’ also Shuswap *qəlmuxʷ* ‘person,’ Kuipers 1974, 236)
*sqx̌ʷám̓əx* (also recorded *sqʷx̌ʷám̓əx*) ‘Squamish’ (people and country up Howe Sound) (< ?)

12 *-məxʷ ~ -éməxʷ ~ -əlməxʷ ~ əwməxʷ ~ -aẃməxʷ* ‘place, people (cluster?)’

*táməxʷ* ‘earth, land, soil’ (< *t-* dummy root?)
*xʷálməxʷ* ‘village, Indian’ (< ?)
*šxʷɬèl̓éməxʷ* ‘sea hunter-fisher’ (*šxʷ-* ‘oblique nominalizer’; cf. *łé·l* ‘go shoreward’)
*sq̓ʷí·l̓məxʷ* ‘blackberries’ (//s-q̓ʷál-əlməxʷ//, < *q̓ʷál* ‘be cooked, ripe’)
*ʔəẃk̓ʷálməxʷ* ‘all different kinds of Indians’ (< *ʔáẃk̓ʷ* ‘be used up’)
*nəc̓áwməxʷ* ‘one people (“tribe”)’ (< *nác̓aʔ* ‘one’)
*nəc̓áwməxʷ* ‘different people’ (< *néc̓* ‘different,’ the root is different from the last, but the derivatives are homophonous)
*skʷxáẃməxʷ* ‘place name, name of a country’ (< *skʷíx* ‘name’)
*qx̌áẃməxʷ* ‘many different kinds of people’ (< *qáx̌* ‘many’)
*šxʷtəl̓á·wməxʷ* ‘where one belongs (native place)’ (< *təl̓-* ‘from’)

13 *-álməxʷ* ‘breast, milk, spring (of water)’ (an extension of 12?)

*θiθálməxʷ* ‘big-breasted’
*qətálməxʷəm* ‘bind one’s breasts’ (cf. *qítət* ‘bind it’)
*p̓tˀθálməxʷ* ‘milk a cow’ (cf. *p̓átˀθət* ‘wring it out’)
*musməsálməxʷ* ‘cow’s milk’ (< *músməs* ‘cow’)
*snəsálməxʷ* ‘butter’ (< *snás* ‘fat, oil’)
*sqim̓ək̓ʷálməxʷ* ‘p.n., Devilfish Spring’ (< *sqímək̓ʷ* ‘octopus’)

14 *-amaʔ* ‘body’

*θəháma*ʔ ‘big-bodied’ (< *θí* ‘big’)
*kʷàm̓kʷəm̓áma*ʔ ‘strong-bodied’ (< *kʷám̓kʷəm̓* ‘strong’)
*qʷəʔí·yəqʷsàm̓a*ʔ ‘thin person’ (< *qʷəʔ·í·yəqʷs* ‘thin’ [CC])

15 *-í·ma*ʔ ? (perhaps //-əy-əmaʔ//, a connective *-əy-* with 14, *-amaʔ* ‘body’)

*ʔáy̓í·ma*ʔ ‘clean (person, house)’ (< *ʔáy̓* ‘good’)
*qàlí·ma*ʔ ‘dirty (person, house)’ (< *qál* ‘bad’)

16 *-tən ~ -təm̓ ~ -tén ~ -tém̓* ‘instrument’

*p̓át̓θtən* ‘needle’ (< *p̓á̓θ* ‘sew’)
*ʔáx̌tən* ‘hide scraper’ (cf. *ʔíx̌ət* ‘scrape it’)
*łéc̓tən* ‘knife, fish knife’ (cf. *łíc̓ət* ‘cut it’)
*x̓́əxʷtém̓* ‘blanket’ (< *x̓́áxʷ* ‘get covered’; cf. *x̓́xʷát* ‘cover it’)
*t̓θəx̌ʷtém̓* ‘cleansing rite’ (< *t̓θáx̌ʷ* ‘get washed’; cf. *t̓θx̌ʷát* ‘wash it’)
*q̓ʷéʔtən* ‘broom’ (cf. *q̓ʷéʔt* ‘sweep it’)

17 *-tən ~ -təm̓* ‘person’ (an extension of 16?)

*c̓àw̓təm̓* ‘helper’ (cf. *c̓éwət* ‘help him’)
*syéʔtən* ‘widow, widower’ (< ?)
*smétəxʷtən* ‘sibling-in-law of the opposite sex’ (< ?)

18 *-txʷ ~ -áw̓txʷ ~ -éwtxʷ ~ -əltəxʷ* ‘house’

*θám̓txʷ* ‘two houses’ (< *θəm-* ~ *θém-* ‘two’)
*łxʷáw̓txʷ* ‘three houses’ (< *łíxʷ* ‘three’)
*nec̓áwtxʷ* ‘one house’ (< *nác̓aʔ* ‘one’)
*néc̓əwtxʷ* ‘next door, next room’ (< *néc̓* ‘different’)
*sàlaʔacéwtxʷ* ‘mat house’ (< *sálaʔac* ‘house mat’)
*sθé·wtxʷ* ‘big house (large, old-style house)’ (< *θí* ‘big’)
*t̓ìwəyałéwtxʷ* ‘church’ (< *t̓íw̓əy̓ał* ‘worship’)
*siléwtxʷ* ‘tent’ (< *síl* ‘cloth, cotton, < E. ‘sail’)
*scłéʔeltəxʷ* ‘roof, upper storey’ (cf. *cícał* ‘above’)

18.1 *-é·ltəxʷ* ‘spouse’ (an extension of 18, perhaps //-ələltəxʷ//, a double connective)

*xʷʔəysé·ltəxʷ* ‘have two wives’ (< *yəsél̓ə* ~ *ʔisél̓ə* ‘two’)
*xʷłxʷé·ltəxʷ* ‘have three wives’ (< *łíxʷ* ‘three’)
*xʷc̓əlé·ltəxʷ* ‘make off with someone’s spouse’ (cf. *c̓í·lt* ‘grab something away from him’)

18.2 *-əłtxʷ* (perhaps *-əł-* is a connective plus *-txʷ* 'house')

*snéc̓əłtxʷ* 'affines, "opposite friends"' (= *sk̓ʷə́lwəs*) (< *néc̓* 'other, different' ) (JP)

19 *-ə́nə ~ -əneʔ* 'ear, side'

*ƛ̓əlqtə́nə* 'long-eared, deer' (cf. *ƛ̓éqt* 'long,' *ƛ̓éləqt* 'long pl.')
*t̓ᵊq̓ʷə́nət* 'hit him on the ear' (cf. *t̓ᵊíq̓ʷət* 'hit, punch')
*qʷé·neʔt* 'pierce his ears' (cf. *qʷé·t* 'make a hole in it')
*xʷʔəy̓əné̓ʔ* 'listen' (< *xʷ-* 'locative,' *ʔə́y̓* 'good')
*łqə́nəm* 'tie up (a boat), drop anchor' (cf. *łqét* 'peg together, i.e., hold from the side'?)
*qʷsə́nəm* 'drop anchor' (< *qʷə́s* 'go into the water')
*qʷsə́nətən* 'anchor' (last plus *-tən* 'instrument')
*miq̓ə́n̓ətən* 'pot-hook' (cf. *míq̓ət* 'stick into the ground')
*šxʷθéyənətən* 'dessert' (cf. *θə́yt* 'fix it,' i.e., something fixed on the side?)
*ʔiməxné̓ʔtən* 'visitor' (< *ʔíməx* 'walk,' *-tən* 'person'?)
*qiǰəné̓ʔtən, qəqiʔǰəné̓ʔtən* 'shadow' (< cf. *qíǰət* 'slide it,' *-tən* 'person'?)

19.1 *-é·n* (//-ənən//?) 'side, component, tip, feather' (cf. 19)

*stité·n* 'upper end (of house or village)' (< *tə́yt* 'upstream')
*słənəy̓é·n* 'female component (as flat leaf of cattail)' (< *słénəy̓* 'female, woman')
*wəy̓qeʔé·n* 'male component (as flowering stalk of cattail)' (< *wə́y̓qeʔ* 'male, man')
*saʔsəqʷté·n* 'most junior sibling/cousin' (< *sáʔsəqʷt* 'junior sibling/cousin')
*syal̓əxʷaʔé·n* 'oldest person' (< *syál̓əxʷaʔ* 'old person')
*yəqʷé·nəm* 'light up (the end of a cigarette)' (< *yə́qʷ* 'burn,' *-əm* 'intr.')
*məq̓ʷaʔé·n* 'heron feather (used to induce vomiting)' (< *smə́q̓ʷaʔ* 'great blue heron')
*t̓ᵊiqté·n* 'flicker feather (worn by a shaman)' (< *t̓ᵊíqt* 'flicker')
*kʷə́yǰθ'tè·n* 'style' (< *kʷə́yǰθət* 'act,' lit. 'move oneself')

19.2 *-í·n* (a variant of 19.1? in this word only?)

*həy̓qʷí·n* 'lantern, lamp, candle, light' (< *həy̓qʷ* 'be burning, fire')

20 *-ən ~ -ən̓* 'instrument'? (perhaps in loans from Northern Straits)

*kʷáxʷən* 'long pole used by *q̓ʷə́ǰʷəqs* dancer to strike roof planks' (cf. *kʷáxʷət* 'knock on it')
*xə́mən̓* 'trawl net (used upriver)' (cf. Northern Straits *šə́mən*)

*pí?kʷən* ‘splint for cooking fish’ (< ?)
*t̓í?cən* ‘deadfall’ (< ?)
*snáwən* ‘keepsake’ (< ?)

21 *-ánəp ~ -ənáp* (in resultative forms) ‘ground’

*cəcłánəp* ‘high ground’ (< *cícəł* ‘high, above’)
*x̌̓pánəp* ‘low ground’ (< *x̌̓áp* ‘low’)
*səw̓q̓ánəp* ‘look for ground to settle on’ (< *sáw̓q̓* ‘seek’)
*q̓ʷámənəp* ‘pull up weeds’ (cf. *q̓ʷámət* ‘pull it out’)
*słəx̌ánəptən* ‘floor’ (< *s-* ‘nominalizer,’ *łəx̌* ‘stand,’ *-tən* ‘instrument’)
*słəx̌ənáp* ‘floored, floored house’ (< *s-* ‘res.,’ *łəx̌* ‘stand’)
*słc̓ənáp* ‘disked (as a field)’ (cf. *łíc̓ət* ‘cut it, slice it’)
*łəq̓ánəp* ‘daybreak’ (< ?)

22 *-ínəs ~ -íləs ~ -ənəs* ‘chest, beach’

*sʔínəs* (JP), *sʔíləs* (CC) ‘chest’ (*s-* ‘nominalizer’ with suffix?)
*łəq̓tínəs* ‘broad-chested’ (< *łq̓ét* ‘wide’)
*x̌łínəs* ‘have an aching chest’ *(*< *x̌áł* ‘hurt’)
*háy̓qʷənəs* ‘have heartburn’ (< *háy̓qʷ* ‘be burning’)
*i̓θq̓ʷínəst* ‘hit him in the chest’ (cf. *i̓θq̓ʷət* ‘hit him’)
*x̌̓əq̓ətínəs* ‘p.n., on Lulu Island above Steveston,’ lit. ‘long beach’ (< *x̌̓éqt* ‘long’)

23 *-ánəs ~ -áləs ~ -nís* ‘tooth’

*yánəs* ‘tooth’ (< *y-* dummy root?)
*θiθáləs* ‘big-toothed’ (< *θíθə* ‘big pl.’)
*słəqʷéləs* ‘gums’ (< *słíqʷ* ‘flesh’)
*sx̌əx̌k̓ʷnís* ‘something jammed into the teeth’ (< *s-* ‘resultative,’ *x̌ák̓ʷ* ‘be wedged in’)

24 *-nəc ~ -ləc ~ -néc ~ -álləc* ‘butt, tail, base, bay, price, suffix(?)’

*st̓θə́mnəc* ‘hip bones’ (< *st̓θám̓* ‘bone’)
*xʷc̓éńəcəm* ‘sit on chair, perch’ *(*< *xʷ-* ‘locative,’ *c̓é?* ‘alight, be set’)
*xʷʔáṗələcəm* ‘wipe one’s bottom’ (cf. *ʔéṗət* ‘wipe it’)
*xʷt̓əq̓ʷálləct* ‘cut its tail off’ (cf. *t̓q̓ʷát* ‘cut it off’)
*pák̓ʷnəct* ‘put it (a pot) on the fire’ (cf. *pék̓ʷət* ‘warm it over a fire’)
*yəpənéc* ‘going with the wind’ (< *pah* ‘blow’)
*q̓ʷámnəct* ‘pull it out by the roots’ (cf. *q̓ʷámət* ‘pull it out’)
*łəc̓nəcé·ls* ‘mow (a field)’ (< root of *łíc̓ət* ‘cut it’ plus *-e·ls* ‘activity’)
*słítəc̓nəc* ‘mowed’ (*s-* ‘resultative’)
*šxʷt̓ítəc̓nəcì·ls* ‘mowing machine’ (*šxʷ-* ‘oblique nominalizer,’ *-i·ls* ‘prog. of act.’)

*sʔáθnəc* 'bay' (< *s-* 'nominalizer,' *ʔeθ-* restrictive dummy root?)
*q̓ətnéc* 'go around (as the end of a lake)' (cf. *q̓ətáθən* 'go along the edge')
*kʷáxnəct* 'name its price' (cf. *kʷíxət* 'name it')
*ʔámnəct* 'put money down on it' (cf. *ʔéʔəm* 'give')
*xʷlénəy̓nəct* 'make a woman's name of it (a man's name)' (< *slénəy̓* 'woman') (AG)

25 *-é·nxʷ ~ -é·nəxʷ ~ énəxʷ* 'fish, food, fish run, season, (bad) weather' (?)

*pk̓ʷé·nxʷ* 'smoke fish (as salmon)' (cf. *pék̓ʷət* 'warm it')
*c̓əy̓xʷé·nəxʷ* 'smoke little fish (herring, etc.)' (< *c̓áy̓xʷ* 'dry')
*qx̌é·nxʷ* 'big run of fish, good year' (< *qə́x̌* 'many')
*təmhú·n̓è·nxʷ* 'humpback year' (< *təm-* 'time,' *hú·n̓* 'humpback [pink] salmon')
*x̌eɬ̓θénəxʷ* 'p.n., Mt. Baker' (cf. *x̌é·ɬ̓θt* 'measure it,' lit. 'measures the fish run or measures the season'?)
*spé·nxʷ* 'camas' (//pən-énəxʷ//, < *pə́n* 'be buried')
*ʔəy̓yé·nəxʷ* 'good year, good run of salmon' (JP)
*ʔəy̓é·nəxʷ* 'seaworthy (boat) (JP, contrasted with last)
*cqʷiqʷé·nəxʷ* 'bring a storm' (√ ?, "an old word" [JP])

25.1 *-ələ́nəxʷ ~ -lénəxʷ* 'season'

*xʷəsəlénəxʷ* 'a month in the fall when leaves fall' (cf. *xʷísət* 'shake it')
*həylénəxʷ* 'a month in the fall after the last named' (< *háy* 'stop, be finished')

25.2 *-í·nxʷ ~ -wí·nxʷ* 'year'

*θəmí·nxʷ* 'two years' (cf. *θem-* ~ *θəm-* 'two')
*k̓ʷənəwí·nxʷ* 'how many years?' (< *k̓ʷín* 'how many?')
k̓ʷxəwí·nxʷ 'age (of someone or something)' (cf. *k̓ʷxét* 'count them')

26 *-aθən ~ -əθ ~ -aʔθ ~ -áʔθ ~ -θən ~ -á·yθən* (//-áyəθən//) ~ *-á·yθə-* (before *-t* 'transitive') ~ *-əyəθín-* ~ *-θín* (before *-əm* 'intransitive') 'mouth, lip, margin, edge'

*θáθən* 'mouth' (*θ-* dummy root?)
*máq̓aʔθ* 'gift of food to take home after feast' (< *máq̓* 'full, as from eating')
*háyθən* 'finish eating' *(*< *háy* 'finish')
*ləkʷá·yθən* 'get one's mouth broken' (< *lákʷ* 'get broken')
*qaʔá·yθən* 'saliva' (< *qáʔ* 'water')
*θəhá·yθən* 'big-mouthed' (< *θí* 'big')
*ɬ̓θq̓ʷá·yθət* 'punch him in the mouth' (cf. *ɬ̓θíq̓ʷət* 'punch him')
*qələyəθínəm* 'curse' (< *qál* 'bad')

*sʔíˑlθ* ‘outlet of lake’ (//s-ʔil-əθ//, *s-* ‘nominalizer,’ *ʔíl-* ‘side’?)
*ʔáx̌qaʔθ* ‘go out into the open’ (cf. *ʔáx̌qəl* ‘go out’)
*ʔəy̓áʔθ* ‘sharp (blade)’ (< *ʔáy̓* ‘good’)
*qəláˑθ* ‘dull’ (< *qál* ‘bad’)
*snəʔáθən* ‘far side (of stream, etc.)’ (< *s-* ‘nominalizer,’ *niʔ* ‘be there’)
*q̓ətáθən* ‘walk along (a shore, etc.)’ (cf. *q̓ətnéc* ‘walk around’)
*q̓ətθínəmət* ‘go along through the village inviting people’ (the last plus *-əm* ‘intransitive’ and *-ət* ‘transitive’)
*ʔàɬtənáθən* ‘eat along the way (as berries off the bush)’ (< *ʔáɬtən* ‘eat’)

26.1 *-ayaθ ~ -áy̓aʔθ* ‘head of weapon’? (connective plus *-aʔθ* ‘edge’?)

*qəθxʷáyaθ* ‘prong of multi-pronged spear, foreshaft of double-foreshafted harpoon’ (cf. *qéθəɬp* ‘ocean spray’)
*xpáy̓aʔθ* ‘arrow of hazel shoot with no head’ (< *xap-* ‘whistle’?)

27 *-íɬ̓θeʔ ~ -éˑlɬ̓θeʔ* ‘blanket, wealth’

*ɬ̓θcíɬ̓θeʔ* ‘stiff (cloth)’ (< *ɬ̓θác* ‘stiff’)
*ɬəwíɬ̓θeʔ* ‘naked’ (< *ɬéẃ* ‘escape’)
*sx̌píɬ̓θeʔ* ‘slip, undergarment’ (*s-* ‘nominalizer,’ *x̌áp* ‘deep’)
*məx̌éˑlɬ̓θeʔ* ‘return wealth’ (cf. *máx̌ət* ‘return it’)
*ʔíɬ̓θəm* ‘get dressed’ (*ʔ-* dummy root? plus *-əm* ‘intransitive’)
*sʔíɬ̓θəm* ‘clothing, blanket’ (< *s-* ‘nominalizer’ plus last)

28 *-əs ~ -ás* ‘face, round object, moon, dollar, bow of canoe, bank’

*sʔáθəs* ‘face’ (*s-* ‘nominalizer,’ *ʔéθ-* restrictive root?)
*šxʷk̓ʷásəs* ‘with face painted black” (< *k̓ʷés* ‘get scorched’)
*sɬ̓θámən* ‘cheek bones’ (< *sɬ̓θámˀ* ‘bone’)
*xʷx̌áqtəs* ‘long-faced’ (< *x̌éqt* ‘long’)
*xʷɬq̓átəs* ‘with flattened head’ (< *ɬq̓ét* ‘wide’)
*šxʷkʷámx̌əs* ‘with unflattened head (cf. *skʷámx̌* ‘bump’)
*yáq̓əst* ‘sharpen it’ (cf. *yáq̓ət* ‘grind it up’)
*sày̓q̓ás* ‘sharpened’ (res. of last)
*tiʔtás* ‘facing upstream’ (< *táyt* ‘upstream’)
*ʔisál̓əs* ‘two dollars, two months’ (< *yəsél̓ə* ‘two’)
*líˑməs* ‘a month name’ (< *slíˑm* ‘sandhill crane’)
*šxʷtítəc̓əs* ‘drawn up with bow on bank’ (< *s-* ‘resultative,’ *xʷ-* ‘inward,’ √ of *tíc̓ət* ‘draw it up with the bow on the bank’)
*cítəs* ‘steep bank’ (cf. *cícəɬ* ‘high’)

29 *-éɬ* ‘times’

*k̓ʷənéɬ* ‘how many times?’ (< *k̓ʷín* ‘how many?’)
*ɬxʷéɬ* ‘three times’ (< *líxʷ* ‘three’)
*qx̌éɬ* ‘often’ (< *qáx̌* ‘many’)

30 *-éʔɬ* ‘bed, bedding’

*wi·léʔɬ* ‘tule mat’ (< *wí·l̓* ‘tule’)
*t̓θx̌wéʔɬ* ‘wash diapers’ (cf. *t̓θx̌wát* ‘wash it’)
*θəyéʔɬəm* ‘make one’s bed’ (cf. *θáyt* ‘fix it’)
*θəyéʔɬt* ‘make his (another’s) bed’

31 *-eʔɬ, -éɬəɬ, -ɬəɬ ~ -áɬəɬ ~ ɬél-* (before *-ət* ‘transitive’ and *-əm* ‘intransitive’) ‘throat, breath, wind, food’

*ʔálɬəɬ* ‘throat’ (< *ʔəl-* ?)
*məqʷáɬəɬ* ‘thick-necked’ (< *máqʷ* ‘thick’)
*t̓iq̓ʷɬé·lt* ‘choke him’ (cf. *tq̓ʷát* ‘cut it off’)
*ʔéqeʔɬ* ‘get a bone in one’s throat’ (< ?)
*c̓íc̓kʷèʔɬ* ‘have the hiccups’ (< ?)
*tqéʔɬ* ‘have one’s breath blocked’ (cf. *xʷtáq* ‘be shut’)
*həẃq̓ʷéɬəɬ* ‘wind from upriver’ (< *háẃq̓ʷ* ‘progressive of *wáq̓ʷ* ‘drift downstream’)
*xʷx̌ámɬəɬ* ‘eat enough’ (< *x̌ám* ‘be enough’)
*xʷməx̌ɬéləm* ‘return food’ (cf. *máx̌ət* ‘repay it’)
*xʷʔəmqɬé·lt* ‘take food to them’ (cf. *ʔé·məqt* ‘take something to him’)
*xʷnəẃnəcɬéləm* ‘pay back what one has eaten’ (< *nəẃ-* ‘insert,’ *-nəc* ‘price’)

32 *-a·ɬ* ‘canoe, vehicle’ (cf. *-a·ɬ* ‘travel by means of’ §12.3.3), also *-əlәɬ* ?

*məkʷ̓ɬa·ɬ* ‘have one’s car break down’ (< *méʔk̓ʷɬ* ‘be injured’) (AG)
*sq̓aʔá·ɬ* ‘companion boat’ (< *q̓áʔ* ‘accompany’) (AG)
*wəq̓ʷá·ɬ* ‘lose a canoe by having it drift away’ (< *wáq̓ʷ* ‘drift’)
*pəlqʷá·ɬəm* ‘have the last dance of the season’ (lit. ‘smash canoes’) (< *páqʷ* ‘break, go broke’)
*ʔéẏx̌à·ɬ* ‘western painted turtle’ (< *ʔéẏx̌* ‘crab’?)
*xʷáẏqʷəlәɬ* ‘steamship’ (< *xʷ-* ‘inside,’ *háẏqʷ* ‘be burning, fire’)?

33 *-əɬp* ‘plant, bush, tree, vegetation’

*snác̓əɬp* ‘one (tree, etc.)’ (< *nác̓aʔ* ‘one’)
*sθéɬp* ‘big (tree)’ (< *θí* ‘big’)
*t̓qʷámәɬp* ‘thimbleberry bush’ (< *t̓qʷám* ‘thimbleberry’)
*táx̌ʷacәɬp* ‘yew tree’ (< *táx̌ʷac* ‘bow’)
*ʔépəlsәɬp* ‘apple tree’ (< *ʔépəls* ‘apple’)

34 *-ɬnet ~ -ɬnéʔ* ‘day of the week, week, day’ (composed of *-aʔɬ* ‘attributive’ and *nét* ‘be night’?)

*sx̌áx̌әɬnet* ‘Sunday, week’ (< *x̌éʔx̌eʔ* ‘holy’)
*syəl̓éwәɬnet* ‘Monday’ (< *yəl̓éẃ* ‘come after’)

*łəxʷəɬnet* ‘three days’ (< *łíxʷ* ‘three’)
*sḵʷənɬnet* ‘what day is it?’ (< *ḵʷín* ‘how many?’)
*ḵʷəṁa łəẇəɬné?* ‘the day before yesterday’ (< *ḵʷəṁa* ‘this absent,’ *łéẇ* ‘escape’)

35 *-łsxé* (CC), *-łcyé* (JP) ‘tens’

*łəxʷəɬsxé* ‘thirty’ (< *łíxʷ* ‘three’)
*ṫx̌əməɬsxé* ‘sixty’ (< *ṫx̌ám* ‘six’)

36 *-łél-* ‘fire’

*xʷθəyəɬélt* ‘stir up the fire’ (cf. *xʷθeẏ̓x̌xánəm* ‘shaking the feet’)
*xʷləṁɬélt* ‘throw it into the fire’ (cf. *láṁət* ‘hit by throwing’)
*šxʷyəqʷɬéltəṁ* ‘dry kindling wood’ (< *yáqʷ* ‘burn,’ *-təṁ* ‘instrument’)

37 *-əɬcə* ‘water’

*łx̌ʷáɬcə* ‘spit (v.)’ (cf. *łx̌ʷát* ‘spit it out’)
*łqálc̓əɬcə* ‘moonlit low tide’ (< *łqélc̓* ‘moon’)
*θáʔtəɬcə* ‘low tide on a moonless night’ (< *θéʔt* ‘dark’)

38 *-ələɬcə* ~ *-á·ɬcə* ~ *-álcɬ* ~ *-élcɬ* ‘belly, mind’

*x̌áɬələɬcə* ‘have a stomach-ache’ (< *x̌áɬ* ‘hurt’)
*c̓q̓ʷá·ɬcə* ‘get pricked in the belly’ (< *c̓áq̓ʷ* ‘get pierced’)
*sx̌əlq̓á·ɬcə* ‘have a striped belly’ (< *sx̌élq̓* ‘stripe’)
*x̌əɬálcɬ* ‘regret, be sorry’ (< *x̌áɬ* ‘hurt’) (CC)
*ʔáẏ̓əlcɬ* ‘feel good, “have a good mind” [feel well disposed]’ (< *ʔáẏ̓* ‘good’)
*səmkʷélcɬ* ‘worried’ (< *smákʷ* ‘ball, lump,’ lit. ‘lump in belly’) (JP)

39 *-ələɬcə* ~ *-á·ɬcə* ‘giant’

*x̌áməlɬcə* (JP), *x̌əháməlɬcə* (CC) ‘a giant frog that cries like a baby’ (< *x̌é·m* ‘cry’)
*ḵʷec̓á·ɬce* (CC), *ḵʷəc̓á·ɬcə* (AG) ‘shark’ (< *ḵʷé·c̓* ‘dogfish’)
*ṫθəx̌tá·ɬcə* ‘a giant clam’ (< *ṫθéx̌at* ‘gravel’?)

40 *-élə* ~ *-ələ* ‘place for, container for’ (with *šxʷ-* if an internal organ or an artifact)

*sθeθəyənélə* ‘blood vessel’ (< *sθéθəẏ̓ən* ‘blood’)
*səṁsəṁaẏ̓əʔélə* ‘hornet’s nest’ (< *səṁsəṁáẏ̓ə* ‘hornet’)
*šxʷṫθeləʔélə* ‘solar plexus’ (< *ṫθéleʔ* ‘heart’)
*šxʷhəẏ̓qʷélə* ‘hearth’ (< *háẏ̓qʷ* ‘burning, fire’)
*šxʷləmélə* ‘bottle’ (< *lém* ‘liquor, rum’)
*šxʷləθí·lə* ‘cupboard’ (//šxʷ-laθən-elə//, < *láθən* ‘dish’)

41 *-élə ~ -ələ* ‘person’

*łəxʷélə* ‘three persons’ (< *łíxʷ* ‘three’)
*k̓ʷí·lə* ‘how many persons?’ (//k̓ʷin-ələ//, < *k̓ʷín* ‘how many?’)
*sqéqələ* ‘baby’ (cf. *sqé?eq* ‘younger sibling, junior cousin’)

42 *-əle?* ~ *-əla* ~ *-əlí* ~ *əyí* ‘game, sport’?

*θák̓ʷəle?* ‘tug-of-war’ (cf. *θk̓ʷát* ‘pull it’)
*sc̓áqʷəle?* ‘a ball game like shinny’ (< ?)
*θáqʷəla* (CC), *θáqʷəle* (JP) ‘bet’ (cf. *θáqʷət* ‘report on him’?)
*smətəlí* ‘a game played by women with dice of beaver teeth’ (< ?)
*səkʷəyí* ‘shuttlecock used in girl’s game’ (< ?)

43 *-áləs ~ -ələs ~ -ál̓əs* ‘eye, mesh (of net), star, appearance, tendency(?)’

*θiθáləs* ‘big eyes, big mesh in net, big holes in knitting’ (< *θíθə* ‘big plural’)
*xʷməq̓ʷáləst* ‘poke him in the eye’ (< *máq̓ʷ* ‘burst,’ *-t* ‘transitive’)
*k̓ʷcáləs* ‘see with one’s own eyes’ (< *k̓ʷéc* ‘see’)
*k̓ʷənłcye?áləs* ‘how many tens of mesh? (the measure of the depth of a net)’ (< *k̓ʷín* ‘how many?’ *-łcye* ‘times ten’)
*šxʷkʷiláləs* ‘morning star’ (< Cowichan *kʷéyəl* ‘become day’)
*skʷikʷəmál̓əs* ‘salmon pink, reddish’ (< *ckʷím* ‘red’)
*šxʷix̓ʷk̓ʷál̓əs* ‘greyish’ (< *cxʷík̓ʷ* ‘grey’)
*cicłál̓əs* ‘steep slope’ (< *cícəł* ‘above’)
*l̓q̓ʷáləs* ‘maple dish’ (? < *l̓áq̓ʷ* ‘be cut off’)
*sx̌k̓ʷáləs* ‘salmon backbone’ (? < *x̌ák̓ʷ* ‘be stuck between’)

44 *-áls* ‘rock, spherical object, round berry’

*təmłáls* ‘reddish (rock)’ (< *táməł* ‘red ochre’)
*k̓ʷənl̓áls* ‘a kind of hard black rock’ (< *k̓ʷá·nl̓* ‘porpoise’)
*k̓ʷək̓ʷqʷi?áls* ‘shinny’ (< *k̓ʷaqʷ* ‘get hit [durative form?]’)
*qʷəmcá·l̓s* ‘cranberry’ (< ?)

45 *-əls* ‘weapon’

*θəy̓əlsəm* ‘prepare for hunting’ (cf. *θəyt* ‘fix it,’ *-əm* ‘intransitive’?)
*kʷí·lsəm* ‘pick up something as a weapon’ (//kʷən-əls-əm//, cf. *kʷánət* ‘take it,’*-əm* ‘intransitive’)
*kʷí·lsəmət* ‘pick it up as a weapon’ (*-ət* ‘transitive’)
*kʷənél̓səm* ‘have something as a weapon’ (cf. *kʷən̓ét* ‘hold it’)

46 *-áłəł ~ -əl̓íl-* (before *-əm* ‘intransitive’) ‘crotch, between the legs’

*šxʷ?í·ləł* ‘crotch’ (//šxʷ-ʔíl-ələł//, < *ʔil-* ?)
*xʷsisil̓áləłt* ‘tickle her between the legs’ (cf. *sáyl̓t* ‘tickle him/her’)
*məsəl̓íləm* ‘close one’s legs’ (cf. *məsát* ‘fold it up’)

47 *-álɬ ~ ál̓ɬ* ‘young’

*słənəy̓álɬ* ‘girl’ (< *słénəy̓* ‘woman’)
*swəy̓qeʔálɬ* ‘boy’ (< *swáy̓qeʔ* ‘man’)
*swiẇləsálɬ* ‘boy’ (< *swíẇləs* ‘young man’)
*speʔeθálɬ* ‘black-bear cub’ (< *spéʔeθ* ‘black bear’)
*məməm̓ál̓ɬ* ‘young (pl.) of an animal’ (cf. *ʔəmámәm̓* ‘little [pl.]’)

48 *-éləc* ‘person’ (cf. 41)

*qx̌éləc* ‘many people’ (< *qáx̌* ‘many’)
*šxʷteʔé·ləc* ‘each person, whatever person’ (cf. *šxʷteʔé* ‘just as,’ *steʔé* ‘like’)

49 *-ál̓əc* ‘dung’

*šxʷmusməsál̓əc* ‘cow manure’ (< *músməs* ‘cow’)
*šxʷčikənál̓əc* ‘chicken manure’ (< *číkən* ‘chicken’)

50 *-el̓eʔc ~ -əleʔc ~ -líʔc* ‘container’

*t̓θíməl̓eʔc* ‘berry basket’ (cf. *t̓θɬ́·m* [//t̓θim-əm//?] ‘pick berries’)
*t̓θsəléʔct* ‘nail it up (as a coffin)’ (cf. *t̓θísət* ‘nail it’)
*qáʔliʔc* ‘water box’ (< *qáʔ* ‘water’)
*cɬél̓eʔc* ‘cover, lid (of box) (< √*cəɬ* ‘above’)

50.1 *-əléʔc* ‘bundle’

*nəc̓əléʔc* ‘one bundle (as of blankets)’ (< *nác̓aʔ* ‘one’)
*q̓p̓əléʔct* ‘tie them up in a bundle’ (cf. *q̓ép̓ət* ‘tie it up’)
*yəx̌ʷáleʔct* ‘untie it (something in a bundle)’ (cf. *yə́x̌ʷət* ‘untie it’)

52 *-él̓c̓ ~ -əl̓c̓* ‘hair, line’

*ƛ̓əqtél̓c̓* ‘long-haired’ (< *ƛ̓éqt* ‘long’)
*cq̓x̌él̓c̓* ‘black-haired’ (< *cq̓íx̌* ‘black’)
*kʷənél̓c̓* ‘hold a harpoon line’ (cf. *kʷəm̓nét* ‘hold it’)

53 *-ál̓xən* ‘line’

*k̓ʷəyəkʷəl̓xən* (CC), *k̓ʷəy̓kʷál̓xən* (JP) ‘trolling line’ (cf. *k̓ʷú·yəkʷ* [CC], *k̓ʷáwyəkʷəm* [JP] ‘troll’)
*ƛ̓əqtál̓xən* ‘long line’ (< *ƛ̓éqt* ‘long’)

54 *-álkʷɬ ~ -əlkʷɬ* ‘winter dancer, possessing song’

*x̌əẇsálkʷɬ* ‘new dancer (this year’s initiate)’ (< *x̌éẇs* ‘new’)
*ʔəmxálkʷɬ* ‘“run” a new dancer’ (< *ʔíməx* ‘walk’)
*sɬálkʷɬ* ‘non-dancer’ (< ?)

*xʷáy̓əlkʷɬ* ‘finish the season as a new dancer’ (< *háy* ‘finish’)
*təqáyəʔálkʷɬ* ‘having a wolf song’ (cf. *stəqáyeʔ* ‘wolf’)

54.1 *-alk̓ʷɬ* ‘child of’

*xʷməθkʷəyəmàlk̓ʷɬ* ‘Musqueam child’ (< *xʷməθkʷəy̓əm* ‘Musqueam’)
*spéləwàlk̓ʷɬ* ‘Sparrow child’ (< surname *Sparrow*)

55 *-éləq* ‘wave’

*sqʷɬéləq* ‘(moderate) surf’ (< *qʷáɬ* ‘wash ashore’)
*θiθéləq* ‘with big waves’ (< *θíθə* ‘big (pl.)’)
*qíˑləq* ‘rough, choppy (water)’ (//qəl-əlәq//, < *qál* ‘bad’)
*háy̓əl̓əq* ‘wave’ (< ?)

56 *-éləqəp* ‘smell, taste, sound’ (perhaps ‘trace’)

*scəkʷəl̓éləqəp* ‘how does it smell?’ (< *scékʷəl̓* ‘how?’)
*ʔəy̓éləqəp* ‘smell good’ (< *ʔáy̓* ‘good’)
*qálləqəp* ‘smell bad, taste bitter’ (< *qál* ‘bad’)
*pəpəṯθinéləqəp* ‘smell of skunk’ (< *spəpəṯθín* ‘skunk’)
*sɬéwəṯèləqəp* ‘taste like herring’ (< *sɬéwəṯ* ‘herring’)
*θxʷéləqəp* ‘die down, fade away (a sound)’ (< *θəxʷ* ‘disappear’)

57 *-el̓əqən ~ -ələqən* ‘line, stream?’

*scɬél̓əqən* ‘cork line (of net)’ (cf. *cícəɬ* ‘above’)
*sƛ̓pél̓əqən* ‘lead [the metal] line, lower edge of net’ (cf. *ƛ̓íƛ̓əp* ‘below’)
*x̌ʷáməlәqən* ‘fast leak (in boat or roof) (< *x̌ʷám* ‘fast’)

58 *-ə́l̓qən* ‘pelt, fur, hide’

*p̓q̓ə́l̓qən* ‘mountain goat’ (< *p̓áq̓* ‘white’)
*ɬəc̓ə́l̓qən* ‘shear wool’ (cf. *ɬíc̓ət* ‘cut it’)
*k̓ʷəqʷə́l̓qən* ‘beat wool’ (cf. *k̓ʷáqʷət* ‘beat it’)
*k̓ʷəqʷə́l̓qətən* ‘“sword” used for beating wool’ (< *-tən* ‘instrument’)
*sƛ̓pél̓qən* ‘feather’ (< *ƛ̓áp* ‘deep’?)
*ʔəx̌ə́l̓qən* ‘buckskin’ (cf. *ʔíx̌ət* ‘scrape it’)

59 *-élqɬ ~ -əlqɬ* ‘catch, game’

*ɬəẇélqɬ* ‘lose a fish, miss a shot’ (< *ɬéẇ* ‘escape’)
*qx̌élqɬ* ‘have a big catch’ (< *qə́x̌* ‘many’)
*k̓ʷínəlqɬ* ‘how many caught?’ (< *k̓ʷín* ‘how many?’)

60 *-ələx̌əṯθ ~ -éləx̌əṯθ* ‘barrier’

*cƛ̓ə́məlәx̌əṯθ* ‘jump over a fence’ (< *cƛ̓ə́m* ‘jump’)
*k̓ʷən̓éləx̌əṯθ* ‘pass over a barrier’ (< *k̓ʷən-* ‘transfer’)
*səx̌ʷəʔéləx̌əṯθ* ‘wet the bed’ (< *sə́x̌ʷaʔ* ‘urinate’)

61 *-álwət* ‘garment’

*ṗq̓álwət* ‘Hudson’s Bay Company blanket’ (< *ṗáq̓* ‘white’)
*t̓θx̌ʷálwətəm* ‘wash one’s clothes’ (cf. *t̓θx̌ʷát* ‘wash it’)
*ʔəx̌álq̓ənàlwət* ‘buckskin shirt’ (< *ʔəx̌álqən* ‘buckskin’)
*łəmxʷálwət* ‘raincoat’ (< *łáməxʷ* ‘rain [v.]’; cf. *słáməxʷ* ‘rain [n.]’)
*k̓ʷix̌ʷálwət* ‘raincoat’ (< *k̓ʷíʔxʷ* ‘pitch’)
*šxʷṗiṗt̓θálwətəm* ‘wringer (on a washing machine)’ (cf. *ṗít̓θət* ‘wring it out’)

62 *-əlwəs* ‘heart, side of chest’

*ʔəy̓é·lwəs* ‘brave’ (< *ʔəy̓* ‘good’)
*qəlálwəs* ‘cowardly’ (< *qál* ‘bad’)
*t̓θq̓ʷélwəst* ‘punch him on the side’ (cf. *t̓θtq̓ʷət* ‘punch him’)

63 *-él̓weʔs ~ -əl̓weʔs* ‘paddle’

*łənəy̓él̓weʔs* ‘woman’s paddle’ (< *słénəy̓* ‘woman’)
*isəlál̓weʔs* ‘two paddles’ (< *yəsél̓ə* ‘two’)
*q̓éẇəl̓weʔs* ‘pay the paddles (i.e., pay those who helped bring food for affines)’ (cf. *q̓éwət* ‘pay him’)
*łəlqálweʔsəm* ‘put one’s paddle into the water’ (cf. *łəlqt* ‘dip it’)
*słél̓q̓əlweʔs* ‘with unraised paddle (for a quiet approach)’ (resultative of last)
*q̓áyəlweʔs* ‘weaken’ (< *q̓áy* ‘die’)

64 *-ícən ~ -əcən ~ -ic- ~ -əc-* (before *-t* ‘transitive’ and *-əm* ‘intransitive’) ‘back, surface, top’

*x̌əx̌ṗícən* ‘chipmunk’ (cf. *x̌íṗət* ‘scratch it’)
*skʷámẁəcən* ‘hump-backed’ (cf. *skʷámẁθ* ‘lump,’ *skʷámx̌* ‘ridge’)
*scłícən* ‘top, surface’ (cf. *cícəł* ‘above’)
*cłíct* ‘put it on top’ (cf. last)
*səhícən* ‘this side’ (< *s-* ‘nominalizer,’ *ʔí* ‘be here’)
*snəʔícən* ‘that side, other side’ (< *níʔ* ‘be there’)

64.1 *-eʔc ~ -él̓əc ~ -əl̓əc ~ -líc* ‘route across’

*cx̌ámẁeʔct* ‘jump over it (as a log), skip it’ (< *cx̌ámẁ* ‘jump’)
*t̓q̓ʷéʔlec* ‘take a short cut (as a pass between islands)’ (cf. *t̓q̓ʷát* ‘cut it off’)
*c̓á·l̓əc* ‘cross over (an island), go over (a hill)’ (< *c̓éʔ* ‘land atop’)
*łəq̓əlíc* ‘other side (as of a hill)’ (cf. *łq̓é·n* ‘other end’)

64.2 *-c* 'low tide'? (*-əc* 'surface'?)

*nátcəm* 'shift from low tides in the daytime to low tides at night (in the fall)' (< *nét* 'become night')
*wéyəlcəm* 'shift from low tides at night to lows in the day (in the spring)' (< *wéyəl* 'become day')

64.3 *-əwíc ~ -əwəc* 'back' (perhaps a connective and 64, *-ic ~ -əc* 'surface')

*łəqtáwəc ~ łəq̓təwíc* 'broad-backed' (< *łq̓ét* 'wide')
*x̌əłəwíc* 'have an aching back' (< *x̌áł* 'hurt')
*sx̌əlxèlq̓əwíc* 'striped backed' (< *sx̌élq̓* 'stripe')

65 *-əc* 'hundred'?

*néc̓əẇəc* 'one hundred' (< *néc̓əw-* combining form of *nác̓aʔ* 'one')
*θém̓əc* 'two hundred' (< *θem-* 'two')

66 *-écən ~ áləcən ~ éləcən* 'testicle(s)'

*mécən* 'testicle' (< *mə-* dummy root?)
*θiθáləcən ~ θəháləcən* 'having big testicles' (< *θí* 'big')
*xʷlə́m̓eʔələcət* 'kick him in the balls' (cf. *lə́m̓éʔt* 'kick him')
*xʷṕix̌álact* 'grab him by the balls' (cf. *ṕáyx̌t* 'squeeze it')
*xʷk̓ʷək̓ʷəʔéləcən* 'be lying on one's back with legs flexed' (< *k̓ʷí?* 'ascend')

67 *-cəp ~ -əlcəp ~ -ál̓cəp* 'fire, firewood'

*qʷáʔcəp* 'spark' (< *qʷé* 'get through'?)
*q̓ʷáʔicəp* 'soot' (cf. *q̓ʷá·yt* 'scorch it')
*pá·l̓cəp* 'blow on a fire' (cf. *pá·t* 'blow on it')
*yáqʷəlcəp* 'light a fire' (< *yáqʷ* 'burn')
*kʷətxʷál̓cəp* 'bring in firewood' (cf. *kʷtéxʷt* 'bring it in')
*sq̓ál̓cəp* 'split firewood' (< *sáq̓* 'get split')

68 *-cəs ~ -cs-* (before *-əm* 'intr.') *~ -cís* 'hand, branch (of tree)'

*st̓θám̓cəs* 'bones of the hand' (< *st̓θám̓* 'bone')
*ʔəmámən̓cəs* 'having small hands' (< *ʔəməmən̓* 'little [pl.]')
*łác̓cəs* (CC), *łéc̓cəs* (JP) 'get cut in the hand' (cf. *łíc̓ət* 'cut it')
*st̓q̓ʷécəs* 'missing a finger' (< *s-* 'resultative,' *t̓áq̓ʷ* 'get cut off')
*kʷánəcəst* 'take him by the hand, shake his hand' (cf. *kʷánət* 'take it')
*séʔcsəm* 'raise one's hands' (cf. *séʔt* 'raise it')
*šxʷtəcís* 'way of doing something' (< *šxʷ-* 'oblique nominalizer,' root of *steʔé* 'like'?)
*t̓áʔxʷcəs* 'grand fir branch' (< *t̓áʔxʷ* 'grand fir')
*płátcəs* 'thick with branches' (< *płét* 'thick')

68.1 *-ál̓əw̓cəs* ‘finger’ (*-cəs* ‘hand’ with a double connective?)

*ƛ̓əlqətál̓əw̓cəs* ‘long-fingered’ (< *ƛ̓éləqt* ‘long [pl.]’)
*sənƛ̓áləw̓cəs* ‘thumb’ (< *sə́nƛ̓eʔ* ‘older sibling, senior cousin’)
*saʔasqʷtál̓əw̓cəs* ‘little finger’ (< *sáʔsəqʷt* ‘younger sibling, junior cousin’)

69 *-xən* ~ *-xə-* ~ *-xén* ~ *-xín* ~ *-xin̓* ‘foot, leg, brim (of hat)’

*c̓ələ́ləƛ̓xən* ‘short-legged’ (cf. *c̓əc̓í·ƛ̓* ‘short’)
*snə́sxən* ‘marrow’ (< *snás* ‘fat, oil’)
*qʷłéy̓xən* ‘shoe’ (< *qʷłéy̓* ‘driftwood, log’)
*łéc̓xən* ‘cut one’s foot’ (cf. *łíc̓ət* ‘cut it’)
*ləkʷxén* ‘break a leg’ (< *lə́kʷ* ‘get broken’)
*séʔxənəm* ‘raise a leg’ (cf. *séʔt* ‘raise it’)
*t̓ᵊx̌ʷxénəm* ‘wash one’s feet’ (cf. *t̓ᵊx̌ʷát* ‘wash it’)
*kʷə́nxət* ‘grab him by the foot’ (cf. *kʷə́nət* ‘take it’)
*q̓əxínt* ‘accompany him’ (< *q̓aʔ* ‘accompany’)
*šxʷnəxín̓* ‘feet’ (< *šxʷ-* ‘oblique nominalizer,’ *niʔ* ‘be there’)
*θíxən* ‘broad-brimmed (of hat)’ (< *θí* ‘big’)
*sq̓əq̓əxán* ‘partner’ (< *q̓áʔ* ‘accompany’) (see §1.5.12 [3])

69.1 *-ál̓əw̓xən* ‘toe’ (*-xən* ‘foot’ with double connective? cf. 68.1)

*θiθál̓əw̓xən* ‘big-toed’ (< *θíθə* ‘big [pl.]’)
*sənƛ̓áləw̓xən* ‘big toe’ (< *sə́nƛ̓eʔ* ‘older sibling, senior cousin’)

69.2 *-xən* ‘drop, droplet’

*θíθəxən* ‘in big drops’ (< *θíθə* ‘big [pl.]’)
*x̌ʷə́c̓xən* ‘stop raining’ (< ?)
*qʷiqʷtím̓xən* ‘Scotch mist’ (cf. *sqʷə́txəm* ‘fog’)

70 *-k̓ʷeʔ* ~ *-k̓ʷaʔ* ‘dead person’?

*nə́w̓ək̓ʷeʔ* (CC), *nə́wək̓ʷaʔ* (JP) ‘coffin’ (cf. *nə́w̓əx* ‘insert it’)
*cmék̓ʷeʔ* ‘attend a funeral’ (< *c-* ‘make, get’; cf. *méʔx* ‘remove it’?)

71 *-əxʷθəł* ~ *éləxʷθəł* ‘tongue’

*tə́xʷθəł* ‘tongue’ (< *tə-* dummy root)
*ƛ̓əqtéləxʷθəł* ‘long-tongued’ (< *ƛ̓éqt* ‘long’)
*słc̓él̓əxʷθəł* ‘with a cut tongue’ (< *s-* ‘resultative,’ *łíc̓-* ‘cut’)

72 *-xʷəł* ‘canoe’ (cf. 90)

*néc̓əxʷəł* ‘one canoe’ (< *nə́c̓aʔ* ‘one’)
*θéməxʷəł* ‘two canoes’ (< *θém-* ‘two’)
*snə́xʷəł* ‘canoe (gen.), vehicle’ (< ?)

73 *-eq ~ -əq ~ -q* ‘penis, projection, rear’

*xʷθé·q ~ θé·q* ‘having a big penis’ (< *θí* ‘big’)
*qʷín̓eq* ‘man’s pubic hair’ (< *qʷín* ‘hair on face and body’)
*kʷənéqt* ‘grab him by the penis’ (cf. *kʷánət* ‘take it’)
*pən̓éq* ‘slow match (cedar bark burning in clamshell’ (< *pán* ‘be buried’)
*yáqʷəq* ‘light it (as a wick)’ (< *yáqʷ* ‘burn’)
*sʔilíʔeq* ‘stern (of boat) (< ?)
*cé·lqəm* ‘follow’ (perhaps //cəl-əlq-əm// from *cel-* ‘follow’ or *cé·lt* //cél-ət// ‘follow him’)
*x̌ćélqəm* ‘sneak after ducks’ (cf. *x̌íćət* ‘sneak up on him’)

73.1 *-əy̓eʔq ~ ay̓eʔq ~ -áy̓əq* ‘projection’

*xʷʔəy̓səláy̓əq* (CC), *xʷʔisəláy̓eʔq* ‘double-barrelled gun’ (< *yəsél̓ə* ‘two’)
*xʷnəćáy̓əq* ‘single-barrelled gun’ (< *náćaʔ* ‘one’)
*šxʷtəx̌ən̓áy̓eʔq* ‘prong’ (cf. *stítəx̌* ‘spread out’)
*tx̌éy̓eʔqt* ‘spread its legs (as a ladder)’ (cf. last)

74 *-qən ~ -qín* ‘head, end, bow of canoe’

*méqən* ‘hair’ (< *m-* of *máqsən* ?)
*qʷéqən* ‘bud out’ (< *qʷé* ‘get through’)
*sp̓q̓ámqən* ‘form a flower’ (< *sp̓éq̓əm* ‘flower,’ *p̓áq̓* ‘white, bright’)
*smáɬ̓θqən* ‘brain’ (< *məɬ̓θ-* ‘soft’? cf. *məɬ̓θílθət* ‘become soft’)
*łáq̓qən* ‘head of a long river’ (cf. *łq̓é·n* ‘other end’)
*łəq̓qín* ‘other end of the house (as last)’
*x̌ix̌əq̓qínəm* ‘be scratching one’s head’ (cf. *x̌íq̓ət* ‘scratch it’)
*xʷəwqínt* ‘push it ahead’ (< *xʷ-* ‘move toward,’ *hiw* ‘upstream, toward fire’)
*ćəlqínəm* ‘turn one’s canoe around, turn one’s back’ (< *ćəl-* ‘switch’)

74.1 *-íqən ~ -əqən ~ -qən ~ -qén* ‘front, slope’

*ʔéθəqən* ‘front’ (< *ʔeθ-* restrictive root)
*scłíqən* ‘top of a hill’ (cf. *cícał* ‘above’)
*sx̌̓píqən* ‘bottom of a hill’ (cf. *x̌íx̌̓əp* ‘below’)
*x̌̓əpqénəm* ‘descend (a mountain), go downhill’ (cf. *x̌íx̌̓əp* ‘below’)
*q̓ʷáləqən* ‘shore of bare rock’ (cf. *q̓ʷíʔəlt* ‘uncover it’)
*k̓ʷíʔqən* ‘climb (a mountain), go uphill’ (< *k̓ʷíʔ* ‘ascend’)
*łəq̓qént* ‘put something down in front of him’ (cf. *łéq̓ət* ‘lay it down’)

74.2 *-qən ~ -qə-* (before *-t* ‘transitive’) *~ -qín-* (before *-əm* ‘intransitive’) ‘throat, voice, speech, meal, opening facing upward’ (an extension of 75?)

*xʷt̓ʲθáɬqət* ‘quench his thirst’ (cf. *t̓ʲθáɬəm* ‘cold,’ *t̓ʲθét̓ʲθəɬ* ‘refreshing’)
*t̓ʲθəx̌ʷqínəm* ‘wash one’s throat (have a beer)’ (cf. *t̓ʲθx̌ʷát* ‘wash it’)

*xʷθíqən* 'loud' (< *θí* 'big')
*xʷməθkʷəy̓əmqən* 'Musqueam speech'
*qəw̓ícənqən* 'Cowichan speech' (< *qəw̓ícən* 'Cowichan')
*kìnjá·jqənstəxʷ* 'speak English to him' (< *kìnjá·j* 'Englishman,' < CJ)[3]
*šxʷnétəɬqən* 'breakfast' (< *šxʷ-* 'oblique nominalizer,' *nétəɬ* 'morning')
*xʷpə́n̓əqət* 'fill it up (e.g., a hole in the ground)' (< *pə́n* 'get buried')

74.3 *-əqən ~ -əqən̓* 'container' (an extension of 74.2?)

*x̌əθínəqən̓* 'four (containers)' (< *x̌aʔáθən* 'four')
*ɬq̓écsəqən̓* 'five (containers)' (< *ɬq̓écəs* 'five')
*θíθəqən* 'big (containers)' (< *θíθə* 'big [pl.]')

75 *-qs ~ əqs ~ -qsən ~ -áqsən ~ qsín* 'nose, snout, point (of land)'

*máqsən* 'nose' (< *mə-* dummy root?)
*qʷáyqs* 'a large gull with a yellow beak' (cf. *cqʷáy* 'yellow, green')
*sxáqəqs* 'nose ornament' (< *xáq* 'be finished'?)
*θíqsən* 'big-nosed' (< *θí* 'big')
*sɬ̓θə́m̓qsən* 'bones of the nose' (< *sɬ̓θə́m̓* 'bone')
*ɬáč̓qst* 'cut off its snout' (< *ɬič̓-* 'cut')
*k̓ʷáqsənəm* 'turn one's nose up' (< *kʷíʔ* 'ascend'?)
*sʔálqsən* 'point (of land), Point Grey' (< *ʔəl-* restrictive root?)
*x̌̓əqtáqsən* 'long nose, long point' (< *x̌̓éqt* 'long')
*yəqsín* (CC), *yəqsánəm* (JP) 'go against the wind' (< ?)

76 *-éx̌ən ~ -əx̌ən ~ -x̌én-* (before *-əm* 'intransitive') 'arm, side, branch, perimeter'

*se·léx̌ənəm* 'raise one's arms' (cf. *séʔt* 'raise it')
*pəypəyéx̌ən* 'have arms akimbo' (cf. *pá·yt* 'bend it'?)
*ʔíləx̌ən* 'far end (of a house or road)' (< *ʔíl-* ?)
*šxʷləkʷéx̌ən* 'corner (in house' (< *ləkʷ* 'be broken,' lit. 'where the edge is broken' [DK])
*táytəx̌ən* 'p.n., the upper end of the row of houses at *sc̓əléxʷ*' (< *táyt* 'upstream')
*nəʔéx̌ən* 'reach an end' (< *níʔ* 'be there')
*ɬálqəx̌ət* 'dip it (a blanket or garment) partly into the water' (cf. *ɬálqt* 'dip it')
*məɬ̓éx̌ət* 'bend a branch down' (cf. *məɬ̓át* 'bend it')
*k̓ʷəcx̌énəm* 'keep a lookout, keep watch' (< *k̓ʷéc* 'look')
*sq̓əléx̌ən* 'stockade, fence' (cf. *q̓áləm* 'camp')[4]

3 When JP was a boy, older monolingual persons used this word in asking the young to interpret.
4 This is also a Chinook Jargon word, but it must be Salish in origin.

76.1 *-əléx̌ən* ‘arm’ (probably 76 with *-əl-* connective)

*x̌̓əlqətəléx̌ən* ‘long-armed’ (< *x̌̓éləqt* ‘long [pl.]’)
*sṯ̓ᶿəm̓əléx̌ən* ‘arm bone’ (< *sṯ̓ᶿám̓* ‘bone’)
*sé·léx̌ənəm* ‘raise one’s arms’ (cf. *sé·t* ‘raise it’)
*q̓əp̓əléx̌ət* ‘tie it (as a kerchief) to his arm (as he dances)’ (cf. *q̓ép̓ət* ‘tie it up’)

77 *-qʷ ~ -əqʷ ~ əqʷ ~ aqʷ ~ -aʔqʷ ~ -iʔqʷ ~ -ələqʷ ~ -awaqʷ* ‘head’

*k̓ʷáqʷqʷ* ‘bladderwrack’ (< *k̓ʷáqʷ* ‘get hit,’ because the dry bladders burst with a pop when struck?)
*ṯ̓ᶿp̓íʔqʷ* ‘get one’s head filthy’ (< *ṯ̓ᶿəp̓-* ‘get filthy’)
*ʔəxʷín̓aqʷ* ‘small-headed’ (< *ʔəxʷín̓* ‘small’)
*x̌áɬaqʷ* ‘have a headache’ (< *x̌áɬ* ‘hurt’)
*ɬíc̓aʔqʷəm* ‘get one’s hair cut’ (cf. *ɬíc̓ət* ‘cut it’)
*xʷṯ̓ᶿq̓ʷáləqʷt* ‘hit him on the head’ (cf. *ṯ̓ᶿíq̓ʷət* ‘punch him’)
*híẇaqʷ* ‘headman, leader’ (< *hiẇ* ‘upstream, toward the fire’)
*yásaqʷ* ‘hat’ (< ?)
*wəɬxʷáwaqʷ* ‘three (animals)’ (< *wə-* ‘“established” aspectual prefix,’ *ɬíxʷ* ‘three’)
*x̌̓áqtaqʷ* ‘high (mountain)’ (< *x̌̓éqt* ‘long’)

77.1 *-áẇəqʷ* ‘hat’

*ɬəmxʷáẇəqʷ* ‘rain-hat’ (< *ɬáməxʷ* ‘rain’)
*kʷəmləxʷáẇəqʷ* ‘spruce-root basketry hat’ (< *kʷámləxʷ* ‘root’)
*k̓ʷixʷáẇəqʷ* ‘rain-hat of waterproof fabric’ (< *k̓ʷíʔxʷ* ‘pitch, gum’)

78 *-éy̓ ~ -əy̓* ‘plant, tree, wood’

*qʷɬéy̓* ‘driftwood, log’ (< *qʷáɬ* ‘wash ashore’)
*pqʷéy̓* ‘rotten wood’ (< *páqʷ* ‘get broken up’)
*c̓séy̓* ‘Douglas-fir wood’ (< *c̓ís-* ‘grow’?)
*sák̓ʷəməy̓* ‘birch tree’ (< *sák̓ʷəm* ‘whole bark’)

79 *-əy̓* ‘someone who does (agent)’?

*sx̌əx̌é·y̓* ‘child that cries a lot’ (cf. *x̌é·m* ‘cry’)
*sɬénəy̓* ‘woman’ (< *ɬən-* ‘weave’?)
*q̓ém̓əy̓* ‘young woman, teenaged girl’ (< ?)

80 *-əy̓ ~ -ay̓* ‘fish’?

*sθáqəy̓* ‘sockeye salmon’ (< ?)
*sṯ̓ᶿáqʷəy̓* ‘chinook (“spring”) salmon, salmon (gen.)’ (cf. next)
*sṯ̓ᶿqʷáy̓* ‘little fish’ (cf. *ṯ̓ᶿáʔəqʷ* ‘stickleback’)
*wécəy̓* ‘perch’ (< ?)
*x̌̓q̓ʷáy̓* ‘salmon milt’(?) (< ?)

81 *-əye ~ -əy̓e ~ -áy̓e* ‘dear one’ (? in forms of address), ‘small creature’(?)

*ʔíməye* ‘grandchild (address)’ (< *ʔíməθ* ‘grandchild’)
*níkʷəye* ‘uncle, aunt (address)’ (cf. *šxʷəmníkʷ* ‘living parent’s sibling’)
*səm̓áy̓e* ‘bee, hornet’ (< ?)
*qʷín̓əye* ‘clown dancer wearing bearskin appearing with *sx̌ʷáyx̌ʷəy* ’ (< *qʷín̓* ‘hair on face and body’)
*q̓íx̌əy̓e* ‘Negro’ (cf. *cq̓íx̌* ‘black’)

82 *-éy̓ən ~ ál̓yən* ‘net, trap’

*qʷséy̓ən* ‘set a gill net’ (< *qʷás* ‘go into the water’)
*k̓ʷłey̓ən* ‘set a net parallel to the shore’ (cf. *k̓ʷáłəst* ‘spread it [a net]’)
*θék̓ʷəl̓yən* ‘be pulling a net’ (cf. *θk̓ʷát* ‘pull on it’)
*x̌áyq̓ey̓ən* ‘be caught in a trap’ (cf. *x̌áyq̓t* ‘press down on it’)

83 *-əyás ~ -əy̓ás ~ -əyəs* ‘circular figure,’ ‘come full circle’?

*qəq̓əyás* ‘barrel’ (cf. *qəq̓* ‘taut,’ *qəq̓át* ‘make it taut,’ *qíq̓ət* ‘bind it’)
*kʷəmləxʷəy̓ás* ‘watertight coiled basket’ (< *kʷámləxʷ* ‘root’)
*tqʷiʔás* ‘tight around the middle’ (< *táqʷ* ‘tight’)
*həńcáwəyəs ~ ʔəm̓cáwəyəs* ‘come back to life, return after thought dead’ (< *həńcéw ~ ʔəm̓céw* ‘come down to the shore’)

84 *-éyəł ~ áyəł ~ ey̓ł-* (before *-əm* ‘intransitive’) ‘child, people, ceremony’

*x̌əʔéyəł* ‘stop a baby’s crying’ (cf. *x̌áʔt* ‘comfort him’)
*nəẃéyəł* ‘advise a child’ (cf. *níẃət* ‘advise him’)
*xəłámey̓łəm* ‘take care of a baby’ (cf. *xáʔłəmət* ‘take care of it’)
*x̌eʔx̌eʔáyəł* ‘abnormal baby’ (< *x̌éʔx̌ə* ‘holy, taboo’)
*c̓áyəł* ‘thank a crowd’ (cf. *c̓íˑt ~ c̓ít* ‘thank him’)
*θəθx̌ʷéyəł* ‘girl’s puberty ceremony (< *θáθəx̌ʷ* ‘first menstruation’)

85 *-íwən ~ -əwən ~ -íwə-* (before *-t* ‘transitive’) ‘inside, middle, waist, behind, rump, trunk (of tree)’

*šxʷt̓θəm̓íwən* ‘seed (of fruit), pit’ (< *st̓θám̓* ‘bone’)
*xʷθtíwən* ‘think’ (< *θát* ‘say’)
*šxʷqʷéləwən* ‘thoughts, feelings’ (< *qʷél* ‘speak’)
*xʷsq̓íwət* ‘split it in two’ (cf. *sq̓ét* ‘split it’)
*xʷc̓íwət* ‘put it in the middle (as of a bundle)’ (cf. *xʷc̓át* ‘insert it’)
*šxʷx̌ʷq̓ʷíwətən* ‘belt’ (< *x̌ʷíq̓ʷ* ‘get enmeshed’)
*xʷłəq̓tíwən* ‘wide-rumped’ (< *łq̓ét* ‘wide’)
*xʷc̓q̓ʷíwən* ‘get pricked in the rear’ (< *c̓áq̓ʷ* ‘get pierced’)
*xʷləm̓eʔíwət* ‘kick him in the rear’ (cf. *ləm̓éʔt* ‘kick him’)
*xʷləm̓əʔíwənxət* ‘kick him in the shins (as last + *-xən* ‘foot’)
*xʷx̌́kʷíwət* ‘grab him by the seat of the pants’ (cf. *x̌́kʷát* ‘grab it)

*xʷəqʷáməwən* '"smelly behind"' (word coined by Coquitlam William for 'automobile') (< *háqʷəm* 'smell')
*xʷƛ̓əqtíwən* 'tall (tree)' (< *ƛ̓éqt* 'long')

86 *-áẇəθ ~ -əwəθ* 'kind, ingredient'

*təwxʷk̓ʷínəwəθ* 'about how many kinds?' (< *təw-* 'somewhat,' *k̓ʷín* 'how many?')
*xʷnəc̓áẇəθ* 'one kind, one ingredient' (< *nác̓aʔ* 'one')
*xʷɬxʷáẇəθ* 'three kinds' (< *ɬíxʷ* 'three')
*qx̌áẇəθ* 'many kinds' (< *qə́x̌* 'many')

87 *-íws ~ -əẇs ~ -iləẇs ~ -éləẇs ~ -ələẇs* 'body, bird'

*p̓ɬíẇs* 'regain consciousness' (< *p̓áɬ* 'come to, become conscious')
*səẇq̓íẇs* 'search for a lost person' (< *sáẇq̓* 'seek')
*qʷínəws* 'body hair' (< *qʷín* 'hair other than head hair')
*ƛ̓éləwst* 'harness it' (< *ƛ̓él* 'get stuck, be constrained')
*məʔíwst* 'unharness it' (cf. *méʔx* 'remove it')
*xʷθk̓ʷíẇsəm* 'straighten oneself up' (cf. *θk̓ʷát* 'stretch it')
*nəc̓íẇs* 'one (bird)' (< *nác̓aʔ* 'one')
*q̓ʷáməẇs* 'pluck it (a bird)' (cf. *q̓ʷáməɬ* 'pull it out')
*k̓ʷsíẇst* 'singe it (a bird)' (< *k̓ʷés* 'get scorched')
*x̌áɬələws* (CC), *x̌ɬéləws* (JP) 'have a pain' (< *x̌áɬ* 'hurt')
*ʔəwk̓ʷíləws* 'become exhausted' (< *ʔəwk̓ʷ* 'be all gone, used up')

88 *-éwəs* 'figure, back, trunk (of body)'

*ʔəy̓éwəs* 'having a good figure' (< *ʔáy̓* 'good')
*ƛ̓əqtéwəs* 'having a long back (trunk)' (< *ƛ̓éqt* 'long')
*sθk̓ʷéẇəs* 'of straight bearing' (cf. *θk̓ʷát* 'pull it,' *sθəθék̓ʷ* 'straight')
*stqʷéẇəs* 'too tight around the waist' (< *táqʷ* 'tight')

89 *-wəɬ~ -wíɬ ~ -ewəɬ ~ -awəɬ -wíl* (before *-t* 'transitive' and *-əm* 'intransitive') ~ *-wəl-* (before *-tən* 'instrument') 'canoe, vessel, mind'(?)

*táyewəɬ* 'racing canoe' (< *téy* 'race')
*i̓kʷéwəɬ* 'caulk a canoe' (< *i̓ák̓ʷ* 'stuck in mud')
*x̌iləx̌áwəɬ* 'battleship' (< *x̌íləx̌* 'make war')
*xʷk̓ʷənwílt* 'transfer it from one craft to another' (< *k̓ʷən-* 'transfer')
*i̓θəx̌ʷwílt* 'wash dishes' (cf. *i̓θx̌ʷát* 'wash it')
*šxʷi̓θàx̌ʷwáltən* 'dish pan' (< *-tən* 'instrument')
*xʷqálwəɬ* 'mean, tough person' (< *qál* 'bad')
*xʷqəx̌wíɬ* 'tricky' (< *qə́x̌* 'many')

90 *-wíɬ ~ -ál̓wəɬ ~ -ál̓wəɬ ~ əlwəl-* (before *-t* 'transitive') ~ *-alwíl-* (before *-əm* 'intransitive') 'side'

*x̌ʼkʷəlwílt* 'grab him by the sides' (cf. *x̌ʼkʷát* 'grab it')
*šxʷnəwíɬ* 'other side of the Gulf' (< *níʔ* 'be there')
*snəʔál̓wəɬ* 'other side (of house, log, etc.)' (< *níʔ* 'be there')
*səhál̓wəɬ* 'this side (of house, etc.)' (< *ʔí* 'be here')
*scɬál̓wəɬ* 'upper side, top' (cf. *cícəɬ* 'above')
*cɬál̓wəlt* 'put it on top' (cf. last)
*sx̌ʼpál̓wəɬ* 'under side' (cf. *x̌ʼíx̌ʼəp* 'below')
*x̌ʼpal̓wíl̓əm* 'move under (cf. last)'

91 *-weʔɬ ~ əweʔɬ* 'back'

*sɬáq̓weʔɬ* 'back (of human body)' (cf. *ɬq̓éʷn* 'other end')
*ləkʷáweʔɬ* 'break one's back' (< *lákʷ* 'get broken')
*tʼθq̓ʷə̀wéɬt* 'punch him on the back' (cf. *tʼθíq̓ʷət* 'punch him')

## 13.7. POSSIBLE LEXICAL SUFFIXES

The following appear in too few words to be safely identified as lexical suffixes.

1 *-émaɬ* 'stored food' (only one example)

*ʔəwk̓ʷémaɬ* 'run out of food' (AG) (< *ʔáwk̓ʷ* 'be used up'), 'lose one's breath (DK)

2 *-tín̓* variant of 16, *-tən* 'instrument'?

*šxʷqəltín̓* 'hate, bad feelings, bad health' (DK), 'disliked one' (AG) (< *qál* 'bad')

3 *-t̓* ?

*ɬémət̓əm* 'get drenched with rain' (cf. *ɬáməxʷ* 'rain,' *sɬámɬəm* 'dew')

4 *-t̓én* ?

*x̌əy̓st̓én̓* 'nit' (< *sx̌áy̓əs* 'head'?)

5 *-ənt* 'day'?

*θáməntˀ* 'two (days)' (< *θəm-* ~ *θém-* 'two')

6 *-ánəm* ?

*syət̓ánəm* 'year' (cf. *syát̓əxʷaʔ* 'old person,' *yət̓éw* 'past')

7 *tʼθ*?

*skʷámt̓θ* 'lump (as on body)' (cf. *skʷám̓əcən* 'hump-backed,' *skʷámx̌ʼ* 'bulge, ridge')

*skʷəm̓tˀθáˑyθən* ‘chin’ (last plus *-áˑyθən* ‘mouth,’ i.e., ‘mouth-bump’)
*skʷəm̓tˀθəlέx̌ən* ‘elbow’ (same plus *-əlέx̌ən* ‘arm’)
*łiłέtˀθt* ‘make fun of him because of accident or bad luck’ (cf. *łέʔit* ‘insult him’)
*həẃtˀθéʔt* ‘tease him’ (cf. *həẃáləm* ‘play’)

8 *-sím* ‘berry’?

*q̓əleˑq̓əsím* ‘twinberry (berry of *Lonicera involucrata*)’ (< Cowichan *q̓əlέˑq̓ə* ‘crow’; cf. *q̓əlέˑq̓əłp* ‘twinberry bush’)

9 *-əłqəẏ̓* ‘snake’

*ʔáłqəẏ̓* ‘snake’
*sʔíˑtˑłqəẏ̓* (Cowichan, Northern Straits *sʔínəłqəẏ̓*) ‘two-headed serpent’ (< ?)

10 *-əłx̌e* ?

*θəq̓əłx̌é* ‘kneel’ (CC) (< *θáq̓* ‘be speared’?)
*θəq̓əłx̌éʔəm* ‘pray’ (CC)
*tˀθq̓əłx̌é* ‘kneel’ (JP) (cf. *tˀθq̓ət* ‘step on it’)

11 *-x̌̓* ?

*skʷám̓x̌̓* ‘protuberance on the body, bulge’ (cf. *skʷám̓tˀθ* ‘lump on the body’; cf. 7 above)
*šxʷkʷám̓x̌̓* ‘p.n., at Musqueam, glossed ‘ridge’
*šxʷkʷám̓x̌̓əs* ‘unflattened head’ (last with *-əs* ‘face’)

12 *-əl̓ə* ‘standing object’?

*xʷk̓ʷál̓ə* ‘scouring rush’ (cf. *xʷák̓ʷət* ‘polish it’)
*xálə* (AC), *sxál̓ə* (JP) ‘penis’ (cf. *xéwəł* ‘vulva,’ with *-éwəł* ‘vessel’? *xéʔt* ‘hold it in front, hold it on one’s lap’)

13 *-íləx* ? (cf. 19 below)

*łx̌íləx* ‘stand’ (cf. *wəłáx̌* ‘stand up suddenly’)
*q̓ʷəyíləx* ‘dance’ (< ?)

14 *-éˑləq* ?

*qiqəẃéˑləq* ‘menstrual pad (of shredded cedar bark)’ (< *qíqəẃ* ‘be menstruating’)

15 *-alwəm ~ -əlwəm* ? (cf. *ʔál̓wəm* ‘be left alone’)

*xʷnəc̓álwəm* (JP), *xʷnəc̓álwəm* (DK) ‘“one family”’ (perhaps the descendants of one couple, JP believed) (< *nác̓aʔ* ‘one’)

16 *-c* ‘origin’?

*témc* ‘from what place? from what people?’ (cf. *stém* ‘what?’)

17 *-cálaʔ ~ -əčáleʔ* ?

*qətqətcálaʔ* (JP), *qətqətəčáleʔ* (CC) ‘spider’ (cf. *qítət* ‘wrap something around it, bind it’)

18 *-c̓ ~ -əc̓* ?

*sálc̓* ‘go around’ (cf. *sálət* ‘spin it,’ *sáləm* ‘spin,’ *sálq̓t* ‘swing it around’)
*mím̓ələc̓* ‘someone who is always making mistakes’ (cf. *málməl* ‘misidentify’)
*yál̓yəl̓əc̓* ‘storm, bad weather’ (< ?)

19 *-əx* ? (cf. 13 above)

*ʔíməx* ‘walk’ (< *ʔím-* suggested by *ʔəmícən* ‘walk on sand, as in shallow water looking for flounders,’ < *-ícən* ‘surface’)

20 *-k̓ʷ* ?

*x̌ép̓k̓ʷəwstəm* ‘have rheumatism’ (< *x̌ip̓-* of *x̌íp̓ət* ‘scratch it,’ *x̌p̓ílt* ‘weaken him’? plus *-əws* ‘body’ and third-person passive suffixes; cf. *x̌ép̓qəwstəm* ‘have rheumatism, have bones aching’)
*q̓əp̓k̓ʷá·yθəθà·m* ‘your teeth are chattering’ (< √ of *q̓ép̓ət* ‘tie it up,’ *q̓él̓p̓təm* ‘have a cramp’ plus *-á·yθən* ‘mouth’ and second-person passive suffixes)
*q̓ámk̓ʷθət* ‘shrink oneself’ (cf. *q̓áməst* ‘make room for him,’ *-θət* ‘self’)
*x̌ámk̓ʷt* ‘crush a louse between the teeth’ (< ?)

21 *-əxʷ* ?

*łáməxʷ* ‘rain’ (cf. *słámłəm* ‘dew,’ *słé·mt̓* ‘drenched with rain’)
*ləm̓áxʷ* ‘make the noise of something dropped, go plunk’ (< *lám̓* ‘get hit by something thrown’?)

22 *-éxʷ* ‘times’?

*nəc̓éxʷ* ‘once’ (< *nác̓aʔ* ‘one’; cf. *θəmé* ‘twice,’ *łxʷél* ‘three times,’ and other forms with *-él*)

23 *-əxʷaʔ* ?

*syál̓əxʷaʔ* ‘old person’ (cf. *syəl̓éw̓* ‘past’)

24 *-q* ?

*ʔéməqt* ‘take for him, return something borrowed to him’ (cf. *ʔéʔəm* ‘give’)

*xʷʔəmqłéˑlt* 'take food to him' (< *ʔem-* of *ʔéʔəm* 'give,' *-łél-* 'food')
*ʔéyəqt* 'put it to one side' (cf. *ʔéyəl* 'go to one side,' *-əl* 'move toward')
*mél̓q* 'forget' (cf. *málməl* 'be confused, misidentify')
*x̌ép̓qəwstəm* 'have rheumatism, have bones aching' (cf. *x̌ép̓kʷəwstəm* 'have rheumatism,' see 23 above)

25 *-q̓* ?

*sálq̓t* 'swing it around (e.g., a sling)' (< *səl-* 'spin'; cf. *sálc̓* 'go around')
*c̓əl̓q̓əs* 'sling' (< *c̓él-* 'turn,' *-əs* 'round object'?)
*yəmq̓θət* 'rub oneself with cedar boughs' (< ?, *-θət* 'self')

26 *-x̌* ?

*xʷθəy̓x̌łélt* 'stir up the fire' (cf. *θáyt* 'fix it'? *-łél-* 'fire')
*θáy̓x̌əlqən* 'fluff out wool' (cf. *θáyt* 'fix it'? *-əlqən* 'fur')
*x̓̌ápx̌t* 'scatter it, sow it' (< *x̓̌əp* 'down'?)

27 *-q̓ʷ* 'fully, vigorously'?

*yátq̓ʷt* 'scour it' (< ?)
*t̓łáq̓ʷt* 'pry it off' (< ?)
*łálq̓ʷt* 'snatch it off' (< ?)
*cát̓q̓ʷt* 'grind it up' (< ?)

28 *-é* 'times'?

*θəmé* 'twice' (< *θəm-* ~ *θém-* 'two')

## 13.8. SUFFIXES IN FORMAL PERSONAL NAMES

I have not included the suffixes that appear in formal personal names, that is, the names that are formally given at potlatch-like events, as opposed to baby names and nicknames that are acquired informally. A formal name generally consists of an initial element (root or stem) and one of a fairly small number of suffixes that identify the name as masculine or feminine. In some names the initial element seems meaningful, but in most it does not. Several of the suffixes seem identical with Halkomelem lexical suffixes, but others are not. Suffixes in names that have been borne by Musqueam men include *-lenəxʷ, -ələq, -əltən, -əltxʷ,* and *-qínəm,* and those in names that have been borne by Musqueam women are *-tənaˑt, -əye,* and *-əlwət*.

Names of this sort have been passed down over many generations, across language boundaries, and similar or identical forms appear throughout the Coast Salish social continuum to which the Musqueam belong. It seems that a name tends to become adapted to the phonology of the language in which it is used, though not always so. It would probably not be productive to try to analyze these names in any local context. Coast Salish formal names are best seen

as the property of the Coast Salish social network and not of any one people or language. They cannot be treated as simply additional items in the lexicon of any one language. Because of their regional, multilinguistic use, they pose a multilinguistic, perhaps pan-Salish, problem in analysis and historical reconstruction. (For a good discussion of the problem, see Kennedy 2000, 269-77.)

# 14
# Person Markers

The Halkomelem person markers, those forms that correspond in meaning to English personal pronouns, include several sets of affixes, one set of particles, and two sets of words. Because these several sets play different roles in the grammar of the language, each set has been introduced in the syntactic context where it appears. It also seems useful, however, to bring them all together here in a single section.

## 14.1. PERSON AND NUMBER

The person markers distinguish first, second, and third persons in singular and plural number, but the distinctions are not altogether consistently made throughout the system. The first- and second-person object suffixes are identical in one form. In the passive, a single form appears for both first-person and second-person plural. In most sets, the third person has no separate plural form; plurality is marked by adding a pluralizing particle when it is not shown by other means, as by a plural noun or verb form.

It is also possible that number has not always been a simple distinction between one and more than one. James Point stated that the forms I identify as second-person "singular" could be (or were once) used in addressing a married couple, a pair of brothers, or even a family, the "plural" forms being used for a larger or less integrated group. This does not appear to be current or recent usage. Arnold Guerin identified the "singular" forms as strictly singular. There are, however, a few instances (not yet gathered and examined) in material dictated by both Christine Charles and James Point of singular forms used when two or more persons were addressed. Moreover, in a text dictated by Andrew Charles, there is an instance of a first-person singular form used to mean 'we (he and I),' referring to the speaker and his cousin, who was his hunting partner, in speaking to a group of strangers. Thus the question of number seems worth further investigation. There is no dual number or inclusive/exclusive distinction, unless the usage just mentioned could once have provided one.

In both CC's and JP's texts, there are instances of second-person singular forms used in the sense of 'one,' as happens in colloquial English, for example, "If you ever went there, they would ..." Since there does not appear to be any other way of saying 'one,' one may assume that this usage may be native, not borrowed.

## 14.2. FORMS

Table 14.1 lists the person markers, each set in a column. They will be described in the following order: (1) the first- and second-person coordinate subject particles, (2) the subordinate subject suffixes, (3) the third-person transitive subject suffix, (4) the possessive affixes, (5) the object suffixes, (6) the passive suffixes, (7) the personal words, (8) the possessive words, and (9) the third-person plural particle.

*Table 14.1*

**The person markers**

| | 1<br>subj | 2<br>subrd<br>subj | 4<br>poss | 5<br>obj | 6<br>pass | 7<br>pers<br>word | 8<br>poss<br>word |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1sg | *cən* | *-eˑn*<br>*-ən*<br>*-ʔeˑn* | *nə-* | *-S*<br>*-Samx*<br>*-amx* | *-Sel-*<br>*-el-* | *ʔánθə*<br>*ʔéˑnθə* | *nəswéʔ* |
| 2sg | *čxʷ* | *-əxʷ* | *ʔən-*<br>*ʔə-*<br>*ʔəT-* | *-S*<br>*-Samə*<br>*-amə* | *-Sam*<br>*-am-* | *náwə* | *ʔəswéʔ*<br>*ʔəθwéʔ* |
| 1pl | *ct* | *-ət* | *-ct* | *-alx̣ʷ* | *-al* | *łníməł* | *sʔáˑł* |
| 2pl | *ceˑp* | *-eˑp* | *ʔən-*<br>*ʔəT-*<br>*-ələp* | *-alə* | *-al-* | *łwáləp* | *ʔəswéʔələp*<br>*ʔəθwéʔələp* |

| | 1<br>subj | 2<br>subord<br>subj | 3<br>tr sub | 4<br>poss | 5<br>obj | 6<br>pass<br>co | <br>subrd | 7<br>pers<br>word | 8<br>poss<br>word | 9<br>pl<br>part |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 sg | *0* | *-əs* | *-əs* | *-s* | *0* | *0* | *-əy-* | *x̣̓á* | *swéʔs* | *0* |
| 3 pl | *0* | *-əs* | *-əs* | *-s* | *0* | *0* | *-əy-* | *x̣̓aləm* | *swéʔs* | *ʔéˑłtən* |

Phonologically the coordinate subject, subordinate subject, and possessive sets can be grouped together, as can the object and passive sets, but the two groups have nothing in common. The coordinate subject set contains some of the same elements that appear in the possessive set. The object and passive sets

likewise share several elements. The personal words seem to share some elements with the first group. The possessive words contain the possessive affixes except for one case of suppletion. The third-person plural particle seems unrelated to the other person markers. Some further analysis will be presented below.

Constraints may be summarized as follows: In the active paradigm, a third person cannot play the role of subject with a second person as object. Forms corresponding literally to 'he sees you' cannot occur; instead we find passive forms like 'you are seen.' In the passive, only third persons can be agents. Forms like 'I am seen by you,' 'you are seen by me,' and 'he is seen by me' are not possible. Such relations can be expressed in the active only, as 'you see me,' and so on. The first-person plural possessive suffix cannot form a possessive word in the manner of the other possessive affixes; instead we find a wholly irregular form.

### 14.2.1. The First- and Second-Person Subject Particles

These must be grouped with the second-position predicate particles (see §16.2). As members of that set, they move to follow an auxiliary or adverb. They are:

| | |
|---|---|
| *cən* 'I' | *ct* 'we' |
| *čx*$^{w}$ 'you (sing.)' | *ce·p* 'you (pl.)' |

They are composed of an initial element *c-* (/c/ regularly becomes /č/ before /x$^{w}$/) and a set of final elements identifiable with final elements of the subordinate subject set (§14.2.3). (This *c-* is possibly identifiable with the prefix *c-* 'get, have, make, do.' One can conjecture that it was once an auxiliary verb.)

These particles mark first- and second-person subjects in both intransitive and transitive predicates in coordinate constructions (main clauses), as in the following sentences:

| | |
|---|---|
| (a) *ném̓ cən ceʔ*. 'I'll go.' | (b) *ném̓ ct ceʔ*. 'We'll go.' |
| (c) *ném̓ čx*$^{w}$ *ceʔ*. 'You'll go.' | (d) *ném̓ ce·p ceʔ*. 'You folks will go.' |
| (e) *c̓éwət cən ceʔ*. 'I'll help him/her.' | (f) *c̓éwət ct ceʔ*. 'We'll help him/her.' |
| (g) *c̓éwət čx*$^{w}$ *ceʔ*. 'You'll help him/her.' | (h) *c̓éwət ce·p ceʔ*. 'You folks will help him/her.' |

With an intransitive predicate head, a third-person subject is marked by zero (i.e., is indicated by an absence of a first- or second-person marker) and plurality is optionally indicated by the particle *ʔé·łtən* (see §14.2.9), as in the following:

(i) *ném̓ ceʔ*. 'He/she/it/they will go.' (j) *ném̓ ceʔ ʔé·łtən*. 'They will go.'

With a transitive predicate head, however, a third-person subject must be marked by the suffix given next.

### 14.2.2. The Third-Person Transitive Subject Marker

A suffix *-əs* marks a third-person subject of a transitive verb in a main clause, contrasting with zero marking a third-person subject of an intransitive verb in a main clause. It is identical in form with the suffix *-əs* that marks a third-person subject in a subordinate clause (see next set).

It always follows the transitivizer (and object person marker, if any). Unlike the first- and second-person subject particles, which move to follow an auxiliary or adverb, this suffix stays with the transitivized verb itself. Compare the following pairs of sentences:

(a) *c̓éwət cən ceʔ.* 'I will help him/her.'
(b) *c̓éwətəs ceʔ.* 'He/she will help him/her.'
(c) *ni cən c̓éwət.* 'I helped him/her.'
(d) *ni c̓éwətəs.* 'He/she helped him/her.'

In the second pair, the particle *cən* 'I' moves to follow the auxiliary *ni,* while the suffix *-əs* 'he/she' does not.

Again, plurality of a third person may be indicated with the particle *ʔé·łtən,* as in:

(e) k̓ʷəc-n-ámx-əs ceʔ ʔé·łtən.
see-TR-me-3TR FUT 3PL
'They will see me.'

### 14.2.3. The Subordinate Subject Person Markers

These are the suffixes:

*-e·n ~ -ən ~ -ʔe·n* 'I'
*-ət* 'we'
*-əxʷ* 'you (sing.)'
*-é·p ~ -əp* 'you (pl.)'
*-əs* 'third person'

The first- and second-person forms have, as indicated above, the same final elements that occur in the corresponding subject particles. The third-person form bears a similar relationship to the third-person possessive suffix *-s*. The second-person plural *-é·p* has probably developed from the *-ələp* that occurs in the possessive set and in the personal words through the loss of the medial resonant. In AG's speech, it appeared as *-eʔep* in progressive forms.

The allomorphs *-ən* and *-əp* appear after the auxiliaries *ʔi* 'be here' and *ni ~ niʔ* 'be there.' In this environment, the schwas of the whole set may be realized as vowel length; for example, the auxiliary *niʔ* with the subordinate subject set yields *ni·n, ni·xʷ, ni·t, ni·p,* and *ni·s*. The first-person allomorph *ʔé·n* occurs following a vowel.

These suffixes mark the subject of a verb (either intransitive of transitive) in a subordinate clause. They regularly appear in three types of constructions:

(1) In subordinate clauses introduced by *wə-* 'if, when, that' or *ʔəɬ-* 'whenever, whatever' (see §4.2), as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| *wənémə̓è·n* 'if I go' | *wənémə̓at* 'if we go' |
| *wənémə̓əx*$^{w}$ 'if you go' | *wənémə̓è·p* 'if you folks go' |
| *wənémə̓əs* 'if [third person] goes' | *wənémə̓əs (ʔéɬtən)* 'if they go' |

(2) In the negative paradigm (see §6), in what may be seen as subordinate clauses complementing a main clause headed by *ʔə́wə* 'not' or *x*$^{w}$*əẇé* 'not yet,' as in:

(a) ʔə́wə cən ném̓-è·n.
not I go-I
'I don't go.'

(b) ʔə́wə cən ni·n ném̓.
ʔə́wə cən niʔ-ən ném̓
not I there-I go
'I didn't go.'

(c) ʔə́wə ném̓-əs.
not go-3SUB
'He doesn't go.'

For further discussion and examples, see §6.1.1.

(3) In relative clauses with extracted objects (see §4.1.1.1), such as:

(d) k$^{w}$θə c̓éwətè·n ceʔ
k$^{w}$θə c̓éw-ət-è·n ceʔ
ART help-TR-I FUT
'the one I will help'

(e) k$^{w}$θə ni·n c̓éwət
k$^{w}$θə ni-ən c̓éw-ət
ART AUX-I help-TR
'the one I helped'

For further discussion and examples, see §4.1, "Relative Clauses."

### 14.2.4. The Possessive Affixes

These are:

| | |
|---|---|
| *nə-* 'my' | *-ct* 'our' |
| *ʔən-* ~ *ʔəT-* 'your' | *ʔən-* ~ *ʔəT-* … *-ələp* 'your (pl.)' |
| *-s* 'his/her/its/their (3POS)' | |

As in other Salishan languages, the possessives are split between prefixes and suffixes. The possessives of the first- and second-person singular are prefixes,

the possessives of the first-person plural and the third person are suffixes, and the second-person plural possessive is a discontinuous form, a combination of the prefix for the singular and a suffix that makes it plural. As in other paradigms, a third person is optionally pluralized with the particle *ʔéɬtən*.

| | |
|---|---|
| *nəlélәm̓* 'my house' | *lélәm̓ct* 'our house' |
| *ʔənlélәm̓* 'your house' | *ʔənlélәm̓ələp* 'your (pl.) house' |
| *lélәm̓s* 'his/her/its house' | *lélәm̓s (ʔéɬtən)* 'their house' |

The first-person plural possessive is anomalous in being identical with the subject particle *ct* 'we,' which is composed of an element *c-* that occurs in the other subject particles and a *-t* that we can identify as 'first-person plural.' As a possessive, *-ct* is probably a borrowing from the subject particle set.

The second-person prefix appears as *ʔəT-* before /s/ and otherwise as *ʔən-*. For some speakers (e.g., CC and DK), the *ʔəT-* is realized as *ʔə-* or *ʔəs-,* while for others (e.g., JP) the //T// coalesces with the initial /s/ as /θ/. Compare usages with *máṅə* 'child' and *sqʷəméy̓* 'dog':

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CC | *ʔənmáṅə* 'your child' | *ʔəsqʷəméy̓* ~ *ʔəssqʷəméy̓* 'your dog' |
| JP | *ʔənmáṅə* 'your child' | *ʔəθqʷəméy̓* 'your dog' |

This difference is said to go back to dialect differences between the Musqueam settlements of *máləy* (on the downstream side) and *sc̓əléxʷ* (on the upstream side), the form with /θ/ being that of *sc̓əléxʷ*. (Historically, the form with /n/ is probably the older. In the *máləy* dialect, the /n/ assimilated to the /s/ or was dropped, while in the *sc̓əléxʷ* dialect it became a stop **t* before /s/, then the **ts* coalesced to become **c,* which regularly became /θ/.)

The third-person possessive affixed to a word ending in /s/ remains an /s/, and the resulting /ss/ is generally audible. Some speakers of the Island dialect dissimilate, converting the possessive to /θ/; the Musqueam speakers for whom I have data did not do this.

Optional morphophonemic processes (see §1.5.1) create other variations. Both of the prefixed possessives tend to coalesce, especially in rapid speech, with a preceding article or word ending in a vowel. With *nə-* 'my,' the schwa may be dropped, leaving *-n,* so that *tə nəlélәm̓* 'my (present visible) house' may become *tən lélәm̓.* With *ʔən-* ~ *ʔəT-* 'your,' one of two things can happen. The schwa of the *ʔən-* form may be dropped, leaving the glottal stop and resonant to become a glottalized resonant, so that *tə ʔənlélәm̓* 'your (present visible) house' may become *tən̓ lélәm̓.* This leaves the glottalization of the resonant to carry the burden of distinguishing 'my' and 'your.'[1] Or, the

1 Such small distinctions are evidently not unique to Halkomelem. Franz Boas, working with a Pentlatch speaker in 1886, complained, "It took me an hour to distinguish between 'I' and 'you'" (Rohner 1969, 65).

sequence of two schwas produced by an article followed by 'your' may become /eʔe/ or /e·/, so that *kʷə ʔəθqʷəméy̓* 'your (nearby, invisible) dog' may become *kʷeːθ qʷəméy̓*.

The possessives are strictly limited in the kinds of words to which they can be affixed. (It is just these limitations that provide the basis for distinguishing the major classes of words in the language. See §2.1.) The possessives can be affixed to nouns and to nominalized non-passive verbs only.

Affixed to nouns, the possessives indicate the person of the possessor, "possession" having the usual sense of relating kin to kin, property to owner, part to whole, and so on, as in: *nəmén* 'my father,' *ʔəntén* 'your mother,' *máṅəs* 'his/her child,' *nəsqʷəméy̓* 'my dog,' *léləm̓ct* 'our house,' *ʔənpútələp* 'your (pl.) boat,' *nəcéləx* 'my hand,' *máqsəns* 'his/her nose.'

When the possessor is a noun, it follows the word taking the possessive, as in:

(a) tə θáθən-s tə sx̌íx̌qəɬ
ART mouth-3POS ART child(status)
'the child's mouth'

(b) tə máṅə-s θə sánx̌eʔ
ART child(kin)-3POS ART senior.sibling
'the son of the older sister'

(c) tə θáθən-s tə máṅə-s
ART mouth-3POS ART child(kin)-3POS
'her son's mouth'

(d) tə q̓ɬán-s kʷθə snáxʷəɬ
ART box-3POS ART canoe
'the bow of the canoe'

(e) tə šxʷləkʷéx̌ən-s tə léləm̓
ART corner-3POS ART house
'the corner of the house'

(f) k̓ʷə snəʔálwəɬ-s tə léləm̓
ART far.side-3POS ART house
'the other side of the house'

When affixed to nominalized non-passive verbs, that is, active verbs with the prefix *s-* 'nominalizer' (see §12.1.1), Halkomelem possessives (like English possessives with gerunds) mark underlying subjects. Compare the following main-clause forms (left column) with their nominalizations (nominalized clauses):

(a) ném̓ cən
go I
'I go'

(a′) nə-s-ném̓
my-NOM-go
'my going'

(b) c̓éwəθàmx čxʷ
c̓éw-ət-Samx čxʷ
help-TR-me you
'you help me'

(b′) ʔəθc̓éwəθàmx
ʔəT-s-c̓éw-ət-Samx
your-NOM-help-TR-me
'your helping me'

(c) niʔ ném̓
AUX go
'he went'

(c′) s-niʔ-s ném̓
NOM-AUX-3POS go
'his having gone'

(d) łíc̓-ət-əs
cut-TR-3TR
'he cuts it'

(d′) s-łíc̓-ət-s
NOM-cut-TR-3POS
'his cutting it'

In each of these pairs, the possessive in the nominalized clause corresponds to the subject marker in the main-clause form (see §4.3 for the uses of nominalized clauses).

The possessives cannot be affixed to nominalized passive forms. This rule is consistent with the fact that the subjects of main-clause passives are not marked by the same elements that occur with main-clause non-passives. (See §14.2.6 below.)

Most importantly, the possessives also cannot be affixed to any non-passive verb that has not been nominalized. For example, ***nəném̓* 'my go,' ***nəc̓éwət* 'my help him,' and so on are not possible forms. (For exceptional cases, see §8.9.)

### 14.2.5. The Object Person Markers

These are the suffixes:

*-S ~ -Samx ~ -amx* 'me' *-al̓xʷ* 'us'
*-S ~ -Samə ~ amə* 'you' *-alə* 'you (pl.)'

These forms appear to be composed of identifiable elements, *-S* and *-am-* 'non-third-person singular,' *-al-* 'non-third-person plural,' *-x* and *-xʷ* 'first person,' and *-ə* 'second person.' The third person is not marked.

An object person marker can be suffixed to a transitive verb only, that is, to a verb stem that has a transitive suffix (see §10.1.1).

The element *-S* occurs regularly with the transitivizer *-t* and with *-t* only, with which it coalesces as /θ/. It may stand alone to mean 'me' or 'you' or be followed by *-amx* 'me' or *-amə* 'you.' Thus with the root *c̓éw-* 'help' and *-t* 'transitive' we find:

*c̓éwəθ ~ c̓éwəθàmx* ‘help me’
*c̓éwəθ ~ c̓éwəθàmə* ‘help you’
*c̓éwət* ‘help him/her/them’
*c̓éwətàl̓xʷ* ‘help us’
*c̓éwətàlə* ‘help you (pl.)’

Such forms are normally accompanied by subject person markers (see Table 14.2). There is, however, one notable hole in the pattern: the third-person transitive subject marker cannot appear with a second-person object marker. At these points in the paradigm, there is a switch to the passive.

*Table 14.2*

**Object-subject paradigm**

| Subj/obj | Me | You | Us | You (pl.) | Him/her/them |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I | | *c̓éwəθ(àmə) cən* | | *c̓éwətàlə cən* | *c̓éwət cən* |
| You | *c̓éwəθ(àmx) čxʷ* | | *c̓éwətàl̓xʷ čxʷ* | | *c̓éwət čxʷ* |
| We | | *c̓éwəθàmə ct* | | *c̓éwətàlə ct* | *c̓éwət ct* |
| You (pl.) | *c̓éwəθàmx ce·p* | | *c̓éwətàl̓xʷ ce·p* | | *c̓éwət ce·p* |
| He | *c̓éwəθ(àmx)əs* | *(c̓éwəθà·m)* | | *c̓éwətàləm* | *c̓éwətəs* |

For this reason, a form with *-S* alone, unaccompanied by a differentiating *-amx* or *-amə,* is not ambiguous. With a second- or third-person subject marker, the *-S* has to mean ‘me,’ and with a first-person subject marker, it has to mean ‘you,’ as in:

*c̓éwəθ čxʷ ceʔ.* ‘You will help me.’
*c̓éwəθəs ceʔ.* ‘He will help me.’
*c̓éwəθ cən ceʔ.* ‘I will help you.’

For ‘He will help you,’ we find:

*c̓éwəθà·m.* lit. ‘You will be helped.’
*c̓éwətàləm ceʔ.* lit. ‘You folks will be helped.’

often translated ‘They will help you’ or ‘Somebody will help you.’

With other transitive suffixes, the object set lacks the *-S* that appears with *-t*. With the root *k̓ʷéc* ‘look’ and *-n- ~ -nəxʷ* ‘limited control,’ we find:

*k̓ʷəcnámx* ‘see me’
*k̓ʷəcnámə* ‘see you’
*k̓ʷácnəxʷ* ‘see him/her/it/them’
*k̓ʷəcnál̓xʷ* ‘see us’
*k̓ʷəcnálə* ‘see you folks’

With *yəẁéʔ* ‘go along’ and *-st- ~ -stəxʷ* ‘causative,’ the paradigm is:

*yəẁéʔstàmx* ‘take me along’
*yəẁéʔstàmə* ‘take you along’
*yəẁéʔstəxʷ* ‘take him/her/it/them’ along
*yəwéʔstàl̓xʷ* ‘take us along’
*yəẁéʔstàlə* ‘take you (pl.) along’

With the root of *kʷél* (//kʷél-əl//) 'hide' and the transitivizer *-x,* the paradigm is:

*kʷélxàmx* 'hide me'
*kʷélxàmə* 'hide you'
*kʷélx* 'hide him/her/it/them'
*kʷélxàɬxʷ* 'hide us'
*kʷélxàlə* 'hide you folks'

And with the root *hék̓ʷ* 'remember' and the transitivizer *-nəs,* we find:

*hék̓ʷnəsàmx* 'remember me'
*hék̓ʷnəsàmə* 'remember you'
*hék̓ʷnəs* 'remember him/her/it/them'
*hék̓ʷnəsàɬxʷ* 'remember us'
*hék̓ʷnəsàlə* 'remember you folks'

In every case, however, a third-person subject and second-person object causes a switch to the passive paradigm.

In the progressive aspect, the resonants in the suffixes *-amx, -amə,* and *-alə* may be glottalized, as in:

(a) wəyáθ cən wəc̓éc̓əwəθàm̓ə.
wə-yáθ cən wə-c̓éc̓əw-ət-Sam̓ə
EST-always I EST-help(PROG)-TR-you
'I'm always helping you.'

(Or so it appears in the material dictated by CC and JP, although I must admit there are inconsistencies. On the other hand, AG seemed to use a glottalized *-am̓x* 'me' and an unglottalized *-amə* 'you' consistently in both perfective and progressive aspects.)

### 14.2.6. The Passive Person Markers

These mark the subjects in passive forms. (For "passive," see §3.3, "Types of Verbal Predicates.") They are the following suffixes:

*-Sel-* ~ *-el-* 'first-person singular'
*-al-* 'first-person plural, second-person plural'
*-Sam-* ~ *-am-* 'second-person singular'
*-əy-* 'third-person subordinate'

The first- and second-person forms share some components with their counterparts in the object set. The *-S-* 'non-third-person singular' and the *-al-* 'non-third-person plural' are identical. But in the passive set the *-am-* is confined to the second-person singular while another element, *-el-,* appears as the first-person singular. The first-person plural and second-person plural are not differentiated. The *-əy-* 'third-person subordinate passive' does not resemble anything else.

Like the object set, these must preceded by a transitivizer. Unlike the object set, they cannot be word-final; they must be followed by a passive marker, either *-əm* 'intransitive' (§10.2.1) in main clauses or *-ət* 'subordinate passive'

(§10.8) in subordinate clauses and nominalizations. In main clauses, the third person has no marker, but in subordinate clauses and nominalizations, it is marked by *-əy-*.

These suffixes combine according to several morphophonemic rules. As with the object set, the element *-S-* coalesces with *-t* transitive as /θ/ but does not appear with the other transitivizers. Moreover, in the coordinate passive, when the second-person singular is followed by *-əm,* the medial resonant is lost and the vowel lengthened, *-am-* + *-əm* becoming *-a·m*. In the subordinate passive, there is the kind of metathesis seen also when certain roots take the *-t* transitive (see §1.5.3) whereby *-el-* + *-ət* becomes *-e·lt* and *-al-* + *-ət* becomes *-a·lt*. Finally, the sequence *-əy-* + *-ət* usually, though not in very deliberate speech, becomes *-i·t*. (The corresponding form in the Cowichan dialect is *-ewət*.)

The paradigm based on *c̓éwət* 'help him' in the coordinate passive is:

*c̓éwəθèləm* 'I am helped'
*c̓éwəθà·m* 'you are helped'
*c̓éwətàləm* 'we are helped, you (pl.) are helped'
*c̓éwətəm* 'he/she is helped, they are helped'

In the subordinate passive, it is:

*wəc̓éwəθè·lt* 'if I am helped'
*wəc̓éwəθà·m* 'if you are helped'
*wəc̓éwətà·lt* 'if we are helped, if you (pl.) are helped'
*wəc̓éwətì·t* 'if he/she is helped, if they are helped'

The paradigm based on *k̓ʷácnəxʷ* 'see him' in the coordinate passive is:

*k̓ʷəcnéləm* 'I am seen'
*k̓ʷəcnà·m* 'you are seen'
*k̓ʷəcnáləm* 'we are seen, you (pl.) are seen'
*k̓ʷácnəm* 'he/she is seen, they are seen'

In the subordinate passive it is:

*wək̓ʷəcné·lt* 'if I am seen'
*wək̓ʷəcnámət* 'if you are seen'
*wək̓ʷəcná·lt* 'if we are seen, if you (pl.) are seen'
*wək̓ʷəcní·t* 'if he/she is seen, if they are seen'

The passive paradigm differs from the intransitive and active transitive paradigms in that, ordinarily, neither the coordinate subject particles (*cən, čxʷ,* etc.) nor the subordinate subject suffixes (*-e·n, -əxʷ,* etc.) play any part in it. In a form like *c̓éwəθèləm ceʔ* 'I will be helped,' the subject is sufficiently marked by *-Sel-*. Forms like ***c̓éwəθèləm cən ceʔ* do not seem to occur. However, in a negative clause with an auxiliary, the auxiliary will be followed by a third-person subordinate subject marker (see §6.1.2).

The passive is nominalized with *s-* nominalizer prefixed to the subordinate form, as in:

*sc̓éwəθè·lt* 'my being helped'
*sc̓éwəθàmət* 'your being helped'
*sc̓éwətà·lt* 'our being helped, your (pl.) being helped'
*sc̓éwətì·t* 'his/her being helped, their being helped'

As indicated above, the nominalized passive differs from other nominalizations in that it does not take a possessive, forms like ***nəsc̓éwəθè·lt* evidently being badly formed. This absence of a possessive in the nominalization is consistent with the absence of a subject particle following the main-clause form of the passive.

### 14.2.7. The Personal Words

These are words as defined in §2.1. They are:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st person | *ʔə́nθə ~ ʔé·nθə* 'I' | *łnímał* 'we' |
| 2nd person | *náwə* 'you' | *łwáləp* 'you folks' |
| 3rd person | *x̌á* 'he, she, it' | *x̌áləm* 'they' |

The plural forms are partly analyzable. The *ł-* of the first-person plural and the second-person plural may be *ł-* 'portion' (§12.4.6). The *-ələp* of the second-person plural occurs as a suffix with that meaning in the possessive. The *-w-* of *łwáləp* is conceivably a reduction of *náwə*. The third-person plural is probably the singular *x̌á* plus an *-l-* that appears commonly as a pluralizing infix and a final *-əm* that may conceivably be the intransitive suffix.

Like other words (including the possessive words) but unlike the other person markers, the members of this set can function as predicates. They can also, with restrictions not imposed on other words, function as or enter into the formation of adjuncts.

The first-person forms *ʔə́nθə* and *ʔé·nθə* (the latter generally so recorded from JP and CC but recorded *ʔé·n̓θə* from AG) both appear as predicates. (AG suggested that the form *ʔé·n̓θə* is emphatic, but data from JP and CC are not sufficient to support this. JP thought that the difference was a matter of dialect or idiolect.) Only the form *ʔé·nθə* (or *ʔé·n̓θə*) appears as an adjunct.

#### *14.2.7.1. As Predicate Heads*

Standing alone or with predicate particles, these words usually have the sense of 'It's me,' 'It's you,' and so on, or 'I'm the one,' 'You're the one,' or, in answer to questions, 'I will,' and so on.

Followed by relative clauses, in a type of pseudo-cleft sentence (§4.1.5.1.2), they are usually translated 'I am the one who ...,' 'You are the one who ...,' and so on.

(a) ʔə́nθə ceʔ ném̓. (JP)
be.I FUT go
'I'm the one that will go.'

(b) ʔé·nθə k̓ʷám̓k̓ʷəm̓.
be.I strong
'I'm the one who's strong.'

(c) ʔə́nθə ni c-yá·y̓əs.
be.I AUX get-be.working
'I'm the one that's doing it.'

(d) nəwé ʔe ceʔ θə́yt. ʔə́nθə ceʔ. (AG)
nə́wə ʔə ceʔ θə́y-t ʔə́nθə ceʔ
be.you ROG FUT fix-TR be.I FUT
'Will you be the one who'll fix it? I will.'

(e) łníməł ceʔ nem̓ kʷə́nət kʷθə sʔíc̓θəms.
be.we FUT go take-TR ART clothing-3POS
'We will be the ones to go get his clothes.'

(f) łwə́ləp ceʔ hə́y̓qʷ-əlcəp.
be.you(PL) FUT be.burning-firewood
'You people will be the ones to look after the fire.'

(g) x̓̌a ni·ł ném̓. (JP)
x̓̌a niʔ-əł ném̓
BE3P AUX-past go
'He is the one who went.'

(h) x̓̌áləm nə-mém̓ən̓ə. (CC)
be.they my-children
'They are my children.'

(i) x̓̌áləm ni kʷə́nət kʷθə télə. (AG)
be.they AUX take-TR ART money
'They are the ones who took the money.'

The third-person singular *x̓̌a,* perhaps usually unstressed, can take an adjunct, which is either introduced by or consists of a deictic element, as a grammatical subject. If there is no more than a subject, the *x̓̌a* serves simply to put it in focus:

(j) x̓̌a kʷə́n̓á. (AG)
BE3P this
'He [just out of sight] is the one.'

(k) ʔ̓a tə nə-mə́n̓ə. (CC)
BE3P ART my-child
'It's my son.'

However, if there is a subject and a relative clause, the *ʔ̓a* then functions as a copula, linking the two as subject and complement in a cleft sentence (§4.1.5.2).

The complement (i.e., the relative clause) may follow the *ʔ̓a* directly and be followed by the subject (i.e., the adjunct), as in (l) and (m).

(l) ʔ̓a ni·ɬ c̓éwəθàmx tθéʔ.
ʔ̓a niʔ-əɬ c̓éw-ət-Sàmx tθéʔ
BE3P AUX-past help-TR-me that
'He is the one who helped me.'

(m) ʔ̓a nəswéʔ nəpúk təʔínə. (CC)
ʔ̓a nə-swéʔ nə-púk təʔínə
BE3P my-own my-book this
'This is my book.'

Or the complement may follow the subject, as in (n) and (o).

(n) ʔ̓a m̓ə təʔí sqʷəmé̓y̓ ni q̓íḵʷəθ. (CC)
ʔ̓a m̓ə təʔí sqʷəmé̓y̓ niʔ q̓íḵʷ-ət-S
BE3P CERT this dog AUX get.bitten-TR me
'This is the dog that bit me. It's this dog that bit me.'

(o) ʔ̓a m̓ə tə Andrew cwéʔ tə sqʷəmé̓y̓. (CC)
ʔ̓a m̓ə tə Andrew c-wéʔ [ʔə] tə sqʷəmé̓y̓
BE3P CERT ART A. get-own OBL ART dog
'It's Andrew who owns the dog.'

### *14.2.7.2. As Adjuncts*

The personal words can also function as adjuncts. As an adjunct, a first-person or second-person word is preceded by an article. The third-person counterparts, however, are a set of words formed by a coalescence of the third-person words with articles and the prefix *wə-*$_2$. This set is described in §15.2.2.2. The present section will describe the uses as adjuncts of first- and second-person words only.

As direct adjuncts, the first- and second-person words usually relate anaphorically to person markers accompanying the verb, and they perform one or both of two functions that cannot be performed by the person markers. They give emphasis to the person (there being no emphatic forms of the person markers) and/or they provide a peg on which to hang a relative clause.

In (a) and (b) they serve to give emphasis:

(a) ʔə́wə čxʷ ɬ ni q̓áy tə nə́wə i … (JP 9)
ʔə́wə čxʷ ɬ ni q̓áy tə nə́wə ʔəy̓
not you ART AUX die ART you and
'You yourself don't die and ...'

(b) niwɬ x̌ám kʷθə ni θq̓éls məstáyəxʷ ʔə šxʷʔə́wəct ni·t ném̓ q̓áθət tə ɬníməɬ. (JP 22)
niʔ wəɬ-x̌ám kʷθə niʔ θəq̓-éls məstáyəxʷ
AUX already-be.enough ART AUX pierce-ACT people
ʔə šxʷ-ʔə́wə-ct niʔ-ət ném̓ q̓áʔ-θət tə
OBL OBLNOM-not-our AUX-we go accompany-self ART
ɬníməɬ
be.we
'There were enough people who had harpooned [it], and so that's why we ourselves didn't go along.'

In (c) to (f), the personal words serve as heads of relative clauses:

(c) … kʷsnict wətáʔtəl̓ət ʔal̓ tə ɬníməɬ ʔə́wə niət ném̓ xʷəsq̓əq̓áʔ. (JP 22)
kʷ s-niʔ-ct wə-táʔtəl̓-ət ʔal̓ tə ɬníməɬ ʔə́wə
ART NOM-AUX-our EST-be.learning-TR just ART be.we not
niʔ-ət ném̓ xʷə-sq̓əq̓áʔ
AUX-we go become-accompanied
'... when we who didn't go along were just studying it.'

(d) tsás ct tə ɬníməɬ ni ə kʷθə ni·n šxʷníʔ. (JP 3)
tsás ct tə ɬníməɬ niʔ ʔə kʷθə niʔ
poor we ART be.we be.there OBL ART be.there
nə-šxʷ-níʔ
my-OBLNOM-be.there
'We are poor, we who are at my place.'

(e) ʔə́wə ni·s mélqtàləm tə ɬwə́ləp təli· k̓ʷi šxʷníʔct. (JP 5)
ʔə́wə niʔ-əs mélq-t-àlə-m tə ɬwə́ləp təl̓i
not AUX-3SUB forget-TR-you-INTR ART be.you from
ʔə k̓ʷi šxʷ-níʔ-ct
OBL that OBLNOM-be.there-our
'He didn't forget you people from our place.'

(f) x̌e cən wəɬqəl̓ét c̓í·tàlə tə ɬwə́ləp nəmém̓əńə. (JP 8)
x̌e cən wəɬ-qəl̓ét c̓í-ət-àlə tə ɬwə́ləp
too I already-again thank-TR-you art be.you(PL)
nə-mém̓əńə
my-children
'I'll thank you all again, you who are my children.'

Second-person words can also appear without co-referential person markers when used in a vocative sense as in (g), as perhaps they were also in (e) and (f).

(g) wənéx̌ən ʔaɬ̓ tθéʔ k̓ʷən sqʷél, tə náwə nəswənméyəɬ. (JP 8)
wə-néx̌ən ʔaɬ̓ [ʔə] tθéʔ k̓ʷə nə-s-qʷél, tə
EST-end just OBL that ART my-NOM-speak art
náwə nə-swənméyəɬ
be.you my-deceased.sibling's.child
'My words just end there, my niece.'

As oblique adjuncts, the personal words also perform a function that cannot be performed by any of the personal affixes or particles, relating to the verbs they follow as oblique objects. As oblique adjuncts, they require the oblique article *x̌̓* but the oblique case marker *ʔə* may (at least in JP's and CC's idiolects) be omitted.

(h) xʷəṅíwən čxʷ ʔə x̌̓ ʔé·nθə. (CC)
xʷəṅíwən čxʷ ʔə x̌̓ ʔé·nθə
remember you OBL ART be.I
'Remember me.'

(i) təʔá·məx ʔə kʷə təwx̌̓a x̌̓ ʔé·nθə. (CC)
təʔá·məx ʔə kʷə təwx̌̓a [ʔə] x̌̓ ʔé·nθə
resemble ROG then he [OBL] ART be.I
'Does he look like me?'

Often the immediately preceding verb has the function of an English preposition, giving a more specific direction to the action expressed by the main verb (see § 3.5).

(j) wélx čxʷ xʷəṁi x̌̓ ʔé·nθə. (CC)
wél-x čxʷ xʷ-ʔəṁi [ʔə] x̌̓ ʔé·nθə
throw-TR you LOC-come OBL ART be.I
'Throw it to me.'

(k) wélx cən ceʔ neṁ ʔə x̌̓ náwə. (AG)
wél-x cən ceʔ neṁ ʔə x̌̓ náwə
throw-TR I FUT go OBL ART be.you
'I'll throw it to you.'

(l) təwk̓ʷí·lə təɬ̓i x̌̓ ɬwáləp (JP 22)
təwk̓ʷí·lə təɬ̓i [ʔə] x̌̓ ɬwáləp
several.persons from OBL ART be.you(PL)
'several of you'

As oblique adjuncts, the personal words of the first and second persons can function as oblique objects only. They cannot function as agents of passives.

Sentences like **ni q̓á·ytəm ʔə x̌̓ ʔé·θə ‘He was killed by me’ or **ni q̓á·ytəm ʔə x̌̓ náwə ‘He was killed by you’ are not possible.

### 14.2.8. The Possessive Words

The fact of possession may be expressed by two words: *swéʔ* ‘one’s own’ (pl. *swəwéʔ*), a nominalization of √*weʔ* ‘own,’ to which the possessive affixes other than *-ct* ‘our’ are attached; and *sʔá·ł* (CC, JP) or *sʔá·ʔł* (AG) ‘ours,’ **swéʔct being rejected.

The paradigm is:

| | |
|---|---|
| *nəswéʔ* ‘it’s mine’ | *sʔá·ł ~ sʔá·ʔł* ‘it’s ours’ |
| *ʔəθwéʔ ~ ʔəswéʔ* ‘it’s yours’ | *ʔəθwéʔələp ~ ʔəswéʔələp* ‘it’s yours (pl.)’ |
| *swéʔs* ‘it’s his/hers/its’ | *swéʔs (ʔéłtən)* ‘it’s theirs’ |

Some anomalies also occur in the way these words are used with nouns possessed. With the first-person singular and the second person, the prefix is repeated on the noun. With the third person, CC and JP did not repeat the suffix, while AG did. With the second-person plural, the suffix is not repeated.

*nəswéʔ nəsqʷəmé·y̓*. ‘It’s my dog.’
*ʔəθwéʔ ʔəθqʷəmé·y̓*. ‘It’s your dog.’
*swéʔs sqʷəmé·y̓*. (CC, JP) *swéʔs sqʷəmé·y̓s*. (AG) ‘It’s his dog.’
*sʔá·ł sqʷəmé·y̓*. ‘It’s our dog.’
*ʔəθwéʔələp ʔənpút*. ‘It’s you guys’s boat.’ (AG)

As elsewhere, the third-person plural particle does not appear if plurality is indicated by other means. Compare (a) and (b):

(a) swéʔ-s ʔé·łtən léləm̓-s tə p̓əq̓. (AG)
own-3POS 3PL house-3POS ART white
‘The white house is theirs. The white one is their house.’

(b) swéʔ-s tθéləy tə léləm̓. (AG)
own-3POS those/they ART house
‘The house is theirs.’

### 14.2.9. The Third-Person Plural Particle

This is the particle *ʔé·łtən,* which may be classed with the predicate particles, although it is unusual in its position. It is probably composed of a base, not now identifiable, and the suffix *-ałtən* ‘others’ (see §10.2.4). It indicates plurality in a third-person subject, object (when the subject is other than third person), or possessor, when plurality is not indicated by other means.

When *ʔé·łtən* pluralizes the subject or object, it appears last in the predicate, as in (a) to (d).

(a) niʔ ném̓ ʔé·łtən.
AUX go 3PL
'They went.'

(b) wə-ném̓-əs ʔé·łtən
if-go-3SUB 3PL
'if they go'

(c) k̓ʷácnàmxəs ceʔ ʔé·łtən.
k̓ʷec-n-amx-əs ceʔ ʔé·łtən
see-TR-me-3TR FUT 3PL
'They will see me.'

(d) ném̓ cən ceʔ c̓éw-ət ʔé·łtən.
go I FUT help-TR 3PL
'I'm going to help them.'

In a sentence with a third-person subject and a third-person object, *ʔé·łtən* must refer to the subject, as in (e).

(e) niʔ kʷél-x-əs ʔé·łtən.
AUX hide-TR-3TR 3PL
'They hid it.' (not 'He hid them.')

When *ʔé·łtən* pluralizes a possessor, it follows the possessive person marker, as in (f) and (i).

(f) x̓a sìl-éwtxʷ-s ʔé·łtən tə sálaʔac.
BE3P canvas-house-3POS 3PL ART house.mat
'The mats were their tents.'

If plurality is indicated by a plural noun, then *ʔé·łtən* cannot be used. Compare (g) and (h) and (i) and (j):

(g) niʔ q̓á·y-t-əm ʔé·łtən.
AUX die-TR-INTR 3PL
'They were killed.'

(h) ni q̓á·y-t-əm tə sqʷəmqʷəméy̓.
AUX die-TR-INTR ART dogs
'The dogs were killed.'

(i) x̓a léləm̓-s ʔé·łtən.
BE3P house-3POS 3PL
'It's their house.'

(j) ƛ̓a léləm̓-s tə xʷələnítəm təníʔ.
BE3P house-3POS ART white.people that
'That one there is the White people's house.'

But neither ***niʔ q̓á·ytəmʔé·łtən tə sqʷəmqʷəméy̓* nor ***ƛ̓a léləm̓s ʔé·łtən tə xʷələnítəm* is possible.

# 15
# The Demonstrative System

Under this heading are included the various deictic elements that introduce nominal adjuncts or else stand as nominal adjuncts. These elements are the articles and the demonstratives. The latter include three sets of words that are either fuller forms of the articles or forms compounded of the articles and other elements. Together the articles and demonstratives form a system that pervades the language.

## 15.1. THE ARTICLES

These are the unstressed particles that stand initially in nominal adjuncts (§3.4) and adverbial adjuncts (§3.6). Some examples of usage will be found in sections describing each of these, where the focus is on syntactic functions. Other examples appear below, where the focus is on the features of meaning the articles express.

With one exception, the articles may be seen (as in Table 15.1) as a set structured by the intersection of two genders and three positions or degrees of proximity. The genders are non-feminine (more accurate than "masculine" but under M below) and feminine (F). The positions are present and visible (p); nearby, or somehow accessible, but invisible (n); and remote, out of reach, or non-existent – as deceased persons or hypothetical events (r). The exceptional article appears with oblique adjuncts of a few types only and does not express gender or positions.[1]

1 It seems possible that historically the articles were formed from separate elements, perhaps *t-*, *s-*, *k*$^{w}$, *ɬ-*, and glottalization. Viewed synchronically, however, the set cannot be easily analyzed into meaningful components.

*Table 15.1*

**The articles**

| | Non-feminine (M) | Feminine (F) | Oblique (obl.) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Present and visible (p) | *tə* (*t$^{\theta}$ə*) | *θə* | |
| Nearby and invisible (n) | *k$^{w}$θə, k$^{w}$ə, k$^{w}$* | *łə, k$^{w}$łə, ł, k$^{w}$ł* | *x̌́* |
| Remote or hypothetical (r) | *q̓$^{w}$ə, q̓$^{w}$* | *k$^{w}$sə* | |

The table notes one variation in form that is the result of Cowichan influence at Musqueam. The usual Musqueam non-feminine present article is *tə,* but JP and DK occasionally used *t$^{\theta}$ə* (phonetically [t$^{\theta}$ə]), which is the usual Cowichan form. There are also said to be variations in usage that are the result of Upriver influence (Elmendorf and Suttles 1960, 12).

The glosses indicated by the table, non-feminine present (MP), feminine present (FP), and so on, are no more than approximations. All of the distinctions that may be conveyed by choices of articles have yet to be fully analyzed, as the following account of gender and position will show.

### 15.1.1. Gender

This distinction is relevant when the article is used with a noun or a relative clause; nominalizations and adverbial phrases take only non-feminine forms. The distinction is "natural" rather than "grammatical," that is, whether a Halkomelem speaker uses a non-feminine article or demonstrative with a noun or relative clause depends, as does an English speaker's choice of pronoun, on facts external to the grammar. Halkomelem nouns, like English nouns and unlike Chinook or French nouns, do not fall into grammatical classes of masculine and feminine.

When the reference is to persons, the articles distinguish males and females. Compare:

(a) *tə nəmə́n̓ə* 'my son (here)'
(b) *θə nəmə́n̓ə* 'my daughter (here)'
(c) *tə ni ném̓* 'the (male) one who went'
(d) *θə ni ném̓* 'the (female) one who went'

This distinction of males and females through the articles (and demonstratives) is probably essential to the functioning of the kinship terms (see §21), which nearly all, like *mə́n̓ə* 'child,' make no sex distinction in themselves. In fact, in the total lexicon there may be no more than seven words that can refer to persons of one sex only. These are: *swə́y̓qeʔ* 'man/male,' *słénəy̓* 'woman/female,' *swíẃləs* 'young man,' *q̓ém̓əy̓* 'young woman,' *mén* 'father,'

*tén* 'mother,' *šxʷʔéləx* 'woman's sister-in-law.' The indication of sex through the article is redundant for these seven words only.[2]

But this distinction can be made for singular males and females only. The non-feminine is used for plurals of either sex and for female as well as male persons when referred to in a generic since. Compare:

(e) *tə ɬ̓x̌ámələ sɬənɬénəy̓* 'six women, the six women'

(f) *θə sɬénəy̓* 'a woman, the woman'

(g) i ha$^{ʔ}$ ni$^{ʔ}$ tə q̓é·m̓əy̓ … (CC 19)
and if be.there ART(MP) girl
'and if there was any girl who ...'

(h) *θə q̓é·m̓əy̓* 'a girl, the girl'

The non-feminine article is also used with personal words regardless of the sex of the referent:

(i) ƛ̓a kʷə ɬə́q̓əlləxʷe·n tə ʔé·nθə, Mrs. Andrew Charles. (CC 12)
ƛ̓a kʷə ɬə́q̓əl-ləxʷ-e·n tə ʔé·nθə
BE3P then know-TR-I ART(MP) I
'That is what I, Mrs. Andrew Charles, know.'

With words referring to animals, in some elicited sentences the article seem to refer to sex, but in narratives it seems that non-feminine forms are used for larger animals and feminine forms for smaller ones. However, the distinction between the generic and the specific may also determine choices; in an account of sturgeon harpooning, JP used non-feminine articles for sturgeon in discussing general principles but switched to feminine forms when describing a specific kind of situation.

With words for inanimate things, it also seems that feminine forms are preferred for smaller things, but there may well be other considerations that I have not yet detected.

### 15.1.2. Position

When the reference is to tangible things, usually the difference between present and near forms seems to be a matter of proximity and visibility. Compare (a), (b), and (c):

2 The root of *šxʷʔéləx* 'woman's sister-in-law' is *ʔéləx* 'sibling of the opposite sex,' i.e., a man's sister or a woman's brother. For this word, too, perhaps the gender of the article is redundant because the sex of the referent may be inferred from the sex of the speaker.

(a) ni ʔánəcə łə nəwáč. (CC)
ni ʔ ʔánəcə łə nə-wáč
be.there where ART(FN) my-watch
'Where is my watch?'

(b) ʔí wəʔí tə nəsłəqʷəʔélə łə nəwáč. (CC)
ʔí wə-ʔí [ʔə] tə nə-słəqʷəʔélə łə
be.here EST-be.here OBL ART(MP) my-pocket ART(FN)
nə-wáč
my-watch
'My watch is here in my pocket (on me).'

(c) nəw níʔ łə nəsłəqʷəʔélə łə nəwáč. (CC)
ni ʔ wə-níʔ [ʔə] łə nə-słəqʷəʔélə
be.there EST-be.there OBL ART(FN) my-pocket
łə nə-wáč
ART(FN) my-watch
'My watch is there in my pocket.'

In the situations given in all three of these sentences, my watch is out of sight and so marked by a nearby but invisible form. In (b), my pocket is in the jacket I am wearing and so my pocket is marked by a present and visible form. And in (c), my pocket is in my jacket somewhere else and so my pocket marked by a nearby but invisible form. My watch is consistently marked feminine, perhaps because it is small. But my pocket is non-feminine in the second sentence and feminine in the third. I do not know the reason for this change in gender.

Position is of course also indicated by the verbs *ʔí* 'be here' and *níʔ* 'be there,' which locate the speaker. This is seen in the previous sentences and in (d), (e), and (f).

(d) niʔ skʷtéxʷ tə léləm̓ kʷθə sqʷəméy̓. (CC)
niʔ skʷtéxʷ [ʔə] tə léləm̓ kʷθə sqʷəméy̓
be.there inside OBL ART(MP) house ART(MN) dog
'The dog is in the house.'

(e) niʔ nem̓ kʷətxʷíləm kʷθə sqʷəméy̓. (CC)
ni nem̓ kʷətxʷíləm kʷθə sqʷəméy̓
AUX(be.there) go enter ART(MN) dog
'The dog went in.'

(f) ʔi m̓i ʔáx̌qəl tə sqʷəméy̓. (CC)
ʔi ʔəm̓í ʔáx̌qəl tə sqʷəméy̓
AUX(be.here) come exit ART(MP) dog
'The dog came out.'

In the situations given in all three of these sentences, the speaker is outside the house. This is indicated by the choice of *ʔi* or *niʔ* in all three sentences as well as by the choice of *ʔəm̓í* or *ném̓* in (e) and (f). (In the English, the choice of *come* or *go* would establish the position of the speaker in [e] and [f], but *is* in [d] would not.) In (d) the dog is invisible, being inside the house while the speaker is outside. In (e), he is invisible, having gone in. But in (f), he is visible, having come out. The house is, of course, visible.

Although the choice of present or near forms of the article is usually determined by actual position, as in the examples just given, it is also possible to use a near form to indicate former absence. For example, upon recovering a lost pocketknife, one might – even while holding it – say:

(g) ƛ̓a m̓ə kʷłə nəhɔ́l̓kʷ. (CC)
ƛ̓a m̓ə kʷłə nə-hɔ́l̓kʷ
BE3P CERT ART(FN) my-pocketknife
'It's my (lost) pocketknife.'

On the other hand, in storytelling the narrator usually uses the present forms for persons and things that are "present" in the narrative, but there may be switching to convey other information, such as the deceased status of a character (see below).

The near forms have variants. The non-feminine near forms are *kʷθə, kʷə,* and *kʷ*. When the reference is to persons and things, *kʷθə* is more usual but *kʷə* occasionally occurs. With nominalized clauses used as nominal adjuncts (§4.3.2), the form is more often *kʷə* or *kʷ*.

The feminine near forms are *łə* and *kʷłə*. The first occurs more commonly. The second may imply greater distance or inaccessibility. Compare (h) and (i):

(h) niʔ sʔéƛ̓q łə nə-mə́n̓ə. (CC)
be.there outside ART(FN) my-child
'My daughter is outside.'

(i) ni niʔ ƛ̓ st̓θáməs kʷłə nə-mə́n̓ə. (CC)
AUX be.there ART(OBL) Victoria ART(FN) my-child
'My daughter is in Victoria.'

CC said that in the first sentence there would be no choice in the article, but in the second there is a choice between *łə* and *kʷłə*. If she had been speaking of a son, she said, in both sentences the form would be *kʷθə*.

The remote forms, *k̓ʷə* and *kʷsə,* are used with persons to show they are deceased, as in:

*k̓ʷə nəsíl̓ə* 'my late grandfather/great uncle'
*kʷsə nəsíl̓ə* 'my late grandmother/great aunt'

However, deceased status may also be indicated by using the near forms while adding the particle *-əɬ* ‘past’:

*kʷθə nəsíl̓e·ɬ* ‘my late grandfather/great uncle’
*ɬə nəsíl̓e·ɬ* ‘my late grandmother/great aunt’

The feminine remote form *kʷsə* seems to be used for persons only. The non-feminine *k̓ʷə* or *k̓ʷ*, however, has several other uses.

In reference to location in space, *tə* and *k̓ʷə* contrast in distinguishing simply what is visible to the speaker and what is invisible, around in back, around the corner, and so on, as in (j) to (n).

(j) ni tə nəʔéθəqən
ni ʔ [ʔə] tə nə-ʔéθəqən
be.there OBL ART(MP) my-front
‘in front of me (in a canoe)’ (lit. ‘there at my front’)

(k) ni k̓ʷə nəsɬiʔáʔaqʷt
ni ʔ [ʔə] k̓ʷə nə-sɬiʔáʔaqʷt
be.there OBL ART(MR) my-rear
‘behind me (in a canoe)’ (lit. ‘there at my rear’)

(l) ném̓ cən tə spáɬx̌ən.
ném̓ cən [ʔə] tə spáɬx̌ən
go I OBL ART(MP) prairie/pasture
‘I’m going to the pasture (not far and visible).’

(m) ném̓ cən k̓ʷə spáɬxən.
ném̓ cən [ʔə] k̓ʷə spáɬxən
go I OBL ART(MR) prairie/pasture
‘I’m going to the pasture (way off, out of sight).’

CC explained that if the pasture is known to the listener, instead of (m), one might say (n).

(n) ném̓ cən kʷθə spáɬx̌ən.
ném̓ cən [ʔə] kʷθə spáɬx̌ən
go I OBL ART(MN) prairie/pasture
‘I’m going to the pasture (out of sight).’

The possibility that *kʷθə* and *k̓ʷə* differ in their involvement of the listener in other contexts deserves further consideration.

In reference to time, the contrast is between the present and the past. Compare the following, which appear as adverbial adjuncts:

*təm̓a wéyəl* 'today'
*k̓ʷ cəléqəł* 'yesterday'
*k̓ʷəm̓a ƛəẇəłné?* 'the day before yesterday'

(The demonstratives *təm̓a* and *k̓ʷəm̓a* are formed with *tə* and *k̓ʷə,* as discussed below.)

The article *k̓ʷə* is also used for unknown and/or hypothetical things, as in (o), (p), and (q).

(o) nəsƛ̓íʔ k̓ʷə páy. (CC)
nə-s-c-ƛ̓íʔ k̓ʷə páy
my-NOM-do-value ART(MR) pie
'I want some pie.'

(p) təʔá·məx k̓ʷə swə́y̓qeʔ. (CC)
təʔá·məx [ʔə] k̓ʷə swə́y̓qeʔ
resemble OBL ART(MR) male
'It looks like a man.'

(q) ʔə́y̓ kʷs nə́m̓ct sə́wq̓t k̓ʷ p̓ə́wəy̓ tə cáẇcəẇ. (AC 1)
ʔə́y̓ kʷ s-nə́m̓-ct sə́wq̓-t k̓ʷ p̓ə́wəy̓
good ART(MN) NOM-go-our seek-TR ART(MR) flounder
[ʔə] tə cáẇcəẇ
OBL ART(MP) offing
'We'd better go look for flounders offshore.'

The article *k̓ʷə* also appears with nominalizations referring to hypothetical events, as in (r).

(r) nəsƛ̓íʔ k̓ʷə nəsnə́m̓.
nə-s-c-ƛ̓íʔ k̓ʷə nə-s-nə́m̓
my-NOM-do-value ART(MR) my-NOM-go
'I want to go.' (lit. 'What I want is my hypothetical going.')

(See also §4.3, "Nominalized Clauses.")

Still another use of *k̓ʷə* is to identify words as quoted terms presumably unfamiliar to the listener, as in (s), (t), and (u).

(s) kʷíkʷəxtəm k̓ʷə máθəł. (JP 1)
is.being.named ART(MR) máθəł
'It is called *máθəł* [possibly Indian hemp, *Apocynum cannabinum*].'

(t) tə kʷíkʷəxtəm k̓ʷə sésq̓əc. (JP 2)
ART(MP) is.being.named ART(MR) sésq̓əc
'that which is called a "sasquatch"'

(u) səw niʔs θə x̌ə́t̓əstəm sweʔs stəltal̓əs kʷíkʷəxtəs kʷə xʷə́lməxʷ k̓ʷə qəlqəlíł. (JP 2)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| s-wə-niʔ-s | θə | x̌ə́t̓əstəm | sweʔ-s |
| NOM-EST-be.there-3POS | ART(FP) | are.said.to.be | property-3POS |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| stəltal̓əs[-s ?] | kʷíkʷəxt-əs | kʷə | xʷə́lməxʷ |
| spouses-3POS | be.naming-3SUB | ART(MN) | Indian |

| | |
|---|---|
| k̓ʷə | qəlqəlíł |
| ART(MR) | qəlqəlíł |

'Then there were the ones said to be their wives, whom the Indians called *qəlqəlíł*.'

In (u), JP used the FP form before *x̌ə́t̓əstəm* 'said to be,' gender presumably taking precedence over the plural 'wives'; he used the MN form before 'people'; and he used the MR *k̓ʷə* before the name *qəlqəlíł* (the Basket Ogress), perhaps to mark it as a quoted form. In the narrative that followed, however, he used feminine forms when he referred to her.

From AG, I recorded:

(v) kʷəkʷxít ct ceʔ ək̓ʷ θəhá·yθən.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| kʷəkʷxi-t | ct | ceʔ | ʔə | k̓ʷə | θəhá:yθən |
| name(DUR)-TR | we | FUT | OBL | ART(MR) | big.mouth |

'We shall call [keep calling] him "Bigmouth."'

Here the oblique particle *ʔə,* which CC and JP often omitted, shows that these quoted-term phrases (*k̓ʷə mə́θəł,* etc.) are syntactically oblique adjuncts, syntactically like adverbial adjuncts.

However, when a quoted term is presumably familiar to the listener, the article may be *tə* (for examples, see §17.15).

In adverbial adjuncts (see §3.6), the article *k̓ʷə* appears before adjectives, as in (w).

(w) m̓ə ʔə́ƛ̓qəl k̓ʷə x̌ʷə́m. (JP 24)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ʔəm̓í | ʔə́ƛ̓qəl | [ʔə] | k̓ʷə | x̌ʷə́m |
| come | exit | OBL | ART(MR) | fast |

'He came out right away.'

So far, in nearly all of the examples given to illustrate how the articles distinguish position, they have preceded nouns. The same distinctions are made when the articles precede relative clauses, as in (x), (y), and (z).

(x) stém kʷə tə kʷənétəxʷ.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| stém | kʷə | tə | kʷən-é-t-əxʷ |
| what | then | ART(MP) | get-DUR-TR-you |

'What are you holding?'

(y) ni cən k̓ʷə́cnəxʷ kʷθə ni·nəł c̓éwət. (JP)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| niʔ | cən | k̓ʷə́c-nəxʷ | kʷθə | niʔ-ən-əł | c̓éw-ət |
| AUX | I | see-TR | ART(MN) | AUX-I-past | help-TR |

'I saw the one I had helped.'

(z) wét k̓ʷə ni c̓éc̓əwəθàm̓ə. (JP)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| wét | k̓ʷə | niʔ | c̓éc̓əw-ət-Samə |
| who | ART(MR) | AUX | be.helping-TR-you |

'Who helps you (when you are away at work)?'

In (x), what is being held is visible; in (y), the one who had been helped is not visible; and in (z), the speaker is not familiar with the situation and the helper is unknown.

What appear to be the FN forms *ł* and *kʷł,* with variants *ʔəł* (CC, DK) and *kʷəł* (DK), can appear after *ʔə́wə* 'not' (§6.1.4) and *ʔə́wəteʔ* 'none' (§6.3) followed directly by a relative clause or followed by the interrogative words *wét* 'who' (§17.1) and *stém* 'what' (§17.3) followed by a relative clause, as in (aa) and (bb).

(aa) ʔə́wəteʔ kʷł ʔítət. (JP 25)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| none | ART | sleep |

'Nobody slept. There was no one who slept.'

(bb) ʔə́wəteʔ kʷł wét k̓ʷə́c-nəxʷ-e·n. (AG)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| none | ART | who | look-TR-I |

'I haven't seen anybody.'

There also seems to be a predicate particle *kʷł* (§16.2.16), perhaps related to this usage of the article in a way not yet clear.

### 15.1.3. The Contrast with English

Some of the examples given above may suggest that there is a tendency for the Halkomelem *tə* and *θə* to correspond to the English definite article *the* and for the Halkomelem *k̓ʷə* to correspond to the English indefinite article *a/an* (with a singular count noun), *some* (with a mass noun), or zero (with a plural). But there is really no parallel. In fact, any Halkomelem article can appear in a context where it must be translated as indefinite in English, or in a context where it must be translated as definite. Consider the articles in (a), (b), and (c).

(a) səctəw k̓ʷə́cnəxʷ tə čičíʔq̓ən. (CC 8)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| s-niʔ-ct | wə-k̓ʷə́c-nəxʷ | tə | čičíʔq̓ən |
| NOM-AUX-our | EST-see-TR | ART(MP) | mink |

'Then we saw a mink.'

(b) kʷə́n-ət-əs tə kʷíʔxʷ. (JP 2)
get-TR-3TR ART(MP) pitch
'She took (some) pitch.'

(c) ném̓ c̓ə ʔá·ł tə t̓x̌ə́m-ələ słənłénəy̓. (JP 4)
go QUOT embark ART(MP) six-person women
'Six women embarked (it is said).'

In these sentences, the article *tə* must be translated as indefinite in English because, in the narratives where the sentences appear, the mink, pitch, and six women have not been mentioned before. But they appear all "present" in the viewpoint of the narrator and so must take the article *tə* in Halkomelem.

The reverse is illustrated by (d) and (e).

(d) … wəm̓í·s kʷθə θí qʷłéy̓ (JP 9)
wə-ʔəm̓í-əs kʷθə θí qʷłéy̓
if/that-come-3SUB ART(MN) big log
'... when a big log comes.'

(e) stém k̓ʷə skʷíxs tiʔí. (CC)
stém̓ k̓ʷə skʷíx-s təʔí
what ART(MR) name-3POS this
'What do you call this? What is the name of this?'

The conditional clause (d) is from a statement made by Scouring Rush to Mink warning him of the dangers of standing beside him in the water. The log has not been previously mentioned in the narrative and so the article must be indefinite in English. The log is real though not yet visible to Scouring Rush and so takes the Halkomelem *kʷθə* non-feminine near article. The more literal English translation of (e) requires the definite article, presumably because English speakers take the existence of a name as given even though they do not yet know it, while the Halkomelem sentence requires the *k̓ʷə* precisely because the name is not yet part of the real world of, or accessible to, the speaker.

However, the demonstratives do seem to be used for persons or things already known and so may function as definite articles. (See §15.2.3.)

### 15.1.4. The Oblique Article

The article *ƛ̓*, which is neutral as to gender and position, has the following uses:

(1) It is obligatory before proper names in oblique adjuncts (see §3.4), as in (a), (b), and (c).

(a) c̓éwətəm ceʔ ƛ̓ Tom tə Jack. (JP)
c̓éwətəm ceʔ [ʔə] ƛ̓ Tom tə Jack
be.helped FUT OBL ART(OBL) Tom ART(MP) Jack
'Tom will help Jack.' (lit. 'Jack will be helped by Tom.')

(b) ʔi təlíʔ əx̌̇ Seattle. (CC)
ʔi təlíʔ ʔə x̌̇ Seattle
be.here from OBL ART(OBL) Seattle
'He came from Seattle.'

(c) swéʔ ṁə x̌̇ Andrew tə sqʷəméẏ. (CC)
swéʔ ṁə [ʔə] x̌̇ Andrew tə sqʷəméẏ
property CERT OBL ART(OBL) Andrew ART(MP) dog
'The dog belongs to Andrew.' (lit. 'The dog is the property of Andrew.')

(2) It is obligatory before personal words standing as oblique adjuncts, as in (d), (e), and (f).

(d) wélx čxʷ xʷəṁi x̌̇ (~ ʔəx̌̇) ʔé·nθə. (JP)
wél-x čxʷ xʷ-ʔəṁí ʔə x̌̇ ʔé·nθə
throw-TR you toward-come OBL ART(OBL) be.me
'Throw it to me.'

(e) ni cən yá·ẏəs ni ʔəx̌̇ náwə. (CC)
niʔ cən yá·ẏəs niʔ ʔə x̌̇ náwə
AUX I be.working be.there OBL ART(OBL) be.you
'I am working for you.'

(f) təwk̓ʷí·lə təlí x̌̇ łwáləp. (JP 22)
tə wə-k̓ʷín-ələ təlíʔ [ʔə] x̌̇ łwáləp
ART(MP) EST-how.many-person from OBL ART(OBL) you(pl.)
'several of you'

(3) It provides an optional way of relating a possessed noun to its noun possessor, as in (g) and (h).

(g) k̓ʷáləẇ x̌̇ spéʔeθ (JP)
hide ART(OBL) black.bear
'bear hide, hide of a bear' (cf. *kʷθə k̓ʷáləẇs tə spéʔeθ* 'a/the bear's hide' [AG])

(h) słéwən x̌̇ pipá·m (CC, JP)
sleeping.mat ART(OBL) frog
'broad-leaf plantain' (lit. 'frog mat')

Such forms are not common, so it is not clear whether there are any restrictions on the kind of noun that may be used in them.

(4) The article *x̌̇* has also been recorded in a few other sentences that may not reflect general usage. JP gave (i) and (j), but AG would have to use a possessive, saying (k).

(i) c-qə̓x̌ x̌̓ ʔéwk̓ʷ. (JP)
get-much ART(OBL) wealth
'He's got lots of everything. He is well off.' (lit. 'He has much of wealth.')

(j) c-qə̓x̌ x̌̓ télə tθéʔ. (JP)
get-much ART(OBL) money that.one(MP)
'He has lots of money.'

(k) qə̓x̌ kʷθə télə-s tθéʔ. (AG)
much ART(MN) money-3POS that.one(MP)
'He has lots of money.' (lit. 'Much is his money.')

CC gave (l), but JP rejected this. Compare with his (m):

(l) niwɬ słə́m̓ x̌̓ ʔápən i k̓ʷə nə́c̓aʔ. (CC)
niʔ wəɬ-słə́m̓ x̌̓ ʔápən ʔəy̓
be.there already-wearing.off ART(OBL) ten and
k̓ʷə nə́c̓aʔ
ART(MR) one
'It's half past eleven.'

(m) táx̌ʷ wiléw̓ nə́c̓aʔ (JP)
táx̌ʷ wə-yəléw̓ nə́c̓aʔ
be.dead.centre EST-past one
'half past one'

The oblique article is restricted to these uses. Unlike the other articles, it cannot introduce nominalizations or relative clauses.

## 15.2. THE DEMONSTRATIVES

These express the same categories of gender and proximity as the articles, and also express definiteness. Further, they have plural forms and, in one set, diminutives. Like the articles, most of the demonstratives can stand before nouns as determiners. Unlike the articles, all of the demonstratives can also stand alone as adjuncts with the functions of demonstrative pronouns, third-person pronouns, and locatives.[3]

There are several sets of demonstratives. The total number of forms recorded is close to forty, and there may be a few not yet recorded. Because members

3 The distinction between third-person and demonstrative pronouns and between pronouns and locatives are, of course, distinctions of English. Whether a Halkomelem form such as *tθéʔ* is translated with the third-person pronoun 'he' or 'it' or with the demonstrative pronoun 'that' is probably a matter of how strong the deictic function of *tθéʔ* is felt to be and whether the referent is a person or a thing, things being more comfortably called 'that' than people. And when *tθéʔ* is translated 'there,' it is simply because English requires it in that context.

of the different sets have parallel functions, it seems best to present them all first and then discuss their functions.

The glosses given in the tables below are intended to show the range of functions and meanings, but the list is not exhaustive. Many of the non-feminine forms may appear as determiners with non-human plurals and so might also be glossed 'these' or 'those.'

### 15.2.1. The Simple Demonstratives

The forms recorded are given in Table 15.2.

*Table 15.2*

**The simple demonstratives**

| | Non-feminine (M) | Feminine (F) | Plural (pl. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Present and visible (p) | *tθéʔ* 'that, he, him, it, there' | *θéʔ* 'that, she, her' | *yəθéʔ, yəθéləy̓* 'those, they, them' |
| Nearby and invisible (n) | *kʷθéʔ* 'that, he, him, it, there' | *kʷɬéʔ* 'that, she, her' | *kʷθéləy̓* 'those, they, them' |
| Remote or hypothetical (r) | *k̓ʷí* 'that, there' | | |

The relationship of these forms with the articles is very close. Four of the five singular forms (*θéʔ, kʷθéʔ, kʷɬéʔ,* and *k̓ʷí*) may be no more than stressed or fuller forms of the corresponding articles (*θə, kʷθə, kʷɬə,* and *k̓ʷə*). Data from other dialects are useful in interpreting the other forms. The Cowichan non-feminine present article is *tθə* [tθə], which seems closer to the Musqueam *tθéʔ* than the Musqueam article *tə*. Chilliwack has a human plural article *yə* (Galloway 1993, 390), which seems identifiable with the Musqueam plural element *yə-*. The Musqueam plurals *yəθéləy̓* and *kʷθéləy̓* are clearly formed with the plural infix *-lə-,* but the Cowichan singular demonstratives *tθéy̓, θéy̓,* and so on seem to provide better bases than the Musqueam singulars.

### 15.2.2. The Compound Demonstratives

These are words each composed of an article and a root, possibly with other elements. They are probably all relative clauses that have become more or less fossilized. We may distinguish, by the type of root, locative and third-person demonstratives.

#### *15.2.2.1. The Locative Demonstratives*

These are formed with *ʔí* 'be here' and *níʔ* 'be there,' which occur constantly as locative and auxiliary verbs, a third element *-n̓á* 'be here' (or possibly simply 'exist'), otherwise unattested, and perhaps a fourth element *-n̓á·* (or *-ná·*) 'be

yonder,' only tentatively suggested. In some forms there is also a final *-nə,* which cannot be identified, although it seem possible that it might be an unstressed *-ṅa* 'exist.'

This set of demonstratives seems to have no forms corresponding to the articles *kʷθə* and *łə*. It distinguishes only two positions, perhaps simply visible and invisible. There are plurals formed with *-ṅa,* but no others. Forms recorded so far are given in Table 15.3.

*Table 15.3*

**The locative demonstratives**

| | Non-feminine (M) | Feminine (F) | Plural (pl. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Present and visible (p) | *teʔí* 'this, here, this way'<br>*təʔínə* 'this'<br>*tənínʔ* 'there, that way'<br>*tənínʔnə* 'that' | *θəʔí* 'this'<br>*θəʔínə* 'this' | *tənáˑłtən* these, they, them' |
| | *tənáˑnə* 'that over there, over there'<br>*təniʔ[ə]tənáˑnə* 'that way over there' | *θənáˑ* 'this, she, her' | *yənáˑ* 'these, they, them'<br>*yənáˑłtən* 'they, them, those' |
| Remote or hypothetical (r) | *kʷəʔí* 'around that way'<br>*kʷənáˑ* 'he, him'<br>*kʷənáˑnə* 'way over there' | *kʷsənáˑ* 'she, her' | *kʷənáˑłtən* 'they, them' |

The forms with *ʔí* and *níʔ* are transparently relative clauses; for example, *təʔí* (usually pronounced [tiʔí]) is no doubt //tə ʔí// 'the one who/that is here.' If the final *-nə* is (as tentatively suggested) a reduction of *-ṅa* 'exist,' then *təʔínə* may be 'the one who/that exists here.' The complex form *təniʔətənáˑnə* may be something like 'the one/who that is there at that which is way over there.' (See §17.17 for a comparable use of *tə ʔánəcə,* lit. 'the one that is where,' for 'which.')

The plural markers are the *yə-* of the simple set and, very likely, the third-person plural particle *ʔéˑłtən*. Thus *kʷənáˑłtən* is probably //kʷə ṅá ʔéˑłtən//, meaning something like 'the invisible ones who exist.'

### *15.2.2.2. The Third-Person Demonstratives*

These are based on *ɂ̓á* 'be third person.' They form a set that has members in all three positions. There are also forms with *-əɬ* 'past' for deceased persons and there are diminutives (for at least the present visible position) formed by reduplication. And there are still other forms containing *niʔ* 'be there.' Attested forms are given in Table 15.4. There may well be others.

*Table 15.4*

**The third-person demonstratives**

| | Non-feminine | Feminine | Plural |
|---|---|---|---|
| Present and visible | *təwɂ̓á* | *θəwɂ̓á* | *təwɂ̓áləm* |
| Nearby and invisible | *kʷθəwɂ̓á* | *ɬəwɂ̓á* | *kʷθəwɂ̓áləm* |
| Remote or hypothetical | *kʼʷəwɂ̓á* | *kʷsəwɂ̓á* | |
| Deceased | *kʼʷəwɂ̓á·ɬ* | *kʷsəwɂ̓á·ɬ* | *kʷθəwɂ̓áləməɬ* |
| Diminutive present | *təwɂ̓áɂ̓əm* | *θəwɂ̓áɂ̓əm* | *təwɂ̓əɂ̓aɂ̓ámˀ* |
| *niʔ* present | *tənəwɂ̓á* | *θənəwɂ̓á* | |

These forms too, like the locative demonstratives, are probably relative clauses in origin, *təwɂ̓á* being a contraction of //tə wə-$_2$ ɂ̓á// 'the one who is third person' and so on. In rapid speech, the stress falls equally on both syllables or may appear to fall on the first. The Cowichan counterparts are *tᶿəwníɬ* and so on, based on *níɬ*, the Island counterpart of Mainland *ɂ̓á*.

The forms *tənəwɂ̓á* and *θənəwɂ̓a* are probably //tə niʔ wə-$_2$ ɂ̓á// 'the one who is third person there' or 'the one who is there being the third person' and so on. These forms seem to be rare; they occur in a few sentences given by CC during elicitation but have not shown up in the texts.

### 15.2.3. Use as Determiners

It appears that nearly all of the demonstratives can stand before nouns as determiners. (There may be restrictions on some of the plural forms.) As determiners, the demonstratives may be translated 'this,' 'that,' 'these,' and 'those,' but for all but the locatives formed with *ʔí, níʔ,* and *-ṅá·,* this deictic sense is weak. Perhaps a demonstrative is often chosen over an article mainly because it is definite, while the article is not. At any rate, demonstratives seem to appear more often in Halkomelem than in English, and often a Halkomelem demonstrative can be translated as easily with an English definite article. As determiners, the demonstratives are also often unstressed.

The simple demonstratives (*tθéʔ,* etc.) generally have the sense of a weak 'that':

(a) wét kʷə tθeʔ swə́y̓qeʔ. (CC)
who then DEM(MN) man
'Who is that man?'

(b) syə́ẇín̓ kʷθeʔ skʷíx. (JP 23)
spell.word DEM(MN) name
'That [or 'this' or 'the'] name is a spell word.'

(c) ƛ̓a kʷə kʷłeʔ qəlqəlíłəł c̓twaʔ. (JP 2)
BE3P then DEM(FN) Basket.Ogress SPEC
'It was that Basket Ogress [now deceased, known from tradition].'

(d) ném̓ cən k̓ʷi spə́łx̌ən. (CC)
go I DEM(MR) prairie/pasture
'I'm going to that pasture.'

The fact that *k̓ʷi* implies that something is simply invisible and not necessarily distant is clear from (e).

(e) ʔi k̓ʷi sʔéƛ̓q kʷθə nəká·. (JP)
ʔi [ʔə] k̓ʷi sʔéƛ̓q kʷθə nə-ká·
be.here OBL that(MR) outside ART(MN) my-car
'My car is outside.'

The *ʔí* tells us that the car is nearby while the *k̓ʷí* tells us that the outside is invisible. We are in the house and the car is parked outside, out of sight.

The locatives *təʔí* and *təʔínə* contrast with *tθeʔ*, and *tθéʔ* contrasts with *təníʔ*, and so on. Compare the following:

*təʔi sqʷəméy̓* 'this dog'
*tθéʔ sqʷəméy̓* 'that dog'
*təʔí púkʷ* 'this book [in my hand]'
*tθéʔ púkʷ* 'that book [somewhere near me]'
*tənín̓ə púkʷ* 'that book [over there]'
*təniʔətəná·nə púkʷ* 'that book way over there'
*təʔínə łéq̓əməx* 'this flat country [here in the Fraser Delta]'
*təná·nə scəẇaθən* 'the outer side over there [i.e., Tsawwassen]'

The forms *tən̓á*, *θən̓á*, and so on seem to refer to what is simply present rather than right at hand:

*tən̓a swéyəl* 'this day, today'
*ʔi ə tən̓a táməxʷ* 'on this earth'
*θən̓a nəšxʷəmníkʷ* 'this aunt of mine' (CC 12)
*yən̓a yə́y̓sələ* 'these two persons'

In (f) and (g), *tən̓á* contrasts with *tən̓á·nə*.

(f) ḿí čxʷ (x̌ʷteʔ ə) tən̓a səqín̓. (JP)
come you move.toward OBL DEM(MP) near.end
'Come to this end of the house.'

(g) ném̓ čxʷ [ʔə] tən̓á·nə snəqín̓. (JP)
go you OBL DEM(MP) far.end
'Go to that end of the house.'

However, the nouns also contrast; *səqín̓* 'near end of a house' contains *ʔí* 'be here,' while *snəqín̓* 'far end of a house' contains *níʔ* 'be there.'

In contrast with *tən̓á·nə,* which implies distance but visibility, *k̓ʷən̓á·nə* can refer to something distant and unseen:

(h) ck̓ʷik̓ʷéy̓əm kʷθə məlstéyəxʷ ni k̓ʷən̓á·nə cakʷ. (JP)
be.starving ART(MN) persons be-there DEM(MR) far
'People are starving in that far-off country.'

The forms *k̓ʷən̓á* and *kʷsən̓á* indicate invisibility, but when referring to persons do not imply deceased status as the corresponding articles (*k̓ʷə* and *kʷsə*) do.

(i) x̌ó·t̓ə k̓ʷən̓a bá·s ... (JP)
be.saying DEM(MR) boss
'The "boss" says ...'

The forms *tən̓á* and *θən̓á* are unique among the demonstratives in that they can also serve as contemptuous second-person pronouns in vocative phrases, as in (j), (k), and (l).

(j) ʔa·· tən̓a qə́··l sqʷəmé y̓ spá·l̓. (JP 4)
aah DEM(MP) baad dog raven
'Oh, you *baad* dog Raven!' (said by women from whom Raven has stolen salmonberries)

(k) šeʔ, θən̓a q̓ém̓əy̓. (JP)
hey DEM(FP) girl
'Hey, you girl!' (said to a young man who has done something effeminate, such as using *ʔáš* instead of *šéʔ* as an interjection)

(l) tən̓a qə́l sm i m̓ x c̓ən̓. (AG)
DEM(MP) bad lousy(DIM)
'You lousy little thing!'

The third-person determiners (*təwx̌̓a,* etc.) when used as determiners have a weak deictic sense; they probably often serve simply to mark definiteness. They are most frequently used with persons:

*təwx̌̓a swíwləs* 'that/the young man'
*θəwx̌̓a q̓ém̓əy̓* 'that/the young woman'

*təwx̌̓a* Andrew '(that) Andrew' (CC 12)
*kʷθəwx̌̓a sqəlícəməsəɬ* 'the late Sqəlícəməs' (JP 1)
*kʷθəwx̌̓áləm nəsəlsíl̓eɬ* 'my late grandparents' (JP 25)
*kʷ̓əwx̌̓a syáləxʷaʔ* 'that [now deceased] old man' (JP 25)
*kʷ̓əwx̌̓ən sqéʔeq* 'my late junior cousin' (CC 16)
*təwx̌̓əx̌̓al̓ám̓ stéʔexʷəɬ* 'those little children' (CC)

As determiners, however, they are not restricted to persons. They are also used for animals:

(m) ʔə́wəteʔ kʷə šxʷném̓s təwx̌̓a smə́yəθ. (CC 7)
ʔə́wəteʔ kʷə šxʷ-ném̓-s təwx̌̓a smə́yəθ
none ART(MN) OBLNOM-go-3POS DEM(MP) deer
'The deer has/have no place to go.'

(n) ʔə́wə kʷs kʷə́yx̌θəts θəwx̌̓a qʷtá·yθən. (JP 23)
ʔə́wə kʷ s-kʷə́yx̌-θət-s θəwx̌̓a qʷtá·yθən
not ART(MN) NOM-move-self-3POS DEM(FP) sturgeon
'The sturgeon doesn't move.'

They seem generally not used for inanimate things, but I have found two exceptions in texts:

(o) sx̌̓íx̌̓əc tə sʔáθəs ni ə
designed ART(MP) face be.there OBL
təwx̌̓a sxélməxʷcəs. (CC 19)
DEM(MP) ritualist's.rattle
'A face was carved on that/this [ritualist's] rattle.'

(p) wənáˑy c̓ə kʷ-s-niʔ-s sc̓éc̓ən wə-ʔə́wk̓ʷ
be.only QUOT ART-NOM-AUX-3POS truly EST-be.used.up
təwx̌̓a t̓ᶿə́x̌tən. (JP 27)
DEM(MP) poison
'It was only when that poison was truly used up that ...'

But these may not be exceptions after all. Both the rattle and the poison may be seen as active entities.

As determiners, the third-person demonstratives seem to have the same anaphoric restriction that they have as demonstrative pronouns. This is discussed below.

The use of plural forms of all sets of demonstratives seems to vary with the kind of noun. If a noun that is plural in form or sense refers to human beings, a demonstrative used as a determiner is almost always a plural form, as in examples above. There are exceptions, however, as in (q), where plurality is not marked.

(q) təwƛ̓a čé·ymən (CC 12)
DEM(MP) Chinese
'the Chinese' [farmers renting reserve land]

With animals, the choice of a plural seems to be optional. Non-plural forms may be used, perhaps especially when plurality is marked by other means. Compare the following sentences from a single passage in JP 23.

(r) ni xém təwƛ̓áləm máʔəqʷ.
AUX come.to.surface DEM(PL) duck
'Those ducks came to the surface.'

(s) ƛ̓a kʷə ni šxʷk̓ʷáqʷəts tθeʔ máʔəqʷ.
ƛ̓a kʷə ni šxʷ-k̓ʷáqʷəts tθeʔ máʔəqʷ
BE3P then AUX OBLNOM-club DEM(MP) duck
'That's what he used to club the ducks with.'

(t) sisəw ném̓ ʔal̓ ləkʷlə́kʷ tə tə́psəms təwƛ̓a máʔəqʷ.
s-ni-s wə-ném̓ ʔal̓ ləkʷlə́kʷ tə tə́psəm-s
NOM-AUX-3POS EST-AUX(go) just break(PL) ART neck-3POS
təwƛ̓a máʔəqʷ
DEM(MP) duck
'Then the necks of those ducks were just broken.'

(u) kʷənkʷə́nətəs tθeʔ máʔəqʷ.
kʷənkʷə́n-ət-əs tθeʔ máʔəqʷ
be.taken(PL)-TR-3TR DEM(MP) duck
'He took the ducks.'

The word *máʔəqʷ* 'duck' (really any larger bird) is not plural in form. In (r), plurality is indicated by the demonstrative, in (s) by nothing, in (t) by 'get broken,' and in (u) by 'take.'

Inanimate plurals generally take non-plural forms, as in (v).

(v) kʷθeʔ smənmé·nt (JP)
DEM(MN) rocks
'the/those rocks'

But again there are exceptions, as in (w), in which plurality is indicated in all three words.

(w) yəθéləy̓ θéməxʷəł səníxʷəł (JP)
DEM(PL) two.canoe canoes
'those two canoes'

Like the articles, the demonstratives can introduce relative clauses (see §4.1.2). In this function, they seem to be used very much the same way as when introducing nouns.

### 15.2.4. Use as Adjuncts

The demonstratives can also stand alone as direct or oblique adjuncts, serving as third-person pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and locatives. There are differences among the three sets of demonstratives in these functions. Demonstratives of the simple and locative sets, when standing as direct adjuncts and as oblique adjuncts in many contexts, can refer to either human or non-human entities and so serve as third-person or demonstrative pronouns, that is, be translated as 'he,' 'she,' 'this,' 'that,' and so on. However, when standing as oblique adjuncts following verbs implying location or motion in a particular direction, demonstratives of the simple and third-person sets can refer to place and serve as locatives, that is, be translated as 'here,' 'there,' and so on. When used as adjuncts, demonstratives of the third-person set always refer to human beings and so must be translated as third-person pronouns. For purposes of exposition, it seems useful to separate pronominal from locative uses.

#### *15.2.4.1. Pronominal Uses*

In the following sentences, demonstratives of the simple set appear as direct adjuncts and refer to either human or non-human entities.

(a) wét tθéʔ. (JP)
who that(MP)
'Who is that/he?'

(b) stém kʷə kʷθéʔ. (CC)
what then that(MN)
'What is that?'

(c) yə-m̓í tθéʔ. (JP)
along-come that(MP)
'He is coming.'

(d) x̌cés-əɬ c̓ə tθéʔ. (JP 1)
island-past QUOT that(MP)
'It [Point Roberts] was an island, they say.'

(e) təw-nín̓əq̓ʷəm̓ tθéʔ. (JP)
somewhat-soft(PL) that(MP)
'They are soft.'

(f) háʔkʷ-əx łe tθéʔ. (JP)
be.used-TR PER that(MP)
'Use that!'

(g) ʔə́wə sx̌íx̌qəɬ-əs θéʔ. (JP)
not child-3SUB that(FP)
'She is not a child.'

(h) ni ċə kʷə́n-əws-t-əm kʷłeʔ. (CC)
AUX QUOT be.taken-body-TR-INTR that(FN)
'She was harmed by sorcery, they say.'

(i) səwə́ẏqeʔ yəθéləẏ. (JP)
men those(MP)
'They are men.'

(j) néṁ ċə ṫáḱʷ yəθéləẏ. (CC)
AUX(go) QUOT go.home those(MP)
'They are going home, they say.'

(k) ni ṫáḱʷ kʷθéləẏ. (CC)
AUX go.home those(MN)
'They went home.'

In (l) to (p), the simple demonstratives are oblique adjuncts.

(l) steʔé ʔe tθeʔ
stəʔé ʔə tθéʔ
like OBL that
'thus, like that'

(m) xʷənx̌əṫé·tθeʔ
xʷən-x̌ə́ṫe ʔə tθéʔ
still-be.doing OBL that
'while doing that, in the course of that'

(n) słénəẏ x̌̓a šxʷ-x̌ə́ṫə-s [ʔə] tθéʔ. (JP)
woman BE3P OBLNOM-be.doing-3POS OBL that
'She's a woman, that's why she does that.'

(o) wél-x čxʷ neṁ ʔə tθéʔ. (AG)
throw-TR you go OBL him
'Throw it to him.'

(p) təlíʔ ʔə kʷθéʔ i … (CC 21)
təlíʔ ʔə kʷθéʔ ʔəẏ
from OBL DEM(MN) and
'from that [time, event], after that, from then on ...'

In (l) to (n), the *stəʔé* 'be like' and *x̌ə́ṫə* 'be doing' are intransitive but can have objects in the oblique case. In (o), *neṁ* is a verb denoting motion, but it is used here as a preposition; the main verb denotes an action that normally has a human recipient and so the demonstrative refers to a human being. In (p), the demonstrative might also be interpreted as a locative.

The locative demonstratives formed with *ʔi* and *niʔ* generally refer to things and not to people.

(q) stém tiʔí. (AG)
what this(MP)
'What's this?'

(r) háʔkʷ-əx łe təʔí. (CC)
be.used-TR PER this(MP)
'Use this!'

(s) nə-sṯ̓θíʔ təʔínə. (JP)
my-loot this(MP)
'This is my loot.'

(t) stém kʷə təníʔ. (CC)
what then that(MP)
'What's that?'

Those formed with *-ṅ̓a* more often refer to people.

(u) tém-c tənṅ̓a. (AG)
what-tribe this(MP)
'Where is this man from?'

(v) ném̓ c̓ə ʔal̓ łíṯ̓ətəs θənṅ̓á tə shés tə sʔíṯ̓θəm ni hakʷəxəs kʷs yéq̓əwəłtən. (JP)
ném̓ c̓ə ʔal̓ łíṯ̓-ət-əs θənṅ̓á tə
go QUOT just distribute-TR-3TR she ART(MP)
shé-s tə sʔíṯ̓θəm ni hakʷ-əx-əs kʷ
remainder-3POS ART blanket AUX use-TR-3TR ART
s-yé-q̓əw-əłtən
NOM-along-pay-others
'This woman will go around distributing the remainder of the blankets that she used to pay the people.'

(w) x̌̓a sé·nx̌̓e yənṅ̓a. (JP 29)
BE3P senior they
'They are older ones.'

(x) x̌̓áləm c̓twaʔ yəná·łtən. (JP)
BE3P(PL) SPEC they
'They must be the ones.'

(y) x̌̓a k̓ʷənṅ̓á. (AG)
BE3P that(MR)
'He's the one [just out of sight].'

(z) ʔi qíqəw kʷsənṅ̓á. (JP)
AUX be.menstruating that(FR)
'She's having her period.'

The last sentence answers the question, "Why isn't your wife helping?" The auxiliary *ʔi* indicates that she is nearby but the form *kʷsə̓ná* indicates that she is out of sight.

The locative demonstratives in these examples are all direct adjuncts. In (aa), a locative demonstrative is an oblique adjunct.

(aa) x̌e nəw steʔé ʔal̓ ə təʔínə. (CC 28)
x̌e ni ʔ wə-stəʔé ʔal̓ ʔə təʔínə
also AUX EST-like just OBL this
'It's the same as this.'

When used as either direct or oblique adjuncts, the third-person demonstratives refer to persons only.

(bb) ném̓ ʔə kʷə təwx̌a. (CC)
go ROG then that(MP)
'Is he going?'

(cc) səw qʷéls θəwx̌a ... (CC)
s-wə-qʷél-s θəwx̌a
NOM-EST-speak-3POS that(FP)
'Then she said ...'

(dd) ném̓ ʔə kʷə təwx̌áləm.
go ROG then those(MP)
'Are they going?'

(ee) c̓éwət cən ceʔ təwx̌a. (CC)
c̓éw-ət cən ceʔ təwx̌a
help-TR I FUT that(MP)
'I'll help him.'

(ff) c̓éwətəm ceʔ x̌ Tom təwx̌a. (CC)
c̓éw-ət-əm ceʔ [ʔə] x̌ Tom təwx̌a
help-TR-INTR FUT OBL ART Tom that(MP)
'Tom will help him.' (lit. 'He will be helped by Tom.')

(gg) ni x̌ʷán̓xənəm kʷθəwx̌áləm i ... (JP)
AUX be.running those(MN) and
'They were running when ...'

(hh) k̓ʷə́cna·m ceʔ təwx̌a. (CC)
k̓ʷec-n-a·m ceʔ [ʔə] təwx̌a
see-TR-you FUT OBL that(MP)
'He'll see you.' (lit. 'You will be seen by him.')

(ii) niʔ cən yá·ẏəs niʔ [ʔə] kʷθəwɬ̓a. (CC)
AUX I be.working be.there [OBL] that(MN)
'I'm working for him.'

(jj) steʔé cən [ʔə] təwɬ̓a. (CC)
be.like I [OBL] that(MP)
'I'm the same as him.'

(kk) səw ḵʷə́cnəxʷs ḵʷəwɬ̓á tə nə́c̓aʔ sməyəθ ɬ̓a yəwéẇəłətəs tə stəlqáyə. (CC 16)
s-wə-ḵʷə́c-nəxʷ-s ḵʷəwɬ̓á tə nə́c̓aʔ sməyəθ ɬ̓a
NOM-EST-see-TR-3POS DEM(MR) ART(MP) one deer BE3P
yə-wéẇəł-ət-əs tə stəlqáyə
along-be.chasing-TR-3TR ART wolves
'Then he [deceased] saw a deer, which was the one that the wolves were chasing.'

In this last sentence, the narrator (AC) identified the principal character, his deceased junior cousin, with a form that shows deceased status, but for the deer and the wolves, he used present visible forms.

There is an anaphoric restriction, mentioned above, on the use of the third-person demonstratives: after *-əs* 'third-person transitive subject,' *təwɬ̓a,* and so on can refer to the transitive subject only. The implications of this for syntax are discussed in §3.4.2.

### *15.2.4.2. Locative Uses*

Demonstratives of the simple and the locative sets, standing as oblique adjuncts after verbs denoting location or directional motion, serve as locatives.

With *ʔí* 'be here' and *níʔ* 'be there' used both as main verbs and as prepositions, these demonstratives have the senses 'here' and 'there.'

(a) ni c̓ə níʔ kʷθéʔ. (JP)
niʔ c̓ə níʔ [ʔə] kʷθéʔ
AUX QUOT be.there OBL DEM(MN)
'It's reportedly here.'

(b) səsəw niʔ ə tθéʔ é·łtən. (CC 11)
s-niʔ-s wə-níʔ ʔə tθéʔ ʔé·łtən
NOM-AUX-3POS EST-be.there OBL DEM(MP) 3PL
'And so they stayed there.'

(c) wəyáθ cən wəƛ̓ʷéƛ̓ʷəcnəxʷ təwx̌a niʔ ə tθéʔ. (CC)
wə-yáθ cən wə-ƛ̓ʷéƛ̓ʷəc-nəxʷ təwx̌a niʔ ʔə
EST-always I EST-be.seeing-TR him be.there OBL
tθéʔ
DEM(MP)
'I always see him there.'

(d) niʔ cən m̓e ƛ̓ʷácnəxʷ kʷθəwx̌a kʷsniʔs niʔəkʷθéʔ. (CC)
niʔ cən m̓ə ƛ̓ʷác-nəxʷ kʷθəwx̌a kʷ s-niʔ-s
AUX I CERT see-TR him(MN) ART NOM-AUX-3POS
niʔ ʔə kʷθéʔ
be.there OBL DEM(MN)
'I saw him there.' (lit. 'I saw him when he was there.')

(e) ʔí ʔə təńá tə púkʷ. (CC)
be.here OBL DEM(MP) ART(MP) book
'The book is here.'

(f) ʔəmət łe ʔi ʔə təʔí. (CC)
sit PER be.here OBL DEM(MP)
'Sit here.'

(g) haʔ cən q̓á·yt ʔi·təńá [ʔi ʔə təńa] ... (JP 22)
háʔ cən q̓áy-ət ʔi ʔə təńá
if I die-TR be.here OBL DEM(MP)
'If I kill it here ...'

Also, following *ʔəm̓í* 'come' and *ném̓* 'go' used as prepositions, these demonstratives have the sense 'here' and 'there.'

(h) m̓í łe m̓i ʔə təʔí. (CC)
ʔəm̓í łe ʔəm̓í ʔə təʔí
come PER come OBL DEM(MP)
'Come here.'

(i) ném̓ łe nem̓ ʔə təníʔ. (CC)
go PER go OBL DEM(MP)
'Go there.'

Following *x̌ʷtéʔ* 'go toward,' *násəm* 'look toward,' and perhaps some other verbs, these demonstratives have the sense 'this way,' 'that way,' and so on.

(j) x̌ʷtéʔ ct ceʔ [ʔə] təʔí. (CC 8)
head.for we FUT [OBL] this(MP)
'Let's head this way.'

(k) ǩʷté čxʷ [ʔə] təníʔ. (JP)
head.for you [OBL] that(MP)
'Go that way.'

(l) ʔə́wə čxʷ ǩʷtéʔ-əxʷ [ʔə] tθéʔ. (JP)
not you head.for-you [OBL] that(MP)
'Don't go that way.'

(m) ʔi m̓i ǩʷtéʔ ə təm̓á. (JP)
AUX come head.for OBL this(MP)
'He's coming this way.'

(n) ném̓ čxʷ ǩʷtéʔ ə k̓ʷəʔí. (JP)
go you head.for OBL that(MR)
'Go around the other way.'

(o) násəm čxʷ [ʔə] təníʔ. (JP)
face you [OBL] that (MP)
'Look that way.'

## 15.3. THE DEMONSTRATIVE AUXILIARIES

There is a set of four words that play the same role syntactically as the locative auxiliaries (§3.2.1), while calling attention to the existence of an entity or the immediacy of an event and identifying it as to gender. Each of the four has an initial element seemingly identifiable as a locative auxiliary. This is followed by the oblique particle *ʔə* and an article *tə* (MP) and *θə* (FP). The article agrees in gender with whatever the word calls attention to. The demonstrative auxiliaries are shown in Table 15.5.

*Table 15.5*

**The demonstrative auxiliaries**

| | Non-feminine | Feminine | Plural |
|---|---|---|---|
| *ʔí* 'be here' | *ʔíʔətə ~ ʔíətə ~ ʔí·tə* | *ʔíʔəθə ~ ʔíəθə ~ ʔí·θə* | |
| *ná* 'be over there' | *náʔətə ~ ná·tə* | *náʔəθə ~ ná·θə* | *náʔəy̓e* |

The initial element *ʔí-* is certainly *ʔí* 'be here.' The *ná-* (or *náʔ-*) is probably a variant of *níʔ* 'be there.' The Cowichan forms (cf. Leslie 1979, 103), which are used by AG, show a variant of *ʔí* as well; they are *ʔéʔət, ʔéʔəθ, náʔət, náʔəθ.*

Like other auxiliaries, the demonstrative auxiliaries precede the predicate head.

(a) ʔíʔətə ṗíṗələm̓. (CC)
be.here(MP) be.overflowing
'It's overflowing.'

(b) náʔəθə yəmé·mt. (CC)
be.there(FP) along-be.distributing
'She's passing something out.'

(c) ʔiətə ƛ̓əwɬ mi hétθ̓əm. (JP 22)
ʔiʔətə ƛ̓ə wəɬ-m̓i hétθ̓əm
be.here again already-AUX(come) breathe
'He's starting to breathe again.'

(d) q̓ʷá··q̓ʷələx̌ łe, náʔətə yəyéy̓əq̓ tə θqét. (CC)
q̓ʷáq̓ʷələx̌ łe, náʔətə yə-yéy̓əq̓ tə θqét
take.care PER be.there along-be.falling ART tree
'Watch out, the tree is falling!'

In these examples, the gender of the auxiliary agrees with that of the subject, but in (e) (a statement by a male speaker) it agrees with that of the object, which is what attention is directed toward.

(e) ʔiʔəθə cən kʷən-é-t θəńa qə́l ... (JP 25)
be.here I be.taken-DUR-TR this bad
'I'm holding this bad thing that ...'

As with the locative auxiliaries, a demonstrative auxiliary can be followed by a predicate head that is its lexical counterpart, as in (f) and (g).

(f) ʔíʔətə ʔí tə nə-mə́ńə. (CC)
be.here be.here ART my-child
'My son is here [visible].'

(g) ʔiʔəθəw ʔí θə nəmə́ńə. (CC)
ʔiʔəθə wə-ʔí θə nə-mə́ńə
be.here EST-be.here ART my-child
'My daughter is here [visible].'

Compare (h) and (i), in which the gender is shown by the article only.

(h) ʔí wə-ʔí kʷθə nə-mə́ńə. (CC)
AUX(be.here) EST-be.here ART my-child
'My son is here [but not visible].'

(i) ʔí wə-ʔí łə nə-mə́ńə. (CC)
AUX(be.here) EST-be.here ART my child
'My daughter is here [but not visible].'

In (j), (k), and (l), the locative is repeated again in the demonstrative following the oblique particle.

(j) náʔətə níʔ ə təníʔ (təwx̌a). (CC)
náʔətə níʔ ʔə təníʔ təwx̌á
be.there be.there OBL that he
'There he is. He is there.'

(k) náʔəθə níʔ ə təníʔ. (CC)
náʔəθə níʔ ʔə təníʔ
be.there be.there OBL that
'There she is. She is there.'

(l) ʔi·tə ʔi· təʔínə təṅa qə́l. (JP 27)
ʔiʔətə ʔí ʔə təʔínə təṅa qə́l
be.here be.here OBL this this bad
'Here is this bad one.'

The plural form was recorded only once, in (m).

(m) náʔəy̓e hənhə́nqʷ. (CC)
be.over.there(PL) be.falling.asleep
'They are falling asleep.'

Presumably the *y̓e* in the locative auxiliary is the element *yə* that appears in other plural forms. I do not know why the /y/ is glottalized.

# 16
# Predicate Particles and Tags

Under this heading, I have grouped three sets of particles (as defined in §2.7): the clause-initial particles, the second-position predicate particles, and the sentence-final tags.

## 16.1. CLAUSE-INITIAL PARTICLES

These are the two clause subordinaters *wə-*$_{1}$ 'if, when, that,' and *ʔəɬ-* 'whenever, whatever, that,' and the two clause nominalizers *s-* 'nominalizer' and *šx*$^{w}$- 'oblique nominalizer.' For uses of the first two, see §4.2, "Subordinate Clauses"; for uses of the second two, see §4.3, "Nominalized Clauses."

## 16.2. SECOND-POSITION PREDICATE PARTICLES

There are more than twenty particles that can appear within the predicate. Some were introduced in §3.1.2. Here we will examine all that I have recorded. Most of them are mobile, appearing after the first word of the predicate whatever that may be. If the only word is the head, the particle will follow it; if the head is preceded by an auxiliary, the particle will follow the auxiliary; if the auxiliary is preceded by an adverb, the particle will follow the adverb. Two of these particles, however, can become more firmly attached to words and override this principle. A few can also appear in nominal adjuncts.

Four of the second-position particles are main-clause subject markers, two mark tense, one is restrictive in sense, while the rest are, broadly speaking, modal. The subject markers are *cən* 'I,' *čx*$^{w}$ 'you,' *ct* 'we,' and *ce·p* 'you plural' (see §14.2.1). The two tense markers are *-əɬ* 'past' and *ce?* 'future.' The particle *ʔal̓*, often glossed 'just, only,' is restrictive in sense. The particles *-əɬ* 'past' and *ʔal̓* 'just' are the ones that seem occasionally to behave like word suffixes. The modal particles distinguish questions, requests, quality of information and degree of certainty, relationship to previous assumptions, emotional tone, and so on.

Semantically, the modal particles present greater problems than perhaps any other feature of the language. Some are very common and their meanings are

generally quite clear, and yet one of these can appear in a rare context and suddenly be pretty opaque. Others seem to occur in only a few contexts, and I have too few examples to be sure of their meanings. All of them, of course, occur in sentences with intonation patterns that have not yet been worked out, and some of them no doubt convey feelings that are expressed by English intonation patterns. An ideal description, therefore, would set the Halkomelem particles in their intonational contexts and gloss them with English words and intonation patterns.

Many of the second-position predicate particles can co-occur and do so in a fixed order. When *ʔə* 'interrogative' and *yəxʷ* 'inferential' occur together, *ʔə* always precedes *yəxʷ;* these two always precede the subject markers; *ṁə* 'certain' always follows the subject markers; and so on. Some, like *ceʔ* 'future' and *łə* 'imperative,' have never been discovered in the same clause and seem to occupy the same position in relation to the others. Table 16.1 lists the second-position predicate particles by the positions they occupy. In the materials available, however, not all appear often enough with others to make the ordering of all of them certain.

*Table 16.1*

**Order of second-position predicate particles**

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *-əł* | *ʔə* | *yəxʷ* | *cən* | *c̓ə* | *ceʔ* | *ʔal̓* | *ṁə* | *kʷə* | *kʷł* | *waʔ* | *ʔaʔa* |
| 'past' | ROG | INF | 'I' | QUOT | FUT | 'just' | CERT | 'then' | 'yet' | PRES | ROG! |
| | | | *čxʷ* | *ʔe·* | *łə* | *ʔewəł* | *c̓twaʔ* | *q̓ə* | | | |
| | | | 'you' | PLPR | PER | REAS | SPEC | EMPH | | | |
| | | | *ct* | | | *yeł* | | *θəł* | | | |
| | | | 'we' | | | EXP | | ADV | | | |
| | | | *ce·p* | | | | | | | | |
| | | | 'you' | | | | | | | | |

These particles, with the exception of the coordinate subject markers (*cən, čxʷ,* etc.), are described below in the order in which they are listed in Table 16.1.

### 16.2.1. *-əł* 'past'

Phonologically this behaves like a suffix, having no initial glottal stop and always coalescing with a final vowel, and so I write it as such. Grammatically, however, it is a particle in that it (usually) follows inflectional suffixes (but not altogether consistently). It has, it seems, unusual freedom in where it can occur. It can follow words of any type, including auxiliaries, adverbs, personal words, demonstratives, and others that take few if any other particles or suffixes.

Following a verb head in a predicate with no auxiliary, *-əɬ* indicates past intention or incipient action, as in (a) and (b).

(a) c̓éwət-əɬ cən. (JP, AG, DK)
c̓éw-ət-əɬ cən
help-TR-past I
'I was going to help him.'

(b) c̓éwətəɬ ʔə čxʷ.
céw-ət-əɬ ʔə čxʷ.
help-past ROG you
'Were you going to help him?'

There are only two occurrences, (c) and (d), of this form in texts dictated by CC, and she interpreted both as simple past.

(c) k̓ʷécətəɬ cən nəcéləx i wəɬsɬəl̓íq̓ʷ tə nəsnáx̌cəs. (CC 12)
k̓ʷéc-ət-əɬ cən nə-céləx ʔəy wəɬ-sɬəl̓íq̓ʷ tə
see-TR-past I my-hand and already-cut.through ART
nə-snáx̌cəs
my-finger
'I looked at my hand and my finger was already cut through.'

(d) sáʔasəməɬ wəɬk̓ʷácnəxʷəs … (CC 16)
séʔ-as-əm-əɬ wəɬ-k̓ʷéc-nəxʷ-əs
raise-head-INTR-past already-see-TR-3TR
'He lifted his head and saw ...'

However, in these contexts these forms could easily be reinterpreted as incipient past; (c) might better be 'When I turned to look at my hand, my finger was already cut through,' and (d) might better be 'He went to raise his head and saw ...' or 'As he raised his head, he saw ...' In other contexts (with auxiliaries, etc.) there seems to be no question that *-əɬ* is simply 'past.'

Following auxiliaries, *-əɬ* produces what is often translated as an English perfect tense.

(e) niəɬ (~ ni·ɬ) cən c̓éwət.
ni-əɬ cən c̓éw-ət
AUX-past I help-TR
'I had helped him.'

(f) ni·ɬ cən wəɬ(h)áy qʷáqʷəl̓ k̓ʷ xʷənéʔent … (JP 8)
ni-əɬ cən wəɬ-háy qʷáqʷəl̓ k̓ʷ
AUX-past I already-finish be.speaking ART
xʷə-néʔent
become-being.night
'I have already spoken to you last night ...'

In relative clauses, it produces what is interpreted as a simple past.

(g) kʷθə ni·ł c̓éwəθàmx
kʷθə ni-əł c̓éw-ət-Sàmx
ART AUX-past help-TR-me
'the one who helped me'

There seems to be, however, some variation in where it is placed and its relationship with a subordinate subject marker. Compare (h) and (i):

(h) kʷθə ni·nəł c̓éwət (JP)
kʷθə ni-ən-əł c̓éw-ət
ART AUX-I-past help-TR
'the one I helped'

(i) tə niəł c̓èwəté·n swə́y̓qeʔ (AG)
tə ni-əł c̓èw-ət-é·n swə́y̓qeʔ
ART AUX-past help-TR-I man
'the man I helped'

In (h), the *-əł* follows the subordinate subject marker *-ən (~ -é·n)* 'I,' but in (i), the *-əł* seems to have pushed the subordinate subject marker over to the predicate head.

In relative clauses, the *-əł* can also follow the predicate head:

(j) kʷθə ni háyəł sx̌əx̌əłnét (CC)
kʷθə ni háy-əł sx̌əx̌əłnét
ART AUX finish-past week
'last week'

(k) ni cən wək̓ʷə́cnəxʷ kʷθə ni háʔkʷəxəsəł kʷsθéq̓ts tə qʷtá·yθən. (JP 23)
ni cən wə-k̓ʷéc-nəxʷ kʷθə ni háʔkʷ-əx-əs-əł
AUX I EST-see-TR ART AUX be.using-TR-3SUB-past
kʷ s-θéq̓-t-s tə qʷtá·yθən
ART NOM-be.getting.speared-TR-3POS ART sturgeon
'I saw what he was using when he harpooned sturgeon.'

The following examples illustrate the freedom *-əł* has in its co-occurrence with other types of words. Compare (l) and (m), (n) and (o), and (p) and (q):

(l) qəẇ́cənəł kʷθə nəménəł.
qəẇ́cən-əł kʷθə nə-mén-əł
Cowichan-past ART my-father-past
'My late father was Cowichan.'

(m) qəẃícən kʷθə nəmén.
Cowichan ART my-father
'My father is Cowichan.'

(n) ʔí·ɬ cən wəcnáxʷəɬ.
ʔí-əɬ cən wə-c-snáxʷəɬ
AUX-past I EST-get-canoe
'I had a canoe.'

(o) ʔí cən wəcnáxʷəɬ.
ʔí cən wə-c-snáxʷəɬ
AUX I EST-get-canoe
'I have a canoe.'

(p) ʔəwè·ɬ téʔ nəsnáxʷəɬ.
ʔəwə-əɬ téʔ nə-snáxʷəɬ
not-past appear my-canoe
'I didn't have a canoe.'

(q) ʔəwətéʔ nəsnáxʷəɬ.
ʔəwətéʔ nə-snáxʷəɬ
none (not.appear) my-canoe
'I don't have a canoe.'

(r) máḵʷ-əɬ nə-s-ném ...
all-past my-NOM-go
'Whenever I went ...'

(s) ʔé·nθe·ɬ neṁ ...
ʔé·nθə-əɬ neṁ
be.I-past go
'I was the one who went ...'

(t) stéməɬ yəxʷ ʔaʔa.
stém-əɬ yəxʷ ʔaʔa
what-past INF ROG!
'I wonder what it could have been.'

(u) ḵʷəṅa·ɬ spánwə (DK)
ḵʷəṅa-əɬ spánwə
that(MR)-past summer[?]
'last summer'

With possessed nouns, the position of *-əɬ* 'past' in relation to the possessive seems variable. Compare (v) and (w):

(v) kʷθə s-yəẇéṅ-əɬ-ct (CC)
ART NOM-before-past-our
'our ancestors'

(w) kʷθə s-yəẇén-s-əɬ (JP)
ART NOM-before-3POS-past
'his ancestors'

The *-əɬ* 'past' is followed by a lexical suffix in at least one word: *šxʷnétəɬqən* 'breakfast' (< *nétəɬ* 'morning,' itself < *nét* 'night').

### 16.2.2. *ʔə* 'interrogative' (ROG)

This converts a statement or possible statement into a yes-or-no question. It does not occur with an interrogative word.

(a) ni ʔə lə́c̓.
AUX ROG full
'Is it full?' (cf. *ni lə́c̓*. 'It's full.')

(b) ném̓ ʔə ʔé·ɬtən.
go ROG 3PL
'Are they going?' (cf. *ném̓ ʔé·ɬtən*. 'They're going.')

(c) spéʔeθ ʔə.
bear ROG
'Is it a bear?' (cf. *spéʔeθ c̓ə*. 'It's said to be a bear.')

(d) ni ʔə čxʷ k̓ʷə́cnəxʷ.
ni ʔə čxʷ k̓ʷéc-n-əxʷ
AUX ROG you see-TR-you
'Did you see him?'

(e) x̌̓a ʔə ʔən-hə́l̓kʷ.
BE3P ROG your-be.breaking [pocketknife]
'Is it your pocketknife?'

(f) c̓éw-ət-əɬ ʔə čxʷ.
help-TR-past ROG you
'Were you going to help him?'

The interrogative particle tends to assume the quality of a preceding vowel or to coalesce with it; thus *x̌̓a ʔə* may become *x̌̓a ʔa*, *ni ʔə* may become *ni·*, and so on. Following an unstressed schwa, the interrogative particle may cause the stress to shift to it and may coalesce with it as a long *e·*. Thus //ʔə́wə ʔə// quite regularly becomes *ʔəwé ʔe* or *ʔəwé·*, while //-ámə ʔə// may become *-amé ʔe* or *-amé·*, as in (g) and (h).

(g) ʔəwé· cən néṁè·n.
ʔáwə ʔə cən néṁ-e·n
not ROG I go-I
'Can't I go?'

(h) xʷəyθàmé ʔe cən.
xʷəy-t-Samə ʔə cən
wake-TR-you ROG I
'Shall I wake you?'

### 16.2.3. *yəxʷ* 'inferential' (INF)

This indicates that a statement is based on inference. In translations we often find 'must' in the sense of necessary inference (e.g., 'He must have gone') as opposed to obligation (e.g., 'I must go').

(a) ni yəxʷ wəł-háyeʔ.
AUX INF already-leave
'He must have left.'

(b) ni yəxʷ kʷán-ət-əm.
AUX INF be.taken-TR-INTR
'It must have been taken.'

(c) ni yəxʷ ct nəqʷ-náməṯ.
AUX INF we fall.asleep-self
'We must have fallen asleep.'

The combination *ʔə* 'interrogative' and *yəxʷ* 'inferential' is usually translated 'I wonder if ...,' as in (d) and (e).

(d) ʔi cən xʷṯ̓ᶿq̓ʷáləs. ʔəwé ʔe yəxʷ čxʷ ṯ̓éʔtəxʷ mé·łcəm. (JP)
ʔi cən xʷ-ṯ̓ᶿəq̓ʷ-áləs ʔəwé ʔe yəxʷ čxʷ
AUX I inward-get.pierced-eye not ROG INF you
ṯ̓éʔ-t-əxʷ méʔ-łc-əm.
try-TR-you be.removed-BEN-INTR
'I got something in my eye. I wonder if you would try to get it out for me.'

(e) ni ʔə yəxʷ ʔusθəθíʔ kʷθə snáxʷəłct. (AG)
ni ʔə yəxʷ ʔu-sθəθíʔ kʷθə snáxʷəł-ct
AUX ROG INF EST-right ART canoe-our
'I wonder if our canoe is all right.'

For other uses of *yəxʷ* with *ṁə* and other particles, see those below.

### 16.2.4. *c̓ə* 'quotative' (QUOT)

This indicates that the statement is based on hearsay.

(a) néṁ ċə təwx̌a.
go QUOT that(MP)
'He is going, they say.'

(b) spéʔeθ ċə.
bear QUOT
'It is said to be a bear. It is supposed to be a bear.'

(c) sx̌éləqəm-əł ċə. (JP 6)
dangerous.being-past QUOT
'It is said that it was a dangerous being.'

(d) ni cən ċə néṁ.
AUX I QUOT go
'I'm supposed to have gone. It is said that I went.'

(e) ni ċə ṫᶿəx̌tén-t-əm.
AUX QUOT poison-TR-INTR
'He was poisoned, according to rumour.'

Compare (e) with (f).

(f) ni ṁə ṫᶿəx̌tén-t-əm.
AUX CERT poison-TR-INTR
'He was certainly poisoned.'

Preceding the particles *ceʔ* 'future' and *θəł* 'adversative,' *ċə* appears as *ċ*. See *ceʔ* for an example of *ċceʔ* and *θəł* for an example of *ċθəł*.

### 16.2.5. *ʔe·* 'plural imperative' (PLPER)

This expresses a request or instruction to several. It may, but need not, be followed by *łə* 'imperative-optative.'

(a) háy ʔe·. (AG)
stop PLPER
'Cut it out, you people!'

(b) łí·m ʔe·. (AG)
pick PLPER
'Pick (you several)!'

(c) łí·m ʔe· łe, łí·m ʔe· łe. (CC)
pick PLPER PER pick PLPER PER
'You kids keep on picking.'

(d) kʷə́yx̌-θət ʔe· łe. (CC)
move-self PLPER PER
'Do something about it, all of you.'

(e) ʔə́łtən ʔè· łe. (JP)
eat PLPER PER
'Go ahead and eat it, all of you.' (to children at the table)

AG, in contrast to CC and JP, put the *ʔe·* after the *łe* when using both in (f).

(f) ʔi łé ʔe·.
AUX PLPER PER
'Let's go.'

### 16.2.6. *ceʔ* 'future' (FUT)

This simply indicates future time.

(a) ḵʷáqʷ čxʷ ceʔ.
get.hit you FUT
'You'll get hit.'

(b) c̓éw-əθ cən ceʔ.
help-you I FUT
'I'll help you.'

(c) ʔé·nθə ceʔ cə́m-ət.
be.I FUT carry.on.back-TR
'*I* will pack it. I will be the one who will pack it.'

(d) ném̓ čxʷ sə́wq̓əm ḵʷ hə́y̓qʷct ceʔ.
ném̓ čxʷ sə́wq̓-əm ḵʷ hə́y̓qʷ-ct ceʔ
go you seek-INTR ART be.burning-our FUT
'Go look for what will be our fire (i.e., firewood).'

(e) ʔəpé·lə ct ceʔ wəni·t háyeʔ.
ʔəpən-é·lə ct ceʔ wə-ni-ət háyeʔ
ten-person we FUT when-AUX-we leave
'There will be ten of us when we go.'

(f) wə-nét-əs ceʔ …
when-be.night-3SUB FUT
'When it is night ...'

(g) nə-s-wéʔ ceʔ nə-sx̌̓píwən.
my-NOM-own FUT my-shirt
'It will be my shirt.'

(h) ni ʔə yəxʷ ceʔ wəném̓.
ni ʔə yəxʷ ceʔ wə-ném̓
AUX ROG INF FUT EST-go
'I wonder if he will go.'

(i) kʷə́nnəxʷ yəxʷ cən ceʔ ḵʷ télə. (JP)
kʷə́n-nəxʷ yəxʷ cən ceʔ ḵʷ télə
take-TR INF I FUT ART money
'I must be going to get some money.' (because my hand itches)

(j) sc̓éc̓ə̓n yəxʷ ceʔ wəqə́x̌ sp̓éq̓əm. (CC)
sc̓éc̓ə̓n yəxʷ ceʔ wə-qə́x̌ sp̓éq̓əm
truly INF FUT EST-many flower
'There should really be lots of flowers.' (the tree being covered with buds)

(k) ném̓ ct x̌́éʔt kʷθə məstéyəxʷ ni kʷθə nə́c̓aʔ ceʔ swéyəl. (JP 16)
ném̓ ct x̌́éʔ-t kʷθə məstéyəxʷ ni [ʔə]
go we gather-TR ART person be.there OBL
kʷθə nə́c̓aʔ ceʔ swéyəl
ART one FUT day
'We are going to call the people for a coming day.' (for a potlatch)

(l) ném̓ c̓ceʔ. (AG)
ném̓ c̓ə ceʔ
go QUOT FUT
'They say he'll go.'

The sequence *yəxʷ* 'inferential' and *ceʔ* 'future' also seems to have a special meaning in the formal speeches of the winter dance house, as in (m) and (n).

(m) nə́wə yəxʷ ceʔ xáʔləmət tə hə́y̓qʷ, wənémə̓s ceʔ q̓ʷəyíləx tə x̌əẅsálkʷɬ.
nə́wə yəxʷ ceʔ xáʔləm-ət tə hə́y̓qʷ
be.you INF FUT agree-TR ART be.burning
wə-némə̓-əs ceʔ q̓ʷəyíləx tə x̌eẅs-álkʷɬ.
when-AUX(go)-3SUB FUT dance ART new-dancer
'You will (honour us to) be the one to look after the fire, when the new dancer dances.'

(n) ʔé·nθə yəxʷ ceʔ.
be.I INF FUT
'I am (honoured to be) the one.' (said in reply to the preceding)

The particle *ceʔ* is joined with *wə-*$_2$ in (o).

(o) haʔ cew səwə́y̓qeʔ i wəɬé·llàmət ni ḵʷəw ʔə́nəcə ʔal̓. (JP 22)
haʔ ceʔ wə-səwə́y̓qeʔ ʔəy̓ wə-ɬé·l-nàmət ni ḵʷə
if FUT EST-men and EST-land-self be.at ART
wə-ʔə́nəcə ʔal̓
EST-where just
'If they are men, they will be able to land somewhere.'

### 16.2.7. *łə* ~ *łe* 'imperative-optative' (PER)

This expresses a request or a wish. A request or command can consist of the verb alone or with a second-person subject particle or (if made to several) with *ʔe·* 'plural imperative,' as in (a) to (d).

(a) néṁ.
go
'Go!'

(b) néṁ čxʷ.
go you
'(You) go!'

(c) néṁ ce·p.
go you(PL)
'(You people) go!'

(d) néṁ ʔe·.
go PLPER
'(You people) go!'

But a request may also be expressed with *łə,* as in (e) to (l).

(e) néṁ łə.
go PER
'Go!'

(f) néṁ ʔe· łe.
go PLPER PER
'You all go!'

(g) héy̓ łə néṁ.
go.ahead PER go
'Let's go! Go ahead and go!'

(h) ʔəṁí łə c̓éwəθàmx.
ʔəṁí łə c̓éw-ət-Sàmx
come PER help-TR-me
'Come and help me.'

(i) t̓áʔθət łə cƛ̓ə́m.
t̓eʔ-θət łə cƛ̓ə́m
test-self PER jump
'Try to jump.'

(j) ʔáxʷəst łə təwƛ̓a.
ʔexʷ-əs-t łə təwƛ̓a
give-RECIP-TR PER that(MP)
'Give it to him.'

(k) t̓ᵊíxʷəm łə c̓éw-ət.
pity PER help-TR
'Please help him.'

(l) nə́wə-s łə.
be.you-PERM PER
'You be the one.'

The particle *łə* may combine with *kʷə* 'consequential' as *łkʷə:*

(m) ʔə́mət łkʷə.
ʔə́mət łə kʷə
sit PER then
'Sit down then. Try to sit down. Sit down and let's see how it goes.'

It may also combine with *q̓ə* 'emphatic' as *łq̓ə:*

(n) ʔə́mət łq̓ə.
ʔə́mət łə q̓ə
sit PER EMPH
'Sit down, won't you! For Pete's sake, sit down!'

The combination of *łə* and *ʔaɬ̓* 'restrictive' expresses hope. The usual translation is 'I hope (that) ...,' but a more literal translation might be 'may it be that ...' Examples are (o) to (u).

(o) mə́ɬ̓ łə ʔaɬ̓ xʷə-ʔí.
AUX(come) PER just become-be.here
'I hope he comes.'

(p) mə́ɬ̓ čxʷ łə ʔaɬ̓ xʷə-ʔí.
come you PER just become-be.here
'I hope you come.'

(q) niʔ łə ʔaɬ̓ x̌téʔ-stəxʷ.
AUX PER just do-COM
'I hope he does it.'

(r) niʔ čxʷ łə ʔaɬ̓ x̌téʔ-stəxʷ.
AUX you PER just do-COM
'I hope you do it.'

(s) niʔ cən łə ʔaɬ̓ kʷə́cnəxʷ.
niʔ cən łə ʔaɬ̓ kʷəc-nəxʷ
AUX I PER just see-TR
'I hope I see it.'

(t) wə-θəʔít łə ʔaɬ̓ técəl.
EST-true PER just arrive.here
'I hope it's true that he comes.'

(u) mə́ɬ̓ łə ʔaɬ̓ wə-θəʔít técəl.
AUX(come) PER just EST-true arrive.here
'I hope he really comes.'

The co-occurrence of *łə* and *ʔaɬ̓* may, however, be accidental, as in

(v) wə-ʔí łə ʔaɬ̓.
EST-be.here PER just
'Stay here!'

in which *łə* makes a command of *wəʔí ʔaɬ̓* 'just be here.'

This particle appears stressed as *łé* following *ʔi* or *heyə́* with the sense 'Let's' (see §3.2.4).

### 16.2.8. *ʔaɬ̓* 'just'

This often serves to limit in some way the word it follows. Often, though not always, this word is preceded by *wə-*$_2$ 'established' (§11.1.1). Often a translation is not needed, but if one is needed, it is usually 'just' or 'only.' The

particle is unusual in that it commonly follows the predicate head rather than simply the first word in the predicate.

When the predicate head stands alone, *ʔal̓* appears in the order indicated by its position in Table 16.1, namely, following *ceʔ* 'future' or *łə* 'imperative' and preceding *m̓ə* 'certain' or *kʷə* 'then,' as in (a), (b), and (c).

(a) q̓ələm ceʔ ʔal̓ ʔé·łtən.
camp FUT just 3PL
'They'll just stay (camp) there.'

(b) níʔ ceʔ ʔal̓ tθéʔ kʷsc̓éy̓xʷs.
níʔ ceʔ ʔal̓ tθéʔ kʷ s-c̓éy̓xʷ-s
AUX ROG just that/there ART NOM-dry-3POS
'It will stay there to get dry.'

(c) k̓ʷék̓ʷəc ce·p ʔal̓ kʷə.
be.looking you(PL) just then
'Just watch then.'

Normally the *ʔal̓* follows an auxiliary as in (c); however, a predicate head enclosed by the combination *wə-*$_2$ ... *ʔal̓* can be preceded by an auxiliary, as in (d).

(d) ni cən wətítəq̓ʷnəxʷ ʔal̓.
ni cən wə-títəq̓ʷ-nəxʷ ʔal̓.
AUX I EST-be.bumping-TR just
'I just kept accidentally bumping him.'

Moreover, as indicated elsewhere (§3.8.3), *wə-*$_2$ ... *ʔal̓* can enclose what are simply adjective-like forms, in which this combination of prefix and particle seems to have no lexical meaning at all.

(e) x̌̓a háʔkʷ ni kʷθəw sxéxəm ʔal̓ qáʔ. (JP 23)
x̌̓a háʔkʷ ni [ʔə] kʷθə wə-sxéxəm ʔal̓ qáʔ
BE3P be.used be.at OBL ART EST-shallow just water
'That was the one used in shallow water.'

(f) ʔi ʔə čxʷ wə-ʔéy̓ ʔal̓.
AUX ROG you EST-good just
'How are you?' (lit. 'Are you well?')

(g) k̓ʷəw x̌̓əxʷláʔas ʔal̓ məstéyəxʷ
k̓ʷə wə-x̌̓əxʷláʔas ʔal̓ məstéyəxʷ
ART EST-of.no.account just person
'any common people'

With *háy* 'be singled out,' *ʔal̓* (without the *wə-*$_2$) expresses the superlative, as in (h), (i), and (j).

(h) ʔ̓a c̓kʷə tə háy ʔaɬ̓ c̓əc̓íʔ̓ ... (JP 1)
ʔ̓a c̓ə kʷə tə háy ʔaɬ̓ c̓əc̓íʔ̓
BE3P QUOT then ART specifically just short
'It was said to be the shortest ...'

(i) ʔ̓a háy ʔaɬ̓ θí təna sqʷəméy̓ (xʷném̓ ʔə tə c̓łsqʷəmqʷəméy̓s). (AG)
ʔ̓a háy ʔaɬ̓ θí təna sqʷəméy̓ xʷném̓ ʔə
BE3P specifically just big this dog to OBL
tə c̓ł-sqʷəmqʷəméy̓-s
ART co-dogs-3POS
'This dog is the biggest (of the dogs).' (lit. 'among his fellow dogs')

(j) ʔiəł cən cká· ʔə kʷθə háy ʔaɬ̓ qə́l. (AG)
ʔi-əł cən c-ká· ʔə kʷθə háy ʔaɬ̓ qə́l
AUX-past I get-car OBL ART specifically just bad
'I had a car that was the worst.'

With a negative, *ʔaɬ̓* can have the force of 'at all,' as in (k).

(k) ʔə́wə cən ʔaɬ̓ k̓ʷə́cnəxʷè·n.
ʔə́wə cən ʔaɬ̓ k̓ʷéc-nəxʷ-e·n
not I just see-TR-I
'I won't see him at all.'

With interrogative words, *ʔaɬ̓* (usually with *wə-*$_2$) forms their indefinite counterparts, as in (l) to (q).

(l) k̓ʷəw stém ʔaɬ̓
k̓ʷə wə-stém ʔaɬ̓
ART EST-what just
'something'

(m) k̓ʷəw wét ʔaɬ̓
k̓ʷə wə-wét ʔaɬ̓
ART EST-who just
'somebody'

(n) k̓ʷəw k̓ʷín ʔaɬ̓
k̓ʷə wə-k̓ʷín ʔaɬ̓
ART EST-how.many just
'a few'

(o) ʔəłném̓əs ʔáləx̌ətəs kʷθəw stém ʔaɬ̓
ʔəł-ném̓-əs ʔáləx̌-ət-əs kʷθə wə-stém ʔaɬ̓
whenever-go-3SUB get.food-TR-3TR ART EST-what just
'whenever they went out after anything'

(p) kʷθəw máḵʷ ʔaɬ stèm
kʷθə wə-máḵʷ ʔaɬ stèm
ART EST-all just what
'anything' (cf. *máḵʷ stèm* 'everything')

(q) ʔəncə ḵʷən słéq̓ət. ʔáncə ʔaɬ. (DK)
ʔəncə ḵʷə nə-s-łéq̓-ət. ʔáncə ʔaɬ
where ART my-NOM-lie-TR where just
'Where shall I lay this? Anywhere.'

### 16.2.9. *ʔewəł* 'reassuring' (REAS)

This is unusual in that it can bear a stress. It expresses the feeling that the hearer should already have the information.

(a) ni ʔewəł kʷə́nətəm ʔəx̌ John. (AG)
ni ʔewəł kʷə́n-ət-əm ʔə x̌ John
AUX REAS take-TR-INTR OBL ART John
'John took it (lit. "It was taken by John"), as I've already mentioned (or "as you should know").'

It is also used as a polite way of making a request, as in (b) to (e).

(b) ʔə́łtən ʔe· ʔéwəł, si·ʔém̓. (JP)
eat PLPER REAS Gentlefolk
'Go ahead and enjoy your meal.'
'Just go ahead and eat.' (in a plaintive tone) (AG's reading of JP's sentence)

(c) hèy̓ ʔéwəł.
go.ahead REAS
'Goodbye.'

(d) ʔəswáʔθətənələp ʔéwəł, si·ʔém̓. (CC)
ʔə-s-wáʔθətən-ələp ʔéwəł si·ʔém̓
your-NOM-sing.along.with.dancer-your(PL) REAS honoured.ones
'With your help, ladies and gentlemen.'

(CC used these words to thank the people when her husband danced in the winter dance.)

(e) ném̓ łe ʔéwəł. (AG)
go PER REAS
'Go ahead then.'

### 16.2.10. *y̓eł* 'expectable' (EXP)

This expresses the feelings of familiarity, affection, or exasperation conveyed by *again, as usual, that old ...,* and so on.

(a) ʔi čxʷ wəctámət. ni[·] čxʷ ẏeł cməq̓məq̓əm. (JP 4)
ʔi čxʷ wə-ctámət ni ʔə čxʷ ẏeł
AUX you EST-do.what.with.oneself AUX ROG you EXP
cməq̓məq̓əm
over.eat
'What's the matter with you? Have you overeaten as usual?'

(b) ni cən ẏeł kʷəšúθət.
ni cən ẏeł kʷəšú-θət
AUX I EXT pig-self
'I made a pig of myself as usual.' (AG)

(c) ƛ̓a ẏeł k̓ʷàk̓ʷəqʷnəcí·l̓s. (CC 3)
ƛ̓a ẏeł k̓ʷàk̓ʷəqʷ-nəc-í·l̓s
BE3P EXP be.striking-butt-ACT
'It's those Little Choppers [forest dwarves] again.'

(d) ƛ̓a ẏeł Mary. (DK)
BE3P EXP Mary
'It's that old Mary. It's *Mary* again.'

(e) m̓i čxʷ ẏeł héʔkʷ ə k̓ʷən̓ ċłwét. (JP)
m̓i čxʷ ẏeł héʔkʷ ə k̓ʷə ʔən-ċł-wét
AUX(come) you EXP remember OBL ART your-fellow-who
'Remember as usual your fellow being (the other poor guy like yourself).'

**16.2.11. *m̓ə* (sometimes *m̓e*) 'certain' (CERT)**
This indicates that there is no doubt about the statement.

(a) spéʔeθ m̓ə.
bear CERT
'It's a bear.' (certainly, observably, cf. *spéʔeθ ċə* 'It's said to be a bear'; *spéʔeθ ċtwaʔ* 'It might be a bear')

(b) wəłθíʔθə m̓ə θəwƛ̓a.
ritualist CERT she
'She is a ritualist.'

(c) ƛ̓a m̓ə kʷθə nəhə́l̓kʷ.
BE3P CERT ART my-be.breaking
'It is my pocketknife.' (that he has in his possession, as I noticed just now)

(d) ƛ̓a m̓ə ʔé·nθə sqələ́cəməs.
BE3P CERT I sqələ́cəməs
'I am Sqələ́cəməs.'

(e) ƛ̓a ṁə nəsəwɬnéṁ.
ƛ̓a ṁə nə-s-wəɬ-néṁ
BE3P CERT my-NOM-already-go
'I am going now.'

(f) ni čxʷ ṁə ċéwəθ.
ni čxʷ ṁə ċéw-ət-S
AUX you CERT help-TR-me
'You did help me.'

(g) páqʷ cən ceʔ ṁə.
go.broke I FUT CERT
'I'll go broke.'

(h) nəsƛ̓íʔ ṁə.
nə-s-c-ƛ̓íʔ ṁə
my-NOM-make-valuable CERT
'I want it.'

(i) ʔə́wəteʔ ṁə łə nəwáč, ni yəxʷ sqéṅ.
ʔə́wəteʔ ṁə łə nə-wáč ni yəxʷ s-qéṅ
be.none CERT ART my-watch AUX INF NOM-steal
'My watch is not there; it must have been stolen.' (lit. 'something stolen')

This particle can, and often does, occur with *yəxʷ* 'inferential' to add to the certainty of the inference.

(j) spéʔeθ yəxʷ ṁə.
bear INF CERT
'It must be a bear.'

(k) spéʔeθ-əł yəxʷ ṁə.
bear-past INF CERT
'It must have been a bear.'

(l) ʔi·ɬ yəxʷ cən ṁə ʔíʔtət.
ʔi-əł yəxʷ cən ṁə ʔíʔtət
AUX-past INF I CERT be.sleeping
'I must have been asleep.'

It can also co-occur with *ċə* 'quotative,' as in the following, where it presumably indicates conviction in what someone else has reported.

(m) ʔa· ni c̓ə m̓əw θəʔít, wəθəʔít c̓ə ni méʔkʷɬ. (JP)
ʔa· ni c̓ə m̓ə wə-θəʔít wə-θəʔít c̓ə ni
oh AUX QUOT CERT EST-true EST-true QUOT AUX
méʔkʷɬ
be.injured
'Oh, it's true; he really got hurt.'

(n) ʔuθəʔít c̓ə m̓ə. (AG, prompted by the last sentence)
wə-θəʔít c̓ə m̓ə.
EST-true QUOT CERT
'It's reported that it's true.'

In a phrase introduced by the article *k̓ʷ* 'indefinite,' *m̓ə* has the effect of positively affirming an identity.

(o) wəṅán wəsx̌éləqəm, k̓ʷəw stəlqáyə m̓ə. (JP 3)
wə-ṅán wə-sx̌éləqəm k̓ʷə wə-stəlqáyə m̓ə
EST-very EST-fierce ART EST-wolves CERT
'They were too fierce – of course, they were wolves.'

(p) k̓ʷəw spéʔeθ m̓ə.
k̓ʷə wə-spéʔeθ m̓ə
ART EST-bear CERT
'Of course, it's a bear.' (which caused something such as a dog being mauled) (JP)
'What can you expect of a bear?' (as when one has broken into a cooler) (CC)

### 16.2.12. *c̓twaʔ* 'speculative' (SPEC)

This indicates that the statement is based on supposition. It is weaker than *yəxʷ* 'inferential' in sentences like the following:

(a) ni c̓twaʔ wəłkʷə́nətəm.
ni c̓twaʔ wəł-kʷə́n-ət-əm
AUX SPEC already-be.taken-TR-INTR
'It may have been taken by now.' (cf. *ni yəxʷ kʷə́nətəm*. 'It must have been taken.')

(b) spéʔeθ c̓twaʔ
bear SPEC
'It might be a bear.' (cf. *spéʔeθ yəxʷ m̓ə*. 'It must be a bear.')

(c) x̌áləm c̓twaʔ yəná·ɬtən.
be.they SPEC those
'These must [may] be the ones.'

It occurs often in phrases referring to points in time or the passage of time to indicate estimation, as in (d), (e), and (f).

(d) ni ċtwaʔ wəł-tàxʷ swéyəl.
AUX SPEC already-right.on day
'It must be noon by now.'

(e) ni ċtwaʔ wəł-ǩəʔáθən tíntən i ...
AUX SPEC already-four clock and
'It must have been four o'clock when ...'

(f) ni ċtwaʔ isél̓ə tə nét-əł.
AUX SPEC two ART night-past
'It must have been about two in the morning.'

It also occurs in narratives in attributive phrases, evidently to indicate that the attribution is based on the evidence of tradition rather than observation, as in (g).

(g) swéʔs skʷáy̓ǩθət kʷθə θíɬ ċtwaʔ məstéyəxʷ, stáməx, qìyəplénəxʷ. (JP 14)
s-wéʔ-s s-kʷáy̓ǩ-θət kʷθə θí-ə·ɬ ċtwaʔ
NOM-own-3POS NOM-move-self ART big-past SPEC
məstéyəxʷ stáməx qìyəplénəxʷ
person warrior Capilano
'It was the work of that great person that was, the warrior, Capilano.' (or perhaps 'the great person he must have been')

### 16.2.13. *kʷə ~ kʷe* 'then'

This is a weak 'then' in the sense of 'therefore, consequently, so,' and so on. It occurs very commonly in questions but also appears in instructions and in simple statements. In questions especially its effect is so weak that it may be better omitted in a free translation.

(a) stém kʷə tθeʔ.
what then that
'What is that (then)? (So) what is that?'

(b) stém ceʔ kʷe.
what FUT then
'What will it be (then)?'

(c) stém kʷə tə kʷənétəxʷ.
stém kʷə tə kʷəné-t-əxʷ
what then ART hold-TR-you
'What is it you are holding?'

(d) wét kʷə tθeʔ swə́y̓qeʔ.
who then that man
'Who is that man?'

(e) wét kʷə kʷə ʔi ɬ̓é·nəq.
who then ART AUX be.potlatching
'Who is it (then) who is potlatching?'

(f) ctámət cən ceʔ kʷe.
do.what I FUT then
'What shall I do (then)?'

(g) ném̓ čxʷ kʷə.
go you then
'Are you going (then)?'

(h) ʔə́mət čxʷ kʷə, siʔém̓, ʔəɬtən.
sit you then sir eat
'Sit down (then), sir, and eat.'

(i) hé́y̓ čxʷ kʷə.
go.ahead you then
'Go ahead (then).'

(j) ɬ̓q̓é́y̓ kʷə.
how.far then
'My, it's far!'

(k) niʔ c̓twaʔ kʷə x̌əʔáθən syəlánəm i ...
AUX SPEC then four years and
'It was about four years later when ...' (CC 20)

(l) xʷəná cən cə ʔal̓ kʷə xʷɬ̓əykʷəsθámə i wəłcɬ̓ə́mət čxʷ kʷθə náʔənc̓aʔ t̓ʰécət. (JP 12)
xʷənáʔ cən ceʔ ʔal̓ kʷə xʷɬ̓əykʷ-əs-t-Sámə ʔəy̓
first I FUT just then wink-RECIP-TR-you and
wəł-cɬ̓ə́m-ət čxʷ kʷθə náʔənc̓aʔ t̓ʰéc-ət
already-jump-TR you ART one.person pull.hair-TR
'The moment (then) that I wink at you, you jump the one and grab him by the hair.'

(m) ném̓ kʷə.
'Now go.' (said in a low voice to someone impatient to leave, at a suitable moment, as when a speaker has finished his speech [AG])

### 16.2.14. *q̓ə* 'emphatic' (EMPH)

This gives emphasis to a statement and may also have an adversative quality.

(a) cá··kʷ q̓ə.
far EMPH
'It's *fa---r!'*

(b) spéʔəθ q̓ə.
bear EMPH
'It's a *bear!'*

(c) ʔi cən q̓ə t̓ᶿát̓ᶿəɬəm̓, mə́n̓ə.
AUX I EMPH cold child
'I'm *cold,* child.' (though you may be warm, so don't open the door) (CC's sentence, AG's interpretation)

(d) ʔəwə q̓ə xésəs tθeʔ. (JP 22)
ʔəwə q̓ə xés-əs tθeʔ
not EMPH sea.lion-3SUB that
'*That* isn't a *sea-lion!'* (in spite of what you thought)

(e) ʔə́y̓ c̓twaʔ q̓ə wəném̓è·n táʔəlt.
ʔə́y̓ c̓twaʔ q̓ə wə-ném̓-è·n táʔəl-t
good SPEC EMPH EST-go-I learn-TR
'I guess it would be better if I went to find out!'

(f) háy čxʷ q̓ə.
stop you EMPH
'Thank you.'

(g) ná·w q̓ə.
hey EMPH
'Well, hello.' (an acknowledging greeting)

### 16.2.15. *θəɬ* 'adversative' (ADV)

This contrasts the statement or instruction with another existing condition and is translatable as 'however,' 'nevertheless,' 'but,' 'still,' 'even so,' 'instead,' 'regardless,' and so on.

(a) ʔəwə cən m̓ə ʔi·n təwʔə́y̓, ʔi cən təwq̓áq̓əy̓ i wəném̓ cən θəɬ skʷúl.
ʔəwə cən m̓ə ʔi-ən təw-ʔə́y̓ ʔi cən
not I CERT AUX-I somewhat-good AUX I
təw-q̓áq̓əy̓ ʔəy̓ wə-ném̓ cən θəɬ skʷúl
somewhat-sick and EST-go I ADV go.to.school
'I don't feel well; I'm a little sick, but I'm still going to school.'

(b) š[xʷ]teʔé·wən kʷsniʔs ʔíʔtət kʷsniʔs ʔíʔłtən, i ni θəł qéʔəntəm ɬ̓ stəlqáyə. (JP 7)
š[xʷ]teʔé·wən kʷ s-niʔ-s ʔíʔtət kʷ
think ART NOM-AUX-3POS be.sleeping ART
s-niʔ-s ʔíʔłtən ʔəẏ ni θəł qéʔən-t-əm
NOM-AUX-3POS be.eating and AUX ADV steal-TR-INTR
[ʔə] ɬ̓ stəlqáyə
OBL ART wolves
'He thought that while he was sleeping he had eaten, but instead he had been robbed by the wolves.'

(c) ʔi ċθəł wəlsɬ̓ələ̓ɬ̓ákʷstəm tə šxʷəl̓íl̓·ləns. (JP 27)
ʔi ċə θəł wəł-sɬ̓ələ̓ɬ̓ákʷ-st-əm tə
AUX QUOT ADV already-grabbed.with.fingers-CAUS-INTR ART
šxʷəl̓íl̓·lənə-s
cheeks-3POS
'But he already had their fingers digging into his cheeks.'

(d) ʔi yáẏəq̓ʷəm̓ kʷθə John ʔi ʔi cən θəł t̓θát̓θəłəm̓ tən̓a ʔé·n̓θə. (AG)
ʔi yáẏəq̓ʷəm̓ kʷθə John ʔəẏ ʔi cən θəł
AUX be.sweating ART John and AUX I ADV
t̓θát̓θəłəm̓ tən̓a ʔé·n̓θə.
cold this be.I
'John was sweating, but I was cold myself.'

(e) ɬ̓a ċəw sɬ̓éləqəm i wəməstéyəxʷ θəł. (JP 6)
ɬ̓a ċə wə-sɬ̓éləqəm ʔəẏ wə-məstéyəxʷ θəł
BE3P QUOT EST-dangerous.being and EST-person ADV
'He was said to be a dangerous being but still human.'

(f) ni ċθəł ném̓. (AG)
ni ċə θəł ném̓
AUX QUOT ADV go
'He did go, though, I am told.'

(g) ném̓ cən ceʔ θəł. (AG)
go I FUT ADV
'I want to go anyway.'

(h) ni m̓ə θəł ném̓ ə kʷθə sqéʔeq-s. (AG)
AUX CERT ADV go ROG ART younger.brother-3POS
'But he did go to his younger brother.' (perhaps following 'He did not go to the funeral ...')

(i) ni ċtwaʔ θəł ném̓. (AG)
AUX SPEC ADV go
'I imagine he did go, though.'

In instructions, *θəɬ* has an urging sense what may be conveyed by 'now, right away,' in contrast to whatever else one might be doing.

(j) nə́m̓ θəɬ.
go ADV
'Go ahead now!' (said to someone who has stopped)

(k) ʔə́nəxʷ θəɬ.
stop ADV
'Now stop!' (said, in a stronger tone, to someone who has ignored earlier requests to *ʔə́nəxʷ* 'stop')

(l) ʔəm̓í θəɬ ʔə́ɬtən.
come ADV eat
'Come and eat now!' (instead of standing there)

(m) ʔə́ɬtən θəɬ.
eat ADV
'Go ahead and eat now!' (instead of sitting there)

### 16.2.16. *kʷɬ* 'by now, by then'(?)

This has been recorded in a few sentences following *híθ* 'be a long time.'

(a) híθ kʷɬ. (AG)
last.long yet
'What a long time it has been!'

(b) híθ kʷɬ yeɬ sis xʷkʷə́n yəθéləy. (JP)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| híθ | kʷɬ | yeɬ | s-ni-s | xʷkʷə́n | yəθéləy |
| last.long | yet | after.which | NOM-AUX-3POS | lose | one.person |

'It was a long while before they lost one of their number.'

This predicate particle *kʷɬ* is distinct in function from the *kʷɬ* that can appear after *ʔə́wə* 'not' or *ʔə́wəteʔ* 'none' and be followed by a relative clause (§6.1.3, 6.3). That *kʷɬ* is probably an article (§15.1). However, in sentences with *ʔə́wəteʔ kʷɬ* ..., it is easy to infer a meaning 'yet, up to now,' as in (c).

(c) ʔə́wəteʔ kʷɬ xʷəʔínsamx. (AG)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ʔə́wəteʔ | kʷɬ | xʷə-ʔí-nəs-amx |
| none | ART | become-be.here-GOAL-me |

'Nobody has gotten to me [yet].' (lit. 'The one who has reached me here is none.')

Such an ascription of meaning may possibly have led to the use of the article as a predicate particle.

### 16.2.17. *waʔ* 'presumptive' (PRES)

This seems to indicate that the statement is presumed by the speaker or someone else to be true, while also indicating doubt or surprise. Not many examples of usage have been recorded, however, and so this is one of the more elusive particles. It may be a component in the particle *c̓twaʔ* 'speculative' (§16.2.12) and possibly in the adverbs *ʔiwáẇə* 'maybe' (§18.4.34) and *wá·l̓ə* 'probably' (§18.4.35), all of which also express some qualification about the truth of a statement.

In (a) and (b), *waʔ* seems to have an inferential sense.

(a) híθ-əł cən kʷł waʔ ʔíʔtət. (JP 10)
last.long-past I yet PRES be.sleeping
'I must have been sleeping a long time.'

(b) híθ-əł cən waʔ. (AG)
last.long-past I PRES
'I must have been there a long time.'

It appears with the prefix *təw-* 'somewhat,' the combination having the sense 'seem like,' as in (c) to (f).

(c) təw-məx̌́él cən ceʔ waʔ. (CC)
like-faint I FUT PRES
'I feel like I'm going to faint.'

(d) təw-ʔi waʔ q̓áq̓əy̓. (CC)
like-AUX PRES sick
'He looks sick.'

(e) stém, stém yəxʷ tθéʔ. təwcí·tməxʷ waʔ. (DK)
stém stém yəxʷ tθéʔ təw-cí·tməxʷ waʔ
what what INF that like-great.horned.owl PRES
'What can that be? It looks like an owl.'

(f) təw-spéʔeθ waʔ. (AG)
like-bear PRES
'It appears to be a bear. Say, that looks like a bear.'

The combination *kʷə waʔ* has the sense 'one assumes, contrary to fact,' as in (g) and (h).

(g) niʔəł cən kʷə waʔ xʷə́y kʷənəsʔi hə́n̓p̓əx. (AG)
niʔ-əł cən kʷə waʔ xʷə́y kʷə nə-s-ʔi
AUX-past I then PRES awaken ART my-NOM-AUX
hə́n̓p̓-əx
be.eating-TR
'You'd think I would have awakened while I was eating.'

(h) néṁ kʷə waʔ ƛ̓xʷə́t. (AG)
néṁ kʷə waʔ ƛ̓əxʷ-ə́t
go then PRES be.defeated-TR
'He thinks he'll go and beat him (but we don't believe it).'

In a question, *kʷə waʔ* can convey a feeling of outrage, as in (i).

(i) wét kʷə waʔ wəxʷpáspəskʷəstəxʷ k̓ʷe·θyéy̓ə θəṅa x̌əi̯eʔetθeʔ. (JP 15)
wét kʷə waʔ wə-xʷ-páspəskʷ-əs-t-əxʷ k̓ʷə
who then PRES that-inside-be.mocking-face-TR-you ART
ʔəT-s-yéy̓ə θəṅa x̌əi̯ə ʔə tθeʔ
your-NOM-tightly.bound this be.doing OBL that
'Who the hell are you to ridicule the face of your friend, you doing that?!'

The combination *kʷə waʔ* also occurs with exclamatory words (see §20.2), as in (j).

(j) ƛ̓íc kʷə waʔ tə x̌ʷíl̓əm-s. (AG)
how.long then PRES ART rope-3POS
'What a long rope he has!'

### 16.2.18. *ʔáʔa* 'emphatic interrogative' (ROG!)

This is used with interrogative words to emphasize the question. (These words do not require any particle and cannot take *ʔə* 'interrogative.')

(a) stém ʔáʔa tiʔí.
what ROG! this
'What's this?!' (cf. *stém tiʔí*. 'What's this?')

(b) stém ʔáʔa tə niəxʷ kʷənét.
stém ʔáʔa tə ni-əxʷ kʷəné-t
what ROG! ART AUX-you hold-TR
'What's that thing you have?'

(c) xʷcél čxʷ ʔáʔa.
go.where you ROG!
'Where are you going?'

Like *ʔə* 'interrogative,' it is also used with *yəxʷ* 'inferential' to express curiosity, but with an interrogative word.

(d) stém yəxʷ ʔaʔa tθeʔ.
what INF ROG! that
'I wonder what that is.'

(e) cə́stəxʷ yəxʷ čxʷ ʔaʔa kʷθə sqʷəmqʷəmé·y̓-s kʷθə
do.what.with INF you ROG! ART dogs-3POS ART
qə́l məstéyəxʷ. (JP 3)
bad person
'I wonder what's best to do (lit. "what you can do") about the dogs of that bad person.'

Following a vowel, *ʔáʔa* appears as *·l̓ə* – for example, //ni ʔáʔa// becomes *ní·l̓ə,* as in (f).

(f) ní·l̓ə ctámət łeṉ ʔíməθ.
ní ʔaʔa ctámət łə ʔən-ʔíməθ
AUX ROG! do.what.with.self ART you-grandchild
'What happened to your granddaughter?'

The particle *ʔáʔa* is also used in sentences without interrogative words to form confirming questions, as in (g), (h), and (i).

(g) ni·l̓ə kʷə́nətəs. (AG)
ni ʔaʔa kʷə́n-ət-əs
AUX ROG! be.taken-TR-3TR
'Oh, so he did take it, did he?'

(h) x̓̌a·l̓ə. (DK)
x̓̌a ʔaʔa
BE3P ROG!
'Oh, so that's why, is it?'

(i) ʔəwé·l̓ə niʔəs néṁ kʷθə John.
ʔəwə ʔaʔa niʔ-əs néṁ kʷθə John
not ROG! AUX-3SUB go ART John
'Oh, didn't John go?'

The particle *ʔáʔa* also appears with exclamatory words (§20.2.5), as in (j) to (m).

(j) lí·l̓əq ʔàʔa. (JP 7)
easy ROG!
'It's tough!' (lit. something like 'Easy? Ha!' said by Seagull to Raven in a myth)

(k) xʷəwém ʔaʔa tə ʔənléləṁələp. (AG)
xʷəwém ʔaʔa tə ʔən-lélə́ṁ-ələp
how.big ROG! ART your-house-2PL
'What a big house you people have!'

(l) sx̌éx̌əl̓ cən ʔaʔa. (AG)
stuck I ROG!
'What a fast runner I am!'

(m) ʔá·ʔà·, ni yəxʷ ʔaʔa. (JP 7)
aah AUX INF ROG!
'Oh, I guess that's so.' (Raven to Seagull)

## 16.3. SENTENCE-FINAL TAGS

These occur as final elements in sentences. Two have been recorded.

### 16.3.1. *ʔ a ~ ʔ e* 'question tag'

This is added to a statement to seek confirmation.

(a) cákʷ kʷθə Darrington ʔa. cá··kʷ q̓ə. (AG)
far ART Darrington eh? far EMPH
'So Darrington is a long way, eh? Sure, *fa---r!'*

### 16.3.2. *yé* 'taunting echo'

This expresses a thought supposedly held by another before his downfall.

(a) swáy̓qeʔ cən yé. (AG)
man I eh?
'I'm a man!' or perhaps 'I'm a man? Ha!' (said to someone after he has been beaten in a contest of strength)

(b) šxʷə́xʷaʔ cən yé. (AG)
light I eh?
'So I'm a fast runner, eh?' (lit. 'I'm light, eh?' said to the once-proud loser of a footrace)

AG suggested that this may be identical to the response *yé* used by listeners to a myth recital to encourage the narrator to continue, the common meaning being 'so you said.'

# 17
# Interrogative Words

These are words that ask questions eliciting information. In this context, some correspond to the English interrogatives ‘who,’ ‘what,’ ‘when,’ ‘where,’ and so on, while others correspond to verbal phrases such as ‘do what,’ ‘say what,’ ‘go where,’ and so on. Interrogative words can also appear in embedded questions and in indefinites such as ‘somebody,’ ‘anywhere,’ and so on.

In simple questions, interrogative words function as predicate heads, for example, *wét* ‘who’ in (a), in which the subject is a relative clause.

(a) wét kʷə kʷə ʔi x̌é·nəq. (CC)
wét kʷə kʷə ʔi x̌é·nəq
who then ART AUX be.potlatching
‘Who is potlatching?’ (lit. ‘Who then is the one who is potlatching?’)

An embedded question, such as ‘who took it’ in ‘I know who took it,’ is expressed by a subordinate clause with the interrogative word as its predicate head, as in (b).

(b) łəq̓əlləxʷ cən ʔuwétəs kʷθə ni kʷə́nət. (AG)
łə́q̓əl-ləxʷ cən wə-wét-əs kʷθə niʔ kʷə́n-ət
know-TR I that-who-3SUB ART AUX get.taken-TR
‘I know who took it.’

When interrogative words appear in adjuncts, they have an indefinite sense, as *wét* ‘who’ in (c).

(c) wəkʷə́nətəs k̓ʷ wét … (CC 17)
wə-kʷə́n-ət-əs k̓ʷə wét
if-get.taken-TR-3SUB ART who
‘if he takes anybody ...’

Usually they appear with other elements giving the sense ‘any,’ ‘every,’ and ‘no.’ Examples are given under the individual words below.

It seems that an interrogative word can also appear as a predicate head and have an indefinite sense if it bears a third-person subordinate subject suffix, such as *stém* 'what' in (d).

(d) stéməs kʷθə ni·n k̓ʷə́cnəxʷ. (CC)
stém-əs kʷθə ni?-ən k̓ʷéc-nəxʷ
what-3SUB ART AUX-I look-TR
'I saw something.'

It is not clear why there is a subordinate subject marker in what appears to be a main clause. Perhaps a sentence like (d) is an ellipsis of something like 'I don't know what it was I saw.'

As indicated in the section on particles (§16.2.2), interrogative words cannot be followed by the simple interrogative particle *ʔə*, but they may be followed by *ʔaʔa* 'emphatic interrogative' (§16.2.18). They are also often followed by the particle *kʷə* 'then' (§16.2.13), often left untranslated.

The interrogative words are listed in Table 17.1 after their roots. They are described in the following sections in the order shown in the table. (Forms with lexical suffixes are omitted here but will be included in the later discussion.)

*Table 17.1*

**Interrogative words**

| Root | Word | Gloss |
|---|---|---|
| *wet* 'who' | 1. *wét* | 'who?' |
| | 2. *txʷwét* | 'whose?' |
| *tem* 'what' | 3. *stém* | 'what?' |
| | 4. *témc* | 'what people?' |
| | 5. *təmtém* | 'when?' |
| | 6. *ctétəm* | 'be doing what?' |
| *cə-* 'do what' | 7. *cə́stəxʷ* | 'do what with it? ... about it?' |
| | 8. *ctámət* | 'do what with oneself?' |
| | 9. *xʷcél* | 'go where?' |
| | 10. *xʷcə́lθət* | 'go where?' |
| | 11. *xʷcə́lstəxʷ* | 'put it where?' |
| | 12. *scékʷəl̓* | 'how? how much?' |
| | 13. *scəkʷəl̓ím̓* | 'how? how constructed/intended?' |
| *ʔi·nt* 'say what' | 14. *xʷʔí·nt* | 'say what?' |
| | 15. *sxʷəʔí·nt* | 'what meaning?' |
| | 16. *xʷəʔí·nstəxʷ* | 'say what to him?' |
| *ʔánəcə* 'where' | 17. *ʔánəcə* | 'where?' |
| | 18. *ʔánəcəstəxʷ* | 'put it where?' |
| *nəcím* 'why' | 19. *nəcím̓* | 'why?' |
| *k̓ʷín* 'how many' | 20. *k̓ʷín* | 'how many?' |

### 17.1. *wét* (CC, JP, AG), *təwét* (CC, DK) 'WHO?' *wéʔəlt* 'WHO (PLURAL)?' (AG)

The form *təwét,* which CC used occasionally and DK regularly, is the usual Upriver form (Galloway 1977, 345).[1] A plural was recorded from AG only. Examples of usage follow.

(a) wét tθéʔ. (JP)
who that
'Who is that guy?'

(b) wét kʷə tθeʔ swə́y̓qeʔ. (CC)
who then that male
'Who is that man?'

(c) wét ceʔ k̓ʷə m̓i c̓éwəθàmə. (JP)
wét ceʔ k̓ʷə m̓i c̓éw-ət-Samə
who FUT ART AUX(come) help-TR-you
'Who is going to help you?' (lit. 'The one who comes to help you will be who?')

(d) wét kʷə k̓ʷən̓a yəm̓í. (CC)
wét kʷə k̓ʷən̓a yə-ʔəm̓í
who then that along-come
'Who is coming? Who is it then that's coming?'

In the next three sentences, the subject is plural. CC and DK expressed plurality with demonstratives, AG with a plural 'who.'

(e) wét kʷə k̓ʷən̓á·łtən yəm̓í. (CC)
wét kʷə k̓ʷən̓á·łtən yə-ʔəm̓í
who then those along-come
'Who is coming? Who are those coming then?'

(f) təwét yəθéləy̓. (DK)
who they
'Who are they?'

(g) x̓̌a wéʔəlt kʷθə ʔi yə-ʔí·m̓əx. (AG)
BE3P who(PL) ART AUX along-be.walking
'Who are those walking (along)?'

The interrogative *wét* 'who' is used in asking for personal names. (For names of things, *stém* 'what' is used.)

1 That the *tə-* of *təwét* is a prefix rather than the article *tə* is clearly indicated by such Upriver forms as *wətəwétəs* 'who is it' and *k̓ʷ təwétəs* 'someone' (Galloway 1977, 349, 373).

(h) wét kʷe ʔeθkʷíx. Jimmy. (JP)
wét kʷə ʔeT-skʷíx
who ART your-name
'What is your name?' 'Jimmy.'

As illustrated earlier, *wét* as a nominal adjunct has the sense 'somebody.' With the limiting *wə-*$_2$ ... *ʔaɬ̓*, it forms *k̓ʷəw wét ʔaɬ̓* 'anybody.'

(i) ni čxʷ k̓ʷə́cnəxʷ k̓ʷəw wét ʔaɬ̓. (CC)
niʔ [ʔə] čxʷ k̓ʷéc-nəxʷ k̓ʷə wə-wét ʔaɬ̓
AUX ROG you look-TR ART EST-who just
'Did you see anybody?'

A phrase composed of *mə́k̓ʷ* 'all' (with or without *wə-*$_2$ ... *ʔaɬ̓* ) and *wét* has the sense 'everybody' or (with a negative) 'anybody.'

(j) ném̓ čxʷ yə́θəst k̓ʷəw mə́k̓ʷ wét ... (JP 3)
ném̓ čxʷ yə́θ-əs-t k̓ʷə wə-mə́k̓ʷ wét
go you tell-RECIP-TR ART EST-all who
'Go tell everybody ...'

(k) ʔə́wə sx̌ísəs k̓ʷəw mə́k̓ʷ ʔaɬ̓ wét kʷs ném̓s ... (JP 3)
ʔə́wə s-cx̌í-s-əs k̓ʷə wə-mə́k̓ʷ ʔaɬ̓ wét kʷə
not NOM-want-3POS-3SUB ART EST-all just who ART
s-ném̓-s
NOM-go-3POS
'He didn't want anybody to go ...'

Following *ʔə́wəteʔ* 'none,' which usually stands as a predicate, *wét* has the sense 'anybody.' Or, the sequence can be rendered 'nobody.' The *wét* may appear as a nominal adjunct, introduced by an article indicating absence and followed by a relative clause, as in (l) to (n).

(l) ʔə́wəteʔ c̓ə kʷɬ wét ném̓. (JP 3)
none QUOT ART who go
'Nobody ever went, they say.' (lit. 'Was absent reportedly any who that went.')

(m) ʔə́wəteʔ k̓ʷ wét ɬə́q̓əl-ləxʷ kʷθə swéyəl ... (JP 2)
none ART who know-TR ART day
'Nobody knew the day ...'

(n) ʔə́wəteʔ kʷɬ wét k̓ʷə́cnəxʷe·n. (AG)
ʔə́wəteʔ kʷɬ wét k̓ʷéc-nəxʷ-e·n
none ART who look-TR-I
'I haven't seen anybody.' (lit. 'There no who whom I see.')

Or *wét* may be preceded by no article, in which case it is presumably a part of the predicate, as in (o) and (p).

(o) ʔə́wətеʔ cə wét ném̓. (DK)
ʔə́wətеʔ ceʔ wét ném̓
none FUT who go
'Nobody will go.'

(p) təwét. ʔə́wətеʔ wét. (DK)
who none who
'Who is it?' 'Nobody.'

It should be added that *ʔə́wətеʔ* alone can have the sense 'nobody,' more literally 'there is none who,' as in (q).

(q) ʔə́wətеʔ kʷɬ k̓ʷə́cnəxʷ. (JP 28)
ʔə́wətеʔ kʷɬ k̓ʷéc-nəxʷ
none ART look-TR
'Nobody sees them.'

See also *ʔə́wətеʔ* (§6.3).

### 17.2. *txʷwét* (AG), *təwét* (JP) 'WHOSE?'

The form *txʷwét* is clearly *wét* 'who' with the prefix *txʷ-*$_2$ 'belonging to' (see §12.4.4), which occurs otherwise only with personal names. The *tə-* of *təwét* is not identifiable. (I recorded *təwét* from JP only a few times, and unfortunately I cannot find any form for 'whose' in material from CC. I would be inclined to suppose that I might have misheard JP's form except that Hill-Tout (1902, 420) gives the Kwantlen forms as *wet* 'who' and *too-wet* 'whose.')

(a) txʷ-wét tiʔí. (AG)
belonging.to-who this
'Whose is this?'

### 17.3. *stém* 'WHAT?' *stéləm* 'WHAT (PLURAL)?'

This is evidently composed of a root *tem* 'what' and *s-* 'nominalizer.' The plural has been recorded from AG only. Example of usage are (a) to (f).

(a) stém ʔaʔa. (CC)
what ROG!
'What is it?'

(b) stém ceʔ kʷe. (CC)
what FUT then
'What will it be (then)?'

(c) stém kʷə kʷθéʔ. (CC)
what then that
'What's that?'

(d) stém ʔaʔa tə niəxʷ kʷənét. (JP)
stém ʔaʔa tə niʔ-əxʷ kʷəné-t
what ROG! ART AUX-you hold-TR
'What is that thing you have?'

(e) stém k̓ʷə skʷíxs tiʔí. (CC)
stém k̓ʷə skʷíx-s təʔí
what ART name-3POS this
'What do you call this? What is the name of this?'

(f) stéləm tə ni yəxəlxél̓qəm. (AG)
stéləm tə niʔ yə-xəlxél̓qəm
what(PL) ART AUX along-be.briefly.appearing(PL)
'What are those things we are glimpsing?' (lit. 'What [pl.] are those that are briefly appearing?')

The word *stém* takes the variant *xʷi-* of the prefix generally appearing as *xʷə-* 'become,' as in (g).

(g) héy̓ xʷi-stém. (CC)
go.ahead become-what
'What's next?' (lit. 'Go ahead become what?')

The notion 'what kind of a ... ?' is expressed in two ways. One is with a conditional clause (see §4.2.1) introduced by *ʔəɬ-* generally 'when' or 'whenever,' as in (h).

(h) stém ʔəɬ-sqʷəméy̓-əs tθeʔ. (JP)
what whatever-dog-3SUB that
'What kind of a dog is that?' (lit. 'What is that when it is a dog?')

The other is simply with the article *k̓ʷə,* which indicates that something is unknown, as in (i).

(i) stém k̓ʷ ləplá·š tiʔí. (DK)
stém k̓ʷə ləpláš təʔí
what ART board this
'What kind of board is this?'

To serve in an embedded question, *stém* appears as the predicate of a subordinate clause, as in (j), (k), and (l).

(j) ḵʷə́cstàl̓xʷ čxʷ wəstéməs ḵʷə ʔəθxʷʔə́y̓ələp. (JP 1)
ḵʷéc-st-al̓xʷ čxʷ wə-stém-əs ḵʷə
look-CAUS-us you that-what-3SUB ART
ʔəT-šxʷ-ʔə́y̓-ələp
your-OBLNOM-good-your(PL)
'Show us what you're good for.' (lit. 'Make us see what is the reason for your being good.')

(k) x̌ʷə́m kʷstə́lləxʷs wəstéməs kʷθə swéʔs sʔə́lyə kʷθeʔ məstə́yəxʷ. (JP 28)
x̌ʷə́m kʷə s-tə́l-ləxʷ-s wə-stém-əs kʷθə
fast ART NOM-be.understood-TR-3POS that-what-3SUB ART
swéʔ-s sʔə́lyə kʷθeʔ məstə́yəxʷ
own-3POS vision that person
'They can immediately tell what the vision of that person is.'

(l) yə́θəsθ ʔustéməs ḵʷə ni q̓á·yt. (AG)
yə́θ-əs-t-S wə-stém-əs ḵʷə niʔ q̓áy-ət
tell-RECIP-TR-me that-what-3SUB ART AUX die-TR
'Tell me what killed him.'

In (m) (and for a similar one, see §20.3.7 [a]), there is no main verb indicating an embedded question, but one seems to be implied.

(m) ʔə́mət łə wəstéməs kʷe ʔeθx̌íʔ. (JP 3)
ʔə́mət łə wə-stém-əs kʷə ʔəT-s-cx̌íʔ
sit PER that-what-3SUB ART your-NOM-want
'Sit down [and tell me] what it is that you want.'

Indefinites with *stém* are analogous to those formed with *wét* 'who,' as in (n), (o), and (p).

(n) ha m̓í kʷθə stém … (JP 9)
haʔ ʔəm̓í kʷθə stém
if come ART what
'If anything comes ...'

(o) ni čxʷ ḵʷə́cnəxʷ ḵʷəw stém ʔal̓. (CC)
niʔ [ʔə] čxʷ ḵʷéc-nəxʷ ḵʷə wə-stém ʔal̓
AUX ROG you look-TR ART EST-what just
'Did you see anything?'

(p) stém ḵʷəsx̌íʔ. stém ʔal̓. (DK)
stém ḵʷə ʔə-s-cx̌íʔ stém ʔal̓
what ART your-NOM-want what just
'What do you want [e.g., of food laid out]? Anything.'

As a modifier, *(wə-)stém ʔaɬ̓* has the sense 'any kind of' or 'every kind of,' as in (q).

(q) kʷθə stém ʔaɬ̓ smə́yəθ (JP 1)
ART what just deer
'any kind of [game] animal [lit. deer]'

The phrase *(wə-)mə́kʷ̓ stém* is 'everything' or, as a modifier, 'every kind of,' as in (r) and (s).

(r) qə́x̌ c̓ə kʷθəw mə́kʷ̓ stém, smə́yəθ, spéʔeθ, i kʷ̓əw stém ʔaɬ̓ sʔə́ɬtən … (JP 3)
qə́x̌ c̓ə kʷθə wə-mə́kʷ̓ stém, smə́yəθ,
plentiful QUOT ART EST-all what deer
spéʔeθ, ʔəy̓ kʷ̓ wə-stém ʔaɬ̓ sʔə́ɬtən
bear and ART EST-what just food
'They say there was everything – deer, bear, and all kinds of food ...'

(s) təw mə́kʷ̓ stém smə́yəθ (JP 3)
tə wə-mə́kʷ̓ stém smə́yəθ
ART EST-all what deer
'deer or anything, any kind of game'

The phrase *ʔə́wəteʔ stém* means 'nothing,' as in (t) to (x).

(t) i wəɬʔə́wəteʔ stém (JP 2)
ʔəy̓ wəɬ-ʔə́wəteʔ stém
and already-none what
'but there was already nothing there'

(u) txʷ-ʔə́wəteʔ c̓ə stém … (JP 7)
remaining-none QUOT none
'There was nothing left, it is said ...'

(v) ʔə́wəteʔ kʷ̓ stém ni kʷ̓ə́cnəxʷəs ʔé·ɬtən. (JP 27)
ʔə́wəteʔ kʷ̓ stém niʔ kʷ̓éc-nəxʷ-əs ʔé·ɬtən
none ART what AUX see-TR-3SUB 3PL
'They didn't see anything.' (lit. 'None was the something that they saw.')

(w) ʔə́wəteʔ kʷ̓ stém s-méʔkʷɬ-s … (JP 25)
none ART what NOM-get.hurt-3POS
'There wasn't any injury ...' (lit. 'None [was] his any hurt.')

(x) stém kʷə kʷəné-t-əxʷ. ʔə́wəteʔ stém. (DK)
what ART hold-TR-you(SUB) none what
'What have you got?' 'Nothing.'

The interrogative *stém* may be the basis for a word *stámәne ~ stáməne* 'thing, thingy' (something you can't put a name to), as in (y), (z), and (aa).

(y) ʔәwé· čxʷ niәxʷ k̓ʷәcnәxʷ kʷθә nәstámәnә. (DK)
ʔәwә ʔә čxʷ ni-әxʷ k̓ʷәc-nәxʷ kʷθә nә-stámәnә.
not ROG you AUX-you see-TR ART my-thingy
'Have you seen my thingy around?'

(z) mi łq̓ʷa tә niәxʷ kʷәnét stámәne. (JP)
mi łә q̓ә waʔ tә ni-әxʷ kʷәné-t
come PER EMPH PRES[?] ART AUX-you hold-TR
stámәne
thing
'Bring me that thing you've got.'

(aa) t̓én łe tә ʔәθstámәne. (JP)
t̓én łe tә ʔәT s-stámәne
disappear PER ART your NOM-thing
'Hide your thing.' (lit. 'Disappear your thing,' said by mother to little boy with his fly undone)

### 17.4. *témc* (PL. *téləmc*) 'WHAT PEOPLE'

This is composed of the root *tém* 'what' and a suffix *-c* not otherwise attested.

(a) témc čxʷ. (CC, JP, AG)
what.people you
'Where are you from? What reserve are you from? What tribe are you from? What nationality are you?'

(b) témc yәxʷ ʔaʔa tθéʔ. (JP)
what.people INF ROG! that
'I wonder what nationality he is!'

(c) téləmc tәn̓á·łtәn. (AG)
what.people(PL) they
'Where are they from?'

(d) k̓ʷәw mә́k̓ʷ ʔal̓ témc (JP 6)
k̓ʷ wә-mә́k̓ʷ ʔal̓ témc
ART EST-all just what.people
'any tribe'

### 17.5. *təmtém* 'WHEN?'

This comes from *təm-* 'time of' and *tém* 'what.' To ask a question, it can appear as a main-clause predicate with the questioned action expressed in a coordinate clause linked by *ʔәy̓ ~ i* 'and,' as in (a) and (b).

(a) təmtém ceʔ i néṁ čxʷ. (DK)
təmtém ceʔ ʔəẏ néṁ čxʷ
when FUT and go you
'When are you going?' (lit. 'When will it be and you go?')

(b) təmtém i ni čxʷ táṡ. (CC)
təmtém ʔəẏ niʔ čxʷ táṡ
when and AUX you arrive.there
'When did you get there?'

This construction can be used for questions about both future and past. Alternatively, to ask a question about the future, *təmtém* can be followed by a subordinate clause expressing the questioned action, as in (c) and (d).

(c) təmtém ceʔ kʷə wə-néṁ-è·n. (CC)
when FUT then if/that-go-I
'When shall I go?' (lit. 'When will it be then that I go?')

(d) təmtém ceʔ kʷə wəniəxʷ háye?. (CC)
təmtém ceʔ kʷə wə-niʔ-əxʷ háyeʔ
when FUT then if/that-AUX-you leave
'When are you leaving?'

Or, to ask a question about the past, *təmtém* can alternatively be linked by *ɬ̓a* 'be third person' to a nominalization expressing the questioned action, as in (e) and (f).

(e) ɬ̓a kʷ təmtém ʔə-s-ʔi ḵʷə́c-n-àmx. (CC)
BE3P ART when your-NOM-AUX see-TR-me
'When did you see me?' (lit. 'Your having seen me is when?')

(f) ɬ̓a kʷ təmtém ʔə-s-ʔi técəl. (CC)
BE3P ART when your-NOM-AUX arrive.here
'When did you get here?'

In a subordinate construction, *təmtém* can serve as the 'when' of an embedded question, as in (g).

(g) ʔə́wətéʔ ḵʷ ɬə́q̓əlləxʷ wətəmtéməs ceʔ i ɬ̓əw mi técəl. (JP 2)
ʔə́wətéʔ ḵʷ ɬə́q̓əl-ləxʷ wə-təmtém-əs ceʔ ʔəẏ
none ART know-TR if/that-when-3SUB FUT and
ɬ̓e wə-ʔəṁi técəl
again EST-come arrive.here
'No one knew when she would come again.'

Or it can have an indefinite meaning, as in (h).

(h) … i ném̓ cən ceʔ θəł wənə́w̓nəct wətəmtéməs ʔal̓. (JP)
ʔəy̓ ném̓ cən ceʔ θəł wə-nə́w̓nəc-t
and go I FUT ADV EST-pay-TR
wə-təmtém-əs ʔal̓
if-when-3SUB just
'... but I'll still go and pay him sometime.'

The combination of a negative and *təmtém* means 'never,' as in (i).

(i) sq̓íq̓əs ce·p kʷstéʔetθeʔ. ʔə́wə təmtéməs i qəlét ce·p yə́x̌ʷəθət. (JP)
sq̓íq̓əs ce·p kʷə stéʔe ʔə tθeʔ ʔə́wə
knot you(PL) ART like OBL that not
təmtém-əs ʔəy̓ qəlét ce·p yə́x̌ʷ-əθət
when-3SUB and again you(PL) be.united-self
'You are knotted together. Never undo yourselves again.' (said to a couple at their wedding)

In (j), the *təmtém* is nominalized.

(j) ʔə́wə kʷs təmtéms i ʔaxʷəstəs … (JP 1)
ʔə́wə kʷ s-təmtém-s ʔəy̓ ʔexʷ-əs-t-əs
not ART NOM-when-3POS and give-RECIP-TR-3TR
'They never gave them ...'

More commonly, however, 'never' is *ʔə́wə scékʷələs* (see §17.12 below).

### 17.6. *ctétəm* 'BE DOING WHAT?'

This is probably composed of the verbalizing prefix *c-* 'get, do, make' and *tém* 'what' reduplicated for the progressive aspect. (A perfective **ctém* has not been recorded.)

(a) ctétəm kʷə. (CC)
be.doing.what then
'What is he doing?'

(b) ctétəm čxʷ. (CC)
be.doing.what you
'What are you doing?'

(c) ʔi cən kʷə ctétəm. (CC)
AUX(here) I then be.doing.what
'What am I doing?' (as in a game – 'guess what?')

### 17.7. *cə́stəxʷ* 'DO WHAT WITH IT? DO WHAT ABOUT IT?'

This is evidently composed of a root *cə́-* (reduplicated *cékʷə-* for the progressive aspect; see §1.5.10) 'do what?' and the suffix *-stəxʷ₂* 'comitative' (see §10.4.1).

(a) cə́stəxʷ čxʷ kʷe. (CC)
do.what.with.it you then
'What are you going to do with it?'

(b) ʔi čxʷ kʷe cékʷəstəxʷ. (CC)
AUX you then be.doing.what.with.it
'What are you doing with it?'

(c) cə́stəxʷ yəxʷ čxʷ ʔaʔa kʷθə sqʷəmqʷəmé̓ys kʷθə qə́l məstə́yəxʷ. (JP 3)
cə́stəxʷ yəxʷ čxʷ ʔaʔa kʷθə
do.what.about.them INF you ROG! ART
sqʷəmqʷəmé̓y-s kʷθə qə́l məstéyəxʷ
dogs-3POS ART bad person
'I wonder what you/we can do about the dogs of that bad person.'

(d) cékʷstəxʷ čxʷ ceʔ ti kʷənétəxʷ wənéṁəxʷ tə́s kʷeθyəxʷə́nəm. (JP)
cékʷstəxʷ čxʷ ceʔ ti kʷəné-t-əxʷ wə-néṁ-əxʷ
do.what you FUT this hold-TR-you when-you
tə́s [ʔə] kʷə ʔəT-s-yə-xʷ-hə́n̓əṁ
arive.there OBL ART your-NOM-along-move.toward-be.going
'What are you going to do with that you're taking along when you get to where you're going?'

## 17.8. *ctámət* 'DO WHAT WITH ONESELF?'

This word is usually translated 'do what?' or 'have what happen to one?' but the progressive, *cəkʷstáṁət,* suggests that the perfective has the underlying form //c-stámət//, and so this may be simply the reflexive of *cə́stəxʷ* 'do what with/about it?' – being composed of the root *cə-* 'do what' and a suffix *-stámət* 'with oneself, about oneself' (cf. *-stənámət ~ -stánəmət,* §10.5.3), meaning 'do what with oneself?'

(a) ctámət čxʷ. (JP)
do.what.with.oneself you
'What do you want to do?'

(b) cəkʷstáṁət čxʷ. (JP)
be.doing.what.with.oneself you
'What are you doing?'

(c) i čxʷ cəkʷstáṁət. (CC)
ʔi čxʷ cəkʷstáṁət
AUX you be.doing.what.with.oneself
'What are you up to?'

(d) ctámət cən ceʔ kʷe. (CC)
do.what.with.oneself I FUT then
'What shall I do? What am I going to do now?'

(e) ʔi čxʷ ctámət. (CC)
AUX you do.what.with.oneself
'What's the matter with you?' (lit. 'What have you done with yourself?')

(f) ni·lə ctámət łeṉ ʔíməθ. (CC)
niʔ ʔaʔa(ʔ) ctámət łə ʔən-ʔíməθ
AUX(there) ROG! do.what.with.oneself ART your-grandchild
'What's the matter with your granddaughter?'

In a subordinate clause, *ctámət* can serve as the predicate of an embedded question.

(g) nəwł łáq̓əlləxʷəs i ḵʷi šxʷqʷéləwəns wəni·s ctámət kʷθə siyéy̓əsəł. (JP 10)
niʔ wəł-łáq̓əl-ləxʷ-əs ʔi [ʔə] ḵʷi
AUX already-know-TR-3TR here OBL DEM
šxʷqʷéləwən-s wə-niʔ-əs ctámət kʷθə
mind-3POS if-AUX-3SUB do.what.with.oneself ART
siyéy̓ə-s-əł
friends-3POS-past
'He knew in his mind what had happened to his [deceased] friends.'

In (h), *stámət* has the indefinite sense of 'do anything.'

(h) sḵʷéy kʷs ctáməts. (JP 1)
sḵʷéy kʷ s-ctámət-s
impossible ART NOM-do.what.with.oneself-3POS
'They couldn't do anything.' (lit. 'Their doing what with themselves was impossible.')

### 17.9. *xʷcél* 'GO WHERE?'

This is probably composed of *xʷ-* 'motion toward,' the root *cə-* 'do what,' and *-əl* 'move toward.' AG gave the progressive *xʷcékʷəl*.

(a) xʷcél čxʷ. ʔəwəteʔ nə-šxʷ-ném̓. (AG)
go.where you none my-OBLNOM-go
'Where are you going?' 'Nowhere.' (lit. 'None is my destination.')

(b) xʷcél čxʷ ceʔ kʷə. (CC)
go.where you FUT then
'Where will you go (then)?'

(c) ni yəxʷcékʷəl. (AG)
ni? yə-xʷcékʷəl
AUX along-be.going.where
'Which way (on what road) is he going?' (lit. 'Where is he going along?')

### 17.10. *xʷcálθət* 'GO WHERE?'

This is composed of *xʷcél* 'go where' and *-θət* 'oneself.' The progressive is *xʷcákʷəlθət*. AG gave a perfective plural, *xʷcəcílθət,* and a progressive plural, *xʷcəkʷcákʷθət*.

(a) xʷcə́lθət čxʷ. (JP)
go.where you
'Where are you going?'

(b) yə-xʷcákʷəlθət čxʷ. (JP)
along-be.going.where you
'Where are you going?' (said to someone seen walking and stopping)

Like other interrogative words, *xʷcálθət* can also have an indefinite sense, as in (c).

(c) məḵʷəł nəsnéṁ xʷcə́lθət ʔiw ḵʷə́cnəxʷ cən. (JP)
məḵʷ-əł nə-s-néṁ xʷcə́lθət ʔəẏ wə-ḵʷə́c-nəxʷ cən
all-past my-NOM-go go.where and EST-see-TR I
'Whenever I went somewhere, I saw him.'

### 17.11. *xʷcélstəxʷ* 'PUT WHERE?'

This is composed of *xʷcél* 'go where' and *-stəxʷ*$_1$ 'causative.' The only instance I have of this word is the following reported exchange between a husband and wife:

(a) ni ə čxʷ łə́q̓əlləxʷ wəni·n xʷcélstəxʷ kʷθə nəqʷłéyxən. ʔi cən c̓əṁéʔt. (JP)
ni? ʔə čxʷ łə́q̓əl-ləxʷ wə-ni?-ən xʷcélstəxʷ
AUX ROG you know-TR if/that-AUX-I put.where
kʷθə nə-qʷłéyxən. ʔi cən c̓əṁéʔ-t
ART my-shoe AUX I be.holding.in.mouth-TR
'Do you know where I put my shoes?' 'I'm holding them in my mouth.'

### 17.12. *scékʷəl̓* 'HOW? HOW MUCH? WHO?'

This is probably the resultative form of *xʷcél* 'go where,' with a literal meaning something like 'where gone.'

(a) ʔi scékʷəl̓ kʷθəṅ mén. (AG)
ʔi scékʷəl̓ kʷθə ʔən-mén
AUX how ART your-father
'How is your father?'

(b) ni kʷe scékʷəl̓. (CC)
niʔ kʷe scékʷəl̓
AUX then how
'How was it?'

(c) wə-scékʷəl̓ ʔal̓ tə swéyəl. (JP)
EST-how just ART day
'How is the weather?'

(d) yə-scékʷəl̓ čxʷ. (CC)
along-how you
'How (by what means) are you going?'

(e) yə-scékʷəl̓ cən ceʔ ḵʷə nə-s-ném̓. (CC)
along-how I FUT ART my-NOM-go
'How (by what means) shall I go?'

(f) scékʷəl̓ kʷs cákʷs tθeʔ. (JP)
scékʷəl̓ kʷ s-cákʷ-s tθeʔ
how ART NOM-far-3POS that
'How far is that?' (lit. 'How much is that's being far?')

(g) scékʷəl̓ kʷə ḵʷə niʔ-əxʷ łéq̓-ət. (CC)
how.much then ART AUX-you lay.down-TR
'How much did you put down [as down payment]?' (lit. 'How much then is what you laid down?')

In certain, perhaps very limited contexts, *scékʷəl̓* can mean 'who' or 'what.'

(h) ƛ̓a kʷə scékʷəl̓. (CC)
BE3P then who
'Who is he?'

(i) ƛ̓a kʷə scékʷəl̓ tθeʔ. (AG)
BE3P then who that
'Who is that?' ("Seems to be the same as *wét tθeʔ,"* according to AG)

The interrogative meaning is absent in (j).

(j) mə́ḵʷ scékʷəl̓ (JP)
all how.much
'everything'

The negative *ʔáwə scékʷəl̓əs* is the usual form for 'never' (but see §17.5, *təmtém* above). A literal interpretation might be 'it has not gone anywhere' or 'it has not reached any amount.' The form usually appears as the first of a pair of coordinate clauses. For examples, see §18.4.7.

In a subordinate clause, *scékʷəl̓* can serve as the predicate of an embedded question.

(k) haʔ ʔəθx̌íʔ kʷe ʔeθk̓ʷácnəxʷ wəscékʷəl̓əs kʷs θís … (JP 3)
haʔ ʔəT-s-c-x̌íʔ kʷə ʔəT-s-k̓ʷác-nəxʷ
if your-NOM-make-value ART your-NOM-see-TR
wə-scékʷəl̓-əs kʷ s-θí-s
that-how-3SUB ART NOM-big-3POS
'If you want to see how big it is ...'

The word *scékʷəl̓* also appears, with the stressed vowel appearing as schwa, as a stem with two lexical suffixes, *-éləqəp* 'smell, taste' and *-áməx* 'appear.'

(l) scəkʷəl̓éləqəp. (JP)
'How does it smell?'

(m) scəkʷəláməx. ni ə ckʷím əy ni ə t̓θet̓θəxʷəm. (JP)
scəkʷəl̓áməx niʔ ʔə ckʷím ʔəy niʔ ʔə
how.appear AUX ROG red or AUX ROG
t̓θet̓θəxʷəm
blue
'What colour is it? (lit. "How does it look?") Is it red or is it blue?'

## 17.13. *scəkʷəl̓ím̓* 'HOW? HOW CONSTRUCTED? HOW INTENDED?'

This is probably composed of *scékʷəl̓* 'how' and *-əm* 'intransitive,' with the stress shift to the last syllable because of its being a resultative form. (Cf. *cəl̓ím̓* 'even,' §18.4.39?) (CC and AG gave the word as *scəkʷəl̓ím̓,* JP as *cəkʷəl̓ím̓.*)

(a) ni kʷe scəkʷəl̓ím̓. (CC)
niʔ kʷe scəkʷəl̓ím̓
AUX then how
'How was it?'

(b) cəkʷəl̓ím̓ ceʔ k̓ʷe θyá·ẏəs x̌ʷte əkʷθe θyéẏə ni nem̓ xʷəsqíqəq̓. (JP)
cəkʷəl̓ím̓ ceʔ k̓ʷə ʔəT-s-yá·ẏəs x̌ʷteʔ ʔə
how.intended FUT ART your-NOM-be.working toward OBL
kʷθə ʔəT-syéẏə niʔ nem̓ xʷə-sqíqəq̓
ART your-friend AUX go become-bound
'What are you going to do about your friend who was taken to jail?'

(c) scək$^{w}$əl̓ím̓ k̓$^{w}$θə s-q$^{w}$él̓q$^{w}$əl̓. (AG)
how.intended ART NOM-tell
'How do you make out that message?' (lit. 'How intended is the telling?')

### 17.14. *x$^{w}$ə$^{ʔ}$í·nt* 'SAY WHAT?'

The progressive is *x$^{w}$ə$^{ʔ}$í$^{ʔ}$ənt*, the plural perfective *x$^{w}$ən̓í·nt* (AG), and the plural progressive *x$^{w}$ən̓í$^{ʔ}$ənt* (AG). These forms suggest that the word is composed of a prefix *x$^{w}$ə-* and a root with the underlying form //$^{ʔ}$ínət//.

(a) ni x$^{w}$ə$^{ʔ}$í·nt. (AG)
ni$^{ʔ}$ x$^{w}$ə$^{ʔ}$í·nt
AUX say.what
'What did he say?'

(b) $^{ʔ}$i x$^{w}$ə$^{ʔ}$í$^{ʔ}$ənt. (AG)
AUX be.saying.what
'What is he saying?'

(c) x$^{w}$ə$^{ʔ}$í$^{ʔ}$ənt k$^{w}$ə tə nəwx̌a. (CC)
be.saying.what then ART that.one
'What is he [a person not known] talking about?'

(d) x$^{w}$ə$^{ʔ}$í$^{ʔ}$ənt k$^{w}$e k̓$^{w}$ə $^{ʔ}$əswe$^{ʔ}$ $^{ʔ}$əšx$^{w}$q$^{w}$éləwən. (CC)
x$^{w}$ə$^{ʔ}$í$^{ʔ}$ənt k$^{w}$e k̓$^{w}$ə $^{ʔ}$ən-swe$^{ʔ}$ $^{ʔ}$ən-šx$^{w}$q$^{w}$éləwən
be.saying.what then ART your-own your-mind
'What do you think about it?' (lit. 'What is saying then your own mind?')

(e) x$^{w}$ə$^{ʔ}$í$^{ʔ}$ənt $^{ʔ}$a· θə šx$^{w}$-q$^{w}$él-s tə
be.saying.what ROG! ART OBLNOM-speak-3POS ART
syə́wən-s. (JP 1)
song-3POS
'What are the words to his song?' (lit. 'What do the words of his song say?')

### 17.15. *sx$^{w}$ə$^{ʔ}$í·nt* 'WHAT MEANING?'

This is composed of *s-* 'resultative'(?) (recorded as *s-*, not *š-*) and *x$^{w}$ə$^{ʔ}$í·nt* 'say what.'

(a) sx$^{w}$ə$^{ʔ}$í·nt k$^{w}$ə tə k$^{w}$ɬ. (AG)
what.meaning then ART k$^{w}$ɬ
'What does [the particle] *k$^{w}$ɬ* mean?'

(b) sx$^{w}$ə$^{ʔ}$í·nt-s k$^{w}$ə tə k$^{w}$ɬ. (AG)
what.meaning-3POS then ART k$^{w}$ɬ
'What does he mean by *k$^{w}$ɬ ?'*

(c) sxʷəʔí·nts ʔaʔa tə xʷənítəm tə watch. (JP)
mean.what ROG! ART White.person ART watch
'What do the White people mean by the word *watch?'*

### 17.16. *xʷəʔí·ntstəxʷ* 'SAY WHAT TO HIM?' (AG), 'SAY WHAT TO HIM ABOUT SOMETHING?' (JP)

This is composed of *xʷəʔí·nt* 'say what' and *-stəxʷ*$_2$ 'comitative.'

(a) xʷəʔí·ntstəxʷ čxʷ ceʔ. (AG)
say.what.to.him you FUT
'What will you say to him?'

(b) ʔi čxʷ xʷəʔíʔəntstaṁx. (AG)
ʔi čxʷ xʷəʔíʔənt-st-aṁx
AUX you be.saying-COM-me
'What are you saying to me?'

(c) ʔə́wəteʔ ḵʷ xʷəʔí·ntstalə ʔəθyəẇénələp. (JP 8)
ʔə́wəteʔ ḵʷ xʷəʔí·nt-stalə ʔəT-syəẇéṉ-ələp
none ART say.what-to.you(PL) your-before-2PL
'Nobody can say anything to you about your tradition.' (lit. 'your past')

### 17.17. *ʔáṉəcə* (CC, JP), *ʔáṉcə* (AG, DK) 'WHERE?'

This does not seem related to other interrogatives. The form *ʔáṉcə* is probably Cowichan.

(a) nə ʔə́nəcə łə nəwáč. (CC)
niʔ ʔə́nəcə łə nə-wáč
AUX where ART my-watch
'Where is my watch?'

(b) ni ʔə́nəcə kʷθə ʔəθxéẏəł. (JP 1)
niʔ ʔə́nəcə kʷθə ʔəT-s-xéẏəł
AUX where ART your-NOM-senior.sibling/cousin
'Where is your senior cousin?'

(c) ni čxʷ ʔə́nəcə. ʔi cən ʔí ʔə təṉá. (CC)
AUX you where AUX I be.here OBL this
'Where are you?' 'I am here.'

In a subordinate clause, *ʔáṉəcə* serves as the predicate of an embedded question, as in (d).

(d) ni cən ƛ̓əw mélqt wəniʔəs ʔánəcə θə tíntən. (CC 21)
ni ʔ cən ƛ̓e wə-mélq-t wə-niʔ-əs ʔánəcə
AUX I too EST-forget-TR that-be.there-3SUB where
θə tíntən
ART bell
'I too had forgotten where the bell was.'

The word *mák̓ʷ* 'all' serves to form *mák̓ʷ ʔánəcə* 'everywhere,' as in (e).

(e) mák̓ʷ ʔánəcə wə-qáʔ a l̓. (JP 1)
all where EST-water just
'Everywhere there was only water.'

The particle *ʔal̓* 'just' forms 'anywhere,' as in (f).

(f) ʔáncə kʷən słéq̓ət. ʔəncə ʔal̓. (DK)
ʔáncə kʷə nə-s-łéq̓-ət ʔəncə ʔal̓
where ART my-NOM-lie-TR where just
'Where shall I lay it down?' 'Anywhere.'

The prefix *təl-* 'from' forms *təl̓ánəcə* 'come from where?' as in (g).

(g) təl̓ánəcə čxʷ. təlíʔ cən [ʔə] ƛ̓ Vancouver. (CC)
from.where you be.from I OBL ART Vancouver
'Where are you from? I'm from Vancouver.'

The prefix *xʷə-* 'become' forms *xʷəʔánəcə* 'get to where?' as in (h).

(h) ʔáwə ni·s steʔé k̓ʷəw xʷəʔánəcə. (JP 19)
ʔáwə niʔ-əs stəʔé [ʔə] k̓ʷə wə-xʷəʔánəcə
not AUX-3SUB like OBL ART EST-get.to.where
'He didn't seem to get anywhere.' (lit. 'It was not like his getting anywhere.')

An article and *ʔánəcə* form the interrogative 'which?' which is structurally and semantically the interrogative counterpart of the locative demonstratives (see §15.2.2.1).

(i) ƛ̓a k̓ʷə-ʔánəcə. (JP)
BE3P ART-where
'Which one is it?'

(j) ƛ̓a kʷə tə-ʔánəcə púk nə-swéʔ. (CC)
BE3P then ART-where book my-own
'Which book is mine?'

In (i), *k̓ʷəʔánəcə* is used pronominally, and in (j), *təʔánəcə* is used adjectivally. In (i), *k̓ʷə* indicates that the choices are not in view of the speaker, while in (j), the *tə* indicates that the choice is among books that are present and visible.

### 17.18. *ʔánəcəstəxʷ* 'PUT IT WHERE?'

This is composed of *ʔánəcə* 'where?' and *-stəxʷ*$_1$ 'causative.'

(a) ʔəncə-stəxʷ čxʷ ceʔ. (AG)
where-CAUS you FUT
'Where will you put it?'

In (b), *ʔənəcəstəxʷ* appears in the passive voice in a dependent clause:

(b) səẇq̓t ct ceʔ wəni·s ʔánəcəstəm kʷs niʔs skʷékʷəlt. (JP 12)
səẇq̓-t ct ceʔ wə-niʔ-əs ʔánəcəstəm kʷ
seek-TR we FUT if/that-AUX-3SUB be.put.where ART
s-niʔ-s skʷékʷəlt
NOM-AUX-3POS hidden
'We'll look for where they were put when they were hidden.'

### 17.19. *nəcíṁ* 'WHY?'

For a question 'why do ..., why did ...,' and so on, the interrogative word is followed by a verb with the oblique nominalizer *šxʷ-* (CC sometimes used *x-* in this context) and a possessive.

(a) nəcíṁ kʷe ʔəšxʷném̓. (CC)
nəcíṁ kʷe ʔə-šx-ném̓
why then your-OBLNOM-go
'Why are you going?'

(b) nəcíṁ kʷe ʔəxniʔələp ném̓. (CC)
nəcíṁ kʷe ʔə-x-ni-ʔələp ném̓
why then your-OBLNOM-AUX-2PLPOS go
'Why did you folks go?'

(c) nəcíṁ kʷe xəs ném̓. (CC)
nəcíṁ kʷə šxʷ-niʔ-s ném̓
why then OBLNOM-AUX-3POS go
'Why did he go?'

In (c), *xəs* is probably a reduction of *šxʷniʔs*. However, *nəcíṁ* may also be followed by a coordinate clause, giving the sense 'why should ...,' as in (d).

(d) nəcíṁ kʷe i ném̓ cən. (CC)
nəcíṁ kʷe ʔəy̓ ném̓ cən
why then and go I
'Why should I go?'

### 17.20. *k̓ʷín* 'HOW MANY?'

In its usual sense, *k̓ʷín* stands as a predicate with whatever is asked about standing as its subject.

(a) k̓ʷín k̓ʷ téɬs θə ʔəswə́ltən. (JP)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| k̓ʷín | k̓ʷ | téɬ-s | θə | ʔəT-swə́ltən |
| how.many | ART | fathom-3POS | ART | your-net |

'How many fathoms is your net?'

The word *k̓ʷín* may also stand as the first of a pair of coordinate clauses and mean 'what time?' – that is, 'how many (hours)?' (Cf. *təmtém* 'when' above.) Presumably this is a modern usage.

(b) k̓ʷín ceʔ i néṁ čxʷ. (DK)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| k̓ʷín | ceʔ | ʔəẏ | néṁ | čxʷ |
| how.many | FUT | and | go | you |

'What time are you going?'

In some other contexts, for example, as a noun modifier, *k̓ʷín* can mean 'a few, several, a number of,' as in (c) and (d).

(c) kʷθə təw-k̓ʷín swáẇləs (JP 14)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ART | somewhat-how.many | young.men |

'a few young men'

(d) iˑˑ k̓ʷín swéyəl i ƛ̓ə nəwɬ néṁ tθeʔ. (JP 1)

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ʔi | k̓ʷín | swéyəl | ʔəẏ | ƛ̓e | niʔ | wəɬ-néṁ | tθeʔ |
| AUX | how.many | day | and | again | AUX | already-go | he |

'After several days, he went again.'

The word *k̓ʷín* also takes a number of lexical suffixes, many of which also appear with numerals. (For examples, see §19.2.) For canoes, instead of a lexical suffix, there is the prefix *yə-* 'along' and the root is reduplicated: *yək̓ʷík̓ʷəṅ* 'how many canoes/conveyances?'

Most, if not all, of these interrogatives can also appear in a context where they mean 'several,' as in (e) to (i).

(e) təw-yək̓ʷík̓ʷən (JP)
'several canoes'

(f) yək̓ʷík̓ʷənəs c̓twaʔ snəxʷəɬ. (JP)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| yə-k̓ʷík̓ʷən-əs | c̓twaʔ | snəxʷəɬ |
| along-how.many-3SUB | SPEC | canoe |

'There were I don't know how many canoes.'

(g) təw-k̓ʷənéɬ (JP)
somewhat-how.many.times
‘several times’

(h) təw-k̓ʷí·lə
somewhat-how.many.people
‘several people’

The last can be pluralized, as in (i).

(i) təw-k̓ʷəlk̓ʷí·lə (JP 16)
somewhat-how.many.people(PL)
‘several groups of people’

# 18
# Adverbs and Adverbial and Modal Words and Phrases

Under this heading are included a number of words and phrases that can qualify a predicate in ways that may be termed adverbial or modal. Some of these words and phrases appear in but one kind of grammatical relationship to a predicate, while others can appear in several kinds. Some have no function to perform other than adverbial or modal, while others may also function as adjectives or verbs. Nevertheless, there seems to be a core of words (disregarding now the phrases) here that cannot be placed anywhere else. Most of these undergo no internal modification, that is, they are not inflected for aspect, number, and so on, and they might be seen to form a class on that basis. On the other hand, a few that seem to belong here on the basis of function are themselves inflected forms.

Adverbial and modal functions have already been identified in different contexts. Here, §18.1 reviews these functions, §18.2 considers adverbs as a category, §18.3 reviews the grammatical relations of what are called here adverbial and modal predicates, and §18.4 catalogues the words and phrases that have been recorded serving as adverbs and as adverbial and modal predicates and gives examples of usage.

## 18.1. ADVERBIAL AND MODAL FUNCTIONS

Adverbial functions are performed by modifiers standing in various relationships to the predicates or clauses they modify. Adverbs (see §3.2.2) stand within the predicate in ways reviewed in §18.2. Verbal adjuncts (analogous to English prepositional phrases – see §3.5) and adverbial adjuncts (§3.6) stand outside the predicate but within the clause. Subordinate clauses used as conditional clauses (§4.2.1) and nominalized clauses used adverbially (§4.3.2) stand outside the clause. In all of these, what is modified is a main clause predicate or predicate head, and the adverbial modifier is grammatically dependent on or subordinate to it.

There is still another way, however, in which an adverbial modifier can relate to the predicate it modifies. It can stand as a predicate and main clause itself while the modified predicate (or clause) relates to it as a subordinate clause or a coordinate clause. Adverbial modifiers of this sort may be said to function as "adverbial predicates," and the words and phrases that can function so are called here "adverbial words and phrases." Examples of adverbial predicates appear in several places in §4 and §5. The kinds of grammatical relations they have with predicates are reviewed in §18.3.

Functions termed "modal" (admittedly a vague concept) are performed by some of the predicate particles (§16.2) and by the modal suffixes (§11.2). There are also a few words that can stand in the same grammatical relationships to predicates (or clauses) as do the adverbial words and that might be termed "modal words" serving as "modal predicates."

Actually, there is not a very clear distinction between the "adverbial" and the "modal" in this context, it being a matter of semantics rather than grammar. In English, grammar seems to make a clear distinction: "I cannot hear him" has a modal auxiliary, while "I barely hear him" has an adverb. In Halkomelem, however, "cannot" and "barely" are both expressed by adverbial/modal predicates with embedded qualified clauses.

Some of these adverbial and/or modal words can also function as subordinating conjunctions. Examples are given in §18.4.

## 18.2. ADVERBS

Adverbs are identified in §3.2.2 as words that can stand within a predicate as modifiers. They can appear in various positions.

In verbal predicates, they commonly appear initially, as with *yáθ* 'always' and *qéʔis* 'recently' in (a) and (b).

(a) wə-yáθ-əɬ cən wə-q̓áq̓əy̓. (DK)
EST-always-past I EST-sick
'I was always sick.'

(b) qéʔis cən ni k̓ʷə́c-nəxʷ. (JP)
recently I AUX look-TR
'I saw him just now.'

Some can also appear between the auxiliary and the predicate head, as with *mə́k̓ʷ* 'all' in (c).

(c) ni cən wə-mə́k̓ʷ pə́n-ət. (CC)
AUX I EST-all get.buried-TR
'I buried them all.'

Or following the head, as with *x̌e* 'also' in (d).

(d) sis wəq̓áynəxʷəs ƛ̓e ʔé·łtən. (JP 12)
s-niʔ-s wə-q̓áy-nəxʷ-əs ƛ̓e ʔé·łtən
NOM-AUX-3POS EST-die-TR-3TR also 3PL
'Then they killed him too.'

In adjectival predicates (§3.7.1) and in nominal predicates with adjectival modifiers (§3.7.3), an intensifying adverb can precede the adjective, as with *ṅán* 'very' and *sc̓éc̓əṅ* 'really' in (e) and (f).

(e) wəṅánəw ƙʷámḿƙʷəḿ θəṅa spəhéls. (JP 24)
wə-ṅán wə-ƙʷámḿƙʷəḿ θəṅa spəhéls
EST-very EST-strong this wind
'This wind is very strong.'

(f) sc̓éc̓ən yəxʷ ceʔ wə-qə́x̌ sp̓éq̓əm.
really INF FUT EST-many flower
'There will really be lots of flowers.'

In nominal predicates, *ƛ̓e* 'also' can appear either before or after the head, as in (g) and (h).

(g) ƛ̓əwəł táwən. (AC)
ƛ̓ə wəł-táwən
also already-town
'It's still town [way out there too].'

(h) wəx̌péy̓ ƛ̓e tə ni šxʷq̓p̓éqəts. (JP 27)
wə-x̌péy̓ ƛ̓e tə šxʷ-qəp̓-éqən-t-s
EST-cedar also ART OBLNOM-stick-throat-TR-3POS
'What he covered it with was also cedar.'

The words most often recorded functioning as adverbs specify frequency, relative time, intensity, specificity, and similar qualities. There are fewer than twenty of these. They include: *yáθ* 'always,' *łə́q̓* 'usually,' *át* 'earlier, long ago,' *qéʔis* 'recently,' *ƛ̓é* 'again, also,' *qəl̓ét* 'again, also,' *háʔ* 'if, when,' *xʷəṅáʔ* 'first,' *yəẃén* 'before,' *łiʔáʔaqʷt* 'next,' *ṅán* 'very, too,' *sc̓éc̓əṅ* 'really,' *θəʔít* 'truly,' *táx̌ʷ* 'precisely,' *háy* 'specifically,' *wənáy* 'only,' *máƙʷ* 'all.'

Words that function as adverbs, however, do not constitute a clearly definable class. It seems that there are very few words that serve as adverbs only, having no other functions. Only *háʔ* 'if, when,' *łə́q̓* 'usually,' *ṅán* 'very, too,' and *sc̓éc̓əṅ* 'really' have been recorded as adverbs but nowhere else. Most words that commonly serve as adverbs may also appear elsewhere, as noun modifiers in nominal adjuncts (§3.8.3.3), such as *ƛ̓é* 'also' and *máƙʷ* 'all'; as heads of adverbial adjuncts (§3.6), such as *qéʔis* 'recently'; or as predicate heads, such as *yáθ* 'always' and *táx̌ʷ* 'precisely, adjust.' (Examples of usage of all of these are found in §18.4.)

Moreover, at least some words that function primarily as adjectives (see §9) can also occasionally serve as adverbs, such as *θí* 'big,' *cákʷ* 'far,' and *x̌áɬ* 'painful, hurt' in (i), (j), and (k).

(i) sc̓éc̓ən cən niw θí qʷíx̌ʷ ... (JP 24)
sc̓éc̓ən cən niʔ wə-θí qʷíx̌ʷ
really I AUX EST-big miss
'I really made a big mistake ...' (lit. 'I really greatly missed ...')

(j) ni cən cá··kʷ xʷə-ʔáy̓. (CC 21)
AUX I far become-good
'I am *far* better.'

(k) x̌áɬ q̓áq̓əy̓.
hurt/sore sick
'He was very sick.'

These adjectives used as adverbs are not catalogued in §18.4.

There is still another construction in which the predicate contains a modifier that may be identified as an adverb. In this construction (see §4.3.1), the predicate head is a nominalized clause that is preceded by the modifier, as with *yéɬ* 'just now' in (l).

(l) yéɬ m̓ə s-ném̓-s. (CC)
just.now CERT NOM-go-3POS
'He's just going.'

Only four words have been recorded functioning as modifiers in this construction: *mák̓ʷ* 'all' (with the sense 'whenever'), *wənáy* 'only,' *cəlél ʔal̓* 'barely,' and *yéɬ* 'just now, after which.' Of these, *mák̓ʷ* and *wənáy* appear as adverbs in the usual fashion, while *cəlél (ʔal̓)* and *yéɬ* have not been so recorded.

## 18.3. ADVERBIAL AND MODAL PREDICATES

These are words and phrases that stand as main-clause predicates followed by clauses that they in some way qualify. There are three kinds of grammatical relationships that can exist between an adverbial or modal predicate and the qualified clause:

(1) The qualified clause appears as a nominalized clause standing as a nominal adjunct (identified in §4.3.2), as in (a) and (b).

(a) sk̓ʷéy k̓ʷən sném̓. (JP)
sk̓ʷéy k̓ʷə nə-s-ném̓
impossible ART my-NOM-go
'I can't go.'

(b) híθ ḵʷənsʔíṁəx. (CC)
híθ ḵʷə nə-s-ʔíṁəx
last.long ART my-NOM-be.walking
'I was walking a long time.'

In (a), the nominal adjunct is probably a subject, the sentence being more literally 'My going is impossible.' In (b), the nominal adjunct may be a subject ('My walking took a long time'), or it may be a nominalized clause used adverbially ('It took a long time when I was walking').

(2) The qualified clause stands as a subordinate clause (see §4.2), as in (c) and (d).

(c) sḵʷéy ṁə wəʔáwè·n (~ wəwé·n) néṁè·n. (CC)
sḵʷéy ṁə wə-ʔáwə-e·n néṁ-e·n
impossible CERT that-not-I go-I
'I must go.'

(d) wəłqx̌éł ʔəłnéṁè·n ḵʷi sc̓áməs. (CC)
wəł-qx̌éł ʔəł-néṁ-e·n [ʔə] ḵʷi sc̓áməs
already-many.times that-go-I OBL that Songhees
'I have often gone to Victoria.'

In both of these the subordinate clauses are probably better identified as complements rather than conditional clauses (lit. 'It is impossible that I not go' rather than 'It will be impossible if I do not go,' etc.).

(3) The qualified clause stands as the second of a pair of coordinate clauses (see §5.2), as in (e) and (f).

(e) c̓əxʷlé ʔ c̓ə i néṁ háyeʔ tə cwéʔ tə léləṁ. (JP 12)
c̓əxʷlé ʔ c̓ə ʔəẏ néṁ háyeʔ tə cwéʔ [ʔə]
sometimes QUOT and go leave ART own OBL
tə léləṁ
ART house
'Sometimes the owner of the house went away.'

(f) x̌ʷə́m ʔə čxʷ ʔəẏ xʷʔəwélcəs. (JP)
fast ROG you and make.string.figures
'Can you make string figures?'

In both of these sentences, the *ʔəẏ ~ i,* which is 'and' in most contexts and occasionally 'but,' might be better translated 'when.' The sentences might be better translated 'There were said to be occasions when the owner of the house left,' and 'Are you fast when you make string figures?'

The words that have been recorded as adverbial predicates include a few that have also been recorded as adverbs (*yáθ* 'always,' *yəẇén* 'first,' *háy* 'specifically,' *wənáy* 'only'). But most that have been recorded in one function have

not been recorded in the other. A few of these adverbial words have been recorded as simple predicates (*híθ* 'last long,' *néc̓* 'be different'). Some of the adverbial and modal words have been recorded with more than one kind of qualified clause, while others have been recorded with one kind only.

As with adverbs, the function of adverbial predicates can be assumed by words that usually serve as adjectives, such as *k̓ʷámm̓k̓ʷəm̓* 'strong' and *ʔáyəm* 'slow' in (g) and (h).

(g) k̓ʷámm̓k̓ʷəm̓ kʷs kʷáyəx̌əms. (JP 28)
k̓ʷámm̓k̓ʷəm̓ kʷə s-kʷáyəx̌əm-s
strong ART NOM-be.shaking-3POS
'They shook strongly.'

(h) wəʔáyəm ʔal̓ kʷsniʔs ném̓ yəlíləqstxʷəs. (JP 23)
wə-ʔáyəm ʔal̓ kʷə s-niʔ-s ném̓
EST-slow just ART NOM-AUX-3POS AUX(go)
yə-líləq-stəxʷ-əs
along-easy-CAUS-3TR
'Slowly he eased it [the harpoon line] out.'

Here (g) may be more literally rendered either 'Their shaking was strong' or 'They were strong when they shook,' and (h) seems best as 'He was slow when he went easing it out.'

Some of the words considered here (*háy* 'specifically,' *wənáy* 'only,' *txʷáy* 'only remaining') enter into a kind of construction in which they qualify the subject rather than the predicate and so cannot be considered adverbs. In these cleft sentences (§4.1.5.2), the subject is either a noun followed by a relative clause or simply a relative clause, as in (i) and (j).

(i) wənáy ʔal̓ tə k̓ʷáxʷaʔ ni kʷən-é-t-əs. (JP 3)
be.only just ART box AUX get.taken-DUR-TR-3SUB
'It was only a box that he held.'

(j) wənáy ʔal̓ mi-əxʷ tə́l-ləxʷ. (JP 28)
be.only just AUX(come)-you be.understood-TR
'That's all you came to know.'

In (j), the *wənáy* might be taken for an adverb, but the fact that what follows is a relative clause suggests that (j) is a cleft sentence, even though the relative clause is not preceded by an article. This suggests the possibility that sentences in which these predicates take first- and second-person subject particles are also cleft sentences. Compare (k) and (l):

(k) txʷáy qʷáqʷəlstamx. (DK)
txʷáy qʷáqʷəl-stəxʷ-amx
only.remaining be.speaking-COM-me
'He's the only one who still speaks to me.'

(l) txʷáy ct qʷáqʷəl-stəxʷ kʷə ł-___. (DK)
only.remaining we be.speaking-COM ART portion___
'We are the only ones who still speak to the ___s.' (surname deleted)

In (k), the status of *qʷáqʷəlstamx* as a relative clause is indisputable (there being no *-əs* 'third-person transitive subject' required by a main-clause verb), and so the status of the whole as a cleft sentence is indisputable. In (l), with other than a third person subject, *qʷáqʷəlstəxʷ* has a form appropriate for either a main-clause or relative-clause predicate head. The presence of *ct* 'we' seems to identify *txʷáy* as an adverb and *qʷáqʷəlstəxʷ* as predicate head. However, DK's translation shows that she saw the second sentence as constructed like the first.

## 18.4. CATALOGUE

This section lists forty-seven words and phrases that have been recorded serving as adverbs, adverbial predicates, or modal predicates, and gives examples of the functions in which they have been recorded. The list is certainly not exhaustive. These words and phrases are ordered by semantic categories. Numbers 1-8 express frequency, 9-23 express duration and relative time, 24-35 are intensifiers and quantifiers, 36-40 are restricters and quantifiers, and 41-47 are more purely modal terms. They are described in the order shown in Table 18.1.

*Table 18*

**Adverbs and adverbial and modal words and phrases**

| Category | Terms |
|---|---|
| Terms expressing frequency | 1 *yáθ* 'always' |
| | 2 *łáq̓* 'usually' |
| | 3 *c̓əxʷlé?* 'sometimes' |
| | 4 *néc̓* 'other times' |
| | 5 *nəc̓éxʷ* 'once,' etc. |
| | 6 *qx̌éł* 'often' |
| | 7 *?áwə scékʷəl̓əs* 'never' |
| | 8 *máḵʷ swéyəl* 'every day,' etc. |

▶

◀ *Table 18*

| Category | | Terms |
|---|---|---|
| Terms expressing duration and relative time | 9 | *híθ* 'for a long time |
| | 10 | *náċaʔ swéyəl* 'for one day,' etc. |
| | 11 | *ɬát* 'earlier' |
| | 12 | *qéʔis* 'recently' |
| | 13 | *yéɬ* 'just now' |
| | 14 | *wéyəl* 'tomorrow,' etc. |
| | 15 | *x̌́é* 'again, also' |
| | 16 | *qəl̓ét* 'again, also' |
| | 17 | *háʔ* 'if, when' |
| | 18 | *mák̓ʷ* 'whenever' |
| | 19 | *xʷən̓áʔ* 'first' |
| | 20 | *yəẇén̓* 'before' |
| | 21 | *ɬiʔáʔaqʷt* 'after' |
| | 22 | *táx̌ʷ* 'later' |
| | 23 | *xʷənx̌ə eʔe(tθeʔ)* 'meanwhile' |
| Intensifiers and quantifiers | 24 | *n̓án* 'very, too' |
| | 25 | *sċéċən̓* 'really' |
| | 26 | *θəʔít* 'truly' |
| | 27 | *táx̌ʷ* 'precisely' |
| | 28 | *cəlél* 'nearly' |
| | 29 | *cəlél ʔal̓* 'barely' |
| | 30 | *xʷéləq* 'nearly' |
| | 31 | *(wə)qéqəl ʔal̓* 'barely' |
| | 32 | *snítʔənɬ* 'enough' |
| | 33 | *x̌́əxʷláʔas* 'no matter' |
| | 34 | *ʔiwáẇə* 'maybe' |
| | 35 | *wál̓ə* 'probably' |
| Restricters and quantifiers | 36 | *háy* 'specifically' |
| | 37 | *wənáy* 'only' |
| | 38 | *txʷáy* 'only remaining' |
| | 39 | *cəl̓ím̓* 'even' |
| | 40 | *mák̓ʷ* 'all' |
| Modal words | 41 | *x̌ʷám* 'fast, can' |
| | 42 | *sx̌́áx̌́əm* 'enough, can' |
| | 43 | *sk̓ʷéy* 'impossible' |
| | 44 | *scəwét* 'capable' |
| | 45 | *sqíʔqəl̓* 'unable' |
| | 46 | *ʔáẏ* 'better' |
| | 47 | *sx̌́íʔ* 'want |

### 18.4.1. *yáθ* 'always, frequently'

This has been recorded as an adverb only. It may precede the predicate head, as in (a).

(a) wə-yáθ-əł cən wə-ḏáḏəy̓. (DK)
EST-always-past I EST-sick
'I was always sick.'

Or it may follow the head (but with a different meaning), as in (b).

(b) wə-ḏáḏəy̓-əł cən wə-yáθ. (DK)
EST-sick-past I EST-frequently
'I was frequently sick.'

Or it may be followed by a nominalized clause, as in (c).

(c) yáθ ḵʷə nəsniẇ yəłəʔé. (JP)
yáθ ḵʷə nə-s-niʔ wə-yə-łəʔé
always ART my-NOM-AUX EST-along-following
'I always go the same way.'

In the question (d) and the answer (e), the order changes.

(d) wəyáθ ʔə čxʷ niẇ yəhə́n̓əm̓. (JP)
wə-yáθ ʔə čxʷ niʔ wə-yə-hə́n̓əm̓
EST-always ROG you AUX EST-along-be.going
'Do you always go that way (or there)?'

(e) ni cən wəyáθ wəyhə́n̓əm̓. (JP)
niʔ cən wə-yáθ wə-yə-hə́n̓əm̓
AUX I EST-always EST-along-be.going
'Yes, I always do.'

### 18.4.2. *łə́ḏ* 'usually, generally, habitually'

This has been recorded as an adverb only. It appears initially, as in (a) and (b).

(a) łə́ḏ ʔə ḏíḏəḵʷəl̓s tən̓ sqʷəméy̓. (DK)
łə́ḏ ʔə ḏíḏəḵʷ-əl̓s tə ʔən-sqʷəméy̓
usually ROG be.biting-ACT ART your dog
'Does your dog bite?'

(b) łə́ḏ ni nə́c̓əqən lísek tə ḵʷíʔxʷ. (CC 5)
usually AUX one.container sack ART pitch
'It usually takes one sack of pitch.' (lit. 'The pitch is usually one sack.')

(For other examples, see §3.2.2. There is a related noun, *łéḏ* 'fashion, custom,' as in *tə łéḏs tə məstáyəxʷ* 'the people's ways.')

### 18.4.3. *c̓əxʷlé?* 'sometimes, there are times when'

This is probably more than a simple root, but its composition is unclear. It has been recorded in one construction only, as the first in a pair of coordinate clauses, as in (a) and (b).

(a) c̓əxʷlé? i ném̓ cən tə néc̓ šxʷiménə. (CC)
c̓əxʷlé? ʔəy̓ ném̓ cən [ʔə] tə néc̓ šxʷiménə
sometimes and go I OBL ART different store
'Sometimes I go to other stores.'

(b) c̓əxʷlé? i q̓áynəxʷəs tə sməyəθ. (JP7)
c̓əxʷlé? ʔəy̓ q̓áy-nəxʷ-əs tə sməyəθ
sometimes and die-TR-3TR ART deer
'Once in a while he killed a deer.'

### 18.4.4. *néc̓* 'at other times, sometimes'

The basic meaning of *néc̓* is 'differ, be different, be strange.' It has inflected forms, *néc̓t* 'change it,' *nác̓θət* 'change (oneself),' and so on, and many forms with derivational suffixes. It can appear as a noun modifier with the sense 'different' or 'other,' as in (a) in §18.4.3. Followed by a nominalized clause introduced by *kʷ*, it has the meaning 'at other times,' as in (a) below.

(a) néc̓ kʷs ném̓s x̌ʷənxénəm nem̓ tə šnəwíɬ i ... (JP 1)
néc̓ kʷə s-ném̓-s x̌ʷənxénəm nem̓ [ʔə]
other.times ART NOM-AUX(NOM)-3POS run go OBL
tə šnəwíɬ ʔəy̓
ART far.side and
'At other times they would run to the other side and ...'

Repeated in two clauses, it may have the senses 'at one time' and 'at another time,' as in (b).

(b) néc̓ kʷs nác̓aʔ swéyəl i m̓i técəl xʷəʔám̓ət i néc̓ kʷs niʔs isél̓ə swéyəl i m̓i xʷəʔám̓ət ʔé·ɬtən. (JP 12)
néc̓ kʷə s-nác̓aʔ[-s] swéyəl ʔəy̓ m̓i
sometimes ART NOM-one-3POS day and come
técəl xʷə-ʔám̓ət ʔəy̓ néc̓ kʷə
arrive.here become-be.seated and sometimes ART
s-niʔ-s ʔisél̓ə swéyəl ʔəy̓ m̓i
NOM-AUX-3POS two day and come
xʷə-ʔám̓ət ʔé·ɬtən
become-be.seated 3PL
'Sometimes they came home after one day, and other times they came home after two days.'

### 18.4.5. *nəc̓éxʷ* 'once, one time' and so on

This word (< *nác̓aʔ* 'one'), *θəmé* 'twice' (< *θem-* 'two'), *łxʷéł* 'three times' (< *łíxʷ* 'three'), *təwǩʷənéł* 'a number of times' (< *ǩʷín* 'how many'), and probably other words referring to numbers of times (see §19.2 [2]) can occur followed by nominalized clauses introduced with *kʷ*, as in (a) and (b).

(a) nəc̓éxʷ c̓ə kʷsmis tə́q tə sxixéʔł. (JP 12)

| nəc̓éxʷ | c̓ə | kʷə | s-m̓i-s | tə́q |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| once | QUOT | ART | NOM-AUX(come)-3POS | get.blocked |

| tə | sxixéʔł |
|---|---|
| ART | Sechelt |

'Once the Sechelt were taken by surprise.'

(b) θəmé kʷs hə́nəməstʷəs tə syə́wəns. (JP)

| θəmé | kʷə | s-hə́n̓əm̓-əstʷəxʷ-əs | tə | syə́wən-s |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| twice | ART | NOM-be.going-CAUS-3TR | ART | song-3POS |

'Twice he sang his song.'

They can also occur as the first of two coordinate clauses, as in (c) and (d). In (c), *nəc̓éxʷ* is translated 'once in a while,' but such an interpretation is not likely for *θəmé* and so on.

(c) nəc̓éxʷ i ni təwkʷə́nnəxʷəs ǩʷəw stém ʔal̓ sʔə́łtəns. (JP 12)

| nəc̓éxʷ | ʔəy̓ | niʔ | təw-kʷə́n-nəxʷ-əs | ǩʷə |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| once | and | AUX | somewhat-get.taken-TR-3TR | ART |

| wə-stém | ʔal̓ | sʔə́łtən-s |
|---|---|---|
| EST-what | just | food-3POS |

'Once in a while they found something to eat.'

(d) łxʷéł i ni sx̌áx̌əm. (JP 21)

| łíxʷ-éł | ʔəy̓ | niʔ | sx̌áx̌əm |
|---|---|---|---|
| three-times | and | AUX | enough |

'Three times would be enough.'

In (e), *nəc̓éxʷ* 'once' is the subject of the first clause, followed by a nominalized clause in which the first word is *x̌é* 'again,' which is followed by another nominalized clause.

(e) ni c̓kʷə tə́s kʷθə nəc̓éxʷ kʷsx̌esəw mi técəl təwx̌aləm sənə́xʷəł. (JP 14)

| niʔ | c̓ə | kʷə | tə́s | kʷθə | nəc̓éxʷ | kʷə |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AUX | QUOT | then | arrive.there | ART | one.time | ART |

| s-x̌e-s | [s-]wə-m̓i | técəl | təwx̌aləm |
|---|---|---|---|
| NOM-again-3POS | [NOM-]EST-AUX(come) | arrive.here | those |

| sənə́xʷəł |
|---|
| canoes |

'There came (then, it is said) another time when those canoes came again.'

### 18.4.6. *qx̌éɬ* 'often, many times'

Composed of *qə́x̌* 'many' and *-éɬ* 'times,' this can occur with a conditional clause introduced with *ʔəɬ-* 'whenever,' as in (a).

(a) wəɬqx̌éɬ ʔəɬnéṁ·n ḵʷi sc̓áməs. (CC)
wəɬ-qx̌éɬ ʔəɬ-néṁ-e·n [ʔə] ḵʷi sc̓áməs
already-many.times whenever-go-I OBL that Songhees
'I have often been to Victoria.' (lit. 'It is many times that I go to Victoria.')

### 18.4.7. *ʔə́wə scékʷəl̓əs* 'never'

Composed of *ʔə́wə* 'not' and *scékʷəl̓* 'how, how much' (lit. 'not to any extent'), this can appear as the first of a pair of coordinate clauses, as in (a).

(a) ʔə́wə scékʷəl̓əs i x̌̓e cən wəqʷə́lstàmə. (CC)
ʔə́wə scékʷəl̓-əs ʔəy̓ x̌̓e cən wə-qʷel-st-amə
not how.much-3SUB and again I EST-speak-COM-you
'I'll never speak to you again.'

### 18.4.8. *mə́ḵʷ swéyəl* 'every day' and so on

This term (composed of *mə́ḵʷ* 'all' and *swéyəl* 'day'), *mə́ḵʷ nétəɬ* 'every morning,' and similar terms can occur followed by a nominalized clause introduced by *kʷ*, as in (a), (b), and (c).

(a) mə́ḵʷ swéyəl kʷs wənéṁs kʷáy̓x̌θət tə stáləss. (JP 20)
mə́ḵʷ swéyəl kʷə s-wə-néṁ-s kʷéy̓x̌-θət tə
all day ART NOM-EST-go-3POS be.moving-self ART
stáləs-s
spouse-3POS
'Her husband went out every day.'

(b) ni· tθeʔ kʷsx̌é·ṁs mə́ḵʷ swéyəl. (JP 20)
niʔ ʔə tθeʔ kʷə s-x̌é·ṁ-s mə́ḵʷ swéyəl
be.there OBL that ART NOM-be.crying-3POS all day
'There she cried every day.'

(c) mə́ḵʷ nétəɬ ḵʷe ʔeθyá·y̓əs kʷ steʔé ʔe tθeʔ. (JP 21)
mə́ḵʷ nétəɬ kʷə ʔəT-s-yá·y̓əs [ʔə] kʷə
all morning ART your-NOM-be.working OBL ART
stəʔé ʔe tθéʔ
like OBL that
'Every morning you do the same thing.'

In (d), however, 'every day' appears in an adverbial phrase following the predicate.

(d) ʔi·ł ct spápətən ǩʷə máǩʷ swéyəl. (DK)
ʔi-əł ct spápətən [ʔə] ǩʷə máǩʷ swéyəl
AUX-past we be.sailing OBL ART all day
'We were sailing constantly every day.'

### 18.4.9. *híθ* 'last long, be a long time'

This can appear as a predicate head, with an auxiliary as in (a) and with an adverb as in (b).

(a) neṁ təw-híθ. (JP 3)
AUX(go) somewhat-last.long
'Some time passed.'

(b) wə-ṅán c̓twaʔ wəł-híθ. (JP 15)
EST-very SPEC already-last.long
'It must have been very long ago.'

It can precede the predicate head as an adverb where the head is a verb, as in (c), and where the head is a noun, as in (d).

(c) híθəł cən kʷł waʔ ʔíʔtət. (JP 10)
híθ-əł cən kʷł waʔ ʔíʔtət
last.long-past I by.then PRES be.sleeping
'I must have been sleeping a long time.'

(d) wəłíθ sx̌ʷəy̓ém̓. (JP 15)
wəł-híθ sx̌ʷəy̓ém̓
already-last.long story
'It's an old story.'

It can appear as a predicate head followed by a nominalized verb, as in (e), or by a nominalized clause, as in (f) and (g).

(e) wəłíθ ʔaḷ̓ sqə́lqələθəns. (CC 16)
wəł-híθ ʔaḷ̓ s-qə́lqələθən-s
already-last.long just NOM-dream-3POS
'For a long time he had been dreaming.'

(f) wəłíθ ǩʷənsʔí ə təṅa. (JP)
wəł-híθ ǩʷə nə-s-ʔí ʔə təṅa
already-last.long ART my-NOM-be.here OBL this
'I've been here a long time.' (lit. 'My being here has lasted long.')

(g) ʔə́wə híθəs kʷe ʔeθʔél̓məy̓. (JP 3)
ʔə́wə híθ-əs kʷə ʔəT-s-ʔél̓məy̓
not last.long-3SUB ART your-NOM-be.waiting
'You won't have long to wait.' (lit. 'Your waiting will not be long.')

It can be followed by a subordinate clause, as in (h).

(h) wəłíθ łə́q̓əlləxʷèn kʷθéʔ. (JP)
wəł-híθ łə́q̓əl-ləxʷ-èn kʷθéʔ
already-last.long know-TR-I that
'I've known him for a long time.'

It can appear as a predicate in a pair of coordinate clauses, as in (i) and (j).

(i) híθ i yeł sis təwk̓ʷámk̓ʷəm̓θət. (JP 24)
híθ ʔəy̓ yéł s-niʔ-s təw-k̓ʷámk̓ʷəm̓-θət
last.long and now NOM-AUX-3POS somewhat-strong-self
'It took some time before he became strong.'

(j) ʔə́wə ni·s yəhíθ i ni xʷəʔám̓ət təs tə léləms. (JP)
ʔə́wə niʔ-əs yə-híθ ʔəy̓ niʔ
not AUX-3SUB along-last.long and AUX
xʷə-ʔám̓ət tə́s [ʔə] tə lélə́m̓-s
become-be.sitting arrive.there OBL ART house-3POS
'It didn't take long for him to get home to his house.'

It can also appear in an adverbial adjunct (§3.6), as in (k).

(k) sk̓ʷéy̓ kʷsx̌es wəʔánəxʷ k̓ʷə híθ. (JP 22)
sk̓ʷéy̓ kʷə s-x̌e-s wə-ʔánəxʷ k̓ʷə
impossible ART NOM-be.again-3POS EST-stop ART
híθ
last.long
'They could not stop again for long.'

In (l), the adverbial adjunct appears to stand as a sentence by itself. Compare (m), which is all one clause.

(l) k̓ʷəwłíθəł c̓twaʔ. wəłk̓ʷín̓ c̓twaʔ kʷs néc̓əẇəcs méqeʔ. (JP 1)
k̓ʷə wəł-híθ-əł c̓twaʔ wəł-k̓ʷín̓ c̓twaʔ
ART already-last.long-past SPEC already-how.many SPEC
kʷə s-néc̓əẇəc-s méqeʔ
ART NOM-hundred-3POS snow
'It must have been long ago. It must have been hundreds of years ago.'

(m) ḵʷəwɬíθəɬ c̓twaʔ kʷsxʷənsx̌ʷəy̓ém̓səɬ c̓ə ʔaɫ̓ ḵʷəw məḵʷ stem ʔi ʔə təńa táməxʷ ... (JP 6)

| ḵʷə | wəɬ-híθ-əɬ | c̓twaʔ | kʷə | s-xʷən-sx̌ʷəy̓ém̓-s-əɬ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ART | already-last.long-past | SPEC | ART | NOM-still-myth-3POS-past |

| c̓ə | ʔaɫ̓ | ḵʷə | wə-məḵʷ | stem | ʔ | ʔə | təńa |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| QUOT | just | ART | EST-all | what | be.here | OBL | this |

táməxʷ
earth

'Long ago, when everything was still myth on this earth ...' (i.e., before the coming of *X̌é·l̓s*)

### 18.4.10. *nác̓aʔ swéyəl* 'one day' and so on

This and other measures of time can be followed by nominalized clauses, as in (a) to (d).

(a) nác̓əs łqélc̓ kʷsəs níʔ kʷsə nətén. (CC 21)

| nác̓əs | łqélc̓ | kʷsə | s-niʔ-s | níʔ | kʷsə |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| one.face | moon | ART | NOM-AUX-3POS | be.there | ART |

nə-tén
my-mother

'My late mother was there for one month.' (lit. 'My late mother's being there was one month' or 'It was one month that my late mother was there.')

(b) x̌aʔáθən nétəɬ x̌aʔáθən xʷənéʔent kʷs x̌əx̌áləts. (CC 10)

| x̌aʔáθən | nétəɬ | x̌aʔáθən | xʷənéʔent | kʷə |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| four | morning | four | evening | ART |

s-x̌əx̌ál-t-s
NOM-be.painting-TR-3POS

'She paints him four mornings and four evenings.'

(c) wəɬḵʷín syəl̓ánəm kʷə nəsʔáwe·ɬ cyáwən. (CC)

| wəɬ-ḵʷín | syəl̓ánəm | kʷə | nə-s-ʔáwə-əɬ |
|---|---|---|---|
| already-how.many | year | ART | my-NOM-not-past |

[ɬ] c-yáwən
ART do-possessing.song

'For a number of years I have not sung.'

(d) niwəɬ ʔápən syəl̓ánəm kʷənsni·ɬ ḵʷác̓nəxʷ. (DK)

| niʔ | wəɬ-ʔápən | syəl̓ánəm | kʷə | nə-s-niʔ-əɬ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| AUX | already-ten | years | ART | my-NOM-AUX-past |

ḵʷác̓-nəxʷ
look-TR

'It was ten years ago that I saw him.'

They can serve as the first of a pair of coordinate clauses, as in (e).

(e) isél̓ə ʔal̓ swéyəl i m̓i xʷəʔám̓ət. (CC 13)
yəsél̓ə ʔal̓ swéyəl ʔəy̓ m̓i xʷə-ʔám̓ət
two just day and AUX(come) become-be.sitting
'In two days they were home.'

And they can appear in verbal adjuncts, as in (f).

(f) səw xʷqʷəlqʷéləwən tə siʔém̓ i tən̓a nác̓aʔ swéyəl. (JP 22)
s-wə-xʷqʷəlqʷéləwən[-s] tə siʔém̓ ʔi [ʔə] tən̓a
NOM-EST-be.thinking-3POS ART leader be.here OBL this
nác̓aʔ swéyəl
one day
'Then one day the headman was thinking.' (lit. 'Then the headman was thinking in this one day,' the 'in' being expressed with *ʔi* 'be here')

(For other examples, see §5.2.1, [a] and [b]. For measures of time, see §22.2.)

### 18.4.11. *ɬ̓át* 'long before, from long ago, earlier'

This usually appears with *wə-*$_2$ 'established.' It can appear before the predicate head, as in (a) and (b).

(a) wəɬ̓át wəháʔkʷəxəs tə xʷməθkʷəy̓əm kʷθə steʔé ʔe tθeʔ. (JP)
wə-ɬ̓át wə-háʔkʷ-əx-əs tə xʷməθkʷəy̓əm
EST-long.before EST-get.used-TR-3TR ART Musqueam
kʷθə stəʔé ʔə tθéʔ
ART like OBL that
'The Musqueams have been using something like that from long ago.'

(b) wəɬ̓át ʔə čxʷ wəhéḵ̓ʷnəs kʷθə steʔé ʔe tθeʔ. (JP)
wə-ɬ̓át ʔə čxʷ wə-héḵ̓ʷ-nəs kʷθə stəʔé
EST-long.before ROG you EST-remember-TR ART like
ʔə tθéʔ
OBL that
'Do you remember anything like that from before?'

In (c), it appears to modify a noun.

(c) kʷθə wə-ɬ̓át-əł məstéyəxʷ (JP 1)
ART EST-long.before-past people
'the old-time people'

Alternatively, one might identify the phrase as a relative clause, 'the ones who were people long before,' 'people' being a predicate head.

### 18.4.12. *qéʔis* (probably //qéy̓əs//) 'recently, just a short time ago, formerly'

This can appear before the auxiliary, as in (a) and (b), and in (c), which is a relative clause.

(a) qéʔis cən ni tə́lləxʷ tiʔí. (JP)
qéy̓əs cən niʔ tə́l̓-ləxʷ tiʔí
recently I AUX be.understood-TR this
'I just found that out now.'

(b) qéʔis nə xʷəkʷənátəl̓ ʔé·łtən. (JP)
qéy̓əs niʔ xʷə-kʷən-é-təl̓ ʔé·łtən
recently AUX become-get.taken-DUR-RECIP 3PL
'They recently got together.'

(c) tə qeʔis ʔi·n kʷə́nnəxʷ sqʷəméy̓ (JP)
tə qey̓əs ʔi-ən kʷə́n-nəxʷ sqʷəméy̓
ART recently AUX-I get.taken-TR dog
'the dog I've just acquired'

The phrase *təm̓a qéʔis*, translated 'recently,' may follow the predicate head, as in (d).

(d) nəwł steʔé k̓ʷəw xʷċsí·m ʔal̓ təm̓a qéʔis i ni θəł wəxáċaʔ. (JP 13)
niʔ wəł-stəʔé [ʔə] k̓ʷə wə-xʷ-ċis-í·m
AUX already-like OBL ART EST-inward(?)-grow-die.from
ʔal̓ [ʔə] təm̓a qéy̓əs ʔəy̓ niʔ θəł wə-xáċaʔ
just OBL this short.time.ago and AUX ADV EST-lake
'It's become sort of grown-in recently, but there's still a lake there.'

The phrase *wəqéʔis ʔal̓* 'for a short time' can appear as a predicate in a simple sentence, as in (e).

(e) wəqéʔis cən ceʔ ʔal̓. (JP)
wə-qéy̓əs cən ceʔ ʔal̓
EST-recently I FUT just
'I'll be right back. I'll be only a moment.'

Or it can appear as an adverbial phrase following a predicate, as in (f) and (g).

(f) ʔélməy̓ čxʷ k̓ʷəw qeʔis ʔal̓. (JP)
ʔélməy̓ čxʷ k̓ʷə wə-qey̓əs ʔal̓
wait you ART EST-recently just
'Wait a little while.'

(g) xʷən̓kʷənét čxʷ ʔal̓ tə ʔəθqʷəmqʷəméy̓ wəqéʔis ʔal̓. (JP 3)
xʷən-kʷən-é-t čxʷ ʔal̓ tə ʔəT-sqʷəmqʷəméy̓
still-be.taken-DUR-TR you just ART your-dogs
wə-qéy̓əs ʔal̓
EST-recently just
'Just hold your dogs for a moment.'

But a great difference in meaning is seen in (h), where the *wəł-* 'already' implies past and the particle *c̓twaʔ* may imply that the statement is based on tradition.

(h) wəłqéʔis ʔə c̓twaʔ (JP 13)
wəł-qéy̓əs ʔə c̓twaʔ
already-formerly ROG SPEC
'It must have been long ago.'

**18.4.13. *yéł* 'only now, only then'**
This is followed by a nominalized verb. As the head of a single clause, it has the sense 'just now, only now,' as in (a). (For other examples see §4.3.1 [a] to [e].)

(a) wəyéł sis técəl. (CC)
wə-yéł s-ʔi-s técəl
EST-only.now NOM-AUX-3POS arrive.here
'He's just arrived.'

As the head of the second of a pair of coordinate clauses, it is often translated 'before' with the sense 'after which, only then,' as in (b) and (c).

(b) təwhíθ c̓ə i yéł sis ném̓. (JP)
təw-híθ c̓ə ʔəy̓ yéł s-niʔ-s ném̓
somewhat-last.long QUOT and only.then NOM-AUX-3POS go
'It took a while before he went.'

In (c), the first *yéł* appears to have the first sense and the second *yéł* the second sense.

(c) yéł sʔict stətéʔe. táxʷ snét ʔi yéł səs hənłélt kʷθə xʷə́y̓qʷələł. (AG)
yéł s-ʔi-ct stətéʔe táxʷ snét ʔi
only.now NOM.AUX.our stay(PL) precisely night and
yéł s-ʔi-s hən-łél-t kʷθə
only.then NOM-AUX-3POS come-move.shoreward-STAT ART
xʷə́y̓qʷələł
steamer
'There we were waiting. It was midnight before the ship came in.'

### 18.4.14. *wéyəl* 'tomorrow' and so on

Two words, *wéyəl* 'be day' and *nét* 'be night,' are the basis of several terms for times of day and night, such as *swéyəl* 'day' (also 'daylight, sky'), *tən̓a wéyəl* 'today,' *yəwéw̓əyə̓l* 'dawn' (lit. 'becoming daylight'), *nétəł* 'morning' (lit. 'night-past'), *xʷənéʔənt* 'evening' (lit. 'becoming night'), and so on. These are considered in §22.2.1. Here I will simply review the roles of these words in syntax.

As illustrated in §4.2.4 (a), *wéyəl ceʔ* (lit. 'it will be day') with the sense 'tomorrow' can appear as a main clause referring to the future with the qualified predicate as an accompanying subordinate clause. This is seen also in (a).

(a) wéyəl ceʔ wə-ṯáḵʷ-əxʷ wə-niʔ-əs ceʔ neṁ
become.day FUT may-go.home-you when-AUX-3SUB FUT go
ʔáwḵʷ tə spíẃ ni ʔə tə stál̓əẃ. (CC 7)
be.exhausted ART ice be.there OBL ART river
'Tomorrow you will go home, if the ice in the river is all gone.'

As illustrated in §4.2.4 (b), *wəwéyələs* (lit. 'when it is day') with the sense 'tomorrow' can appear as a subordinate clause with the qualified predicate as the main clause. This is seen also in (b).

(b) ʔáy̓ kʷsəwł néṁct xʷíwəl wəwéyələs. (CC 1)
ʔáy̓ kʷə s-wəł-néṁ-ct xʷíwəl wə-wéyəl-əs
good ART NOM-already-go-our move.upstream when-day-3SUB
'We'd better start going upriver tomorrow.'

The temporal modifier can also be the first of two coordinate clauses, as in (c) and (d).

(c) ni ċəwł yəwéw̓əyəl i yeł sis łéˑl ʔéˑłtən. (JP 14)
niʔ ċə wəł-yə-wéw̓əyəl ʔəy̓ yeł
AUX QUOT already-first-becoming.day and only.then
s-ʔi-s łéˑl ʔéˑłtən
NOM-AUX-3POS go.ashore 3PL
'It was early in the morning when they went ashore.'

(d) xʷənnétəł i wəłʔáməṯ tə Dave. (CC 6)
xʷən-nét-əł ʔəy̓ wəł-ʔáməṯ tə Dave
still-night-past and already-get.up ART Dave
'Early in the morning Dave got up.'

These words referring to time also appear in adverbial adjuncts, as in (e).

(e) niˑł cən wəłáy qʷáqʷəl̓ ḵʷ xʷənéˑnt … (JP 8)
niʔ-əł cən wəł-háy qʷáqʷəl̓ ḵʷə xʷənéʔənt
AUX-past I already-finish be.speaking ART evening
'I have already spoken last night ...'

Or they may follow a prepositional verb (§3.5), as in (f).

(f) ƛ̓a niʔe·p k̓ʷə́cnəxʷ i tən̓a wéyəl tθeʔ ni·n neʔéməstəxʷ. (JP 26)
ƛ̓a niʔ-e·p k̓ʷə́c-nəxʷ ʔi tən̓a wéyəl
BE3P AUX-you(PL) look-TR be.here this become.day
tθeʔ niʔ-ən ném̓-əstəxʷ
that AUX-I go-CAUS
'What I've talked about is what you have seen today.'

**18.4.15. *ƛ̓e* (CC, JP), *ƛ̓eʔ* (AG) 'again, also, too'**
This tends to join with *wə-*$_2$ 'established' as *ƛ̓əw* and with *wəɬ* 'already' as *ƛ̓əwɬ*. It can appear initially before a predicate head, as in (a) ...

(a) ƛ̓əw si·ʔém̓. (JP 16)
ƛ̓ə wə-si·ʔém̓
also EST-honoured.persons
'They were also important people.'

... before an auxiliary, as in (b), (c), and (d) ...

(b) ƛ̓e cən ceʔ niw steʔé. (JP)
ƛ̓e cən ceʔ niʔ wə-stəʔé
also I FUT AUX EST-like
'I'll be the same.'

(c) ni ʔə ƛ̓əw ném̓. (CC)
niʔ ʔə ƛ̓ə wə-ném̓.
AUX ROG also EST-go
'Did he go too?'

(d) səw ʔə́wəs ƛ̓e·s nəw k̓ʷə́cnəxʷ. (JP2)
s-wə-ʔə́wə-s ƛ̓e-əs niʔ wə-k̓ʷə́c-nəxʷ
NOM-EST-not-3POS again-3SUB AUX EST-look-TR
'Then they did not see them again.'

... after an auxiliary, as in (e) ...

(e) ʔi ni ƛ̓əwɬ qəl̓ét qáʔqaʔ. (CC 21)
ʔəy̓ niʔ ƛ̓e wəɬ-qəl̓ét qáʔqaʔ
and AUX again already-do.again drink
'And he would drink again.'

... or after the predicate head, as in (f).

(f) səsəw kʷə́llextəs ƛ̓e. (CC 3)
s-niʔ-s wə-kʷə́llex-t-əs ƛ̓e
NOM-AUX-3POS EST-shoot-TR-3TR also
'Then he shot them too.'

**18.4.16. *qəl̓ét* 'do again, again,' or with a negative '(no) more, (no) longer'**
This can appear as a predicate head, as in (a) and (b) ...

(a) qəl̓ét ʔə čxʷ. (JP)
do.again ROG you
'Will you have more?'

... before the head, as in (b) and (c) ...

(b) qəl̓ét nəʔéməstxʷəs kʷθə syə́wəns. (JP)
qəl̓ét ném̓-əstəxʷ-əs kʷθə syə́wən-s
again go-CAUS-3TR ART possessing.song-3POS
'Again he sang his song.'

(c) nem̓ čxʷ qəl̓ét xʷə-ʔəxʷín̓, nə-sqéx̌ə. (JP 3)
AUX(go) you again become-small my-dog
'Become small again, my dog.' (not the usual word for 'dog' in this magical command)

... or after the head, as in (d) and (e).

(d) səw xák̓ʷəms qəl̓ét. (CC 10)
s-wə-xák̓ʷ-əm-s qəl̓ét
NOM-EST-get.bathed-INTR-3POS again
'Then he bathes again.'

(e) ʔə́wə cən ʔi·n q̓áq̓əy̓ qəl̓ét. (CC)
ʔə́wə cən ʔi-ən q̓áq̓əy̓ qəl̓ét
not I AUX-I sick longer
'I am no longer sick.'

It can appear together with *x̌é* 'again,' as in (f).

(f) kʷsəwł ʔík̓ʷ tə x̌áʔx̌t̓ʰəltən, ʔə́wətəʔ x̌ qəl̓ét sx̌éləqəm šxʷnéʔem. (CC 11)
kʷə s-wəł-ʔík̓ʷ tə x̌áʔx̌t̓ʰəltən ʔə́wətəʔ x̌
ART NOM-already-be.lost ART Pierre be.not ART
qəl̓ét sx̌éləqəm šxʷnéʔem
again powerful shaman
'After Pierre died, there was no longer any powerful shaman.'

**18.4.17. *haʔ* 'if, when'**
This appears exclusively as the first word in a predicate that is usually a conditional clause in a compound sentence (see §5.2.3), as in (a), (b), and (c).

(a) haʔ cən ceʔ ʔə́yqt qəl̓ét i xʷəq̓áq̓əy̓. (CC 20)
haʔ cən ceʔ ʔə́yq-t qəl̓ét ʔəy̓ xʷə-q̓áq̓əy̓
if I FUT be.out.of.way-TR again and become-sick
'If I put it [his song] aside again, he'll become sick.'

(b) haʔ ce·p ceʔ ʔə́wə háye·p i ném̓ cən qíq̓ətàlə. (CC 21)
haʔ ce·p ceʔ ʔə́wə háy-e·p ʔəy̓ ném̓ cən
if you FUT not stop-you and AUX(go) I
qíq̓-t-àlə
be.bound-TR-you
'If you don't stop, I'll have you arrested.' (lit. 'I'm going to arrest you')

(c) ha·ł cən ʔə́wə ni·n ném̓ əy ʔə́we·ł cən ni·n k̓ʷə́cnəxʷ. (JP)
haʔ-əł cən ʔə́wə niʔ-ən ném̓ ʔəy̓ ʔə́wə-əł cən
if-past I not AUX-I go and not-past I
niʔ-ən k̓ʷə́c-nəxʷ
AUX-I look-TR
'If I had not gone, I would not have seen him.'

In (d), the conditional clause is followed by what could stand as a compound sentence.

(d) haʔ cən ném̓ i c̓əxʷléʔ i k̓ʷə́cnəxʷ cən. (CC)
haʔ cən ném̓ ʔəy̓ c̓əxʷléʔ ʔəy̓ k̓ʷə́c-nəxʷ cən
when I go and usually and look-TR I
'When I go, I generally see him.'

See also §5.2.3 (a) and (b).

### 18.4.18. *mə́k̓ʷ* 'whenever'

This is the gloss that can be given *mə́k̓ʷ* 'all' when it appears first in a predicate, followed by a nominalized clause, the whole construction standing as the first of two coordinate clauses, as in (a).

(a) mə́k̓ʷ nəsném̓ ʔíməx i wək̓ʷə́cnəxʷ. (JP)
mə́k̓ʷ nə-s-ném̓ ʔíməx ʔəy̓ wə-k̓ʷə́c-nəxʷ
all my-NOM-go walk and EST-look-TR
'Whenever I go about, I see him.'

A more literal translation of this sentence might be 'It is my every going walking when I see him.' (See also §5.2.3 [d], and for other uses of *mə́k̓ʷ*, see §18.4.40.)

### 18.4.19. *xʷəṅáʔ* 'first, when first, as soon as'

When followed by *ʔal̓* 'just' in a single clause, this has the sense 'first,' as in (a) and (b).

(a) xʷəṅáł c̓twaʔ ʔal̓ kʷíkʷəxtəm k̓ʷ T. (JP 23)
xʷəṅáʔ-əł c̓twaʔ ʔal̓ kʷíkʷəx-t-əm [ʔə] k̓ʷə T
first-past SPEC just being.named-TR-INTR OBL ART T
'He was the first to be named T.'

(b) tə smé·nt xʷəṅá ʔal̓ ni wélxəs (JP 6)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| tə | smé·nt | xʷəṅáʔ | ʔal̓ | niʔ | wél-x-əs |
| ART | rock | first | just | AUX | throw-TR-3SUB |

'the rock he threw first, the first rock he threw'

Without *ʔal̓,* in the first of two coordinate clauses, it has the sense 'when first,' as in (c) and (d).

(c) xʷəṅáʔ cən ʔi técəl i niʔ cən wəłk̓ʷə́cnəxʷ kʷθəwƛ̓a. (CC)

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| xʷəṅáʔ | cən | ʔi | técəl | ʔəy̓ | niʔ | cən |
| first | I | AUX | arrive.here | and | AUX | I |

| | |
|---|---|
| wəł-k̓ʷéc-nəxʷ | kʷθəwƛ̓a |
| already-look-TR | him |

'When I first came here, I saw him.'

(d) xʷəṅáʔ ṁi téwəl i wəłʔə́mət tə swá·w̓ləs tə neṁ ceʔ yəʔə́ṁməx. (CC 6)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| xʷəṅáʔ | ṁi | téwəl | ʔəy̓ | wəł-ʔə́mət | tə |
| first | AUX(come) | become.light | and | already-get.up | ART |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| swá·w̓ləs | tə | neṁ | ceʔ | yə-ʔə́ṁməx |
| boys | ART | AUX(go) | FUT | along-be.hunting |

'When it first became light, the boys, the one who would be going hunting, got up.'

With *ʔal̓,* in a simple clause followed by a nominalized clause introduced by *səwł,* it has the sense 'as soon as, the moment that,' as in (e).

(e) xʷəṅáʔ c̓ə ʔal̓ xʷísəθət, səwł ṁa·l̓ c̓ísəm. (JP 3)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| xʷəṅáʔ | c̓ə | ʔal̓ | xʷís-əθət, | s-wəł-ṁi | ʔal̓ |
| first | QUOT | just | shake-self | NOM-already-AUX(come) | just |

| |
|---|
| c̓ís-əm |
| grow-INTR |

'The moment it shook itself, it began to grow.'

It also occurs with the sense 'when first' within nominalized clauses introduced with *kʷə* (cf. §4.3.2 [7]), as in (f) and (g).

(f) kʷsxʷəṅáʔsəł c̓twaʔ técəl tə xʷənítəm, ʔə́we·ł teʔ stíqìw. (CC)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| kʷə | s-xʷəṅáʔ-s-əł | c̓twaʔ | técəl | tə | xʷənítəm, |
| ART | NOM-first-3POS-past | SPEC | arrive.here | ART | European |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ʔə́we-əł | teʔ | stíqìw |
| not-past | appear | horse |

'When the White people first came, there were no horses.'

(g) kʷəθniʔ xʷəṅá ʔal̓ k̓ʷə́cnəxʷ … (JP 3)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| kʷə | ʔəT-s-niʔ | xʷəṅáʔ | ʔal̓ | k̓ʷə́c-nəxʷ |
| ART | your-NOM-AUX | first | just | look-TR |

'When you first saw it ...'

It can also appear alone as a noun modifier, as in (h).

(h) kʷθə xʷəṅáʔał xʷənítəm (AG)
kʷθə xʷəṅáʔ-əł xʷənítəm
ART first-past European
'the first White people'

**18.4.20. *yəẇéṅ* 'before'**

This has the meaning 'before, ahead, go first' in both spatial and temporal senses, the second no doubt stemming from the first. It can appear as a predicate head in a simple sentence, as in (a), where the sense is both, and (b), where it might be either.

(a) ném̓ łe yəẇéṅ. (CC)
go PER first
'Go ahead.' (or 'Go first.')

(b) niʔ yəẇéṅ. (CC)
AUX go.before
'He's ahead.' (or 'He went first.')

It can precede a nominalized clause, as in (c), where it has a temporal sense.

(c) yəẇéṅ c̓ə kʷs m̓is p̓ək̓ʷ kʷθə sítənsəł cəméʔtəs. (JP 16)
yəẇéṅ c̓ə kʷə s-m̓i-s p̓ək̓ʷ kʷθə
first QUOT ART NOM-AUX(come)-3POS come.to.surface ART
sítən-s-əł cəm-éʔ-t-əs
basket-3POS-past carry.on.back-DUR-TR-3SUB
'First the basket she carried on her back comes to the surface.'

It may also appear within a clause before the head, as in (d), where the context, a myth, indicated that the sense is temporal.

(d) ʔə́wəteʔ kʷθə niːł yəẇéṅ nem̓ csétəm. (JP 10)
ʔə́wəteʔ kʷθə niʔ-əł yəẇéṅ nem̓ csé-t-əm
absent ART AUX-past before AUX(go) commission-TR-INTR
'There was no sign of the one who had been sent before.' (lit. 'The one who had been sent before was none.')

In (e), it bears the suffix *-əł* 'past,' which makes the reference clearly temporal.

(e) kʷłə yəẇéṅəł c̓łkʷənátəl̓s tθeʔ (JP)
kʷłə yəẇéṅ-əł c̓ł-kʷə́n-e-təl̓-s tθeʔ
ART earlier-past fellow-get.taken-DUR-RECIP-3POS that
'the former wife of that person'

There is also a nominalization, *syəẇéṅ* 'ancestors, heritage.' (See also §22.1.8.4.)

### 18.4.21. *łiʔáʔaqʷt* (probably //łəy̓áʔəqʷt//) 'after'

This has the meaning 'after, later, behind, next' in both temporal and spatial senses. It is possibly a resultative form composed of √*łey̓* 'degrade' (cf. *łéʔit* //łéy̓ət// 'put him down,' *łey̓stánmət* 'feel cheap'), *-aqʷ* 'head,' and *-t* 'stative.' (See also §22.8.1.4.) It can appear as the predicate head in a simple sentence, as in (a).

(a) ni łiʔáʔaqʷt. (JP)
ni ʔ łiʔáʔaqʷt
AUX go.last
'He's behind [as one walking].'

Or it can appear before the predicate head either before an auxiliary, as in (b), where the predicate is a relative clause, or after an auxiliary, as in (c).

(b) kʷθə sméntni łiʔáqʷt wélxəs (JP 6)
kʷθə sménti ni ʔ łiʔáʔaqʷt wél-x-əs
ART rock AUX next throw-TR-3SUB
'the second rock that he threw, the rock that he threw next'

(c) kʷθə łiʔáʔaqʷt ni yáy̓əs kʷə sté ʔe tθeʔ sx̌ánəq (JP 16)
kʷθə łiʔáʔaqʷt ni ʔ yáy̓əs [ʔə] kʷə stəʔé ʔə
ART last AUX be.working OBL ART like OBL
tθeʔ sx̌ánəq
that potlatch
'the last one who did such a thing as a potlatch'

### 18.4.22. *táx̌ʷ* (CC, JP, DK), *táxʷ* (AG) 'occur later, later, follow (an example)'

This (cf. the possible homophone in §18.4.27) can appear as the predicate of a simple sentence, as in (a) and (b).

(a) táx̌ʷ ceʔ. (CC, DK)
occur.later FUT
'It will occur later.'

(b) niw táx̌ʷ ʔal̓ ə tə sq̓əq̓áʔs. (DK)
ni ʔ wə-táx̌ʷ ʔal̓ ʔə tə sq̓əq̓áʔ-s
AUX EST-follow.example just OBL ART accompanying-3POS
'He was only following his companions.'

Or it can precede a predicate head, as in (c).

(c) táx̌ʷ čxʷ ʔal̓ x̌téʔ-stəxʷ. (CC)
later you just do-COM
'Do it later.'

**18.4.23. *xʷənəx̌əl̓éʔetθeʔ* 'meanwhile, in the course of that, after some time, finally'**

This is in origin *xʷənx̌ál̓ə ʔə tθéʔ* 'be still doing that.' However, the shift in stress and optional omission of *tθéʔ* 'that' with retention of the oblique particle (hanging there without an "object") suggests that the literal meaning gets lost. It has been rendered 'all of a sudden' where suddenness was not implied by the context (the literal meaning of the English phrase having perhaps also been lost) or 'finally.'

(a) xʷənx̌əl̓éʔetθe iwał qʷél tə sáʔsəqʷt ... (AC 1)
xʷən-x̌ál̓ə ʔə tθeʔ ʔəy̓ wał-qʷél tə sáʔsəqʷt
still-be.doing OBL that and already-speak ART junior
'All of a sudden the junior cousin spoke ...'

(b) xʷənx̌əl̓éʔe θə słénəy̓ i wałḵʷácnəxʷəs tə sʔályəs ... (CC 11)
xʷən-x̌ál̓ə ʔə θə słénəy̓ ʔəy̓ wał-ḵʷéc-nəxʷ-əs tə
still-be.doing OBL ART woman and already-look-TR-3TR ART
sʔályə-s
vision-3POS
'Finally the woman saw her vision ...' (lit. 'The woman was still doing it when she saw her vision.')

**18.4.24. *ṅán* 'too, very, very much'**

This has been recorded as an adverb only, and nearly always with *wə-*$_2$ 'established' preceding both it and the word it modifies (see also §3.7.1 [g] and [i]).

(a) wəṅánəw ḵʷáṁḵʷəṁ θəṅa spəhéls. (JP 24)
wə-ṅán wə-ḵʷáṁḵʷəṁ θəṅa spəhéls
EST-very EST-strong this wind
'This wind is very strong.'

(b) ʔəwə čxʷ wə-ṅán-əxʷ neṁ xʷ-cícəɬ. (JP 24)
not you EST-too-you AUX(go) move.toward-high
'Don't go too high.'

(c) wəṅán čxʷ wənəsƛ̓íʔ. (CC)
wə-ṅán čxʷ wə-nə-s-c-ƛ̓íʔ
EST-very.much you EST-my-NOM-do-value
'I love you very much.' (lit. 'You are very much what I want.')

(d) wəɬḵʷáḵʷəy̓ ċθəɬ wəṅán. (JP 9)
wəɬ-ḵʷáḵʷəy̓ ċə θəɬ wə-ṅán
already-be.hungering QUOT ADV EST-very
'He was very hungry, however.'

(e) nánəw sḵʷéy. (DK)
ṅán wə-sḵʷéy
very EST-impossible
'It's completely impossible.'

(f) sx̌éləqəm, wəṅanəw ḵʷə́ṅḵʷəṅ tə sxiʔíẇs. (JP)
sx̌éləqəm wə-ṅan wə-ḵʷə́ṅḵʷəṅ tə sxiʔíẇs
fierce EST-very EST-contagious ART smallpox
'Smallpox is fiercely catching.'

**18.4.25. *sc̓éc̓əṅ* 'really, certainly'**
This is a resultative form, literally 'straightened' (cf. *c̓én* 'lie straight,' *c̓é·nt* 'straighten it'). It usually occurs initially, as in (a) to (d).

(a) sc̓éc̓əṅ wə-cákʷ. (CC)
really EST-far
'It was really far.'

(b) sc̓éc̓əṅ ce·p wə-ʔéləẏ səwwə́ẏqeʔ. (JP 12)
really you EST-good(PL) men
'You're really good men.'

(c) sc̓éc̓ən wə-łéẇ. (JP 12)
really EST-flee
'They were really escaping.'

(d) sc̓éc̓ən-əł wə-cəwét kʷθə nə-mén-əł. (JP 23)
really-past EST-smart ART my-father-past
'My father was really smart.'

(e) sc̓éc̓ən niw léx̌əl tə swéyəl ʔə kθə sxʷəxʷáʔas ni xə́nəq̓. (AG)
sc̓éc̓ən ni wə-léx̌əl tə swéyəl ʔə kθə
really AUX EST-open.to.light ART sky OBL ART
sxʷəxʷáʔas ni xə́nəq̓
thunder AUX open.eyes
'The sky really lit up when the thunder(bird) opened its eyes.'

It can occur following an auxiliary, as in (f).

(f) ha·ł qə́l swéyəl i ni·ł sc̓éc̓ən wəq̓áy. (JP 17)
haʔ-əł qə́l swéyəl ʔəẏ niʔ-əł sc̓éc̓ən wə-q̓áy
if-past bad day and AUX-past really EST-die
'If it had been a bad day, he would surely have died.'

**18.4.26. *θəʔít* 'truly'**
This is perhaps from *θə́y* 'come into existence' ('become real' ?) with the suffix *-t* 'stative' that appears in some adjectives. It occurs initially or after an auxiliary, and perhaps always with *wə-*$_2$ 'established'.

(a) wə-θəʔít kʷə́n-nəxʷ-əs kʷθə sq̓əməl ʔisələ̓lweʔs. (JP 12)
EST-truly get.taken-TR-3TR ART paddle two.paddles
'They truly did get two paddles.'

(b) wə-θəʔít yəxʷ sƛ̓éləqəm. (JP)
EST-truly INF dangerous.being
'It truly must be a monster.'

(c) niw θəʔít c̓əwnəxʷ. (JP 27)
niʔ wə-θəʔít c̓ew-nəxʷ
AUX EST-truly help-TR
'It really helped him.'

It is used adjectivally in (d).

(d) ni c̓əw sc̓éc̓ən̓ wəsté·ʔek̓ʷəw θəʔít xés. (JP 22)
niʔ c̓ə wə-sc̓éc̓ən̓ wə-stəʔé ʔə k̓ʷə wə-θəʔít
AUX QUOT EST-really EST-like OBL ART EST-real
xés
sea.lion
'It really looked like a real sea lion.'

**18.4.27. *t á x̌ʷ ~ t á xʷ* (CC, JP), *táx̌ʷ* (DK), *táxʷ* (AG) 'adjust, exactly, just'**
This variation in recorded form is unusual. A seemingly related resultative form, *stətíx̌ʷ* 'true,' implies a base form *tə́x̌ʷ*. For a possible homophone see §18.4.22. This appears as a predicate head in (a).

(a) táxʷ čxʷ ceʔ. (CC)
adjust you FUT
'You'll adjust.'

(This sentence was actually rendered 'You'll get used to him' and identified as something said to a newly married daughter.)

Used adverbially, it can precede an auxiliary, as in (b) and (c).

(b) táxʷ yəxʷ c̓ə ʔal̓ niw xʷələq̓éɬ. (JP 22)
táxʷ yəxʷ c̓ə ʔal̓ niʔ wə-xʷə-ləq̓éɬ
exactly INF QUOT just AUX EST-become-be.accurate
'It must have just hit the mark.'

(c) tá··x̌ʷ nəw ném̓ nét i nə ct tə́s. (CC 3)

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| táx̌ʷ | niʔ | wə-ném̓ | nét | ʔəy̓ | niʔ | ct |
| exactly | AUX | EST-AUX(go) | become.night | and | AUX | we |

tə́s
arrive.there

'It had juuust become night when we got there.'

**18.4.28. *cəlél* 'nearly, about to'**

This appears as the predicate of the first of a pair of coordinate clauses, as in (a) and (b).

(a) cəlél čxʷ i ni nə́qʷ. (JP)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| cəlél | čxʷ | ʔəy̓ | niʔ | nə́qʷ |
| nearly | you | and | AUX | fall.asleep |

'You nearly fell asleep.'

(b) cəlél i p̓éq̓əm kʷθə nəqʷəʔápəłp. (CC)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| cəlél | ʔəy̓ | p̓éq̓əm | kʷθə | nə-qʷəʔáp-əłp |
| nearly | and | bloom | ART | my-apple-plant |

'My apple tree is about to bloom.'

In (a) the pronoun subject appears in the first clause, but in (b) the noun subject appears in the second clause.

**18.4.29. *cəlél ʔal̓* 'barely'**

This appears with nominalized clauses introduced with *kʷ*, as in (a).

(a) cəlél ʔal̓ kʷsmis c̓ic̓łémətəm tə sqəlícəməs. (JP 1)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| cəlél | ʔal̓ | kʷə | s-m̓i-s | c̓ic̓łém-ət-əm | tə |
| barely | just | ART | NOM-AUX(come)-3POS | hear-TR-INTR | ART |

sqəlícəməs
sqəlícəməs

'*Sqəlícəməs* could barely be heard.'

**18.4.30. *xʷéləq* 'nearly'**

This can appear as the predicate head in the first clause of a compound sentence, as in (a).

(a) ni cən wəθəʔít nem̓ xʷéləq i xʷəníns kʷθə nin šxʷq̓áy ... (JP 27)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| niʔ | cən | wə-θəʔít | nem̓ | xʷéləq | ʔəy̓ |
| AUX | I | EST-truly | AUX(go) | nearly | and |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| xʷə-níʔ-nəs | kʷθə | niʔ | nə-šxʷ-q̓áy |
| become-be.there-GOAL | ART | AUX | my-OBLNOM-die |

'I truly nearly came to my death ...'

(For another example see §5.2.4 [g].)

There is an iterative form seen in (b), from a myth, said by Hemlock in a storm.

(b) ʔi cən wəɬxʷáɬxʷəɬəq i yéq̓. (JP 24)
ʔi cən wəɬ-xʷáɬxʷəɬəq ʔəy̓ yéq̓
AUX I already-getting.near and fall
'I'm almost falling now.'

### 18.4.31. *wəq̓éq̓əl ʔaɬ̓* 'barely'

This appears to be based on a root *q̓él*, not identifiable. It can stand before a nominalized predicate head, as in (a).

(a) wəq̓éq̓əl c̓aɬ̓ sqʷənáməts təwx̌a qèyəplénəxʷ əy̓ tə sq̓áʔs náʔənc̓aʔ. (JP 14)
wə-q̓éq̓əl c̓ə ʔaɬ̓ s-qʷe-namət-s təwx̌a
EST-barely QUOT just NOM-penetrate-manage-3POS that
qèyəplénəxʷ ʔəy̓ tə sq̓áʔ-s náʔənc̓aʔ
Capilano and ART companion-3POS one.person
'Capilano and one companion barely got through.'

I have no other examples.

### 18.4.32. *sníʔənɬ* 'enough, just enough, permitting'

This is a resultative form (cf. *níɬət* 'set a time for it, establish a plan for it'). It can occur as a simple predicate head, as in (a).

(a) wá·lə ni·s wəsníʔənɬ. (JP 3)
wá·ɬə niʔ-əs wə-sníʔənɬ
perhaps AUX-3SUB EST-enough
'I guess it's enough [payment].'

It can also introduce a nominalized clause with *kʷ*, as in (b).

(b) niw sqʷələqʷéstəm sníʔənɬ ʔaɬ̓ kʷsm̓is ʔéx̌qəl kʷθə słék̓ʷəms ʔé·łtən. (JP 1)
niʔ wə-sqʷələqʷé-st-əm sníʔənɬ ʔaɬ̓ kʷə
AUX EST-hole.punched-CAUS-INTR permitting just ART
s-m̓i-s ʔéx̌qəl kʷθə słék̓ʷəm-s
NOM-AUX(come)-3POS be.coming.out ART breath-3POS
ʔé·łtən
3PL
'They [two large boxes] had holes made in them just enough so their [the cousins'] breath could come out.'

### 18.4.33. *ƛ̓əxʷláʔas (ʔaɬ̓)* ‘worthless, of no account, no matter that, even if’

This can be used as a noun modifier with the sense ‘common’ with the implication of ‘not much worth,’ as in (a).

(a) k̓ʷəw ƛ̓əxʷláʔas ʔaɬ̓ məstáyəxʷ (JP 14)
k̓ʷə wə-ƛ̓əxʷláʔas ʔaɬ̓ məstáyəxʷ
ART EST-no.matter just person
‘any common people’

In this sense, it is the base of *ƛ̓əxʷlaʔasíləm* ‘go to nothing, become worthless.’

It can appear as a predicate with a subordinate clause, the whole construction standing as the first of two coordinate clauses, as in (b) and (c).

(b) ƛ̓əxʷláʔas ʔaɬ̓ wəʔí·s ʔé·łtən i wənéṁ cən. (CC)
ƛ̓əxʷláʔas ʔaɬ̓ wə-ʔí-əs ʔé·łtən ʔəẏ wə-néṁ
no.matter just if-be.here-3SUB 3PL and EST-go
cən
I
‘Even if they stay, I’ll go.’

(c) ƛ̓əxʷláʔas ṁə wə áɬ̓əx̌ʷəθəxʷ i wənéṁ cən. (CC)
ƛ̓əxʷláʔas ṁə wə- áɬ̓əx̌ʷ-ət-S-əxʷ ʔəẏ wə-néṁ cən
no.matter CERT if-chase.away-TR-me-you and EST-go I
‘Even if you chase me back, I’ll still go.’

Or it can appear as a predicate with a nominalized clause as a nominal adjunct. In (d), no conjunction was recorded, so perhaps what follows is a second sentence, although JP translated it as one.

(d) ƛ̓əxʷláʔas kʷsmis wəθéʔt snét, mi··ʔé·ẏ xʷəʔínsəs tə niʔəł šxʷniʔs kʷsniʔs neṁ kʷənkʷə́n. (JP 12)
ƛ̓əxʷláʔas kʷə s-ṁi-s wə-θéʔt snét
no.matter ART NOM-AUX(come)-3POS EST-dark night
ṁi yə-ʔé·ẏ xʷə-ʔí-nəs-əs tə
AUX(come) along-be.continuing become-be.here-GOAL-3TR ART
niʔ-əł šxʷ-niʔ-s kʷə s-niʔ-s neṁ
AUX-past OBLNOM-be.there-3POS ART NOM-AUX-3POS AUX(go)
kʷənkʷə́n
be.captured
‘Even if it became a dark night, they kept going toward the place where they had been taken captive.’ (perhaps more literally, ‘No matter that it became a dark night. On they came toward what had been the place where they were taken captive.’)

**18.4.34. *ʔiwáẇə* (CC), *ʔiwáẇəʔ ~ ʔiwáẇwə* (JP), *ʔiwáẇaʔ* (AG) 'maybe, perhaps'**
(The first form listed above for JP may have been an error for *ʔiwáẇaʔ*.) This term occurs initially only, as in (a) to (d).

(a) ʔiwáẇə spéʔeθ ḵʷə ni ḵʷłét. (CC)
ʔiwáẇə spéʔeθ ḵʷə niʔ ḵʷəł-ét
perhaps black.bear ART AUX spill-TR
'It might be a bear that spilled it.'

(b) ʔiwáẇəʔ c̓áq̓ʷ čxʷ. (JP)
perhaps get.shot you
'You might get shot.'

(c) ʔiwáẇaʔ ni ném̓. (AG)
ʔiwáẇaʔ niʔ ném̓
perhaps AUX go
'He may have gone.'

(d) ʔiwə́ẇwə. (JP)
'Maybe. Possibly [but who knows?]'

After giving (d), JP added that some people say (e).

(e) ʔiwə́ẇwə m̓e.
perhaps certain

Presumably it means something like 'I believe it's possible.'

This term looks as if it may be a contraction of elements. In (a), it might be interpreted as being composed of the auxiliary *ʔi*, the particle *waʔ* 'presumptive' (§16.2.17), and *wə-* 'established.' This interpretation is hard to reconcile with the other examples, however.

**18.4.35. *wál̓ə* (CC, JP, AG), *wá·l̓ə* (DK) 'probably, presumably, I guess'**
This functions in two different ways. When it stands initially, the predicate head has a subordinate subject suffix, as in (a).

(a) wál̓ə q̓ísəcən-e·n ceʔ. (JP)
probably make.net-I FUT
'I guess I'd better make a net.'

But when it appears after an auxiliary, there is no such suffix. The meaning appears to be identical. Compare (b) and (c), (d) and (e), and (f) and (g):

(b) wál̓ə spéʔeθəs ḵʷə ni ḵʷłét. (CC)
wál̓ə spéʔeθ-əs ḵʷə niʔ ḵʷəł-ét
probably black.bear-3SUB ART AUX spill-TR
'It was probably a bear that tipped it over.'

(c) spéʔeθ wál̓ə k̓ʷə ni k̓ʷɬét. (AG)
spéʔeθ wál̓ə k̓ʷə niʔ k̓ʷəɬ-ét
black.bear probably ART AUX spill-TR
'I guess it was a bear that tipped it over.'

(d) wál̓ə niʔ-əs-əɬ ném̓. (AG)
probably AUX-3SUB-past go
'I guess he had gone.'

(e) ni wál̓ə ném̓. (AG)
niʔ wál̓ə ném̓
AUX probably go
'I guess he must have gone.'

(f) wál̓ə ʔi·n̓əɬ ʔíʔtət. (AG)
wál̓ə ʔi-ən-əɬ ʔíʔtət
probably AUX-I-past be.sleeping
'I guess I must have been sleeping.'

(g) ʔi·ɬ cən wál̓ə ʔíʔtət. (AG)
ʔi-əɬ cən wál̓ə ʔíʔtət
AUX-past I probably be.sleeping
'I guess I must have been sleeping.'

It can also appear after the predicate head, as in the relative clause at the end of (h).

(h) cəm̓é·m̓ c̓ə tə sítən θəwx̌a q̓ém̓əy̓ t̓ᶿí·m̓ wál̓ə. (JP 15)
cəm̓é·m̓ c̓ə [ʔə] tə sítən θəwx̌a
be.carrying.on.one's.back QUOT OBL ART basket that
q̓ém̓əy̓ t̓ᶿí·m̓ wál̓ə
young.woman be.picking.berries presumably
'That girl who was presumably picking berries carried a basket on her back.'

Perhaps *wál̓ə* has two different sources. The *wál̓ə* that appears initially may contain *ʔáwə* 'not,' which requires a subordinate subject suffix on the predicate head. It may be //ʔəwə ʔaʔa//, though this can appear as *ʔəwé·l̓ə* (see §16.2.18 [i]). The *wál̓ə* that appears after an auxiliary or the predicate head may be composed of *waʔ* 'presumptive' (§16.2.17) and *ʔaʔa* 'emphatic interrogative.'

### 18.4.36. *háy* 'specifically, uniquely, as for, more'

This is homophonous but probably not identical with *háy* 'stop, finish.' It has several uses. As an adverb, it seems to select the subject for emphasis or focus, as in (a).

(a) ha čxʷ ṁe wəʔí ʔaḷ i háy cən ceʔ wənéṁ. (CC)
haʔ čxʷ ṁə wə-ʔí ʔaḷ ʔəẏ háy cən
if you CERT EST-be.here just and specifically I
ceʔ wə-néṁ
FUT EST-go
'Even if you stay here, I will go.'

Often *háy* appears in pairs indicating a contrast between two subjects, as in (b).

(b) háy wəłmíṁəłə tə xʷləməẏ i háy ʔəwə tə qəẇícən. (DK)
háy wəł míṁəłə tə xʷləməẏ ʔəẏ
specifically already be.winter.dancing ART Lummi and
háy ʔəwə tə qəẇícən
specifically not ART Cowichan
'The Lummies are already dancing but the Cowichans are not.'

It can be a predicate head with a noun subject that is the subject of a following clause, as in (c).

(c) i háy θə sáʔsəqʷt, kʷánətəs tə ṯéwəł, səw ... (JP 1)
ʔəẏ háy θə sáʔsəqʷt kʷán-ət-əs tə ṯéwəł
and specifically ART junior get.taken-TR-3TR ART shell
s-wə-
NOM-EST-
'But as for the younger, she took a shell and ...'

In (c), the second clause is a main clause, as indicated by the transitive subject marker *-əs*. In other sentences, the second clause may be a relative clause, in which case we have a kind of cleft sentence (see §4.1.5.2). A clear example of this is (d).

(d) háy θə sánx̌eʔ łélq-t tə səqé·n ... (AC 1)
specifically ART senior dip-TR ART feather
'It was the older who dipped a feather ...'

In (e), *háy* precedes a noun head, which is followed by a subject that is a relative clause. Here it functions like *x̌á* in similar cleft sentences (§4.1.5.2).

(e) háy ceʔ sʔáx̌ʷaʔ ḵʷə néṁ-ət c̓əẏxʷ-t. (CC 1)
specifically FUT butter.clam ART go-we dry-TR
'It will be butter clams that we will dry [in contrast to others who will dry salmon].'

Preceding an adjective (as indicated in §3.7.1), *háy* gives a comparative (or superlative) sense, as in (f) and (g).

(f) háy nə x̌ʷə́m kʷsəs m̓i wəq̓ʷíləm. (CC 1)
háy ni? x̌ʷə́m kʷə s-?i-s m̓i
more AUX fast ART NOM-AUX-3POS AUX(come)
wə́q̓ʷ-iləm
drift-move.toward
'It was faster when they came downstream.'

(g) kʷθe? háy ?aɬ c̓əc̓í·x̌̓ s?ə́nəm (JP 23)
that more just short shaft
'that shortest [harpoon] shaft'

### 18.4.37. *wənáy* 'only'

In this word, the *wə-* may be *wə-*$_2$ 'established,' but this is the only form recorded. It can appear as an adverb, as in (a), where the predicate head appears to be the final word.

(a) wənáy ct ce? ?aɬ ?ə́ɬwəm̓. (DK)
only we FUT just left.home
'We'll be the only ones left at home.'

It has not often been recorded as such, however. It more often appears as a predicate head. In this function, *wənáy* can be simply followed by a noun subject, as in (b) and (c).

(b) wənáy ?aɬ kʷθəw xʷə́ləmaxʷ ?aɬ məstə́yəxʷ. (JP 2)
wənáy ?aɬ kʷθə wə-xʷə́ləmaxʷ ?aɬ məstə́yəxʷ
only just ART EST-Indian just person
'There were only Indian people.'

(c) wənáy ti?í nəsq̓ə́məl. (JP)
wənáy tə?í nə-sq̓ə́məl
only this my-paddle
'This is the only paddle I have.' (lit. 'It is only this one that is my paddle.')

The noun subject can be followed by a relative clause, making a kind of cleft sentence (see §4.1.5.2), as in (d).

(d) wənáy tə swéyəl wə-θə?ít x̌éx̌e?. (JP 21)
only ART daylight EST-truly holy
'Only the Daylight is truly holy.' (lit. 'It is only the Daylight that is truly holy.')

In (e), the subject is not a noun but a relative clause with a noun head, which is modified by another relative clause, to which a subordinate clause is attached.

(e) wənáy ʔal̓ kʷθeʔ ni šxʷqʷə́ltəns niʔəxʷ c̓ic̓łémət wəniəxʷ ʔím̓əx ni ʔə tə smé·nt. (JP)

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| wənáy | ʔal̓ | kʷθeʔ | niʔ | šxʷ-qʷél-tən-s | | niʔ-əxʷ | |
| only | just | that | AUX | OBLNOM-speak-INSTR-3POS | | AUX-you | |
| c̓ic̓łém-ət | wə-niʔ-əxʷ | ʔím̓əx | niʔ | ʔə | tə | | |
| hear-TR | when-AUX-you | be.walking | be.there | OBL | ART | | |
| smé·nt | | | | | | | |
| mountain | | | | | | | |

'It's only that which is its voice that you hear when you are walking in the mountains.'

The word *wənáy* can also appear as a predicate head followed by a nominalized clause, as in (f).

(f) wəná··y m̓ə nəsniʔ tə́lnəxʷ kʷsis wəłxʷəxʷə́təs nəcéləx. (CC 12)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| wənáy | m̓ə | nə-s-niʔ | tə́l-nəxʷ | kʷə | s-ʔi-s |
| only | CERT | my-NOM-AUX | understand-TR | ART | NOM-AUX-3POS |
| wəł-xʷə-xʷə́təs | [tə] | nə-céləx | | | |
| already-become-numb | ART | my-hand | | | |

'I realized it only when my hand became numb.'

This construction appears a few times in CC's texts.

More commonly, *wənáy* appears as a predicate followed by a nominalized clause introduced with *kʷ*, as in (g).

(g) wənáy kʷsəw mict ʔal̓ łéẇ. (JP 3)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| wənáy | kʷə | s-wə-m̓i-ct | ʔal̓ | łéẇ |
| only | ART | NOM-EST-AUX(come)-our | just | flee |

'The only thing we can do is run away.'

This construction may serve as a kind of conditional clause in relation to a following coordinate clause, as in (h).

(h) wənáy kʷsʔá·θàmət i yéł ʔəθném̓. (JP 3)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| wənáy | kʷə | s-ʔá-ət-Sam-ət | ʔəỷ | yéł |
| only | ART | NOM-call-TR-you(PAS)-SUBPAS | and | now |
| ʔəT-s-ném̓ | | | | |
| your-NOM-go | | | | |

'Only if you were invited, then you might go.' (lit. something like 'Your being invited is the only thing and then [or after which] it is your going.')

In (i), no conjunction was recorded and so grammatically there are two sentences, yet in sense the first sentence (or clause) is subordinate to the second.

(i) wənáy c̓ə kʷsnis sc̓éc̓əṅ wəʔáwk̓ʷ təwx̌a t̓ᶿáx̌tən. xʷcáləwtəs ʔé·łtən. (JP 27)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| wənáy | c̓ə | kʷə | s-niʔ-s | sc̓éc̓əṅ | wə-ʔáwk̓ʷ |
| only | QUOT | ART | NOM-AUX-3POS | really | EST-get.used.up |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| təwx̌a | t̓ᶿáx̌tən | xʷ-cáləw-t-əs | | ʔé·łtən |
| that | poison | inward-turn.over-TR-3TR | | 3PL |

'Only when that poison was really used up, they turned it [the poison bag] inside out.'

The word *wənáy* can also appear as a predicate followed by a conditional clause, this whole standing as the first of two coordinate clauses (cf. *x̌̓əxʷlaʔas*, §18.4.33), as in (j).

(j) wənáy wəniəxʷ kʷəṅém k̓ʷəw stém ʔal̓ sʔáłtən ʔəθʔéxʷeʔt i yéł ʔəθwəʔáy̓ ʔal̓. (JP)

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| wənáy | wə-niʔ-əxʷ | kʷən-é-m | [ʔə] | k̓ʷə | wə-stém | |
| only | if-AUX-you | get.taken-DUR-INTR | OBL | ART | EST-what | |
| ʔal̓ | sʔáłtən | ʔəT-s-ʔéxʷeʔ-t | ʔay̓ | yéł | | |
| just | food | your-NOM-give.food-TR | and | then | | |
| ʔəT-s-wə-ʔáy̓ | | ʔal̓ | | | | |
| your-NOM-EST-good | | just | | | | |

'Only if you had something to eat to give him, were you safe.'

As a predicate, *wənáy* can also be followed by a relative clause alone, as in (k) and in the second sentence in (l).

(k) wənáy ʔal̓ niʔ-əxʷ təl-ləxʷ. (JP 28)
only just AUX-you be.understood-TR
'That's all you came to know.'

(l) wənáy kʷst̓ᶿəx̌ʷíltct tə ləpát i tə ləláʔθən. wənáy šxʷháʔkʷəxct kʷθeʔ qáʔ. (JP)

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| wənáy | kʷə | s-t̓ᶿəx̌ʷ-wíl-t-ct | | tə | ləpát | ʔay̓ |
| only | ART | NOM-get.washed-vessel-TR-our | | ART | cup | and |
| tə | ləláʔθən | wənáy | šxʷ-háʔkʷ-əx-ct | | kʷθeʔ | qáʔ |
| ART | dishes | only | OBLNOM-get.used-TR-our | | that | water |

'It is only when we wash our cups and dishes. That's the only thing we use that water for.'

### 18.4.38. *txʷáy* 'only remaining'

This is probably *txʷ-* 'remaining' and *háy* 'specifically.' It can appear as an adverb, as in (a).

(a) txʷáy cən ʔal̓ ʔámə̓t. (DK)
only.remaining I just be.sitting
'I'm the only one at home.'

It can appear as a predicate head with a noun subject, as in (b).

(b) txʷáy ʔaɬ tə šxʷqáʔələqʷ. (JP 4)
only.remaining just ART juice
'Only the juice was left.'

Or it can appear with a pronoun (or demonstrative) subject followed by a relative clause, as in (c).

(c) wə-txʷáy ceʔ ʔaɬ təwx̌a yə-ʔíʔxəl. (JP 9)
EST-only.remaining FUT just he along-be.paddling
'It will be only he [the man in the bow] who paddles.'

Or it can be followed by a relative clause only, as in (d).

(d) txʷáy qʷáqʷəlstamx. (DK)
txʷáy qʷáqʷəl-stəxʷ-amx
only.remaining be.speaking-COM-me
'He's the only one who still speaks to me.'

The word *txʷáy* can also appear in a verbal adjunct (see §3.5) as a kind of prepositional verb with the sense 'except for,' as in (e).

(e) sc̓éc̓ən niw xʷə́mnəc kʷθə smáləy̓aɬ xʷə́lməxʷ txʷáy k̓ʷəna Paddy. (JP)
sc̓éc̓ən niʔ wə-xʷə́mnəc kʷθə s-máləy̓-aʔɬ
really AUX EST-become.extinct ART NOM-Mali-ATT
xʷə́ləxʷ txʷáy k̓ʷəna Paddy
people except that Paddy
'The Mali people are all gone except for Paddy.'

As a verbal adjunct, however, this is exceptional in that the noun that follows the *txʷáy* is its subject, whereas other prepositional verbs are followed by oblique objects.

### 18.4.39. *cəɬíṁ* 'even'

This has been recorded in only one construction, as a predicate with a nominal adjunct as subject followed by a coordinate clause, as in (a) and (b).

(a) ni t̓ᶿq̓ʷámθət tə prunes. cəɬíṁ tə peaches i ni x̌əw t̓ᶿq̓ʷámθət. (CC)
niʔ t̓ᶿáq̓ʷəm-θət tə prunes cəɬíṁ tə peaches ʔəy̓
AUX rotten-self ART prunes even ART peaches and
niʔ x̌ə wə-t̓ᶿáq̓ʷəm-θət
AUX also EST-rotten-self
'The prunes are rotten. Even the peaches have also become rotten.'

(b) cəl̓ím̓ tθeʔ wəʔə́wəteʔ al̓ šxʷɬə́k̓ʷɬək̓ʷs i ʔ̓ə́w m̓i xátqθət. (JP)
cəl̓ím̓ tθeʔ wə-ʔə́wəteʔ ʔal̓ šxʷɬə́k̓ʷɬək̓ʷ-s ʔəy̓ ʔ̓ə́
even that EST-none just connection-3POS and also
wə-m̓i xétq-θət
EST-AUX(come) interfere-self
'Even that guy who has no connection is also interfering.'

### 18.4.40. *mə́k̓ʷ* 'all'

This was discussed under §18.4.18, when it had the sense 'whenever.' With the sense 'all,' it is used as an adverb to refer, for some speakers, to the object of a transitive or the subject of an intransitive predicate, but not the subject of a transitive. It can appear before or after the head.

(a) mə́·k̓ʷ nə́wəxəs nem̓ tə sítəns. (JP 22)
mə́k̓ʷ nə́w-əx-əs nem̓ [ʔə] tə sítən-s
all enter-TR-3TR go OBL ART basket-3POS
'He put them all into his basket.'

(b) ni cən wəmə́k̓ʷ pə́nət. (CC)
niʔ cən wə-mə́k̓ʷ pə́n-ət
AUX I EST-all get.buried-TR
'I buried them all.'

(c) mi čxʷ xʷəxʷét mə́k̓ʷ. (JP)
m̓i čxʷ xʷəxʷé-t mə́k̓ʷ
AUX(come) you be.descending-TR all
'Bring them all down.'

(d) nəw mə́k̓ʷ spəpíṅ. (CC)
niʔ wə-mə́k̓ʷ spəpíṅ
AUX EST-all buried
'They are all buried.'

(e) mə́k̓ʷ wəc̓éṅəm̓ tə mi técəl təliʔ ʔ̓ sʔáməna. (CC 12)
mə́k̓ʷ wə-c̓éṅəm̓ tə m̓i técəl təliʔ [ʔə]
all EST-Shaker ART AUX(come) arrive.here from OBL
ʔ̓ sʔáməna
ART Duncan
'Those who came from Duncan were all Shakers.'

In her translation, CC gave one sentence, (f), in which *mə́k̓ʷ* refers to a transitive subject.

(f) mə́k̓ʷ m̓ə nəw kʷékʷəl̓xəs ʔé·łtən. (CC)
mə́k̓ʷ m̓ə niʔ wə-kʷékʷəl̓-x-əs ʔé·łtən
all certain AUX EST-be.hiding-TR-3TR 3PL
'They are all hiding it.'

To AG, however, this sentence seemed to mean ‘They are hiding all of them.’ To match CC’s translation, he offered (g).

(g) mə́ḵʷ ʔé·łtən ni kʷékʷəl̓x. (AG)
mə́ḵʷ ʔé·łtən niʔ kʷékʷəl̓-x
all 3PL AUX be.hiding-TR
‘They are all hiding it.’

This is literally ‘It is all of them who are hiding it.’ The predicate *mə́ḵʷ ʔé·łtən* refers to an unexpressed subject, the absent head of the relative clause *ni kʷékʷəl̓x*. This type of cleft sentence seems to provide a way of letting *mə́ḵʷ* refer to what is semantically a transitive subject.

The word *mə́ḵʷ* can appear as a noun modifier either following the article (and preceded by *wə-*$_2$), as in (h).

(h) ném̓ yəłéłəqətəs təw mə́ḵʷ tə stéʔexʷəł. (JP 2)
ném̓ yə-łéłəq-ət-əs tə wə-mə́ḵʷ tə
AUX(go) along-be.whispering-TR-3TR ART EST-all ART
stéʔexʷəł
children
‘He went and whispered to all the children.’

Or it can appear before the article, as in (i).

(i) səw ḵʷəḵʷiʔxʷáləstəs mə́ḵʷ tə stéʔexʷəł. (JP 2)
s-[niʔ-s] wə-ḵʷəḵʷiʔxʷ-áləs-t-əs mə́ḵʷ tə stéʔexʷəł
NOM-AUX-3POS EST-be.pitching-eye-TR-3TR all ART children
‘Then she pitched up the eyes of all of the children.’

However, it can be argued that in this last sentence *mə́ḵʷ* is an adverb and part of the predicate rather than a noun modifier and part of the subject.

Similarly, for the following two sentences, (j) and (k), two interpretations seem possible: either *mə́ḵʷ* modifies a noun predicate head or *mə́ḵʷ* is the predicate (cf. similar sentences with *háy* and *wənáy*) and the noun is the subject. In either case, the noun is followed by a relative clause that shows that it is an extracted transitive subject.

(j) mə́ḵʷ tə xʷməθkʷəy̓əm nəw xʷt̓kʷécəst yəθéʔ i məkʷətxʷéls tə šx̌álləs. (CC)
mə́ḵʷ tə xʷməθkʷəy̓əm niʔ wə-xʷ-t̓kʷé-cəs-t yəθéʔ
all ART Musqueam AUX EST-OBL-caulk-hand-TR those
ʔi m̓i kʷtəxʷ-éls [ʔə] tə šxʷx̌álləs
AUX come enter-ACT OBL ART picture
‘All of the Musqueams filled the hands of [gave fifty cents each to] those who brought in the picture.’ (lit. ‘It was all the Musqueams who ...’ or ‘All were the Musqueams who ...’)

(k) səsəw mə́ḵʷ tə Catholic məstáyəxʷ xʷəqálstəxʷ tə nəšxʷwéləy
kʷsx̣̌as tə ni sqʷáqʷəls tə Father Chirouse. (CC 21)
s-niʔ-s wə-mə́ḵʷ tə Catholic məstáyəxʷ
NOM-AUX-3POS EST-all ART Catholic people
xʷə-qə́l-stəxʷ tə nə-šxʷwéləy kʷə s-x̣̌a-s
become-bad-CAUS ART my-parents ART NOM-BE3P-3POS
tə niʔ s-qʷáqʷəl-s tə Father Chirouse
ART AUX NOM-be.speaking-3POS ART Father Chirouse
'Then all of the Catholic people came to dislike my parents because of what Father Chirouse was saying.' (lit. 'Then it was all the Catholic people who ...' or 'All were the Catholic people who ...')

**18.4.41. *x̌ʷə́m* 'move fast, be quick, immediately, be able to'**
As a predicate with a noun or pronoun subject, this has the sense 'move fast, be quick,' as in (a) and (b).

(a) x̌ʷə́m kʷθə q̓ə́wət-s. (AG)
fast ART drum-3POS
'His drum [beat] is fast.'

(b) ʔi čxʷ wənánəw ṁi x̌ʷə́m. (JP)
ʔi čxʷ wə-n̓án wə-ṁi x̌ʷə́m
AUX you EST-very EST-AUX(come) move.fast
'You came very fast.'

As a predicate with a nominalized clause as subject, it has the sense 'immediately,' 'can immediately,' or perhaps simply 'can,' as in (c), (d), and (e).

(c) x̌ʷə́m ḵʷənəsném̓. (CC)
x̌ʷə́m ḵʷə nə-s-ném̓
move.fast ART my-NOM-go
'I will go quickly. I can go right away.'

(d) x̌ʷə́m kʷsmis csétəs kʷθə sqʷəmqʷəméy̓s i wəłṁi ʔəyéʔθà·m. (JP 3)
x̌ʷə́m kʷə s-ṁi-s cse-t-əs kʷθə
fast ART NOM-AUX(come)-3POS send-TR-3TR ART
sqʷəmqʷəméy̓-s ʔəy̓ wəł-ṁi
dogs-3POS and already-AUX(come)
ʔəyéʔ-t-Sam-əm
attack-TR-you(PAS)-INTR
'He would immediately send his dogs and they would attack you.'

(e) haʔ ct ceʔ xíl̓əs i x̌ʷə́m kʷs qʷénàmətct. (JP 12)
haʔ ct ceʔ xíl̓əs ʔəy̓ x̌ʷə́m kʷə
if we FUT succeed and fast ART
s-qʷé-namət-ct
NOM-penetrate-manage-our
'If we succeed [in this plan], we can get through.'

As a predicate followed by a coordinate clause (with the same subject), it has the sense 'can, may, likely to,' as in (f) and (g).

(f) x̌ʷə́m cən i kʷə́llәxθàmə. (JP)
x̌ʷə́m cən ʔəy̓ kʷə́lləx-t-Samə
fast I and shoot-TR-you
'I could shoot you.'

(g) x̌ʷə́m čxʷ i méʔkʷɬ. (JP)
x̌ʷə́m čxʷ ʔəy̓ méʔkʷɬ
fast you and get.injured
'You're liable to get hurt.'

(For other examples, see §5.2.4 [c] and [d].)
It also appears in adverbial adjuncts, as in (h).

(h) səw nem̓ k̓ʷəw x̌ʷə́m kʷə́nətəs tə sx̌íx̌qəɬ. (JP 2)
s-wə-nem̓[-s] k̓ʷə wə-x̌ʷə́m kʷə́n-ət-əs tə sx̌íx̌qəɬ
NOM-EST-go-3POS ART EST-fast get.taken-TR-3TR ART child
'Then she went quickly and took the child.'

For other examples, see §3.6.

### 18.4.42. *sx̌áx̌əm* 'enough, ought, can'

This is the resultative of *x̌ám* 'get enough.' It can mean simply 'enough,' as in (a).

(a) niwɬ sx̌áx̌əm steʔé ə tθeʔ. (JP)
niʔ wəɬ-sx̌áx̌əm stəʔé ʔə tθeʔ
AUX already-enough like OBL that
'It's enough like that. That's plenty now.'

As a predicate followed by a nominalized clause, it has the sense 'ought, had better,' as in (b).

(b) sx̌áx̌əm k̓ʷən sném̓. (CC)
sx̌áx̌əm k̓ʷə nə-s-ném̓
enough ART my-NOM-go
'I'd better go.'

With an auxiliary, however, it has the sense ‘can,’ as in (c).

(c) niw sx̌áx̌əm ḵʷə nəsnéṁ wəwéyələs. (CC)
ni ʔ wə-sx̌áx̌əm ḵʷə nə-s-néṁ wə-wéyəl-əs
AUX EST-enough ART my-NOM-go when-become.day-3SUB
‘I can go tomorrow.’

**18.4.43. *sḵʷéy* ‘impossible, unable’**
When this is a modal predicate and the qualified clause is affirmative, the qualified clause is nominalized, as in (a), (b), and (c).

(a) sḵʷéy ḵʷənsnéṁ. (JP)
sḵʷéy ḵʷə nə-s-néṁ
impossible ART my-NOM-go
‘I can’t go.’

(b) sḵʷéy ċə kʷsnéṁs ḵʷəw təl̓ánəcə ʔal̓ məstáyəxʷ. (JP 3)
sḵʷéy ċə kʷə s-néṁ-s ḵʷə wə-təl-ʔánəcə ʔal̓
impossible QUOT ART NOM-go-3POS ART EST-from-where just
məstáyəxʷ
person
‘Those from elsewhere didn’t dare go.’

(c) sḵʷéy ṁə kʷsḵʷə́cnì·t. (CC)
sḵʷéy ṁə kʷə s-ḵʷéc-n-i-ət
impossible CERT ART NOM-look-TR-3SUBPAS-SUBPAS
‘He can’t be seen.’

The combination *sḵʷéy* and a negative, literally ‘cannot not,’ has the sense ‘must.’ The negative can be a nominalized clause, as in (d).

(d) sḵʷéy ḵʷənsʔə́wə néṁè·n. (JP)
sḵʷéy ḵʷə nə-s-ʔə́wə néṁ-e·n
impossible ART my-NOM-not go-I
‘I must go.’

Or the negative can be in a subordinate clause, as in (e) and (f).

(e) sḵʷéy wəwe·s ċéwəθè·lt. (JP)
sḵʷéy wə-ʔə́wə-əs ċéw-ət-Sel-ət
impossible if-no-3SUB help-TR-I(PAS)-SUBPAS
‘I have to be helped.’

(f) sḵʷéyəł wəwé·səł ni·s ċéwətəm. (JP)
sḵʷéy-əł wə-ʔə́wə-əs-əł niʔ-əs ċéw-ət-əm
impossible-past if-not-3SUB-past AUX-3SUB help-TR-INTR
‘He had to be helped.’

As a predicate with a noun or pronoun subject, *sḵʷéy* has the sense ‘very ill,’ as in (g).

(g) ʔi scékʷəl̓ kʷθən̓ mén. sḵʷéy. (DK)
ʔi scékʷəl̓ kʷθə ʔən-mén sḵʷéy
AUX how ART your-father very.ill
‘How is your father?’ ‘Very ill.’

**18.4.44. *scəẃét* ‘smart, capable, able’**
With a noun or pronoun subject, this is rendered ‘smart, clever.’ With a nominalized clause following, as a kind of complement or adverbial clause, it is rendered ‘capable of’ (perhaps only in the sense ‘know how to do’), as in (a) and (b).

(a) scəẃét kʷs cnáxʷəłs. (JP)
scəẃét kʷə s-c-náxʷəł-s
capable ART NOM-make-canoe-3POS
‘He’s a good canoe-maker.’ (perhaps lit. ‘He is clever when he makes canoes.’)

(b) ni ʔə čxʷ wəscəẃét kʷəθ xʷálməxʷqən. (JP)
niʔ ʔə čxʷ wə-scəẃét kʷə ʔəT-s-xʷálməxʷ-qə
AUX ROG you EST-capable ART your-NOM-Indian-speech
‘Can you speak Indian?’

**18.4.45. *sqíʔqəl̓* (CC), *sqíqəl̓* (JP), ‘unable, ignorant (of how to do something)’**
This seems to be a resultative form but the root is not identifiable.

(a) sqíʔqəl̓ cən ḵʷə nə-s-θáy-t. (CC)
unable I ART my-NOM-be.created-TR
‘I don’t know how to do it.’

(b) sqíqəl kʷs ċáʔəms yəθéləy. (JP)
sqíqəl kʷə s-ċáʔ-əm-s
unable ART NOM-explain.genealogical.connection-INTR-3POS
yəθéləẏ
they
‘They don’t know how to explain how they’re related.’

**18.4.46. *ʔáẏ* ‘better’**
As an adjective, *ʔáẏ* is ‘good,’ but it can appear as a modal predicate, followed by either a nominalized clause adjunct or a subordinate clause and rendered ‘it would be good/well if’ or ‘one had better.’

(a) ʔáy̓ kʷsṯí·tct θəwx̌a … (CC 11)
ʔáy̓ kʷə s-ṯi-ət-ct θəwx̌a
good ART NOM-beg-TR-our her
'We'd better ask her ...'

(b) ʔáy̓ kʷs qəl̓étct nem̓ łí·m k̓ʷəw ʔəxʷín̓ ʔal̓. (JP 4)
ʔáy̓ kʷə s-qəl̓ét-ct nem̓ łí·m k̓ʷə wə-ʔəxʷín̓
good ART NOM-again-our go pick ART EST-little
ʔal̓
just
'We'd better go again and pick [berries] a little.'

(c) ʔáy̓ c̓twaʔ wə-x̌ánəq-è·n. (JP 16)
good SPEC if-potlatch-I
'I think I'd better put up a potlatch.'

(d) sc̓éc̓ən wəʔáy̓ wəxʷənháyeʔes θən̓a nəšxʷəmníkʷ. (CC 12)
sc̓éc̓ən̓ wə-ʔáy̓ wə-xʷən-háyeʔ-es θən̓a
really EST-good if-still-leave-3SUB this
nə-šxʷəmníkʷ
my-living.parent's.sibling
'It would certainly be good if this aunt of mine were gone.'

**18.4.47. *sx̌íʔ* 'want, like'**
Evidently always bearing a possessive affix, this is probably a nominalization of *cx̌íʔ* 'want' and a relative clause with extracted oblique object (see §4.1.1.2 and §12.2.1), that is, *nəsx̌íʔ* is literally 'what I want.' It can appear as a predicate with a noun subject, as in (a) and (b).

(a) nəsx̌íʔ k̓ʷə páy. (CC)
nə-s-[c-]x̌íʔ k̓ʷə páy
my-NOM-do-value ART pie
'I want some pie.' (lit. 'Pie is what I want.')

(b) nəsx̌íʔ təʔínə. (CC)
nə-s-[c-]x̌íʔ təʔínə
my-NOM-do-value this
'I want this one.' (lit. 'This one is what I want.')

Or it can appear in the usual position of a relative clause in a cleft sentence, as in (c).

(c) x̌a tiʔínə nəsx̌íʔ. (CC)
x̌a təʔínə nə-s-[c-]x̌íʔ
BE3P this my-NOM-do-value
'This is the one I want.' (lit. 'It is this one that is what I want.')

In (d), it is the predicate head with an adverb taking a subject particle and no noun subject.

(d) wəṅán čxʷ wənəsx̌íʔ. (CC)
wə-ṅán čxʷ wə-nə-s-[c-]x̌íʔ
EST-very.much you EST-my-NOM-do-value
'I love you very much.' (lit. 'You are very much what I want.')

It can appear as a predicate with a nominalized clause as subject, as in (e), (f), and (g).

(e) nəsx̌íʔ ǩʷə nəsném̓. (JP)
nə-s-[c-]x̌íʔ ǩʷə nə-s-ném̓
my-NOM-do-value ART my-NOM-go
'I want to go.' (lit. 'My going is what I want.')

(f) ʔə̓wə nəsx̌í·s ǩʷə nəsném̓. (JP)
ʔə̓wə nə-s-[c-]x̌íʔ-əs ǩʷə nə-s-ném̓
not my-NOM-do-value-3SUB ART my-NOM-go
'I don't want to go.' (lit. 'My going is not what I want.')

(g) ʔəθx̌íʔ ə ǩʷən sc̓éwəθàmə. (JP)
ʔəT-s-[c-]x̌íʔ ʔə ǩʷə nə-s-c̓éw-ət-Samə.
your-NOM-do-value ROG ART my-NOM-help-TR-you
'Do you want me to help you?' (lit. 'Is my helping you what you want?')

# 19
# Numerals

Halkomelem is like other Native languages of northwestern North America in having a decimal system of numerals capable of generating numbers into the thousands.

## 19.1. SIMPLE FORMS

The numerals from one to ten are:

| | |
|---|---|
| *nə̓caʔ* 'one' | *t̓x̌ə́m* 'six' |
| *ʔisél̓ə ~ yəsél̓ə* 'two' | *t̓ᶿáʔkʷs* 'seven' |
| *łíxʷ* 'three' | *tqéceʔ* 'eight' |
| *x̌əʔáθən ~ x̌aʔáθən* 'four' | *tú·xʷ* 'nine' |
| *łq̓écəs* 'five' | *ʔápən* ten' |

The first two numerals have bound alternate forms, *néc̓əw-* 'one-,' which appears in one or two words, and *θém- ~ θəm-* 'two-,' which appears in six or seven words.

A traditional way of reckoning is to count on the fingers, starting with the little finger of the left hand as 'one,' proceeding to the left thumb ('five'), crossing to the right thumb ('six'), and finishing with the right little finger ('ten'). Because the direction is consistent, each finger is identified with a number and so the outstretched hands may become a device for visualizing numerical relations. It is my impression, although I do not have the data to support it, that this practice also made it possible to signal numbers easily and consistently with the hands.

The linkage of numbers and hands makes etymological speculation about three of these numerals inviting (cf. Elmendorf 1962; Galloway 1977, 418-20). 'Five' seems to consist of the root of *łq̓ét* 'wide' and the suffix *-cəs* 'hand,' probably referring to the display of a spread-out hand. 'Six' may contain a root *t̓əx̌* 'bifurcate' (cf. *t̓x̌əθət* 'branch out'), perhaps referring to the shift to the right hand. 'Eight' may have the root *táq* 'be closed in, be surrounded,' with a suffix not otherwise attested in Halkomelem but possibly identifiable with

'hand' in several other Coast Salish languages. (The Cowichan dialect has *téʔcəs* 'eight,' possibly with a root *téʔ* 'appear' and *-cəs* 'hand.') Elmendorf (1962, 8) suggests that the Musqueam (and Upriver) word is a loan from Lushootseed. Hess (1976, 468) identifies the Lushootseed *tqáči* 'eight' as "lit. 'closed hand.'" Possibly the source of this word was a gesture in which the right middle finger ("eight") met the thumb in a circle.

The numerals from eleven to nineteen run: *ʔápən ʔi tə nác̓aʔ ~ ʔápən ʔi k̓ʷ nác̓aʔ* 'eleven' (lit. 'one and ten') and so on, the article varying with the position of the referent.

'Twenty' is *c̓k̓ʷáx*. The word is unique in the system and not transparent in Halkomelem; however, the Clallam word is *nəc̓xʷk̓ʷás* 'twenty,' lit. 'one count' (Thompson and Thompson 1971, 270), and the Halkomelem word almost certainly has the same etymology (from *nác̓aʔ* 'one' and *k̓ʷáx* 'count'), referring to the twenty digits of the human body.

Multiples of ten from 'thirty' to 'ninety' are formed from unstressed variants of the numerals three to nine with the suffix *-əɬsxé ~ -ɬsxé* (CC) or *-əɬcyé* (JP) 'times ten.' The forms given by CC are:

*ɬəxʷəɬsxé* 'thirty'
*x̌əθənɬsxé* 'forty'
*ɬəq̓əcsəɬsxé* 'fifty'
*t̓x̌əməɬsxé* 'sixty'
*t̓ᶿəkʷsəɬsxé* 'seventy'
*təqəcəɬsxé* 'eighty'
*tuꞏxʷəɬsxé* 'ninety'

The hundreds are:

*néc̓əẇəc* 'one hundred'
*θém̓əc* 'two hundred'
*ɬíxʷ néc̓əẇəc* 'three hundred,' etc.
*ʔápən néc̓əẇəc* 'one thousand'

'One hundred' and 'two hundred' are formed with the bound forms of 'one' and 'two' and a suffix *-əc (-ʔəc?),* which cannot be identified.

These are the simple forms of the numerals. They are used both substantivally and attributively in reference to many kinds of things. In the following sentence from a text (CC 14) on fishing, they refer to fish and days.

(a) səw cxə́n̓ceʔs ʔiwáwaʔ ʔápən ʔiwáwaʔ c̓k̓ʷáx ʔiwáwaʔ ɬq̓écəs tə nác̓aʔ swéyəl. (CC 14)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| s-wə-c-xən̓ceʔ-s | ʔiwáwaʔ | ʔápən | ʔiwáwaʔ | c̓k̓ʷáx |
| NOM-EST-get-prey-3POS | maybe | ten | maybe | twenty |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ʔiwáwaʔ | ɬq̓écəs | tə | nác̓aʔ | swéyəl |
| maybe | five | ART | one | day |

'Then he made a catch, maybe ten, maybe twenty, maybe five in one day.'

And in one from a text on hunting, the numeral refers to animals.

(b) səsəw ḵʷácnəxʷəs tə ʔisél̓ə məlləs. (CC 8)
s-ni-s wə-ḵʷec-nəxʷ-əs tə ʔisél̓ə məlləs
NOM-AUX-3POS EST-see-TR-3TR ART two racoon
'Then he saw two racoons.'

There are also, however, several sets of complex forms that are used for particular classes of things.

## 19.2. COMPOUND FORMS

These are mostly composed each of a numeral stem and a lexical suffix, but there are a few formed in other ways. Perhaps all of the lexical suffixes that appear in these forms can also occur with *ḵʷín* 'how many' (§17.20) and nearly all with *qə́x̌* 'many.' A few suffixes may be limited to use with numerals and these two roots, and so might be identified as "numerical classifiers," but most have no such limitation. A few of these sets of complex forms have membership running to ten and beyond, but others are limited to fewer members. The following may not be a complete list.

(1) Persons. 'One person' and 'two persons' are reduplicated forms of 'one' and 'two,' while the rest are formed with the suffix *-élə ~ -ələ* 'person.'

*náɬ̓əc̓eʔ* (CC) 'one [person]'
*yáy̓sələ* 'two [persons]'
*łəxʷélə* 'three [etc.]'
*x̌əθí·lə* 'four'
*łq̓ecsélə* 'five'
*t̓x̌ámələ* 'six'
*t̓θakʷsélə* 'seven'
*tqecəʔélə* 'eight'
*tu·xʷélə* 'nine'
*ʔəpé·lə* 'ten'
*ʔápən i ḵʷ náɬ̓əc̓eʔ* 'eleven,' etc.
*c̓ḵʷxélə* 'twenty'
*ḵʷí·lə* 'how many?'

For JP, 'one person' was *náɬ̓əc̓aʔ* or *ná·nc̓aʔ*. These are used to refer to any human beings, as in (a) and (b).

(a) x̌əθí·lə ceʔ kʷθə sq̓ʷáq̓ʷəɬ. (CC 7)
x̌əʔáθən-ələ ceʔ kʷθə sq̓ʷáq̓ʷəɬ
four-person FUT ART ready
'There will be four [men] lying in wait.'

(b) ném̓ c̓ə ʔá·ɬ tə t̓x̌ám-ələ słənɬénəy̓. (JP 4)
go QUOT embark ART six-person women
'Six women are said to have embarked.'

For multiples of ten above twenty, the simple numerals are used, such as *łəxʷəɬsxé məstéyəxʷ* 'thirty people.' 'One person' and 'two persons' are further reduplicated in *nəc̓ná·nc̓aʔ* 'one by one' and *yəsyáy̓sələ* 'two by two.'

(2) Times. The numerals for 'times' are irregular for 'once' and 'twice' but others recorded are formed with the suffix *-éɬ*. They are: *nəc̓éxʷ* 'once,' *θəmé*

'twice,' *łxʷél* 'three times,' *x̌əθənél* 'four times,' *łq̓əcsél* 'five times,' *t̓x̌əmél* 'six times,' *t̓θakʷsél* 'seven times,' *ʔapənél* 'ten times,' *k̓ʷənél* 'how many times?' 'Eight times' and 'nine times' were thought to be irregular but not remembered. (For use, see §18.4.3.)

(3) Round objects. These are formed with the suffix *-əs ~ -ás* 'face, round object' (which produces a shift from *é* to *á* in a root). They are used for counting months (moons) and dollars. Those recorded are: *nác̓əs* 'one,' *ʔisáləs* 'two,' *łíxʷəs* 'three,' *x̌əθínəs* 'four,' *ʔəpánəs* 'ten,' *k̓ʷínəs* 'how many (months, dollars)?' It is likely that there are more forms in the set and that they can be used for other round objects.

(4) Canoes and vehicles. Forms recorded are: *néc̓əxʷəł* 'one canoe,' *θéməxʷəł* 'two canoes,' *yəłíłəxʷ* 'three canoes,' *yəx̌áʔaθən* 'four canoes,' *yəłəq̓écəs* (CC), *ʔiłáq̓əcəs* (JP) 'five canoes.' 'One canoe' and 'two canoes' have the bound forms of 'one' and 'two' with a suffix that may be a variant of *-wəł* 'vessel' (perhaps also appearing in *snáxʷəł* 'canoe,' the root of which is unidentifiable). The three other members of this set have the prefix *yə-* '(moving) along' and expanded forms of the roots, possibly progressive forms.

(5) Houses. Only three numerals have been recorded: *néc̓əwtxʷ* 'one house,' *θémtxʷ* 'two houses,' *łxʷáẇtxʷ* 'three houses,' plus *k̓ʷínəwtxʷ* 'how many houses?' The suffix is *-éwtxʷ ~ -əwtxʷ~ -txʷ* 'house.'

(6) Containers. Numbers from 'one' through 'six' have been recorded: *nác̓əqən̓, ʔiséləqən̓, łíxʷəqən̓, x̌əθínəqən̓, łq̓écsəqən̓, t̓x̌əməqən̓.* The suffix may be the same as *-qən* 'throat.' These are used for baskets, cups, and so on, usually meaning 'containerful.'

(7) Birds. The suffix is *-íẇs ~ -əẇs* 'body.' These may also be used for counting rabbits and other small game. A full set from 'one' to 'ten' and 'twenty' have been recorded: *nəc̓íẇs, ʔisəlíẇs, łxʷíẇs, x̌əθíniẇs, łq̓écəẇs* (probably *łq̓écsəẇs*), *t̓x̌áməẇs, t̓θakʷsíẇs, tqéceʔiẇs, tuːxʷíẇs, ʔapénəẇs, c̓k̓ʷxíẇs,* plus *k̓ʷínəẇs* 'how many?'

(8) Trees. 'One' to 'five' have been recorded: *snác̓əłp, sʔiséʔełp, słíxʷəłp, sx̌əθíːłp, słq̓écsəłp*. The suffix *-əłp* 'vegetation' is very productive. I cannot account for the prefix *s-,* presumably 'nominalizer.'

(9) Parts or kinds. The suffix *-mat* seems to have these several meanings; cf. *nác̓aʔmat* 'one piece, whole,' *ʔisél̓əmat* 'two pieces,' *łáxʷmat* 'three pieces,' *k̓ʷánmàt* 'how many kinds,' *qáx̌màt* 'many kinds' are the only numerals recorded.

(10) Kinds. JP gave this set as 'kinds,' but I am uncertain of the suffix and the gloss. He gave only 'one' to 'three': *xʷnəc̓áwəθ, xʷisəláẇaθ,* and *xʷłxʷáẇaθ,* and *k̓ʷínəwaθ* 'how many kinds of animals?'

(11) Years. I have recorded only 'one' to 'three': *nəc̓awíːnxʷ, θəmíːnxʷ, łxʷəwínxʷ*. The suffix is *-əwíːnxʷ* except with the bound form of 'two'; cf. *k̓ʷənəwíːnxʷ* 'how many years.'

(12) Paddles. Only one form has been recorded: *ʔisəlél̓weʔs* 'two paddles.' The suffix is *-əlweʔs* 'paddle.' There are probably more in the set.

(13) Bundles. Only one form has been recorded: *nəc̓əléʔc* 'one bundle.' The suffix is *-əléʔc* 'bundle.' There are probably more in the set.

(14) Net mesh. Four forms have been recorded: *c̓k̓ʷəxáləs* 'twenty mesh,' *łəxʷałcyéʔàləs* 'thirty mesh,' *x̌əθənłcyéʔàləs* 'forty mesh,' and *k̓ʷənłcyeʔáləs* 'how many tens of mesh?' The suffix is *-áləs* 'eye.' These are used in giving the depth of a gill net, the length being given in fathoms.

(15) Days. Days are usually counted with the simple numerals, but these two forms are also used, perhaps usually in counting ahead: *θəmənt* 'two days,' meaning also 'day after tomorrow,' *łəxʷałnét* 'three days.' For *-ałnét*, see §22.2.3.

(16) Long objects. Only *nəc̓émət̓θ* 'one' has been recorded. The suffix is *-émət̓θ ~ -əmət̓θ*, which appears in *sk̓ʷínəmət̓θ* 'how many long things (poles, pilings, toothpicks, hairs),' *x̌̓əqtémət̓θ* 'tall (as a person),' and so on.

See Gerdts et al. 2002 for a discussion of numeral classifiers in Halkomelem, and Shaw et al. 2002 for greatly expanded lists in Musqueam.

## 19.3. ORDINALS

These are formed from compound numerals with *s-* 'nominalizer' and *-s* 'third-person possessive,' as in (a) to (d).

(a) tə́s kʷθə sx̌əθí·ləs … (CC 17)
tə́s kʷθə s-x̌əʔaθən-ələ-s
arrive.there ART NOM-four-person-3POS
'until the fourth person ...'

(b) x̌̓a kʷθə sx̌əθənéłs ceʔ … (CC 17)
x̌̓a kʷθə s-x̌əʔáθən-éł-s ceʔ
BE3P ART NOM-four-time-3POS FUT
'It will be the fourth time ...'

(c) x̌̓a s-yə́y̓sələ-s. (JP 10)
BE3P NOM-two.persons-3POS
'That was the second person.'

(d) təs tə səpé·ləs i tə náʔənc̓aʔ (JP 10)
təs tə s-ʔápən-ələ-s ʔəy tə náʔənc̓aʔ
arrive.there ART NOM-ten-person-3POS and ART one.person
'until the eleventh (person)'

The use of *s-* 'nominalizer' to form ordinals has a parallel in English: *true – truth; four – fourth.* The *-s* 'third-person possessive' may be interpreted as 'of them,' that is, of whatever set the ordinal belongs in.

It may be that these forms can be used only substantivally and not attributively, cf. (e), in which the simple numeral modifies 'morning' but with the meaning 'fourth.'

(e) ɬ̓a tə x̌aʔáθən nét-əɬ. (CC 17)
BE3P ART four night-past
'It's the fourth morning.'

Some of the names of the days of the week appear to be ordinals (see §22.2.3).

# 20
# Exclamations and Interjections

## 20.1. EXCLAMATIONS

Exclamatory sentences seem to have no distinctive features of syntax. They probably do have a distinctive intonation (not yet analyzed), but otherwise they may be marked simply by particles. (See *q̓ə, kʷł, waʔ,* and *ʔáʔa,* §16.1.14, 16.1.17, and 16.1.18.)

Some exclamations are notable, however, for their use of words of a special class, here termed exclamatory-interrogative adjectives. A few of these seem to have literal meanings opposite those intended.

Examples of words used for their opposite meaning, in a kind of sarcasm, are the following with *líl̓əq* 'easy' and *sx̌ə́ʔx̌əl̓,* seemingly identifiable with *sx̌ə́x̌əl̓* 'stuck (in one place)' or a diminutive of it.

(a) ʔa·, líl̓əq ʔaʔa. (JP 7)
oh easy ROG!
'Oh, it's hard!' (lit. more like 'Easy? Ha!')

(b) sx̌ə́ʔx̌əl̓ cən ʔaʔa. (AG)
stuck I ROG!
'What a fast runner I am!'

## 20.2. EXCLAMATORY-INTERROGATIVE ADJECTIVES

These are words that identify qualities of an undetermined degree. They appear in exclamatory sentences with the sense 'how ___!' They (or some of them) can also have the sense 'however ___,' '___ to whatever extent,' or 'nobody knows how ___.' Seven words of this sort have been noted.

### 20.2.1. *x̌̓q̓éy̓* 'how far! however far, for an unknown distance'

(a) x̌̓q̓éy̓ kʷə. (CC, JP)
how.far then
'My, that's far! Gee, that's far!'

(b) ƛ̓q̓éy̓ ʔe c̓twaʔ kʷə. (JP 22)
how.far ROG SPEC then
'You don't know how far.'

(c) ƛ̓q̓éy̓ kʷə waʔ tə ʔiwəł mi šxʷʔíməxct. (AG)
ƛ̓q̓éy̓ kʷə waʔ tə ʔi wəł-ṁi šxʷ-ʔíməx-ct
how.far then PRESUM ART AUX already-come OBLNOM-walk-our
'What a distance we have walked!' (lit. 'How far must be then the place to which we have already walked!')

(d) ʔa·, šxʷá·xʷt̓θ čxʷ. xʷəƛ̓q̓éy̓ ʔe čxʷ c̓twaʔ wənéṁəxʷ ʔá·ł tə niəxʷ θáyt. (JP)
ʔa·, šxʷá·xʷt̓θ čxʷ. xʷəƛ̓q̓éy̓ ʔə čxʷ c̓twaʔ wə-néṁ-əxʷ
aw crazy you how.far ROG you SPEC if-go-you
ʔá·ł [ʔə] tə niʔ-əxʷ θáy-t
travel.in OBL ART AUX-you be.made-TR
'Aw, you're crazy. How far do you think you'll go with that thing you've made?'

### 20.2.2. *léq* 'how fast! however fast, at an unknown speed'

(a) léq kʷə. (CC)
how.fast then
'My, what speed!'

(b) ʔénəcè, léq kʷə tə xʷəy̓qʷələł. (JP)
oh.my! how.fast then ART steamship
'My, the steamer's not slow! Wow, how fast the steamer is!'

(c) léq ʔə. (JP)
how.fast ROG
'It wasn't slow!'

(d) ʔa·, léq ʔə čxʷ ceʔ. (JP)
aw how.fast ROG you FUT
'Aw, you haven't got that speed!' (said to someone boasting that he'll run a certain distance in a certain time)

(e) léq ʔe kʷis neṁ xtáməstàləm. (JP 22)
léq ʔə kʷə s-niʔ-s néṁ
how.fast ROG ART NOM-AUX-3POS AUX(go)
xtém-stəxʷ-al-əm
swim-CAUS-we-INTR
'Nobody knows how fast we were taken away.' (lit. 'It was an unknown speed when we were swum away with.')

**20.2.3. *təʔéṅ* 'how wonderful! what a ___! how powerful!'**

(a) təʔéṅ kʷə tə sx̌éləqəm. (JP)
how.wonderful then ART fierce.being
'What a monster!'

(b) təʔéṅ kʷə kʷłə sxʷəxʷáʔas i kʷéyx̌θət
how.wonderful then ART thunder AUX be.moving.self
k̓ʷəṅa xʷəné·nt. (JP)
that evening
'Boy, that was some thunder last night!'

(c) təʔéṅ kʷə tə snə́xʷəł-s. (CC)
how.wonderful then ART canoe-3POS
'What a wonderful canoe he has!'

**20.2.4. *wéwə* 'how wonderful!' (synonymous with §20.2.3?)**

(a) wéwə kʷə tə sx̌éləqəm. (JP)
how.wonderful then ART monster
'What a monster!'

**20.2.5. *xʷəwém* 'how big!'**

(a) xʷəwém ʔaʔa tə ʔən-léləm̓-ələp. (AG)
how.big ROG! ART your-house-your(PL)
'What a big house you guys have!'

**20.2.6. *x̌íc̓* 'how long!'**

Compare *c̓əc̓í·x̌* 'short,' of which this may be the root. Perhaps this is another instance of a word used for the opposite meaning.

(a) x̌íc̓ kʷə waʔ tə x̌ʷíl̓əm-s. (AG)
how.long then PRES ART rope-3POS
'What a long rope he has!'

**20.2.7. *c̓ix̌əmət̓θ* 'how tall!'**

Compare *c̓əc̓í·x̌əmət̓θ* 'short in stature,' < *c̓əc̓í·x̌* 'short,' *-ə mət̓θ* 'long object.'

(a) c̓íx̌əmət̓θ kʷə tθeʔ swə́y̓qeʔ. (JP)
how.tall then that man
'Boy, that fellow is tall!'

## 20.3. INTERJECTIONS

An interjection can appear either alone as a complete utterance or before a sentence but without any syntactic relationship to it. Interjections express affirmation and denial, some emotional quality, or simply some acknowledgment of a

second person. They include a few sounds that do not appear elsewhere. The following is probably not a complete list. The ordering is arbitrary.

**20.3.1. *héʔe* 'yes'**

(a) łə̓q̓ ʔə q̓íq̓ək̓ʷə̓ls tən̓ sqʷəmé·y̓. héʔe, q̓íq̓ək̓ʷə̓ls. (DK)
łə̓q̓ ʔə q̓íq̓ək̓ʷə̓ls tə ʔən-sqʷəmé·y̓ héʔe
habitually ROG be.biting.something ART your-dog yes
q̓íq̓ək̓ʷə̓ls
be.biting.something
'Does your dog bite?' 'Yes, he bites.'

**20.3.2. *ʔə́wə* 'no'**

Identical with *ʔə́wə* 'not,' which does have a syntactic role (§6.1).

(a) ʔəwə, x̓̌a nə-swéʔ nə-mə́n̓ə. (JP 1)
no BE3P my-own my-child
'No, it's my child.'

**20.3.3. *ná* 'what, yes' (as in answer to hearing one's name called)**

**20.3.4. *ná·w̓* ~ *ná·w̓* ~ *nə́w* 'yes' (in answer to one's name), 'hey' (to get someone's attention)**

In the second sense, this is used especially with a spouse or a close friend, and may take the particle *q̓ə* 'emphatic.' In (a), AG explained, it shows that the speaker knows that the person addressed is there.

(a) ná·w̓ q̓ə́ siʔém̓.
'Hello!' 'Well, hello!'

To a spouse it may imply affection, as in (b).

(b) ném̓ cən wəłyá·ys, naw̓. (AG)
'I'm going to work now, dear.'

**20.3.5. *ní ʔ* ~ *ní* 'hey there, excuse me'**

This is probably identical with *niʔ* 'be there.'

(a) niʔ, siʔém̓, ʔə́wə· čxʷ nem̓əxʷ t̓éʔt ... (JP 19)
niʔ siʔém̓ ʔə́wə ʔə čxʷ nem̓-əxʷ t̓éʔ-t
hey.there sir not ROG you AUX(go)-you try-TR
'Say, sir, wouldn't you try ...'

**20.3.6. *ʔí* 'here' (to attract attention)**

This is probably *ʔí* 'be here.'

(a) ʔí ʔí ʔí, ʔə́wə čxʷ kʷəkʷə́n-ət-əxʷ. (JP 19)
here here here not you being.taken-TR-you
'Hey, hey, hey! Don't touch it.'

### 20.3.7. *y é ~ y é·* 'well, all right'

This is said in urging someone to speak, and is also used by the audience in a myth telling to urge the teller to continue. (Cf. *yé* 'taunting echo,' §16.3.2.)

(a) yè·, qə́ləməx, stéməs k̓ʷeθ xʷəm̓í. (JP 9)
yè· qə́ləməx, [wə-] stém-əs k̓ʷə ʔəT-šxʷ-əm̓í
all.right pal that what-3SUB ART your-OBLNOM-come
'All right, pal, tell me what you've come for.'

(b) ye, ʔəyí·t ce·p kʷə ʔəθqʷə́lqʷəl ni·p cəlstámət. (JP 22)
ye, ʔe·y̓-í-t ce·p kʷə ʔəT-s-qʷə́lqʷəl
all.right continue-DUR-TR you(PL) ART your-NOM-tell
niʔ-əp cəlstámət
AUX-you(PL) happen.to(PL)
'Well, proceed with your story of whatever happened to you.'

### 20.3.8. *ʔá·* 'ah, oh, aw, well'

This often seems to have no function other than to begin a statement. It is often followed by a term of address (such as *siʔém̓* 'sir, ma'am,' or a kinship term). In narratives with dialogue, *ʔa* may serve primarily to indicate to the audience that a new speaker is speaking.

(a) ʔa·, ni cən wəsx̌áx̌əm̓ ... (JP 9)
ʔa· niʔ cən wə-sx̌áx̌əm̓
ah AUX I EST-enough
'Well, I'm ready ...'

(b) ʔa· siʔém̓, wiʔé·y̓ čxʷ ʔal̓. (JP 3)
ʔa· siʔém̓ wə-yə-ʔé·y̓ čxʷ ʔal̓
ah sir EST-along-continue you just
'Well, sir, just continue.'

(c) ʔa· ʔə́wə čxʷ x̌ə́t̓e·xʷ tθéʔ. (JP 4)
ʔa· ʔə́wə čxʷ x̌ə́t̓ə-əxʷ [ʔə] tθéʔ
ah not you be.saying-you OBL that
'Oh, don't say that.'

### 20.3.9. *ʔo·, ʔɔ·* 'oh'

These are perhaps only variants of the last.

(a) ʔo· mə́n̓ə, ʔi cən xʷəc̓é́n̓əm̓. ni cən cá··kʷ xʷəʔə́y̓. (CC 21)
ʔo· mə́n̓ə ʔi cən xʷə-sc̓é́n̓əm̓ ni cən cákʷ
oh child AUX I become-Shaker AUX I far
xʷə-ʔə́y̓
become-good
'Oh, child, I have become a Shaker. I have become far better.'

(b) ɔ· sc̓é́c̓ən ce·p wə-ʔéləy̓ səwə́y̓qeʔ. (JP 12)
oh really you(PL) EST-good(PL) men
'Oh, you're really good men.'

### 20.3.10. *ʔáàʔ, ʔáʔà* 'ahhhh! aha!'

(a) ʔáàʔ naətə wəθəʔít xʷəsəl̓íkʷ tə θáθəns tə sx̌éləqəm. (JP 6)
ʔáàʔ na ʔə tə wə-θəʔít xʷə-səl̓íkʷ tə
ahhh be.there OBL ART EST-truly become-broken ART
θáθən-s tə sx̌éləqəm
mouth-3POS ART fierce.being
'Ahhh! There the mouth of the monster is truly broken.'

(b) ʔáʔà·, səw θə́t tə spá·l̓, niʔ yəxʷ aʔa … (JP 7)
ʔáʔà· s-wə-θə́t[-s] tə spá·l̓, niʔ yəxʷ aʔa
ahhh NOM-EST-say-3POS ART raven be.there INF ROG!
'"Aha", said Raven, "It must be so ..."'

### 20.3.11. *ʔə̃* 'hmm'

This is perhaps a more casual *ʔá·*.

(a) x̌ʔə səmém̓t̓θən, θə́yəlsəm cən ceʔ i nem̓
hmm proud(DIM) prepare.weapons I FUT and go
cən … (JP 7)
I
'Hmmm, proud little thing, I'll prepare and I'll go ...'

Raven here is speaking to Seagull. Raven, Mink, and some other characters prefix *x̌-* to some words.

### 20.3.12. *ʔə́š* 'well!'

This expresses disapproval. It is used mainly by women. If a woman sees a girl working with male motions (pulling toward herself rather than pushing away), she might say:

(a) ʔə́š, šté·wən ʔə čxʷ k̓ʷəθswə́y̓qeʔ. (JP)
ʔə́š šxʷteʔéwən ʔə čxʷ k̓ʷə ʔəT-s-swə́y̓qeʔ
well think ROG you ART your-NOM-man
'Well, do you think you're a man?!'

**20.3.13. *šéʔ* 'well!'**
Like the last, but used by both sexes. If a man heard a boy say *ʔəš*, he might say:

(a) šéʔ, θəm̓a q̓ém̓əy̓. (JP)
well this young.woman
'Hey, are you a girl?!'

**20.3.14. *šá·, šá·ʔ* 'pshaw! oh, heck, etc.' (DK)**
Perhaps the same as the last.

**20.3.15. *ʔécənè* 'oh my!' (JP)**
An expression of surprise.

**20.3.16. *ʔénene* 'oh my!' (AC)**
The same as the last?

**20.3.17. *yá·ʔ* 'my!'**
An expression of surprise, as in (a).

(a) ʔaʔ yá···ʔ (CC)
'Oh my!' (as when seeing big fish)

**20.3.18. *yu·* 'wow!' [?] (JP)**
An expression of surprise and perhaps appreciation or condemnation.

# 21
# Kinship Terms

In every language, terms for relatives constitute a small, semantically structured group of words that are of cultural interest because they reflect features of the social structure of the speakers. In Musqueam and other Halkomelem dialects, the simple terms for relatives constitute an especially small set, only two of which, *mén* 'father' and *tén* 'mother,' have precise English equivalents, there being no simple Musqueam equivalent of 'brother,' 'sister,' 'grandfather,' 'aunt,' 'cousin,' and so on. This lack of correspondence is the result of differences in semantic principles, which are probably related to social structure, and of differences in grammar.

Differences of the first kind will be discussed with each group of terms below. Grammar is relevant in that it has allowed for some of what is probably historically a great reduction in the number of Proto-Salish terms.[1] Most English terms (and terms in several other Salishan languages) distinguish the sex of the referent – for example, a 'brother' is invariably male and a 'sister' female; of the bare terms in Musqueam, only those corresponding to 'father' and 'mother' make such a distinction. For all of the Musqueam terms, the article or demonstrative identifies the sex of the referent, as well as other facts ignored by English. On the other hand, several Musqueam terms make distinctions, such as whether the linking relative is living or dead or whether the speaker ("ego") is male or female, that English terms ignore.

We can distinguish terms for consanguineal ("blood") relatives from those for affinal relatives ('in-laws"). In Musqueam the two sets are structured differently. We can further distinguish three sets of each of the following: (1) terms of personal reference, (2) terms of address, and (3) terms of impersonal reference.

1 See Elmendorf 1961 on the reduction of Proto-Salish kinship terms, and my comments in Suttles 1965.

Terms of personal reference appear with possessive affixes and in grammatical contexts that require articles. Terms of address are the terms of personal reference without any prefixes other than possessives; they may or may not take possessive affixes, and they appear without articles. Terms of impersonal reference appear in grammatical contexts with articles, but like the verb forms that they probably are, they cannot take possessive affixes. Three of the most common of these bear no relationship to the terms of personal reference; the rest are derivatives of the terms of personal reference. The terms of personal reference and address are described in §21.1 and §21.2, and those of impersonal reference in §21.3.

## 21.1. CONSANGUINEAL RELATIVES

I will first present the terms of personal reference and address for parents, children, siblings, and cousins, then the terms of impersonal reference for these, and finally all sets for other relatives.

### 21.1.1. Parents and Children

The basic terms are:

*mén* 'father' (pl.?, dim. *mémən̓,* address *mé?, mémən̓*)
*tén* 'mother' (pl.?, dim. *tétən̓,* address *té?, tétən̓*)
*mán̓ə* 'child' (pl. *mém̓ən̓ə,* dim. *mím̓nə,* address *mán̓ə*)

The terms of address for father and mother, especially the diminutives, which have the sense of 'dear little father' and 'dear little mother,' may be used in talking to a little boy or little girl. The term *mén̓ə* is 'child' in the sense of 'son, daughter, offspring,' not in the sense of 'baby' (*sqéqələ*) or 'child' (*sx̌íx̌qəł*) as a life-status term. An adult is still the *mán̓ə* of his or her parents. However, there is a related or derived form, *?əm̓áməń* 'little.'

When used in reference, the basic terms must have possessives (my, your, etc.): *nəmén* 'my father,' *?əntén* 'your mother,' *mán̓əs* 'his child, her child, their child.' And they must also be preceded by articles (*tə, θə,* etc.) or demonstratives: *tə nəmén* 'my father (who is here now),' *θə nətén* 'my mother (who is here now),' *θə nəmán̓ə* 'my daughter (who is here now),' *tə nəmán̓ə* 'my son (who is here now).' Thus the articles indicate whether the person referred to is male or female and whether present and visible, somewhere not visible, or deceased.

If a relative is deceased, this must be indicated either though the article or through the particle *-əł* 'past.' A deceased parent is referred to as *k̓ʷə nəmén* or *kʷθə nəménəł* 'my late father,' *kʷsə nətén* or *łə nəténəł* 'my late mother.'

There is also a word *šxʷwé?* 'parent' (from *wé?* 'own,' meaning 'someone to whom one belongs.' In its plural form, this term is probably more commonly used with a wider meaning than simply parent: *šxʷwéləy* 'parents, uncles and

aunts, those to whom one belongs,' that is, relatives of an older generation. Because it is plural, it takes the masculine (non-feminine) article: *tə nəšxʷwéləy* 'my parents (who are here now).' This term is used in addressing parents or uncles and aunts in formal speeches, as in (a).

(a) tə ɬwə́ləp nəšxʷwéləy, yəθəstálə cən kʷθə nəšxʷqʷéləwən.
tə ɬwə́ləp nə-šxʷwéləy yəθəs-t-álə cən kʷθə
ART you(PL) my-to.whom.belong tell-TR-you(PL) I ART
nə-šxʷqʷéləwən
my-thought
'My parents (or my uncles), I will tell you my feelings.'

A deceased parent may be referred to with the term *šxʷtál̓e* (lit. 'origin'?), as in: *k̓ʷə nəšxʷtál̓e* 'my late father,' *kʷsə nəšxʷtál̓e* 'my late mother.'

The term for 'child' has a derivative, *smə̓né·m* 'children and other junior relatives.' It is used in addressing a group of younger relatives that might include children, nephews, and nieces, and grandchildren. These are the relatives whom one might take responsibility for and lecture to.

### 21.1.2. Siblings and Cousins

Halkomelem does not have separate words for siblings and cousins. The terms used for siblings can also be used for relatives in one's own generation as distant as fourth cousins, persons who share a great-great-great-grandparent. In theory, at least, a marriage between a couple related to that degree was still incestuous.

There are four basic terms:

*sxʔéyəɬ* 'older sibling, senior cousin' (pl. *sxʔəxʔéyəɬ,* address *ʔéyəɬ,* possibly related to the suffix *-éyəɬ* 'child')

*sqéʔəq* (*sqéʔeq, sqé·q*) 'younger sibling, junior cousin' (pl. *sqəlé·q,* address *qéʔəq, qé·q,* possibly related to *qéqələ,* identified as 'baby' by CC and as 'boy baby' by JP, and *qéq,* identified as Cowichan for 'baby' by CC and as 'girl baby' by JP)

*ʔéləx* 'sibling or cousin of the opposite sex' (that is, sister or female cousin of a male, brother or male cousin of a female) (pl. *ʔəl̓éləx,* address not recorded)

*šxʷʔáq̓ʷaʔ* 'sibling or cousin (older or younger of either sex)' (pl. *šxʷʔáləq̓ʷaʔ,* also used in address, reciprocal *ʔəq̓ʷíʔtəl̓, ʔiq̓ʷíʔtəl̓, yəq̓ʷíʔtəl̓* 'related as siblings or cousins')[2]

The first two terms distinguish siblings on the basis of their relative age – older brothers and sisters from younger brothers and sisters. Your older brother is your *sxʔéyəɬ,* and your younger brother is your *sqéʔəq*. When these terms

2 SP gave a possibly related Katzie term, *sáq̓ʷ,* which he identified as a lineage going back to one's great-great-great-grandparent. JP did not recognize the term.

are used for cousins, they distinguish senior from junior lines of descent, that is, your father or mother's older brother or sister's child is your *sxʔéyəɬ,* even if that cousin is younger than you, and your parent's younger sibling's child is your *sqéʔəq,* even if that cousin is older than you. This principle is used to maintain seniority over the generations. If you have a distant cousin whose father or mother was a cousin of your father or mother, and you know that your father or mother called his or her father or mother *ʔéyəɬ,* then you must call that distant cousin *ʔéyəɬ* no matter what the age difference. This principle is consistent with primogeniture, the transmission of names and other property to the eldest child, which may have been generally followed in Aboriginal society.[3]

Again, when used in reference, these terms must have possessives and articles. And like 'child,' the article shows whether the person you are referring to is a female or a male.

*θə nəsxʔéyəɬ* 'my older sister/senior female cousin (who is here)'
*kʷθə nəsqéˑq* 'my younger brother/junior male cousin (who is not here)'
*tə nəʔéləx* 'my brother/male cousin (who is here) (a woman speaking)'
*ɬə nəʔéləx* 'my sister/female cousin (who is absent) (a man speaking)'

Thus, while the bare terms do not distinguish brothers (or male cousins) from sisters (or female cousins), the terms in a grammatical context do.

The plural of the term *šxʷʔáq̓ʷaʔ* is used in speeches addressed to groups identified, at least for purposes of establishing solidarity, as relatives, as in (a).

(a) ʔáˑ siˑʔém̓ nə-šxʷʔáləq̓ʷaʔ
o honoured.ones my-siblings/cousins
'O my honoured brothers and sisters.'

The root of *šxʷʔáq̓ʷaʔ* is probably the basis for *sʔàq̓ʷəʔéyəɬ* 'youngest child of a pregnant mother, next older sibling of an unborn child,' that is, the child who is about to be replaced as youngest by the one in the womb.[4]

Other terms for siblings will be given later, in §21.3, "Terms of Impersonal Reference."

### 21.1.3. Uncles and Aunts, Nephews and Nieces

As one might expect from the terms for siblings and cousins, the terms for parents' siblings include their cousins, and the terms for siblings' children include

3 However, this principle is seen in kinship terminologies of peoples in, among other regions, the Great Basin, for whom property was not especially important. It is characteristic of Spier's "Yuman" type of kinship terminology (Spier 1925, 75-76).

4 This term appeared in a text some time after I had elicited what I had supposed to be a full set of kinship terms in part by the traditional genealogical method, asking, "What do you call your father's brother Sam's wife Jane," and so on. As I could not possibly have thought of such a term, it shows the value of texts in filling out what might seem to be well-known areas of the lexicon.

cousins' children. The Musqueam terms also differ from English in that there is one set of terms while the linking relative is alive and another if the linking relative has died. Thus we have the following four terms:

*šxʷəm̓níkʷ* (CC), *šxʷəmníkʷ* (JP) 'parent's sibling or cousin during the lifetime of the parent' (pl. *šxʷəm̓néləkʷ, šxəmnéləkʷ,* address *níkʷ* or *níkʷiye*)
*stíwən* 'sibling or cousin's child during the lifetime of the sibling or cousin' (pl. *stətíwən,* dim. *stítwən,* dim. pl. *stələtətíwən,* address *tíwən, títwən*)
*šxʷməθəy̓éɬ* 'parent's sibling or cousin after the death of the parent' (pl. *šxʷməlməlθəy̓éɬ,* address *məθəy̓éɬ*)
*swənméyɬ, swənméyəɬ* (< *wénəm* 'orphan,' *-éyəɬ* 'child') 'sibling or cousin's child after the death of the sibling or cousin' (pl. not recorded, address *wənméyɬ, wənmé·yɬ*)

Thus while my mother was alive I would have referred to her brother (my uncle) as *nəšxʷəmníkʷ,* and he would have referred to me (his nephew) as *nəstíwən*. But after my mother was gone, I would have referred to him as *nəšxʷməθəy̓éɬ,* and he would have referred to me as *nəswənméyɬ*. Similarly, while my brother was alive, I would have referred to his daughter (my niece) as *nəstíwən,* but after his death, I would have had to call her *nəswənméyɬ*. Presumably, when people change from the first pair of terms to the second, they are reminded of the link between them and their responsibility for keeping the kinship tie.

In the system of classification used by anthropologists (e.g., Murdock 1949), Halkomelem kinship terms for relatives in parents' generations are "lineal," that is they distinguish between parents and parent's siblings but do not distinguish mother's siblings from father's siblings. In this, Halkomelem and other Coast Salish terms are like English and unlike those of Interior Salish languages, which are "bifurcate collateral," that is, they distinguish parents, father's siblings, and mother's siblings, and they are unlike those of the Northern Coast, which are "bifurcate merging," that is, they have a single term for father and father's brother and a single term for mother and mother's sister. Lineal and bifurcate collateral terminologies are consistent with bilateral descent, while a bifurcate merging terminology is consistent with unilineal descent, the principle basic to the system of matrilineal clans of the Northern Coast.

### 21.1.4. Grandparents, Grandchildren, and Beyond

Just as the terms for siblings also refer to other relatives in one's own generation, that is, to cousins, so too do the terms for grandparents, grandchildren, great-grandparents, and so on refer to others of these relatives' generations. The basic terms are:

*síl̓ə* 'grandfather, grandmother, great uncle, great aunt,' that is, 'relative in the second ascending generation' (pl. *səlsíl̓ə,* address *síl̓ə*)

*ʔíməθ* 'grandson, granddaughter, grandnephew, grandniece,' that is, 'relative in the second descending generation' (pl. *ʔəm̓íməθ,* address *ʔíməθ, ʔíməyə*)

*sc̓ám̓əqʷ* 'great-grandparent, great-grandparent's sibling or cousin, great-grandchild, sibling or cousin's great grandchild,' that is, 'relative of the third ascending or descending generation' (pl. *sc̓á̓l̓əməqʷ,* dim. *sc̓áʔc̓əməqʷ,* dim. pl. *sc̓əláʔc̓əməqʷ,* address *c̓ám̓əqʷ*)

*ʔákʷəyəqʷ* (CC), *ʔákʷəyàqʷ* (JP) 'great-great-grandparent, etc.,' that is, 'relative of the fourth ascending or descending generation'

*t̓ᶿáp̓əyəqʷ* (CC), *t̓ᶿáp̓əyàqʷ* (JP) 'great-great-great-grandparent, etc.,' that is, 'relative of the fifth ascending or descending generation' (also refers to the cap at the stem of a strawberry or salmonberry)

The diminutive *sc̓áʔc̓əməqʷ* might be used, JP said, by a great-grandparent addressing a great-grandchild. I did not record terms of address for relatives in the fourth and fifth ascending or descending generations. Probably one does not ordinarily meet a lineal ancestor or descendant of such status, but collaterals could be contemporaries.

### 21.1.5. Relatives and Kin Groups

Kinship was and is of great importance in Coast Salish society. The most general term referring to kinship is *syéy̓ə* (< *yéy̓ə* 'secure, tightly tied') 'friend, relative' (pl. *siyéy̓ə* //syəyéy̓ə//). This term perhaps literally means 'bond.' In the old days, friendship without kinship may have been uncommon. When non-relatives wanted to establish close ties, they soon negotiated marriages and thus established kinship. And so the meaning 'relative' is probably more basic than 'friend.' The term has a reciprocal *yáʔitəl̓* //yáy̓ətəl̓// 'be related.' JP said that one might address a "distant *stl̓ə*" as *yé·yə* as a sign of respect. In the big house, speeches commonly begin: *ʔá· si·ʔém̓ nəsiyéy̓ə* 'O my honoured friends/relatives.'

There is a noun, *c̓áʔ* 'genealogical connection,' and a verb derivative, *c̓áʔəm* 'explain a relationship,' which JP remembered hearing his mother use in the following:

(a) ni ʔə čxʷ łáq̓əlləxʷ kʷ c̓áʔct x̌ʷté· yəθéləy x̌̓əw nəsiyéy̓ə. (JP)
ni ʔə čxʷ łáq̓əl-ləxʷ kʷ c̓áʔ-ct x̌ʷté ʔə
AUX ROG you know-TR ART connection-our toward OBL
yəθéləy x̌̓e wə-nə-siyéy̓ə
those also EST-my-relations
'Do you know how we're related to those ones who are my relatives?'

(b) qíʔqəl̓ kʷsc̓áʔəms yəθéləy.
qíʔqəl̓ kʷ s-c̓áʔəm-s yəθéləy
ignorant ART NOM-explain.genealogy-3POS those
'They don't know how to explain how they're related.'

Ancestors are referred to as:

*syəẇéṅ* (< *yəẇéṅ* 'before') (lit. 'what was before,' also 'heritage')
*kʷθə ṁi·t yəʔé·ẏeqt* 'those whom we are replacing' (CC 1)

Descendants are referred to by several terms:

*sṯ̓ᶿáqʷəm* 'offspring, descendants' ('suckling'?; cf. *ṯ̓ᶿáqʷət* 'suck it')
*sʔəẏéq* 'descendant' (lit. 'replacement') as in (c)

(c) ƛ̓awłmi sʔəẏéqs kʷθə xʷənċálwəməł. (JP)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ƛ̓a | wəł-mi | sʔəẏéq-s | kʷθə | xʷənċálwəm-əł |
| BE3P | already-come | replacement-3POS | ART | one.family-past |

'They are descendants of one family.'

The only term elicited for 'family' is *xʷnəċálwəm* ~ *xʷnəċ̓álwəm* ~ *xʷənċálwəm* (< *náċaʔ* 'one' + ?) 'one family.' JP believed that this term refers to the descendants of one couple, now not necessarily the residents of one house.

(d) ʔánθə wəłmi sṯ̓ᶿáqʷəms kʷθə xʷənċálwəməł (~ kʷθə xʷənċálwəməł məstáyəxʷ). (JP)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ʔánθə | wəł-mi | sṯ̓ᶿáqʷəm-s | kʷθə | xʷənċálwəm-əł |
| be.I | already-come | descendant-3POS | ART | one.family-past |

(~ kʷθə xʷənċálwəm-əł məstáyəxʷ)
ART one.family-past person

'I am the descendant of that one family (~ the people of that one family).'

## 21.2. AFFINAL TERMS

Under this heading I will deal with terms for spouses and relationships resulting from marriage, as well as terms for in-laws.

### 21.2.1. Spouses

There is a single term for spouse: *stálṯ̓əs* 'spouse, husband, wife' (pl. *stəltálṯ̓əs,* dim. *staʔtələs, státələs*).

The diminutive may be used affectionately, as in *θə nəsq̓ánəq nəstátələs* 'my dear little wife,' or derisively to refer to a married woman's lover. A spouse may be addressed simply with *náẇ* 'hey.' There is a reciprocal form, *titəl̓ástəl̓* 'related as husband and wife' or simply 'married couple.'

Because in the old days a man could have more than one wife, there is a term *sxáẏə* 'co-wife' (pl. *sxəxáẏe*).[5] This term has a reciprocal form, *xəxʷəyíʔtəl̓* (JP) or *xəxʷəyáʔtəl̓* (CC) 'be co-wives, be wives of the same man.' Something

5 Somewhere I have seen the term *sxáẏə* identified with *xáyeʔ* 'maggot.' These words are not the same, and the resemblance is probably of no significance.

of the relations between women married to the same man is suggested by the belief that while eating either *swíwə,* the Fraser River eulachon ("hooligan"), or *sʔáyənəxʷ,* the smaller variety that runs in the Squamish River, you should not mention the other, "because they are co-wives."

Although a woman could not have two husbands, there is also a term, *sxəyé·seq,* which refers to another man with whom one shares (or has shared?) a woman, as a husband and a wife's lover (perhaps a former husband), not a situation that men would openly agree to. The term may contain the root of *yəsélə* 'two' and the suffix *-eq* 'penis.' Some people regard it as obscene.

There are terms for having multiple wives:

*xʷʔəysé·ltəxʷ* 'have two wives' (< *yəsél̓ə* 'two')
*xʷɬxʷé·ltəxʷ* 'have three wives' (< *ɬíxʷ* 'three')

A person who has lost a spouse is a *syéʔtən* 'widow, widower.' In the old days, a person who has lost a spouse was encouraged or even obliged to marry a close relative of the deceased, following practices technically called "the levirate" and "the sororate."

### 21.2.2. Primary Affines

There are four terms that refer to the relatives called in English 'mother-in-law,' 'father-in-law,' 'sister-in-law,' 'brother-in-law,' 'daughter-in-law,' and 'son-in-law.' However, while the English terms are simply based on the consanguineal terms used by the spouse, the Musqueam terms follow a different pattern. They are:

*šk̓ʷíɬəẇ* (*šxʷ-* 'oblique nominalizer'? *k̓ʷíɬəẇ* 'to live with one's in-laws') 'father-in-law, mother-in-law, wife's brother' (pl. *šk̓ʷé·ɬəẇ*)
*scəwtéɬ* 'son-in-law, daughter-in-law, man's sister's husband' (pl. *sciwətéɬ*)
*smétəxʷtən* 'sibling-in-law of the opposite sex,' that is, '(man's) brother's wife, (woman's) sister's husband, wife's sister, husband's brother' (pl. *sméʔəltəxʷtən,* address *métəxʷtən*)
*šxʷʔéləx* (< *šxʷ-* 'oblique nominalizer,' *ʔéləx* 'sibling/cousin of opposite sex,' i.e., 'one who has a woman's brother') 'sister-in-law (woman speaking),' i.e., 'husband's sister, brother's wife (woman speaking)' (pl. *šxʷʔəl̓éləx*)

Musqueam terms for blood relatives, like English terms, keep the generations apart. Except for *ʔéləx* 'sibling/cousin of the opposite sex,' they mean the same thing when used by either men or women. For males but not for females, however, the Musqueam terms for in-laws follow an overriding principle.

For a man, the term used for his wife's parents applies also to a man in his own generation – his wife's brother, while the term used for his child's spouse applies also to a man of his own generation – his sister's husband. The principle here is probably one that reflects the nature of marriage in aboriginal society: a man (with his family) was responsible for his wife to her parents and to

her brothers (his *šḵʷéɬəẇ*), while the men responsible to him for their wives were the husbands of his daughters and his sisters (his *sciwətéɬ*). His male *šḵʷéɬəẇ* are men from whom he received his wife, while his male *sciwətéɬ* are men who received their wives from him or his family.

For a woman, the terms for in-laws keep the generations separate. A woman's *šḵʷéɬəẇ* are simply her husband's parents, and her *sciwətéɬ* are simply her children's spouses. She refers to both her husband's brother and her sister's husband as *smétəxʷtən,* and they refer to her by the same term. She refers to both her husband's sister and her brother's wife as *šxʷʔéləx,* and they refer to her by the same term.

The term that is used reciprocally between the sexes, *smétəxʷtən* 'sibling-in-law of the opposite sex,' is used by persons that might marry in the event of the death of a spouse. If one of a married couple dies, the four terms in-law are replaced by a single term: *c̓é·y̓e* 'deceased spouse's relative, spouse of deceased relative' (pl. *c̓əy̓c̓é·y̓e,* impers. *c̓əc̓è·y̓é*).

There is a verb derived from this term: *c̓é·y̓em* 'marry ones *c̓é·y̓e*'. Such a marriage was common in the old days. If a husband or wife died, the family of the deceased might provide a close relative of the deceased as a new spouse. This provided for children to the marriage and kept up the alliance between families.

### 21.2.3. Secondary Affines

There is another in-law term for which there is no equivalent in English (although some other European languages have one): *sḵʷálwəs* 'co-parent-in-law,' that is, 'child's spouse's parent (or other close relative)' (pl. s*ḵʷəlḵʷílwəs* [CC], *sḵʷəḵʷílwəs* [JP]; reciprocal *ḵʷí·l̓wastəl̓* [CC], *sḵʷiḵʷəlwástəl̓* [JP] 'be allied through the marriage of children').

This is a very important term. Marriages were alliances between families, arranged by and maintained by the people who became co-parents-in-law. Another term for this kind of affine is *snéc̓əɬtxʷ* (< *néc̓* 'different' + *-əɬtxʷ* ?; cf. *-txʷ* 'house,' *-eltxʷ* 'spouse') 'opposite friend' (JP's gloss) (pl. *sné*ʔ*əlc̓əɬtʷ*) (JP).

After the death of one of a married couple, the co-parents-in-law became *c̓ɬx̌é·m̓* 'deceased child's spouse's parent, child's deceased spouse's parent,' lit. 'co-weeper' (pl. *c̓ɬx̌əx̌é·m̓*).

And there is still another term for which there is no English equivalent: *snəc̓álləq ~ sənc̓álləq* (< *nác̓a*ʔ 'one' or *néc̓* 'different' + ?) 'spouse's sibling's spouse,' that is, 'husband's brother's wife, wife's sister's husband, etc.' (pl. not recorded, address *nəc̓álləq*).

There are also a few terms that correspond to persons sometimes called "relatives by marriage" in English:

*xcépθ* 'uncle by marriage (aunt's husband), aunt by marriage (uncle's wife)'
*šxʷsíl̓ə* 'step-grandparent, great uncle/aunt by marriage'
*šxʷʔíməθ* 'grandchild's spouse'

### 21.2.4. Step, Half, and Adopted Relatives

A few terms refer to relationships coming from second and plural marriages:

*snəc̓áwəyəł* (< *nác̓aʔ* 'one,' *-eyeł* 'child') 'half-sibling' (reciprocal *hinc̓əwyáłtl̓* 'related as half-siblings'). This term, JP thought, was perhaps restricted to half-siblings born of the same mother.
*c̓łmántl̓* (< *c̓ł-* 'co-,' *mén* 'father,' *-tl̓* 'reciprocal') 'half-sibling sharing the same father' (JP). I did not elicit a *tén* 'mother' counterpart.
*cłilʔém* 'step-parent'
*sqé·qstənàmət* 'step-sibling' (< *sqʷʔəq* 'younger sibling, etc.' + causative reflexive suffix [see §10.5.3], lit. 'pretend younger sibling')
*sk̓ʷámi̓ʔłəm* (CC), *k̓ʷəmíʔłəm* (AG) (< √ of *k̓ʷámət* 'raise,' *-əyəł* 'child') 'adopted child'
*sci̓mnéʔem* (< ?) 'adopted child'

## 21.3. TERMS OF IMPERSONAL REFERENCE

In narratives, terms other than those given above are often used for relatives of the characters, identifying them in relation to one another. The two such terms most commonly used are:

*sánx̌eʔ* 'older sibling, cousin senior in descent' (pl. *sé·nx̌eʔ*, dim. not recorded)
*sáʔsəqʷt* 'younger sibling, cousin junior in descent' (pl. not recorded, dim. *səʔá·səqʷt*)

These terms cannot take possessives, and so they cannot be used for one's own relatives or another's. You cannot say ***nəsánx̌eʔ* or ***nəsáʔsəqʷt*. And because they cannot refer to one's own relatives, they cannot be used in talking to a relative. To call out to your older brother, you have to say *ʔá· ʔéyəł*. You cannot call out ***ʔá· sánx̌eʔ*. For these reasons, I have called them (Suttles 1965) "terms of impersonal reference." In narratives these terms follow articles, as *tə sánx̌eʔ* 'the older (of a pair of brothers), the senior (of a pair of cousins)' and *tə sásəqʷt* 'the younger (of a pair of brothers), the junior (of a pair of cousins),' referring to persons who have already been identified in the story.

They can, however, be used as modifiers of terms of personal reference, as in (a) and (b).

(a) kʷθə sə́n̓x̌eʔ nə-sxʔéyəł
ART senior my-older.sibling
'my oldest brother'

(b) ƛ̓a səʔá·səqʷt nə-sxʔéyəɬ
BE3P junior(DIM) my-older.sibling
'It's my youngest older brother.'

There are also derivatives that can take possessives, such as:

(c) *kʷθə nəsənƛ̓eʔmí·n* (CC)
'my next older brother'

(d) *nəsənƛ̓éʔtən* (CC)
'my older sister' (pl. *sé·nƛ̓eʔtən* [JP])

Two derivatives refer to groups:

*saʔsəqʷté·n* 'younger group' (used for the first run of chum salmon) (JP)
*sənƛ̓eʔé·n* 'older group' (used for the second run of chum salmon) (JP)

And these can have plural forms, as in (e).

(e) *ƛ̓aw məkʷ̓ səláʔsəqʷte·n.* (JP)
'They are the younger ones.' (referring to three younger siblings)

In not taking possessive affixes, these terms are like verbs rather than nouns. In fact, they may be verb forms. The term *sáṉƛ̓eʔ* looks like a resultative form and *sáʔsəqʷt* like a progressive form, but I cannot identify the roots.

For 'parent' and 'child' the terms of impersonal reference are:

*cíʔcət* 'parent' (pl. *cəlíʔcət*) (CC), *syíʔəl* 'parent' (pl. *siyíʔəl*) (JP)
*səm̓né?* 'parent, one who has a child' (CC)
*mím̓ne?* 'child' (pl. *məlé·m̓ne?*) (CC)

The term *cíʔcət* may be historically related to Clallam *cət* 'father,' and if it is a progressive form, it may mean something like 'one who is parenting.' This term was given by CC; JP believed it was Cowichan and said that the Musqueam word was *syíʔəl*. The term *səm̓né?* is a resultative meaning 'childed.' The term of impersonal reference for 'child' is also derived from *máṉə* 'child,' the term of personal reference.

Again, the sibling terms can be used with this term, as in *kʷθə sáṉƛ̓eʔ mím̓ne?* 'the oldest child (who is male).' The plural appears in *təlíʔ ʔə kʷθə məlé·m̓ne?* 'one of the children.'

It was CC who first led me to an understanding of the difference between these terms and the set that appears with possessives. After we had established a basis for identifying them, I asked her for more, and she produced a full set, which I give below in the right column, following the personal set (with glosses abbreviated in standard anthropological fashion).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *ʔéləx* | 'sb of op sex' | *ʔál̓əx* |
| *šxʷəm̓níkʷ* | 'pa sb' | *šxʷəm̓náṉəkʷ* |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *stíwən* | ‘sb ch’ | *státəwən* |
| *šxʷməθəy̓éɬ* | ‘dec pa sb’ | *šxʷəmə̓ləθéyəlɬ* |
| *swənméyəɬ* | ‘dec sb ch’ | *swáwənmə̓y̓ɬ* |
| *síl̓ə* | ‘gr pa’ | *sásələ* |
| *ʔíməθ* | ‘gr ch’ | *ʔámə̓θ* |
| *sc̓ám̓əqʷ* | ‘gt gr pa’ | *sc̓əc̓ám̓əqʷ* |
| *šk̓ʷíɬəẁ* | ‘sp pa, wi br’ | *šk̓ʷák̓ʷəɬəẁ*, pl. *šk̓ʷáləkʷəɬəẁ* |
| *scəwtéɬ* | ‘ch sp, si hu’ | *scəwítəl̓ɬ* |
| *smétəxʷtən* | ‘hu br, wi sis, etc.’ | *səm̓téxʷtən* |
| *šxʷʔéləx* | ‘hu sis, br wi’ | *šxʷʔáléx* (probably *šxʷʔál̓əx*) |
| *c̓éˑyə* | ‘dec sp rel, dec rel sp’ | *c̓əc̓èy̓é*, pl. *c̓ələ̓c̓èy̓é* |
| *sk̓ʷálwəs* | ‘ch sp pa’ | pl. *sk̓ʷək̓ʷəl̓wés* |
| *snəc̓álləq* | ‘sp sb sp’ | *sən̓c̓əl̓éq* |

Clearly, these terms of impersonal reference are all derived from those of personal reference, but the question remains as to how. In the impersonal set, there is usually reduplication of the first consonant, a full first vowel is reduced to schwa, the stress may fall on this vowel or on a later one, possibly a stressed full vowel, and resonants may be glottalized. In these respects, these forms resemble one or another aspect of the verb, but it is not possible to say unequivocally that they are progressive, durative, or what. One of the problems for analysis is that several of the personal set are composed of roots and affixes that cannot be identified. Most of these terms of impersonal reference have not appeared in the texts I have recorded, and, unfortunately, I did not try to elicit them from other speakers. They remain a problem for further analysis and comparative work.

# 22
# Space and Time

Distinctions involving space and time are required by the grammar in nearly every utterance in ways that have been described at various places in the preceding sections. Here I will simply summarize these and then describe the treatment of time and space in the lexicon.

## 22.1. SPACE

Grammar often requires the expression of location or direction in relation to the speaker or to the focus of interest in a narrative. Many predicates require auxiliaries, and thus the speaker must choose between *ʔi* 'be here' and *niʔ* 'be there,' which identify an event as appearing or occurring near the speaker or away from the speaker, or between *ʔəm̓i ~ m̓i* 'come' and *nem̓* 'go,' which identify any movement as toward the speaker or away from the speaker (see §3.2.1). Every nominal adjunct must be introduced by an article or demonstrative or consist of a demonstrative that locates it in relation to the speaker or the focus of interest by indicating whether it is present and visible, nearby but invisible, or remote, non-existent, or hypothetical (see §15.1.2). The locative demonstratives (§15.2.2.1) and demonstrative auxiliaries (§15.3), formed with *ʔí* 'be here' (with a variant *ʔé*) and *níʔ* 'be there' (and a variant *naʔ*), distinguish a 'yonder' position as well as a 'here' and a 'there.'

In the lexicon, direction and location are also expressed by about fifty roots and their derivatives. Many of these roots are verbs that can stand alone (without affixes) to express motion or, less often, position. Many have progressive and resultative forms and can take transitive, causative, reflexive, and reciprocal suffixes. The resultative forms usually express location. There are also some roots that can only be inferred from complex forms and cannot be classified.

Most of these roots take one or more affixes that have a spatial meaning. The most common of these are the suffixes *-əl ~ -íl, -íləm* 'move toward' (§12.3.1), *-ál̓wəɬ, -ə́l̓wəɬ, -wíɬ* 'side' (§13.6, 90), *-ic, -icən* 'back, upper surface' (§13.6, 64), *-eʔc ~ -él̓eʔc* 'route across' (§13.6, 64.1), *-əs ~ -as* 'face, front' (§13.6, 28), *-éx̌ən* 'arm, side' (§13.6, 76), and *-aʔθ, -aθ, -aθən* 'lip, edge, margin' (§13.6,

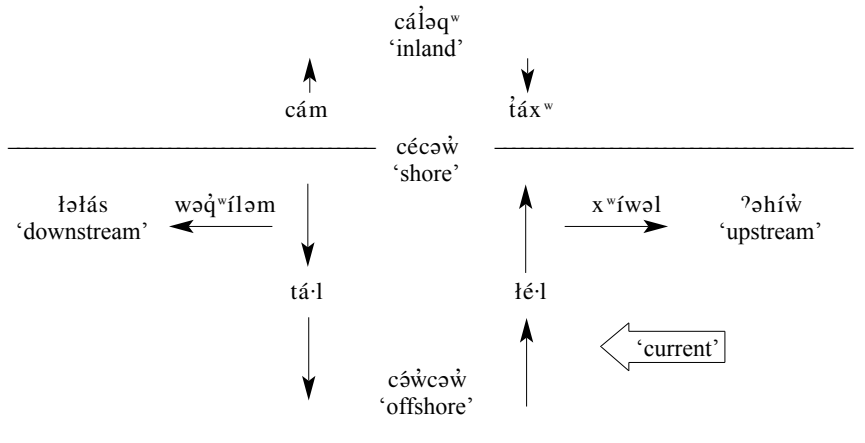
26), and the prefixes *xʷə-* 'become' (§12.2.2), *yə-*$_1$ 'along' (§11.1.5.), *xʷ-*$_2$ 'move toward' (§12.2.7), and *hən-, həm-, ʔəm-* 'come' (§12.4.10). To economize I will not gloss these affixes in the following three sections.

We will first consider terms referring to location or direction in relation to features of the environment and to the house, fire, and canoe, before considering terms of general reference.

### 22.1.1. The Expression of Movement and Location in Relation to Water

The direction of movement and location on land or water are commonly indicated with words that refer to the shore and the flow of water. In many contexts, these words are the counterparts of cardinal directional terms in English. The basic terms are illustrated in the following diagram.

**Diagram 4**




These terms[1] can be categorized as follows:

| | DIRECTION | LOCATION |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | On land in relation to the shore | |
| | *cám* 'go/come up inland' | *cál̓əqʷ* 'inland, up in the bush' |
| | *t̓áxʷ* 'go/come down toward the shore' | *cécəẇ* 'down on the shore' |

1 See Hess 1979a for comparable terms in Northern Straits and Lushootseed.

2 On water in relation to the shore
*tá·l* ‘go/come out seaward’ *cáw̓cəw̓* ‘out at sea, out from shore, out on the tide flats’
*łé·l* ‘go/come in shoreward, ashore’

3 On land or water in relation to the flow of water
*xʷíwəl* ‘go/come upstream’ *ʔəhíw̓* ‘upstream’
*wəq̓ʷíləm* ‘go/come downstream’ *łəłás* ‘downstream’

The terms *xʷíwəl* and *wəq̓ʷíləm* are used for movement both on the river and on land along the river. On Burrard Inlet, to go toward the head is *xʷíwəl* ‘go upstream,’ but to go toward open water is *ʔáɁqaθ* ‘go out.’ Out on Georgia Strait (“the Gulf”), according to JP, you can only specify where you are going or use the terms *táywət* ‘north’ or *yíx* ‘south.’ (See §22.1.1.4.) The terms *tá·l* and *łé·l* are used for movement on both the river and the salt water.

The directional terms are verbs, as in (a) and (b).

(a) ni m̓ə yəcəkʷcákʷəm̓. (CC)
‘They are going up from the shore.’

(b) ʔi wəłm̓i ƛ̓áƛ̓əxʷ. (JP)
‘He’s coming down to the shore.’

The locational terms were used with articles as nouns by CC and JP, as in (c) and (d).

(c) ni niʔ [ʔə] k̓ʷə cécəw̓. (CC)
‘He’s down on the beach.’

(d) ʔáy̓ kʷsnem̓ct sáwq̓t k̓ʷ p̓áwəy̓ [ʔə] tə céw̓cəw̓. (AC 1)
‘Let’s go look for flounders out from shore.’

AG, however, used some of them as predicate heads and had plural forms, as in (e) and (f).

(e) ni cécəw̓. (AG)
‘He’s down.’

(f) ni cəláw̓cəw̓. (AG)
‘They are out offshore.’

Inflected and derived forms are given in the next three sections.

### *22.1.1.1. Inland versus Shoreward*

The directional terms *cám* ‘go/come inland’ and *ƛ̓áxʷ* ‘go/come toward the shore’ are simple verb roots with progressive, causative, and other forms; *cám* has a progressive *cákʷəm̓,* plural *cáləm,* progressive plural *cəkʷcákʷəm̓,* and causative *cámstəxʷ* ‘take/bring it up from the shore,’ and *ƛ̓áxʷ* has a progressive

*ɫáɬəxʷ*, plural *ɫál̓əxʷ*, progressive plural *ɫáxʷɫəxʷ*, and causative *ɫáxʷstəxʷ* 'take/bring it down to the shore.' What appear to be forms in the dispositional-iterative aspect (§7.6) are *cámcəm* 'move one's residence inland' and *ɫə́xʷɫəxʷ* 'move one's residence down to the shore.'

The root of the locational term *cál̓əqʷ* is not identifiable; *cécəẃ* is from the root *cew-* 'shore.' These two also have verbal derivatives, *həncál̓əqʷ* 'get up to the house from the beach' (AG) and *həm̓céw ~ həm̓céw ~ ʔəm̓céw* 'get down to the shore' (JP). The latter has a transitive with *-nəxʷ*, implied by a recorded passive *ʔəm̓céwnəm* 'be brought down from the bush (as a deer),' a causative implied by a recorded passive *həm̓céẃstəm* 'be brought down from the bush (as a dead animal or the body of someone who had been lost),' and a derivative *ʔəmcáwəyəs* 'come back to life' (with *-əyəs* 'circular figure').

As this last word implies, movement to and from inland can also refer euphemistically or metaphorically to movement to and from the grave, as in (a) and (b).

(a) niwɬ néḿ cə́mstəm. (CC)
'They have taken the body to the graveyard.' (lit. 'He was taken inland.')

(b) ni ʔəm̓cáwəyəs kʷə niɬ ʔík̓ʷ. (JP)
'The one who was lost has (unexpectedly) returned.'

Reference to the bush (the woods) is more specific in *xc̓íləm* 'enter the woods' (cf. *xíc̓ət* 'put it in the bush,' *sxíxəc̓* 'the bush,' the root of which may mean simply 'thrust into'; cf. also *xʷc̓ə́t* 'put it in the middle,' *šxʷəxʷíc̓* 'within, among').

The two locational terms are the bases of the contrasting pair *scəl̓qʷál̓wəɬ* 'uphill side' and *scəwál̓wəɬ* 'shore side.' The root *cew-* also appears in *scəẃél̓əc* 'out on the river bank' (also a place name at Musqueam) and *scəẃáθən* 'Tsawwassen' (lit. 'shore margin,' < *-aθən* 'mouth'), and in other derivatives given below.

### *22.1.1.2. Offshore versus Shoreward*

The directional terms *tá·l* 'go/come offshore/seaward' and *ɬé·l* 'go/come shoreward' are composed each of a root (probably √*ta-* 'out'? and √*ɬel-* 'back, behind') and the suffix *-əl* 'move toward.' The progressives are *tətá·l* (CC) or *tətí·l̓* (JP) and *ɬəɬí·l̓*. (AG also used *tətá·l̓*, but JP believed this was the Cowichan progressive.) Causatives are *tá·ləstəxʷ* 'take/bring it out from shore' and *ɬé·ləstəxʷ* 'take/bring it ashore.' (The root *ɬél-* also has a transitive form *ɬélx* – see §22.1.4.)

The locational term *cáẃcəẃ* 'out on the water, out on the tide flats' looks like a form of *cew-* 'shore' in the iterative aspect, but it is not clear why this might be so. This term also has a verbal form, *xʷəcáẃcəẃ* 'get out in the water,' as in (a).

(a) ni čxʷ wən̓ánəw xʷəc̓ə́w̓cəw̓. (JP)
'You got out too far.'

An adjectival form appears in *scewcéw̓ał q̓ʷəlítəq* "offshore seagull" (possibly the long-tailed jaeger) (JP). There is a derivative *ciw̓cəw̓ás* 'be looking out to sea' with *-as* 'face.'

A term *łé·lt* 'ashore' (landed but still aboard the vessel as opposed to *q̓ʷí·m* 'disembark') was given as the locational counterpart of *łé·l* 'go/come ashore.' It appears to be *łé·l* plus *-t* 'stative'; the resultative is *słéłəlt* 'ashore, shore' (JP), *słéłəl̓t* (AG). Derivatives are *słəl̓tál̓wəł* 'shore side (as the side of an island facing the mainland)' (JP) and *šxʷłé·l̓èməxʷ* 'sea hunter and fisher, expert at getting fish and sea mammals' (JP).

### *22.1.1.3. Upstream versus Downstream*

The directional term *xʷíwəl* 'go/come upstream' (progressive *xʷíw̓əl*) is composed of the prefix *xʷ-* 'move toward,' the root √*hiw* 'ahead,' and the suffix *-əl* 'move toward,' while *wəq̓ʷíləm* 'go/come downstream' (progressive *hə́w̓q̓ʷələm*) is composed of the root *wə́q̓ʷ* 'drift with the current' and the compound suffix *-íləm* 'move toward.' There is another, evidently less frequently used term, *c̓ə́ləxʷ* 'go/come upstream' (progressive *c̓ə́l̓əxʷ*), which appears in the names *sc̓əléxʷ,* that of the upper part of the Musqueam village, and *sc̓əlxʷíʔqʷ* 'Chilliwack.'

The locational *ʔəhíw̓* is from √*hiw* 'ahead,' perhaps a resultative form without the usual *s-* 'resultative,' and *łəłás* is possibly from a root √*łe-* or √*łi-* 'back, behind.' (For other derivatives of *hiw,* see §22.1.8.4.)

The Cowichan counterpart of *ʔəhíw̓* is *tə́yt* (< *təy-* 'upstream' and *-t* 'stative'; cf. *tə́yəl* 'go/come upstream'). The root √*təy* appears in several Musqueam terms, contrasting with *wə́q̓ʷ* 'drift with the current,' as in *stəy̓tál̓wəł* [stiʔtáwəł] 'upstream side' versus *səw̓q̓ʷál̓wəł* 'downstream side,' used for something outside other than a house and *təy̓tás* [tiʔtás] 'facing upstream' versus *həw̓q̓ʷás* 'facing downstream.'

### *22.1.1.4. The Regional Axis*

The terms *tə́ywət* and *yíx* are often identified as 'north' and 'south,' but actually refer to the two ends of the great inland sea that the Halkomelem language straddles, *tə́ywət* to the northern end of the Strait of Georgia and *yíx* to Puget Sound.

The term *tə́ywət* may be derived from the √*təy-* of *tə́yt* 'upstream' and *tə́yəl* 'go/come upstream,' the northern end of the Strait of Georgia being perceived as the upstream end of the waterway leading out the Strait of Juan de Fuca to the ocean. The term may also refer to a westerly direction, as when JP said, *skʷíkʷəm tə tə́ywət* 'It's kind of red in the west,' and its derivative *stə́ywət* refers to a wind that varies from place to place (see §22.1.7). The related term

*xʷtáywəl,* usually glossed 'Northern Indians,' refers to the peoples from the northern end of the Strait of Georgia on northward.

The term *yíx* (//yə́x//?) may be cognate with the *ləš* of Lushootseed (*dxʷləšúcid*) the language of Puget Sound. A derivative, *xʷyíxəl,* is said to refer to the people "from around La Conner south," that is to the speakers of Lushootseed, although sometimes the Samish, who spoke Northern Straits, are included. The adjectival form *syíxaʔɬ* refers to the canoe type favoured by Puget Sound peoples.[2]

These terms also appear in two names for winds, given in §22.1.5. (For a more extended discussion, see Suttles 1987c.)

### 22.1.2. In Relation to the House and Fire

The traditional house was a large wooden structure, rectangular in form and with a single-pitched (shed) roof, standing parallel to the shore. Until the latter half of the nineteenth century, it consisted of a permanent framework of posts and beams covered with removable roof and wall planks, which could be laid across canoes to make "rafts" and be used at other sites. A smaller house may have had an entrance at one end and another on the side facing away from the water; a larger house may also have had one or more on the side facing the water. In winter the walls were lined with mats, which could also be removed for summer use over poles as temporary structures. Inside the house, a bed platform (*lé·i̓weʔs,* probably from √*leʔ* 'put away,' *-ei̓weʔs* 'paddle') wide enough for two adults and a baby extended around the walls, and partitions extended partway out from it to divide the house into family sections. Each family had a fire within its section, but for ceremonial occasions these were combined into a single fire in the centre of the house.

After milled lumber became available in the late nineteenth century, the walls and roofs became permanent features of the house and two-pitched (gable) roofs were usual, but these houses were generally built with the same orientation. Some of these structures continued to be used for winter dances long after they had been abandoned as residences, until the middle of the twentieth century, when they were replaced by more "modern" structures. The term for any structure lived in is *léləm̓* 'house.' The term for a large old-style house, especially one used for the winter dance or other ceremonial activities, is *sθé·wtxʷ* 'big house' (< *θí* 'big,' *-əwtxʷ* '-house').[3]

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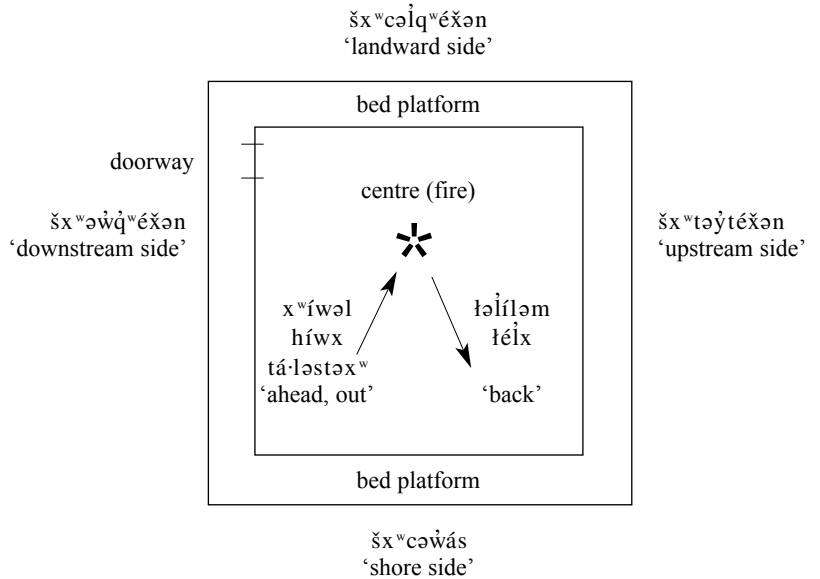
2 A Clallam, Sam Ulmer, identified *nəxʷyə́š* as the people of Whidbey Island, at Coupeville, that is, the Skagit proper. On the other hand, Gibbs (1863, vi) wrote that the Skagits called the Lummi "Nūkh-lésh."

3 At the time that I was doing most of my research, the English term for this structure was either "big-house" or "smoke-house." In recent years, the term "longhouse" seems to have widely replaced these terms, but I do not remember ever hearing "longhouse" used by Native people before the 1960s or '70s. I believe it came into general use about the same time as "elder," which I also never heard until the 1960s or '70s.

Terms expressing direction and location in relation to the house are illustrated in the following diagram.

**Diagram 5**

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Direction in relation to the house is expressed with derivatives of the roots referring to the shore and the flow of water, with the suffixes *-ás ~ -əs* '-face, -front' and *-éx̌ən* '-upper arm, side.'

*xcəwás* (CC) (< *x-*, probably *šxʷ-* 'oblique nominalizer,' *cəw-* 'shore') 'front (water side) of house' (lit. 'facing the shore')
*xcəl̓qʷéx̌ən* (CC), *šxʷcəl̓qʷéx̌ən* (JP) (< *cál̓əqʷ* 'inland') 'back (inland side) of house'
*təy̓téx̌ən* [tiʔtéx̌ən], *šxʷtəy̓téx̌ən* (< *təyt* 'upstream') 'upstream side (of house)'
*həẇq̓ʷéx̌ən, šxʷəẇq̓ʷéx̌ən* (< *háẇq̓ʷ* progressive of *wáq̓ʷ* 'go with the current') 'downstream side (of house)'

(I did not record 'front of the house' from JP but assume he would have used an initial *šxʷ-* instead of CC's *x-*.) These terms are used as in (a) and (b).

(a) ni niʔ ə ḵʷə xcəwás. (CC)
'He is in front of the house.'

(b) ni niʔ ə ḵʷə xcəlqʷéx̌ən. (CC)
'He is in back of the house.'

They can be used to identify the corners of the house, as in (c) and (d).

(c) ni ʔə ḵʷθe šxʷəẇq̓ʷéx̌ən scəl̓qʷéx̌ən šxʷłəkʷéx̌əns kʷθə léləm̓. (AC)
'He's at the lower back corner of the house.'

(d) ni niʔ ə kʷθə štitéx̌əns kʷθə léləm̓ niʔ ə kʷθə šləkʷéx̌ən. (AC)
'It's in the corner of the upstream side of the house.'

In (d), AC used *šłəkʷéx̌ən* for an inside corner, but JP distinguished *šxʷləkʷéx̌ən* 'corner of the outside of a house' from *šxʷc̓éqən̓* 'corner inside the house,' as in (e) and (f).

(e) ni ní tə šxʷc̓éqən̓.
'It's way in the corner.'

(f) nistəxʷ čxʷ tə šxʷc̓éqən̓. (JP)
'Put it away in the corner.'

Within the house, direction in relation to the centre is expressed with some of the same terms or with terms derived from the same roots as those used in relation to water.

The term *xʷíwəl* 'move upstream' also means 'move out into the centre of the house, toward the fire.' Other derivatives of √*hiw* (see §22.1.8.4) with related meanings are *híwx* or *xʷíwx* (*-x* 'transitive') 'take/bring him/her forward (a person to the centre of the house in front of people), bring it out (as food stored in the back),' *xʷíwx* 'move it over into the centre of the fire, move it onto the flame (as something being cooked),' *ʔəhíẇstəxʷ* 'place it at the edge of the fire, put it upriver,' *xʷəxʷíẇ* 'front (as of the bed platform), side toward the fire,' *xʷəxʷíẇstəxʷ* 'keep it close to the fire,' *xʷəxʷíẇəqən* 'front (of a person, that is, nearer the fire),' as in (a) and (b).

(a) ʔi·ɬ ʔam̓ət ʔi ʔə tən xʷəxʷíẇəqən. (CC)
'He was sitting in front of me.'

(b) ni xʷəxʷíẇəqən kʷs ʔəm̓á·mət[s]. (JP)
'They're sitting in front of the bed platform.'

The term *tá·l* 'move out onto the water, seaward' has a causative *tá·ləstəxʷ*, which can mean 'move it out (as a table into the middle of the room).'

The root of *łé·l* 'move shoreward' appears in *łəl̓íləm* 'move back (from the centre of the house toward the bed platform, into the crowd, away from the fire, as at a big event),' and *łélx* 'take/bring back (from the centre of the house, from the fire, as to seat a dancer),' *łəłél* 'back, toward the wall,' as in (c) and (d).

(c) ni łəłél̓. (JP)
'He is in the back.'

(d) ni łələłél̓ kʷis ʔəm̓á·mət. (JP)
'They are sitting in the back.'

One can also use *łəła·l̓wəł* 'behind, on the side away from the fire,' as in (e) and (f).

(e) ʔi ʔám̓ət ʔi k̓ʷən łəłá·l̓wəł. (CC)
'He's sitting behind me (in the big house).'

(f) nin łəłál̓wəł θən stál̓əs.
'My wife is behind me (nearer the wall in the bed).'

Terms for location relative to the speaker are derivatives of *ʔi* 'be here' and *niʔ* 'be there' (see §22.1.8.1), such as *səqín̓* 'this end of the house' and *snəqín̓* 'that end of the house,' *sʔəháʔalcəp* or *səhá·lcəp* 'this side of the fire' and *snəʔáʔalcəp* 'that side of the fire,' *səhál̓wəł* 'this side' and *snəhál̓wəł* 'that side.' The last is illustrated in (g).

(g) ném̓ cən ceʔ k̓ʷə snəʔál̓wəłs tə lélәm̓.
'I'm going to the other side of the house.'

One can also use *łəq̓qín* 'other end of the house.'

Going around inside the house is *xʷq̓áqsəm* 'make a complete circuit,' a term also used for completing a full year. For the ceremonial circuit, see §22.1.3.

Coming or going in and out and inside and outside the house are expressed by the general terms *kʷtáxʷ* and √ʔáx̌q- and their derivatives given in §22.1.8.5, and leaving and returning by those given in §22.1.8.3. There are two terms relating more specifically to the house: *t̓ák̓ʷ* 'go/come home,' which has a causative *t̓ák̓ʷstəxʷ* 'take it home.' The term *ʔəmət* 'sit down (if standing), get up (if lying), be at home' has the derivational forms *šxʷʔám̓ət* 'house site, bed' and *həm̓ámət* 'get home.'

Usually the houses in a village stood in a row along the shore. On a stream, the upriver end of the row was called *stəyté·n* 'upper end' or *táytəx̌ən* 'upper side,' and the lower end was called the *səẇq̓ʷé·n* 'lower end' or *wáq̓ʷəx̌ən* 'lower side.' The houses at the ends of the row at *sc̓əléxʷ* at Musqueam were called *táytəx̌ən* and *wáq̓ʷəx̌ən*. On the salt water, as at Tsawwassen, the ends of the village were *stəyté·n* 'north end' and *syiʔxé·n* 'south end.'

### 22.1.3. The Ceremonial Circuit

As elsewhere in this region, the ceremonial circuit is counterclockwise. Participants in the *smíłeʔ,* the winter dance, move around the house in a counterclockwise direction. The dancers in a *sx̌ʷáyx̌ʷəy* performance circle counterclockwise. Participants in a Shaker service proceed around the church to shake each others' hands and pass before the prayer table in a counterclockwise direction. Even a lady serving tea to her friends, CC explained, should

proceed around the table in a counterclockwise direction. To move clockwise is *qíq̓əθət* 'bind oneself' (< *qíq̓* 'get bound'; cf. *qíq̓ət* 'bind it') and to move counterclockwise is *yáǰʷəθət* 'free oneself' (< *yáǰʷ* 'get free' (cf. *yáǰʷət* 'free it, untie it'; cf. also *yáǰʷ* 'thaw'). Thus, if you move clockwise you are tying yourself up, but if you move counterclockwise you are freeing yourself. The winter dancers moving counterclockwise around the house are "unwinding."

It seems likely that these reflexive terms are extensions in meaning arising from the practice of binding something, such as an arrow shaft, with a clockwise motion, requiring that it must be freed with a counterclockwise motion. (I am assuming that this was the ancient practice.) Once the meaning was extended from the action of binding and unbinding to the direction of the circuit, the implications of the terms would likely have reinforced the practice.

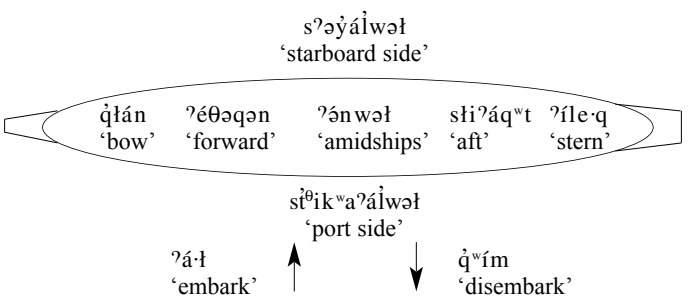
In the big house, there is another reason for moving in a counterclockwise direction, especially when you are entering for the first time and greeting people. If you turn to the right as you enter, you have the people seated along the wall at your right (the honoured side) and you can (in the modern tradition) shake their hands more easily.

The ceremonial circuit in this region contrasts with that of much of the rest of Native North America, where it is clockwise. This direction is often identified as "sun-wise" or "with the sun," because the sun is seen, especially at higher latitudes (in the Northern Hemisphere), as moving in a clockwise direction. (Indeed, it must be the movement of the shadow on a sundial that makes clockwise "clockwise.") The direction in this region, whatever its origin, is consistent with the importance of the house as the theatre of ceremonial activity, and with the absence of any special concern for the cardinal directions.[4]

### 22.1.4. In Relation to the Canoe

A few words seem to apply specifically to movement and location in relation to and within a canoe, or in recent times perhaps to any conveyance.

**Diagram 6**




4 This discussion is taken from Suttles 1987c.

Terms for movement in relation to a canoe are:

(1) *á·ɬ* (probably //ʔa1əɬ//) 'embark, go/come aboard,' the durative (?) of which is *ʔəl̓áʔəɬ* 'be aboard.' Compare (a) and (b):

(a) néṁ cən ʔá·ɬ.
'I'm going aboard.'

(b) ʔi cən ʔəl̓áʔaɬ.
'I am aboard.'

This has the causative *ʔá·ɬstəxʷ* 'put him aboard' and derivatives *ʔəlɬáleʔcəm* 'load aboard' and *ʔəlɬáleʔct* 'load it aboard' (< *-əleʔc* 'bundle'). (Compare the suffix *-a·ɬ* 'travel by,' §12.3.3.)

(2) *q̓ʷím* 'disembark, go/come ashore,' which has the transitive *q̓ʷímət* 'let him off, take it out of the water,' the resultative *sq̓ʷíq̓ʷəm* 'ashore, disembarked,' and the derivative *q̓ʷíməl̓eʔct* 'unload it.'

Terms for position in a canoe are: *q̓ɬán, sq̓ɬán* 'bow,' *ʔíle·q* 'stern,' and *ʔánwəɬ* 'centre, amidships.' Example of use are:

(c) néṁ čxʷ ʔíle·q. (JP)
'Go to the stern.'

(d) neṁ čxʷ tə ʔánwəɬ. (JP)
'Go sit in the middle.'

(e) ni shá·y kʷθə šxʷníʔs kʷθeʔ háy̓qʷ ni ʔə tθe sc̓éc̓əṅ wəsq̓ɬáns tə snáxʷəɬ. (JP 23)
'A place was prepared for that fire in the very bow of the canoe.'

(f) kʷáyx̌θət tə šxq̓əq̓əwáɬ ni kʷθə ʔíle·q, ʔáxəl sc̓éc̓əṅ wətíməθət ʔəxəl. (JP 23)
'The partner in the stern acts and paddles with all his might.'

Relative positions fore and aft in a canoe are expressed by *ʔéθəqən* 'forward,' *sɬiʔáqʷt* or *ɬiʔáʔaqʷtmən* 'aft, behind.'

The two sides of a canoe are *sʔəy̓ál̓wəɬ* [sʔiʔál̓wəɬ] 'starboard side, right side' (< *ʔáy̓* 'good,' *-ál̓wəɬ* 'side,' and *sẓəkʷəʔal̓wəɬ* 'port side, left side' (< *t̓θ́kʷaʔ* 'left').

The terms for movement by canoe are:

*ʔáxəl* 'paddle (v.; cf. *sq̓ámal̓* 'paddle,' n.), row (a skiff),' also 'take food to one's affines' (probably composed of a root √*ʔəx-* and the suffix *-əl* 'move toward'), *sʔáxəl* 'gift of food for affines,' *ʔəxí·ls* //ʔəxəlél s// 'tow,' *ʔəxíləstəm* 'be paddled (used of either a canoe or a person being taken somewhere ).'

*wáq̓ʷ* 'drift with the current.' This is the root of *wəq̓ʷíləm* 'go/come downstream' and other terms given in the previous sections.

*xʷəwqínt* ‘go ahead with it’ (< *xʷ-* *hiw-* ‘ahead,’ *-qin* ‘head, forward end,’ *-t* ‘transitive’)
*yáʔt* ‘back it up’ (< √*yaʔ* ‘reverse?’ *-t* ‘transitive’)
*x̌áx̌əθət* ‘turn aside, swing around’ (< √*x̌ex̌* ‘be at right angles’; cf. *x̌éx̌ət* ‘cross him, contradict him,’ *šxʷx̌éx̌* ‘weir,’ *x̌x̌álwəɬtən* ‘canoe thwart’ [CC]; cf. *ɬx̌álwəɬtən* ‘canoe thwart’ [JP])
*yəpənéc* ‘go with the wind’ (< *yə-* ‘along,’ *pənéc* ‘fair wind,’ composed of *pá* ‘get blown on’ and *-nəc* ~ *-néc* ‘base, butt’)
*yəqsín* ‘go against the wind’ (< *yə-* ‘along,’ *-qsən* ‘nose’?)
*x̌əx̌x̌ənéʔe* ‘go with a wind from the side’ (< *x̌ex̌* ‘be at right angles,’ *-ənéc* ‘ear, side’)

The terms for ‘move upstream’ and ‘move downstream’ apply equally to movement on water and movement on land. There are very likely several, perhaps many, other terms relating to movement in a canoe and of a canoe that I have not noted.

### 22.1.5. Directions and Winds

While there are no simple terms for the cardinal directions, there are several terms identified as ‘north wind,’ ‘west wind,’ and so on. However, these glosses are inaccurate or incomplete. Direction is only one component of meaning; others are season, temperature, and precipitation. Nine winds were identified by either AC or JP or both:

(1) *stáywət* (< *táywət* ‘north’), a wind that blows mainly in summer, from the west to northwest, and brings good weather. Both AC and JP identified it as ‘west wind.’ At the Musqueam village, it comes from over Point Grey, according to AC, from up the gulf (the Strait of Georgia), according to JP. Upriver, where some of the Musqueam used to go for a supply of fish (see §23.1), it provided ideal conditions for drying the fish; it is said that it blows upriver every day in the daytime and is pretty strong after 10:00 AM, lasting through the day.

(2) *həẇq̓ʷéɬəɬ,* a wind that blows downstream at night during the fishing season on the Fraser River. It is said to be caused by the flow of the river.

(3) *scás,* a wind identified by JP as a south-to-southwest wind and described as swinging around past Victoria and coming up through the gulf. The name means or implies that it swings around, he said.

(4) *təncál̓əqʷ* (*tən-* ‘from,’ *cál̓əqʷ* ‘inland, the “bush”’), a southwest wind that blows from over Vancouver Island and may bring squalls. It is said to be called a “bush wind” by some whites on Vancouver Island.

(5) *təl̓áθnəc* (*təl-* ‘from,’ *ʔáθnəc* ‘bay’), a southeast or south wind that brings rain, sometimes for weeks at a time. At the Musqueam village, it comes from the southeast, “from where the sun rises,” according to JP, from over San Juan Island (due south), according to AC. (The very destructive Typhoon Frieda of October 1962 was identified as this wind.)

(6) *tənyáx* (*tən-* 'from,' *yáx* '"south," Puget Sound'), a south wind that sometimes but not always brings showers. Both AC and JP identified it as coming over Point Roberts (south southeast).

(7) *tənyáɬməx̌,* identified by JP as a warm and wet wind that blows from the south in the winter and fights the cold. It is sent by *yáɬməx̌,* "a big, black, ugly man at the south end" who appears in a myth JP told. CC did not know the name. (See Suttles 1987c for more on the name.)

(8) *sátəc,* a cold winter wind from the north to northeast. It blows only in winter and brings a cold snap with ice and snow. AC called the wind *sásətəc,* but JP called it *sátəc* and used *təmsásətəc* for a period of continuing cold weather.

(9) *sqʷáx̌ʷəməx* (< *sqʷx̌ʷáməx* 'Squamish'), a north wind that may blow in the summer. JP said that a wind from the same direction as *sátəc* in summer would not be called by this name because it would not be cold, but AG said a *sqʷáx̌ʷəməx* is also cold.

### 22.1.6. Measurement of Space

Perhaps only artifacts were measured in earlier times. The *téɬ* 'fathom,' the space that can be covered by the outstretched arms, was the unit for measuring the length of a line or canoe or the length and breadth of a house. The *táɬcəs* 'span' (< *téɬ* 'fathom,' *-cəs* 'hand'), the length covered by the outstretched hand, was the unit for measuring pieces of blanket and other smaller things.

The *sx̌áṅə* 'foot' was also used by JP to describe the length of a harpoon shaft, among other things. He identified this unit as the distance between the knuckles of the little fingers when the two hands form fists with the thumbs out and touching at their tips. The length measured by one hand held this way is a *ɬsáq̓ sx̌áṅə* 'half foot' or *ɬ áq̓ʷ sx̌áṅə* 'cut portion of foot.' It is possible, if not likely, that this is a calque of the English measure.

The distance between two places could be expressed by the time taken to travel there.

### 22.1.7. Place Names

Musqueam place names do not differ in pattern from those of other peoples in this region. Typically there are names for every minor feature of the landscape that people know intimately. Often there are no names for some of the major features, such as large islands and bodies of salt water, probably because people's movements were directed toward specific places for specific purposes. But there are names for distant mountains and mountain ranges, perhaps because these were used in setting courses on longer trips or used to mark seasonal changes in the path of the sun.

Generally, most place names are analyzable, but there are always a few that defy analysis. These may be either old worn-down names in the local language or else names adopted from another language. One common kind of analyzable

name is descriptive of the place. Some are simple terms such as *ʔálqsən* 'point' for Point Grey and *ʔáθnəc* 'bay' for Burrardview. Some are composed of the name of some plant or animal found there with the prefix *xʷ-* and the suffix *-əm*. The name *xʷmáθkʷəy̓əm*, that of the Musqueam village, is an example, being composed of *máθkʷəy̓*, the name of a plant, and the prefix and suffix. Another common type is a term that reflects some event in the remote past, especially one involving *x̌é·l̓s*, the Transformer, such as *q̓éẃəm* 'howling,' the name of a rock near Point Grey said to have been given this name because a dog there was going to bite the Transformer.

Appendix 2 contains a list of names of places and peoples.

### 22.1.8. General Terms

These are terms referring to direction and location without regard to specific features of the environment. They are ordered by concepts that are admittedly based on English and not necessarily on Halkomelem. While the roots listed here are general in usage, some of their derivatives refer to features of the environment.

#### *22.1.8.1. The Concepts "Here" and "There" and "To" and "From"*

The two pairs of verbs used as auxiliaries can also function as simple predicates, and each is the base of several other forms. The verbs *ʔí* 'be here' and *níʔ* 'be there' are the bases of terms that contrast the here and the there, as in *xʷəʔí* 'get here' versus *xʷəníʔ* 'get there'; *xʷəʔínxʷ* 'bring here,' *xʷəʔíns* 'reach it (here)' versus *xʷəníns* 'reach it (there)'; *səhál̓wət* 'this side' versus *snəʔál̓wət* 'that side (of house, log, etc.)'; *səhícən* 'this side' versus *snəʔícən* 'that side, the other side'; *ʔəhás* 'look this way, turn this way' versus *nəʔás* 'look toward,' *náʔəsəm* 'go toward.' Others based on *niʔ* include *nəʔéx̌ən* 'reach an end,' *snəʔáθən* 'far side (of a road, creek, etc.),' *snəʔál̓wət* 'other side (of a log, etc.),' and *sné·l̓ic* 'other side (as of a hill).'

The *ʔi* and *niʔ* with the prefix *šxʷ-* 'oblique nominalizer' and a possessive form what are essentially relative clauses (see §4.1.1.2) that express 'place where,' as in (a) to (d).

(a) ʔ̓a nəšxʷníʔ ḵʷə nəsyá·y̓əs. (AG)
'That's where I work.'

(b) ʔ̓a šxʷníʔsəł kʷs yá·y̓əss. (AG)
'That's where he used to work.'

(c) ʔ̓a šxʷníʔs kʷs ḵʷánnəxʷs kʷθə θíθə qʷtá·yθən. (JP 23)
'That's where they used to get the biggest sturgeons.'

(d) təṅa léləṁ ʔi šxʷʔíct (JP 5)
'this house where we are'

The verb *ʔí* with the prefix *təl-* 'from' (see §12.4.3) forms *təl̓í* (also recorded *təlíʔ* and *təlí* from CC) 'be from,' as in (e).

(e) tə ɬwə́ləp təl̓íˑ ḵʷi šxʷníʔct (JP 5)
'You people from down where we come from' (lit. 'You [pl.] who are from that [remote] place where we are,' said by speaker addressing fellow Musqueam in a speech made upriver)

The second pair of auxiliaries, *ʔəm̓i* 'come' and *ném̓* 'go,' are derived from the first pair; *ʔəm̓í* is composed of *ʔí* and the prefix *ʔəm-* 'come,' and *ném̓* is composed of *níʔ* and the suffix *-əm* 'intransitive.' As a command, *ʔəm̓í* has an alternative form, *ʔəm̓é* 'come!' Both have causative forms, *ʔəm̓ístəxʷ* 'bring it' and *nəʔéməstəxʷ* 'take it.' (The form of both the stem and the suffix of the latter indicate that *ném̓* is not a simple root [see §10.3], as do the transitive *nəʔém̓nəs* 'go after him' and a reflexive form, *nəʔəmnáməṯ* 'get to a destination.' The progressive *há n̓əm̓* 'be going' suggests the underlying form //nə́ʔəm//.)

Motion toward is also expressed by *x̌ʷtéʔ* 'head for, go toward.' Its causative *x̌ʷtéʔstəxʷ* seems to mean simply 'take it away.'

A pair of verbs, *técəl* 'arrive here, reach here' and *táṡ* 'arrive there, reach there,' indicate the end point of motion. The first, *técəl,* has not been recorded with transitive or causative suffixes, but *táṡ* has inflected forms with the sense 'near' (see §22.1.8.2).

Five of these verbs, *ʔí, níʔ, ʔəm̓í, ném̓,* and *x̌ʷtéʔ* and the derivative *təl̓í* are used as prepositional verbs with the senses 'in,' 'at,' 'to,' 'toward,' and 'from.' This use of *təl̓í* is seen in (f).

(f) mə́ḵʷ wəsc̓é n̓əm̓ tə m̓i técəl təlí x̌̓ sʔáməna. (CC 6)
'The ones who had come from Duncan were all Shakers.'

For examples of the others, see §3.5.

Hereafter in this section, terms are simply listed under semantic categories. The word or root (preceded by a bullet) is followed by inflected and derived forms and their glosses and, for most, by examples of usage. The symbol √ precedes morphemes that I have recorded with affixes only, but some or all of these may be independent words not yet recorded.

### *22.1.8.2. The Concepts "Near" and "Far"*

- *táṡ* 'arrive there.' *tsáṯ* 'approach it,' *təsnéxʷ* 'get close to it,' *tsáθət* 'approach,' *stətés* 'near.'
  (a) niʔ stətés. (CC)
  'He's close.'
  (b) ném̓ cən stətés. (CC)
  'I'm going close.'

- √*c̓ím-* 'approach.' *c̓imə̓l* 'get close,' *c̓íməθət* 'go near,' *c̓ímət* 'put it close.'
- √*p̓łiq̓* 'beside.' *sp̓łíq̓* 'along side,' *p̓łíq̓θət* 'go alongside,' *sp̓łíq̓tə̓l* 'beside each other.'
  (c) niʔ sp̓łíq̓. (CC)
  'He's alongside.'
  (d) ni ct wəp̓łíq̓tə̓l ʔa̓l tə łníməł. (JP 22)
  'We came alongside one another.'
  (e) niʔ ct ʔám̓ət spłíq̓tə̓l. (CC)
  'We sat together.'
- √ *t̓ən-* 'sit beside.' *t̓ánəst* 'sit beside him/her,' *st̓ánəs* 'sitting beside,' *t̓ənástə̓l* 'sit together' (cf. also *šxʷt̓ánəx̌ən* 'neighbour').
  (f) ʔi tən st̓ánəs. (CC)
  'He's sitting beside me.'
- *cákʷ* 'far.' *xʷcákʷ* 'go far,' *xʷckʷíləm* 'go far away,' *xʷckʷíləməstəxʷ* 'take someone far away,' *cáckʷtə̓l* 'be far apart,' *yəłcákʷ* 'far behind (while moving)' (< *yə-* 'along,' and possibly *ł-*$_2$ 'portion'). (For others see §22.2.5, "The Tide.")
  (g) sc̓éc̓ən wəcákʷ. (CC)
  'It's really far.'
  (h) scékʷəl kʷs cákʷs. (CC)
  'How far is it?'
  (i) niʔ cən cákʷ xʷəʔə́y̓. (CC)
  'I'm much better.' (lit. 'I've become far better.')
  (j) ni yəłcákʷ tə péstən ʔəx̌ Australia II. (AG)
  'The Americans were far behind the Australia II.'

### 22.1.8.3. The Concepts "Leaving," "Staying Away," and "Returning"

- √*ʔey-* (?) 'away.' *ʔéyəl* 'come/go away,' *sʔéyəl* 'be away,' *ʔéyələs* 'leave him/her/it.'
  (a) ʔéyəl tə̓li tə šxʷk̓ʷcástən. (JP)
  'Come away from the window.'
- √*kʷey̓-* 'stay away.' *kʷáy̓əθət* [kʷáʔiθət] 'move away, stay away,' *skʷəy̓éʔ* 'stay away.'
  (b) skʷəyéʔ čxʷ ʔa̓l. (JP)
  'Keep away.'
- √*xən-* (?). *xənxéṅ* 'out of the way, isolated' (this appears to be an *s*-less resultative), *xənxénstəxʷ* 'put it out of reach.'
  (c) neṁ ct ceʔ k̓ʷ xənxéṅ. (JP)
  'We'll go out of their way (e.g., to talk privately).'

- *háye* (also recorded *háyeʔ*) 'go away, leave,' *həyéʔstəxʷ* 'take away.'
  (d) néṁ cən hayeʔ. (JP)
  'I'm going away.'
  (e) ni yəhə́ẏə.
  'He's leaving.'
  (f) ni həliyéʔ.
  'They went away.'
  (g) ni yəhəyhə́ẏə kʷθə xʷələnítəm. (AG)
  'The White people are going away.'

- *hé·ẇə* 'away, not at home, be hunting, absent.' *ʔəhé·ẇə* 'hunt deer,' *nəxʷahé·ẇə* 'land hunter' (cf. *šxʷłté·l̓eməxʷ* 'sea hunter'), *səwí* 'gone, away,' *háwè·nxʷ* 'poor year (for salmon)' [absent season], opposite of *qx̌é·nxʷ* 'good year' (> *qə́x̌* 'many').
  (h) niʔ hé·ẇə. (CC)
  'He's away.'
  (i) ni səwí. (JP)
  'He's gone for a while. He'll be away for a while.'

- √*q̓en-* 'return.' *q̓ə́nnəxʷ* 'get it back,' *q̓ə́nstəxʷ* 'return it,' *q̓á·nθət* 'return.'
  (j) ʔəwə ct ceʔ wəṅánət neṁ xʷcák i mi ct q̓á·nθət. (JP 22)
  'We won't go far and we'll come back.'
  (k) məq̓á·nθət tə sʔə́łtən niʔəł neṁ sʔéxʷeʔtct təwx̌áləm. (CC)
  'The food that was our gift to them has returned.'
  (l) néṁ čxʷ q̓á·nθət neṁ kʷθe ʔəθxʷʔáṁət. (JP)
  'Go back to bed.'

### *22.1.8.4. The Concepts "Before," "Behind," and "Pass"*

- *yəẇéṅ* 'before, ahead, first (in both spatial and temporal senses).' *yəẇánθət* 'move ahead,' *yəẇéṅmən* 'front.' (See also §18.4.20.)

- √*hiw* 'ahead (in space only?).' *híẇaqʷ* 'headman, leader' (*-aqʷ* 'head'), *xʷəwqínəm* 'move up (as toward the pillow, to a child in bed)' (*xʷ-, -qən* 'head, front end,' *-əm* 'intransitive'), *xʷəwqínt* 'move it ahead,' *xʷáẇqəṅt* 'be moving it ahead.' For other derivatives, see §22.1.1.3 and §22.1.2.

- *ləq̓él* 'hit the mark, get it just right.' *ləq̓élt* 'put it in place,' *ləq̓ə́łθət* 'get in the way, get on the right bearing,' *ləq̓ə́łtəl̓* 'jibe,' *xʷələq̓él* 'move in front, come into place,' *ləq̓élmən* 'just opposite, directly in front (in line with something).'

- *yəl̓éẇ, yəléw* 'pass (in space or time).' *yəl̓éẇx, yəléwx* 'pass him,' *yəléwəl* 'get past.'
  (a) niʔ yəlew. (CC)
  'It's passed.'

(b) ném̓ cən yəléwəl. (CC)
'I'm going by, I'm going to pass.'

- √*łel-* 'back' (see §22.1.1 and §22.1.2).

- *łiʔáʔaqʷt* 'behind, after, next, last (in both spatial and temporal senses).' *słiʔáʔaqʷt* 'behind,' *łiʔáʔaqʷtmən* 'behind.' (See also §18.4.21.)
(c) ʔi yəłiʔáʔaqʷt ʔəx̌ ʔé·nθə. (CC)
'He's behind me (going along).'
(d) ʔi ʔám̓ət ʔi k̓ʷən łiʔáʔaqʷt. (CC)
'He's sitting behind me (outside or in a canoe).'
(e) ʔi ʔi k̓ʷən łəʔáʔaqʷtmən kʷsis ʔi ʔám̓ət.
'He's sitting behind me (in a canoe).'
(f) ni c̓ə təwyəłcákʷ yəłiʔáʔəqʷt tə naʔənc̓aʔ. (JP 14)
'There was one who was kind of far behind the other.'

### *22.1.8.5. The Concepts "In," "Out," "Middle," "Between," and "Among"*

- *kʷtə́xʷ* 'get inside, enter abruptly.' *kʷtéxʷt* 'take/bring it in,' *skʷtéxʷ* 'inside (anything),' *kʷətxʷíləm* 'go/come in.'

- √*ʔəx̌q-* 'move out.' *ʔə́x̌qəl* 'go/come out,' *ʔəx̌qílt* 'eject, throw out (as a sponger or a spouse),' *ʔəx̌qáθ* 'go out into open water from an inlet,' *sʔéx̌q* 'outside,' *sʔəx̌qálw̓əł* 'outside (as outside of the family).'

- √*nəẃ-* 'enter.' *náẃəx* 'insert it,' *sən̓íẃ* 'inside,' *ʔən̓wínəs* 'middle,' etc. (This is the root of the Cowichan *nəẃiləm* 'enter,' for which Musqueam has *kʷətxʷíləm,* but Musqueam has both resultatives, *sən̓íẃ* and *skʷtéxʷ,* for 'inside.')

- √*xʷəc̓-* 'be within.' *xʷc̓áθət* 'go among, go between,' *xʷc̓át* 'insert it,' *šxʷíxʷəc̓* 'within, among,' *šxʷc̓íẃən* 'slipped in between' (*-íwən* 'middle').
(a) niʔ šxʷəxʷíc̓. (CC)
'It's in between.'
(b) ni nem̓ x̌ʷənxénəm tə pús xʷc̓áθət tə lətém i tə xʷc̓énəctən.
'The cat ran between the table and the chair.'

- √*xəc̓-* 'be within.' *xíc̓ət* 'put it in the woods,' *xc̓íləm* 'enter the woods,' *sxíxəc̓* 'in the woods.'

- *cłáqʷ* 'pass through.' *cłáqʷθət* 'go through,' *cłáqʷt* 'poke it through,' *scłáqʷ* 'through.'
(c) niwəł cłáqʷ. (CC)
'He is through.'
(d) nə x̌ʷənxénəm tə pús cłáqʷθət tə léləm̓.
'The cat ran through the house.'

- √ʔey̓eʔ ‘middle?’ *šxʷʔéy̓eʔ* or *šxʷʔáyeʔ* ‘middle,’ *šxʷʔéy̓eʔstəm* ‘be placed in the middle.’
  (e) niʔ šxʷʔéy̓e. (CC)
  ‘It’s in the middle.’

### *22.1.8.6. The Concepts “Along,” “By Way of,” “Across,” and “Around”*

- √*q̓ət-* ‘go following a natural feature.’ *q̓ətnéc* ‘go around (as a lake or bay),’ *q̓ətáθən* ‘go along the bank,’ *q̓átəst* ‘go back and forth in front of it,’ *q̓ətθínəmət* ‘go along through the village inviting people,’ *q̓téwəɬ* ‘go across (a small bridge),’ *šxʷq̓átəwəɬ* ‘foot bridge,’ *yəq̓átəqən* ‘stay (be staying?) at the same level (on a hillside).’
  (a) ném̓ cən q̓ətnéc tə x̌ácaʔ (sʔə́θnəc). (CC)
  ‘I’m going around the lake (bay).’
- √*łəʔé* ‘go by way of.’ *yəłəʔé* (JP), *yəłəl̓é* (CC) ‘go the same way, go by way of.’
  (b) nem̓ yəłəl̓é ʔə tə cécəw. (CC)
  ‘Go along the beach.’
  (c) nem̓ cə ceʔ nə́pəc yəłəlé· x̌̓ Andy. (DK)
  ‘I’ll send it with Andy.’
- √*l̓ékʷ-, l̓ékʷəl* ‘go across (a road, stream, the gulf).’
- √*łəq̓-* ‘broad, opposite side, straight ahead.’ *łq̓ét* ‘wide,’ *łq̓écəs* ‘five’ (< *-cəs* ‘hand,’ i.e., ‘the spread-out hand’), *łéq̓əməx* ‘flats, flat country (as the Fraser delta),’ *łq̓é·n* ‘other end (of a line),’ *łəq̓əlíc* ‘other side (as of a peninsula),’ *łəq̓qín* ‘other end of a house’ (JP), *łáq̓qən* ‘head of a big river like the Fraser, people living way upriver as around Kamloops,’ *łq̓éx̌ən* ‘one house’[?], *łq̓á·ʔiθən* ‘one side of the mouth’ (CC), *słáq̓əwəɬ* ‘back (of body), back (location),’ *łəq̓ənéc* ‘rump,’ *xʷłáłq̓əs* ‘go straight ahead.’
  (e) wəxʷłáłq̓əs čxʷ ʔal̓. (JP)
  ‘Just go straight ahead.’
- *sálc̓* ‘go around.’ *sál̓c̓stəxʷ* ‘surrounded,’ *sálc̓əlwəɬ* ‘around,’ *səlc̓əlwált* ‘go around.’
  (f) ném̓ cən sálc̓. (CC)
  ‘I’m going to go around.’
  (g) nə x̌ʷənxénəm tə sqʷəméy̓ səl̓c̓ tə léləm̓. (CC)
  ‘The dog ran around the house.’
  (h) niʔ sélc̓ tə qáʔ. (CC)
  ‘There’s water all around.’

### *22.1.8.7. The Concepts "Turn," "Left," and "Right"*

- √*x̌aɬ̓* 'be at right angles.' *x̌éɬ̓ət* 'cross him, contradict him,' *x̌áɬ̓əθət* 'turn aside, swing around (as when travelling in a canoe),' *yəx̌áɬ̓x̌əɬ̓θət* 'be zigzagging (as while running),' *šxʷx̌éɬ̓* 'weir (built across a stream),' *x̌ɬ̓álwəɬtən* 'thwart in canoe' (< *-wəɬ* 'canoe,' *-tən* 'instrument'), *x̌əx̌ɬ̓ənéʔe* 'go with the wind from the side.'
- √*ċal-* 'turn, switch, reverse.' *ċəlqínəm* 'turn a canoe around,' *ċáləsəm* 'turn the head, turn and look back,' *ċálqət* 'get him to turn around,' *ċəlqínt* 'make it turn around,' *ċəl̓ċəl̓qínəm* 'topple over,' *ċálcəs* 'switch sides when paddling,' *ċáləws* 'switch sides when felling a tree or a spring-board (*-íẇs ~ əẇs* 'body').
- *i̓θíḵ̓ʷa* 'left.' *si̓θəḵ̓ʷəʔíẇs* (CC), *i̓θḵ̓ʷəʔíẇs* (JP) 'left hand, left shoulder, left side of body,' *si̓θḵ̓ʷəʔél̓wəɬ* 'left side, left (direction).'
  (a) násəm čxʷ tə θi̓θḵ̓ʷəʔál̓wəɬ. (JP)
  'Look to your left.'
  (b) néṁ čxʷ teʔe si̓θík̓ʷə. (CC)
  'Go to the left.'
- *ʔəy̓íẇs ~ sʔəy̓íẇs* 'right hand, right (direction).' (< *ʔáy̓* 'good,' *-iẇs* 'body').
  (c) néṁ čxʷ teʔe sʔəy̓íẇs. (CC)
  'Go to your right.'

### *22.1.8.8. The Concepts "Up" and "Down," and "Above" and "Below"*

- √*ciɬ-* 'above.' *cícəɬ* 'above, high,' *scɬícən* 'top, surface,' *cɬíct* 'put it on top,' *scɬál̓wəɬ* 'above.'
  (a) niʔ cicəɬ.
  'He's up above.'
  (b) sqʷəqʷé niʔ tə cícəɬ
  'perforated at the top'
- *x̌́əp* 'deep.' *x̌́píl* 'go down, sink,' *x̌́pílx* 'sink it,' *sx̌́píqən* 'bottom of a hill,' *x̌́əpqénəm* 'descend a mountain, go downhill,' *sx̌́pál̓wəɬ* 'underside, underneath,' *x̌́pal̓wíləm* 'go under.'
  (c) niʔ x̌́íx̌́əp.
  'He's down below (as someone in a hole). It's low (a ship in the water).'
  (d) niʔ sx̌́pál̓wəɬ kʷθə pípə ʔə kʷθə púkʷ.
  'There is paper under the book.'
  (e) ni x̌ʷənxénəm tə pús yəsx̌́pál̓wəɬ tə léləṁ.
  'The cat ran under the house.'

The terms *cícəɬ* 'above' and *x̌́íx̌́əp* 'below' are also used attributively, as in *cícəɬ sméːnt* 'high mountain,' *cícəɬ siʔémˀ* 'God' (lit. 'Lord Above,' probably in origin a calque of the Chinook Jargon *sáx̌ali tayí*), and *x̌́íx̌́əp háy̓qʷ* 'Hell' (lit. 'fire below'). There is also a true attributive form *scíɬaʔɬ* 'of the heights,'

as in *scíɬaʔɬ məmáʔaqʷ* ‘birds of the heights (as vultures, ravens, golden eagles).’

- *k̓ʷíʔ* ‘ascend.’ *k̓ʷíʔstəxʷ* ‘raise it,’ *k̓ʷíʔqən* ‘climb (a mountain), go uphill,’ *k̓ʷəʔás* ‘look upward,’ *k̓ʷáqsənəm* ‘turn up one’s nose, sniff’ (< *-əqsən* ‘nose,’ *-əm* ‘intransitive’), *šxʷk̓ʷíʔtən* ‘ladder’ (< *šxʷ-* ‘oblique nominalizer,’ *-tən* ‘instrument’).
  (f) niʔ cən k̓ʷíʔ.
  ‘I climbed up.’
  (g) ʔi cən k̓ʷək̓ʷíʔ.
  ‘I’m climbing.’

- *c̓eʔ* ‘land on top.’ *c̓éʔt* ‘put it up on something,’ *c̓á·l̓wəɬ* ‘go over,’ *c̓á·l̓əc* ‘go over (an island, a hill),’ *xʷc̓én̓əcəm* ‘sit on a chair,’ *c̓íləm* ‘climb up, mount (a horse),’ *sc̓ec̓éʔ* ‘on top, mounted (as on a horse), put up on something.’
  (h) néṁ cən c̓á·l̓wəɬ. (CC)
  ‘I’m going over (a log, canoe, etc.), to the far side (of a car, etc.).’
  (i) néṁ cən c̓á·l̓əc. (CC)
  ‘I’m going over (a hill, etc.).’

- √*seʔ* ‘raise.’ *séʔt* ‘lift it up,’ *sáʔθət* ‘raise oneself.’

- √*xʷe* ‘lower.’ *xʷét* ‘lower it,’ *xʷáʔθət* ‘go down’ (lit. ‘lower oneself’), *šxʷəxʷé* ‘down below, on the ground,’ *šxʷənéc* ‘seated on the floor,’ and *šxʷénəc* ‘the drop-off (the edge of a shallow shelf, where deep water begins).’

- √*hiq* ‘move under.’ *híqət* ‘put it under, shove it out into the water,’ *síʔq* ‘underneath.’
  (j) niʔəɬ ṁe síʔq tə lətém łə púsˀ.
  ‘The cat was under the table.’
  (k) ni x̌ʷənxénəṁ tə púsˀ yəsíʔq tə léləṁ.
  ‘The cat ran under the house.’

### *22.1.8.9. The Concept “Everywhere”*

- *t̓é·t̓θ* ‘everywhere’ (cf. Cowichan *t̓ét̓θət* ‘scatter it’). *t̓át̓θəθət* ‘scatter (intr.),’ *t̓ét̓ət̓θ* ‘go from one place to another,’ *st̓ét̓ət̓θ* ‘spread out, all over, everywhere.’
  (a) niʔ cən t̓é·t̓θ k̓ʷən sə́wq̓ ʔi ʔə́wətəʔ. (CC)
  ‘I looked everywhere and there isn’t anything.’

- *ʔəsép̓* ‘complete, completely (spatially), be finished (temporally).’ *ʔəsə́p̓nəxʷ* ‘complete it (as something being studied),’ *sʔéʔsəp̓* ‘all over.’
  (b) yə́mq̓θət čxʷ ʔəsép̓ te ʔeθləxʷíẇs. (JP 21)
  ‘Rub yourself all over your body.’
  (c) i ni ʔəsép̓ tə sx̌ʷəy̓ém̓. (JP 1)
  ‘And the story is finished.’

(d) sʔéʔsəṗ təwx̌a ni θáynəxʷəs x̌péẏ (JP 22)
'all over that cedar he had made'

- *máḵʷ ʔánəcə* 'everywhere' (see §17.17).

## 22.2. TIME

The time of an event relative to the present is expressed by the particles *-əł* 'past' and *ceʔ* 'future' (see §15). The use of *-əł* to express the past is not obligatory, but the use of *ceʔ* for the future may be. Duration, frequency, and iteration are expressed by internal modifications of the verb root that distinguish perfective, progressive, durative, and other aspects.

The auxiliaries *ʔi* 'be here' and *niʔ* 'be there' may appear to refer to time, but, as explained in §3.2.1, this is only because 'the here' is more often 'now' and 'the there' more often 'then.'

The demonstrative system expresses spatial relations, but in some contexts may imply temporal relations. What is present spatially may be present temporally, as in *təṁa wéyəl* 'today,' and what is remote may be past, as in *ḵʷ cəléqəł* 'yesterday' (see §15.1.2).

Verbs of coming and going can be used in referring to a point in time. In an account of his family history, JP said:

(a) neʔéməstəxʷ cən kʷe ʔə kʷθə yəwénəł šxʷənx̌as kʷθən sc̓áməqʷəł. (JP 23)

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| néṁ-stəxʷ | cən | kʷe | ʔə | kʷθə | yəẇéṅ-əł | |
| go-CAUS | I | then | OBL | ART | before-past | |
| šxʷ-xʷən-x̌a-s | | | kʷθə | nə-sc̓áṁəqʷ-əł | | |
| OBLNOM-still-BE3P-3POS | | | ART | my-great.grandfather-past | | |

'I'll go back to the time of my late great-grandfather.' (lit. 'I'll take it to the past when my late great-grandfather still was.')

And later he said:

(b) ṁaḷ técəl tə́s kʷθə swéʔs swéyəl kʷθə nəswé·ł nəmén. (JP 23)

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ʔəṁi | ʔaḷ | técəl | ṯə́s | kʷθə | swéʔ-s | swéyəl | kʷθə |
| come | just | arrive.here | arrive.there | ART | own-3POS | day | ART |
| nə-swéʔ-əł | | nə-mén. | | | | | |
| my-own-past | | my-father | | | | | |

'We come now to the time of my own father.' (lit. 'It arrives here to the day of my own late father.')

The compound prefix *šxʷ-* 'oblique nominalizer' (§4.3.3, §12.1.4) with *tə́s* 'arrive there, reach' can refer to a point in space, as in (c).

(c) ni tə́s kʷθə šxʷtə́s i nə xʷənéʔent. (CC 1)
lit. 'They arrived where they arrived and it became night.' (translated freely by DK as 'They went as far as they could go by the time night came.')

Or it can refer to a point in time, as in (d).

(d) ... ʔəłni·s tə́s kʷθə ni šxʷtə́ss. (JP 17)
whenever-AUX-3POS arrive.there ART AUX OBLNOM-arrive.there-3POS
'... whenever there came a time for it'

That time itself "comes" is implied by (e).

(e) təm̓a ceʔ yəm̓i sx̌ə́x̌əłnet
'this coming week'

Adverbs are part of the lexicon, but have been described in their grammatical context in §18. There are some twenty-three adverbs and adverbial phrases that express frequency, duration, and relative time (see §18.4.1 to 18.4.23). See also *yəw̓én̓* 'before' and *łiʔáʔaqʷt* 'after' (in §22.1.8.4) and *ʔəsép̓* 'complete' (in §22.1.8.9).

### 22.2.1. Day and Night

The 'day' as a period of time is *swéyəl* (< *wéyəl* 'be day'), also 'daylight, sky.' The daylight is distinct from the 'sun,' *syáqʷəm* (< *yáqʷ* 'burn'?). The daylight comes in the morning before the sun, which is, of course, not visible every day. The daylight was regarded as a powerful force, perhaps a deity. In a text dictated by JP, a grandfather instructs his grandson to face the direction from which the sun rises and before it does to ask the daylight to grant his wishes. The grandfather says:

(a) wənáy tə swéyəl wəθəʔít x̌éx̌ə. (JP21)
'Only the Daylight is truly holy.'

The term *swéyəl* can also be translated 'weather,' as in (b).

(b) wəscékʷəl ʔal̓ tə swéyəl. qəl̓qə́l̓əm̓ tə swéyəl. (JP)
'How is the weather?' 'It's changing for the worse.'

(Possibly related to this sense is *cwəywéyəl* 'get caught in a storm.')

The night as a period of time is *snét* (< *nét* 'be night'). The two roots *wéyel* and *nét* are the basis for terms for periods of the day and night:

*yəwéw̓əyəl̓* 'dawn' (lit. 'becoming daylight')
*táx̌ʷ swéyəl* 'noon' (< *táx̌ʷ* 'adjust, fit, be just so')
*yəléw̓ táx̌ʷ swéyəl* 'after noon'
*nétəł* 'morning' (lit. 'night-past')

*xʷəné⁹ənt* ‘evening’ (lit. ‘becoming night’)
*wəłhíθ snét* ‘late at night’

Other terms for the break of day are *łq̓ánəp* ‘daybreak,’ referring to the coming light, not to the sun (etymology unclear; JP said that *-ənəp* was not the suffix for ‘ground’), and *té·wəl* ‘dawn, get light,’ recorded in *xʷnaʔ m̓i té·wəl* ‘when daylight came’ (cf. *stétəw* ‘bright,’ *téwətəm* ‘be lit, have light thrown on’).

Present, future, and past days are expressed differently. ‘Today’ is *tən̓awéyəl,* lit. ‘this day.’ ‘Tomorrow’ is either *wəwéyələs* (lit. ‘when it becomes day’), a conditional clause, or *wéyəl ceʔ* (‘day will break’), a main clause accompanied by a conditional clause (see §4.2.4 for examples). ‘Yesterday’ is *k̓ʷ cəléqəł* (composed of the article *k̓ʷ* implying remote or absent status, a root not now identifiable, and, probably, the particle *-əł* ‘past’). Other such terms are: *k̓ʷən̓a łáẇəłneʔ* ‘the day before yesterday’ (< *k̓ʷən̓a* ‘that absent,’ possibly *łéẇ* ‘escape’ + *-əłneʔ* ?), *k̓ʷ yəẇén̓əł snét* ‘the night before last,’ *θáməntʔ* ‘day after tomorrow,’ lit. ‘two days,’ i.e., ‘in two days’ (< *θəm- ~ θem-* ‘two’ + *-ənt* ?).

Days are usually counted with the simple numerals, but the following two forms are also used, perhaps usually in counting ahead: *θámənt* ‘two days,’ meaning also ‘day after tomorrow,’ and *łəxʷəłnét* ‘three days.’ For *-əłnét* see §22.2.3, “The Week.”

The rising of the sun or moon is expressed by *k̓ʷán̓əs, k̓ʷán̓əsəm* (> *k̓ʷén* ‘go over,’ *-əs* ‘-face’) ‘rise, come into view,’ as in (c), (d), and (e).

(c) wək̓ʷán̓əs tə syáqʷəm. (AG)
‘The sun has risen over the hills.’

(d) wəyeł smis k̓ʷán̓əsəm tə łqélc̓. (AC)
‘The moon is just coming up.’

(e) m̓i yək̓ʷáʔk̓ʷənəsəm tə syáq̓ʷəm. (CC)
‘The sun is rising.’

A term, *wəłq̓əyílt* ‘be up’ (etymology unclear) was also used by JP in (f).

(f) ʔáməts ʔé·ł q̓ə, wəłq̓əyílt.
‘Get up. The sun is up (said by a mother to children).’

The setting of the sun or moon is expressed by *t̓ʸə́x̆ʷ* ‘get used up, worn out, burnt up,’ as in (g) and (h) ...

(g) ném̓ yət̓ʸət̓ʸáx̆ʷ tə syáqʷəm. (CC)
‘The sun is setting.’

(h) ni wəłt̓ʸə́x̆ʷ tə łqélc̓. (JP)
‘The moon has set.’

... by *ƛ̓ánnəc* (< *ƛ̓én* 'disappear,' *-nəc* '-base') as in (i) ...

(i) niwəł nem̓ ƛ̓ənnəc tə łqélc̓. (AC)
'The moon has just gone down.'

... and by *k̓ʷén* 'go over,' as in (j).

(j) ni k̓ʷén tə syáqʷəm. (AG)
'The sun set.'

If the moon rises later than expected, it is said that:

(k) niwəł łək̓ʷxən tə łqélc̓. (AC)
'The moon got tripped.'

Answering a question on eclipses, AC gave (l) and (m).

(l) niʔyeł [niʔəł] wəłƛ̓átəl̓ tə łqélc̓ i tə syáqʷəm.
'The moon and the sun have gone behind each other.' (a solar eclipse)

(m) xʷc̓áθət əy̓eł tə táməxʷ (ə) tə syáqʷəm i tə łqélc̓.
'The earth comes between the sun and the moon.' (a lunar eclipse)

These sentences must reflect a recent understanding of the phenomena.

### 22.2.2. Time by the Clock

For several generations, speakers of Halkomelem have reckoned the time of day by hours with clocks. The terms for 'hour' and 'minutes' are *ʔáwə* and *mánəc* from English. The term for 'clock, o'clock' and 'bell' is *tíntən* from Chinook Jargon. Examples of usage are:

(a) scék̓ʷəl̓ kʷə k̓ʷə ʔəsq̓éq̓əwəłtən̓. nác̓əs ʔəy k̓ʷə
how then ART your-be.paying-people. one-face and ART
łsáq̓ k̓ʷə néc̓aʔ ʔáwə. (CC)
half ART one hour
'How much are you paying?' 'A dollar and a half an hour.'

(b) txʷʔápən mánəc i ʔápən i k̓ʷə nác̓aʔ. (CC)
remaining-ten minutes and ten and ART one
'It's ten minutes to eleven.' (lit. 'There are ten minutes more and it will be eleven.')

(c) niwł słám̓ ƛ̓ ʔápən i k̓ʷə nác̓aʔ. (CC)
AUX already-worn.off OBL ten and ART one
'It's half past eleven.'

(d) táx̌ʷ wiléẇ nác̓aʔ. (JP)
táx̌ʷ wə-yəl̓éẇ nác̓aʔ
just.at EST-pass one
'It's half past one.'

(e) tá·xʷ wəłsə́q̓ tíntən kʷs yəl̓éw̓s x̌aʔáθən tə xʷəné·nt. (AC)
'It was just half past four in the afternoon.'

### 22.2.3. The Week

The week was introduced along with Christianity in the nineteenth century, and so the names of the days of the week must have been devised at that time. These names are:

*sx̌áx̌əłnet* 'Sunday,' lit. 'holy day,' < *x̌éʔx̌e* 'holy'
*syəl̓éwəłnet* 'Monday,' lit. 'after day,' < *yəl̓éw* 'past'
*sθámənts* 'Tuesday,' lit. 'second day'
*słíxʷs* 'Wednesday,' lit. 'third'
*sx̌aʔáθəns* 'Thursday,' lit. 'fourth'
*słq̓écəs*[s?] 'Friday,' lit. 'fifth'
*ɬq̓ʷátəm* 'Saturday,' lit. 'be cut off'

The word *sx̌áx̌əłnet* is also used for 'week,' as in *təm̓a sx̌áx̌əłnet* 'this week,' *kʷθə ni háyəł sx̌áx̌əłnet* 'last week' (lit. 'the week that has finished'), *təm̓a ceʔ yəm̓í sx̌áx̌əłnét* 'this coming week,' *nác̓aʔ sx̌áx̌əłnet* 'one week,' *ʔisél̓ə sx̌áx̌əłnet* 'two weeks.'

The ending *-əłnet* also appears in *tə́səłnet* 'week' (< *tə́s* 'arrive there'?), *nác̓əsłnet* 'one week' (presumably a contraction of *nác̓aʔ sx̌áx̌əłnet*), *sk̓ʷánɬnet* 'what day of the week is it?' (< *k̓ʷín* 'how many'), and *ɬəxʷəłnet* 'three days' (< *ɬíxʷ* 'three'). Thus it appears that we may have here a new lexical suffix with the possible meanings 'week,' 'day of the week,' and 'day.' A similar ending appears in *k̓ʷəm̓a ɬəw̓əłneʔ* 'the day before yesterday' (< *ɬéw̓* 'flee'?). (See also §13.3.)

### 22.2.4. The Month

The month, that is, the lunation or lunar month, is *ɬqélc̓* 'moon,' reckoned as beginning with the new moon, *x̌éw̓s ɬqélc̓*. Phases of the moon were given by AC as follows:

(a) wəłx̌éw̓s θə łíʔłqəlc̓.
'The moon is new.'

(b) natəwł yəqəqə́c tə łqélc̓.
'The moon is in the first quarter.' (lit. 'The moon is swelling.')

(c) wəcəlél̓ i xʷəłsə́q̓ tə łqélc̓.
'It's a quarter moon.'

(d) niʔ wəłxʷəłséq̓ tə łqélc̓.
'It's a half moon.'

(e) niwəł yəléwəłsə́q̓ [yəléw̓ wəłsé́q̓ ʔ] tə łqélc̓.
'The moon is three-quarters full.'

(f) wəłqə́c tə łqélc̓.
'The moon is full.'

Months may be identified as *təm̓a łqélc̓* 'this month,' and *tə niwəł i̓θə́x̌ łqélc̓* 'last month.' JP could give no further such terms.

Months are counted with the suffix *-əs* 'face, moon, dollar,' as in *ʔisá̓ləs* 'two months, two dollars' (< *yəsé́l̓ə* 'two'). A pregnant woman might be asked (g).

(g) ni čxʷ wəłḵ̓ʷínəs.
'How many moons have you gone?'

And the answer might be (h).

(h) ʔi cən wəłx̌əθínəs.
'I have four moons.' (i.e., 'I am four months along.')

The mother of a baby might be asked (i).

(i) niwəł ḵ̓ʷínəs łqélc̓ təm̓a sx̌íx̌qəł.
'How old is the child?'

And the answer might be (j).

(j) niwəł ʔisá̓ləs łqélc̓.
'Two months.'

For the names of the months, see §22.2.8.

**22.2.5. The Tide**

It is important to know the state of the tide and to predict the tide for shellfish gathering, several kinds of fishing and hunting, and travel on water, both on the sea and on the river. Pacific tides have diurnal inequality; each day, full highs and lows alternate with half tides. As everywhere, the full highs and lows vary through the lunar cycle, the highest and lowest coming with the new moon and the full moon. In addition to the monthly cycle, there is an annual cycle. The timing of the highest highs and lowest lows moves through the year, the lowest tides coming during the middle of the night in winter and the middle of the day in summer, the lowest of all being near the winter and summer solstices.

There is no term corresponding precisely to English 'tide,' but *qáʔ* 'water' is often so translated, as is the suffix *-əłcə* 'water.' Terms for tidal conditions are *sqə́məl* 'flooding tide,' *qə́qəməl* 'be flooding,' *sl̓θém̓* 'ebbing tide,' *l̓θél̓θəm̓* 'be ebbing,' *sələ́lc̓* 'high tide' (< *lə́c̓* 'full'), *lə́c̓ləc̓* 'be just high water,' *sxə́m̓xəm̓* 'low tide,' *xʷcə́kʷ* 'long run-out (of tide),' *cə́kʷcəkʷ* 'low water,' *ckʷə́ləs* 'place that has lots of sandbars and/or mudflats,' *xʷx̌ə́nəxʷəm* 'be slack water (that is, at the turn of the tide).' The period between the new and full moon is a

period of half tides called *k̓ʷik̓ʷécəm,* possibly from *k̓ʷéc* 'see,' because this is a time when the water in the river is clear and fish can see nets.

The relevance of moonlight to activity on the shore or just offshore is reflected in the terms *łqálc̓əłcə* 'moonlit low tide' (< *łqélc̓* 'moon,' *-əłcə* '-water') and *θáʔtəłcə* 'low tide on a moonless night' (< *θéʔt* 'dark').

The annual cycle is reflected in the terms *nátcəm* 'shift from low tides in the daytime to low tides at night (in the fall)' (< *nét* 'become night,' *-c* '-back, -surface,' *-əm* 'intr.') and *wéyəlcəm* 'shift from low tides at night to low tides in the day (in the spring)' (< *wéyəl* 'become day').

Tidal conditions are important not only on the saltwater shore but also on the river. The Fraser rises and falls with the tide. When the river is low, the flood tide is said to produce slack water as far up as Mission, about 80 kilometres (50 miles) from its mouth and at about the boundary between the Downriver and Upriver dialects of Halkomelem. Pitt Lake in Katzie country has a tide. Under optimal conditions, as in December, when the river is lowest and the tides highest, it is said that taking a canoe from Musqueam, you could catch the up-bound tide and on one flood tide make it to the Katzie village at Port Hammond. During the summer freshet, however, the water slacks to New Westminster only.

### 22.2.6. The Year

The word for 'year' is *syəl̓ánəm* (cf. *syál̓əxʷaʔ* 'old person,' *yəl̓éw* 'past,' suffix not identifiable). It appears in *təna syəl̓ánəm* 'this year.' Another word, *spánwə (*spánweʔ*?)* ('another year'?), appears in *wəspənwəʔəs ceʔ* ~ *wəspənweʔes ceʔ* 'next year' (JP), *k̓ʷ spánwə* 'last year' (JP), and *k̓ʷəna·ł spánwə* 'last summer' (DK).

The suffix *-í·nxʷ* ~ *-wí·nxʷ* 'year' is suffixed to numerals to count years and forms a few other terms: *nəc̓awínxʷ* 'one year,' *θəmí·nxʷ* 'two years' (< *θem-* ~ *θəm-* 'two'), *k̓ʷənəwí·nxʷ* 'how many years?' (< *k̓ʷín* 'how many?'), *k̓ʷ nəwí·nxʷ* ~ *k̓ʷ nəw·ínxʷəł* 'year before last' (the article *k̓ʷ, ni?* 'be there'), *k̓ʷxəwí·nxʷ* 'age (of someone or something)' (cf. *k̓ʷxét* 'count them').

Years may also be counted as *méqeʔ* 'snow (on the ground),' as in the response (b).

(a) ni čxʷ wəłk̓ʷənəwí·nəxʷ.
'How old are you?'

(b) ni cən wəłxəθənłčé méqeʔ.
'I am forty years old.' (lit. 'forty winters')

To the question asked about a child, the answer might be (c).

(c) ni məwł nəc̓áẇinxʷ.
'One year.'

Or *xʷq̓áqsən* 'make a circuit' may be used, as in (d).

(d) ni məwł tə́s kʷθə šxʷq̓áqsəns. (JP)
'He has reached the day he was born, he is exactly one year old.' (lit. 'He has reached his complete circuit.')

The age of an object can be expressed the same way as that of a person.

(e) niʔəs c̓twaʔ wəłk̓ʷənəwí·nəxʷ tə léləm̓. (JP)
'I wonder how old the house is.'

Years can also be counted with the ordinary word for 'year,' as in (f).

(f) niwł łqécəs syiəlánəm kʷənsni šxʷc̓əléxʷəm.
'I have been a dancer for five years.' (lit. 'It has been five years that I have been a dancer.')

### *22.2.7. The Seasons*

A division of the year into four seasons may not have been Aboriginal. Both CC and JP gave *təmk̓ʷál̓ək̓ʷəs* 'summer' (*təm-* 'season'; cf. *k̓ʷaʔk̓ʷəs* 'hot') and *təmx̌ə́y̓x̌̓* 'winter' (< *x̌ə́y̓x̌̓* 'cold'), and for 'this summer' JP gave *tən̓a sk̓ʷák̓ʷəs* (*s-* 'nominalizer,' *k̓ʷ´ak̓ʷəs* 'hot'). For 'spring' CC gave a descriptive sentence, (a).

(a) ʔəm̓í yək̓ʷék̓ʷələs.
'It's becoming warmer.'

But JP gave *q̓ʷíl̓əs* 'spring' (lit. 'uncover'; cf. *q̓ʷíʔəlt* 'uncover it,' *-əs* 'face') or *təmq̓ʷíl̓əs* 'spring.'

For fall CC gave *haylénəxʷ,* which JP said was the name of a month; he also said, "There is no real word," but you can refer to *xʷisəlénəxʷ,* which is the name of a moon, or you can say *yəlq̓ə́nəp* (< *yeq̓* 'topple over' + *-ənəp* 'ground'), which means that "the grass and other things go down."

Periods of time are distinguished by means of a prefix or one of two suffixes. The prefix is *təm-* ~ *tən-* ~ *tən̓-* 'season for, time of,' which appears in the words for 'summer' and 'winter' given above and in the following:

*təmlíleʔ* 'salmonberry season' (< *líleʔ* 'salmonberry')
*təmθə́qəy* 'sockeye season' (cf. *sθə́qəy* 'sockeye')
*təmk̓ʷál̓əxʷ* 'dog [chum] salmon season' (< *k̓ʷál̓əxʷ* 'chum salmon')
*təmsásətəc* 'a period of continuing cold weather' (< *sásətəc* 'cold northeast wind')
*təmqəqáʔ* 'the freshet (when the Fraser rises in the spring)' (< *qáʔ* 'water')
*təmt̓ᵊí·m* 'berry-picking time' (< *t̓ᵊí·m* 'pick berries'; cf. *st̓ᵊí·m* 'berries')
*təmháps* 'hop-picking time' (< E. *hops*)
*tənmíłə* ~ *təmmíłə* 'winter dancing season' (< *míłə* ~ *miłeʔ* 'dance with one's *syə́wən*')

*təl̓qʷátqʷətxən* ‘period of continuous fog’ (cf. *sqʷátxən* ‘fog,’ *qʷiqʷtím̓xən* ‘drizzle’)
*wałtəmʔíyəs, təmʔiʔíyəs, təmʔəy̓áy̓əs* (< *ʔíyəs* ‘enjoy oneself’) in early spring when the weather improves (JP)

The two suffixes are probably related. One is *-ələ́nəxʷ ~ -lénəxʷ* ‘season,’ which appears in:

*xʷəsələ́nəxʷ* ‘a month in the fall when leaves fall’ (cf. *xʷísət* ‘shake it’)
*həylénəxʷ* ‘the following month in the fall’ (< *háy* ‘stop, be finished’)

The other is *-é·nxʷ ~ -é·nəxʷ ~ énəxʷ* ‘fish, fish run, season,’ and possibly ‘food,’ which appears in:

*pk̓ʷé·nxʷ* ‘smoke fish (as salmon)’ (cf. *pék̓ʷət* ‘warm it’)
*c̓əy̓xʷé·nəxʷ* ‘smoke little fish (herring, etc.)’ (< *c̓áy̓xʷ* ‘dry’)
*qx̌é·nxʷ* ‘big run of fish, good year’ (< *qáx̌* ‘many’)
*təmhú·n̓è·nxʷ* ‘humpback year’ (< *hú·n̓* ‘humpback [pink] salmon,’ which run in alternate years)
*x̌et̓θénəxʷ* ‘Mt. Baker’ (lit. ‘measures the fish run’ or ‘measures the season’? cf. *x̌é·t̓θt* ‘measure it’)

### 22.2.8. The Calendar

In earlier times the moons were named, but neither of my principal sources, AC (with CC) and JP, could give very many names for the moons. JP gave the names of seven moons; AC remembered only four, three the same as JP’s, for a total of eight names. These are, of course, names of lunar months, which cannot correspond to the names of months in the Gregorian (solar) calendar, hence my sources identified them as coming “about” when a Gregorian month came. The names were:

*xʷəsələ́nəxʷ* (CC), *xʷisələ́nəxʷ* (JP) (cf. *xʷísət* ‘shake it,’ referring to the wind blowing leaves off the trees) around October
*həylénəxʷ* (< *háy* ‘stop, be finished’) around November (JP)
*xc̓əlwéstən* (CC) (probably *xc̓əlwéʔstən* ‘put paddles away,’ < √ of *xíc̓ət* ‘put it in the bush’ + *-əlweʔs* ‘paddle’) about December
*pənéq* (CC, JP) (probably *pən̓éq* ‘slow match’) about January[5]
*mímən̓ łqélc̓* (‘small moon’) (JP) about February
*wáłx̌əs* “when you begin to hear the frogs” (JP) about March

5 JP believed that the name means ‘covered,’ from *pán* ‘be buried,’ referring to snow on the ground, and he added that the name was avoided by women. Probably the suffix has been identified as that for ‘penis.’ However, Lummi, Katzie, and Cowichan sources all identified this moon name as the term for ‘slow match,’ a device for carrying fire in a canoe, a coil of twisted cedar bark rope lit at one end, which was kept in a horse-clam shell.

*lí·məs* (cf. *slí·m* ‘sandhill crane’) when the sandhill cranes come to the cranberry bogs, about May (JP), *lí·məs* ‘September’? (AC/CC) (They came for the “crane-berries,” JP said.)
*x̌éqt łqélc̓* (‘long moon’) “about June or July” (JP)

In earlier times there may have been more names for moons. However, there may not have been complete agreement on which names to use for each moon, different families naming them differently according to their activities, and there may have been names for no more than ten moons.

The problem with naming moons after natural events, like the croaking of frogs or the migration of cranes, is that these events are determined by the solar year. The only natural events determined by the phases of the moon are the tides. The solar year is about ten days longer than twelve lunar months, and if we had names for twelve moons and counted them continuously, after three years it would appear that the frogs and cranes were both a month late. In a few more years, the names of the moons would no longer make any sense at all.

One way of adjusting a lunar calendar to the solar year is to insert a thirteenth month every four years or so, as the Jewish and Chinese calendars do. Another, probably more common way is to begin counting moons with some event that is determined by the solar year, count up to, say, ten moons, stop counting, and then begin again when the event that you started with comes again. In this way a “Sandhill Crane Moon” will correspond to the coming of the sandhill cranes.

Counting moons, leaving a gap, and beginning the count again with the observation of something determined by the solar year is just what was done by people upriver from the Musqueam. According to Diamond Jenness (1955, 7-9), the Katzie, who spoke a Downriver Halkomelem dialect very close to that of the Musqueam, counted ten months beginning with the arrival of the sockeye in August of the Gregorian calendar, leaving a period covering June and July with two names but not regarded as part of the count. The Chehalis, an Upriver Halkomelem–speaking people, as reported by Charles Hill-Tout (1904, 334-35), began a count of moons with the chinook salmon spawning in October, counted ten moons, and stopped counting in July, leaving a period called by a term said to refer to the coming together of the ends of the year. Neither Jenness nor Hill-Tout gave any reason for this uncounted period. But James Teit (1900, 339), describing the practice of the Ntlakapmux (Thompson), is very clear about it. The Ntlakapmux began a moon count with the rutting of the deer or some other animal in the fall, counted eleven months, and left a period as “the rest of the year.” “This indefinite period of unnamed months,” Teit explains, “enabled the Indians to bring the lunar and solar years into harmony.”

On Vancouver Island, lists of twelve and thirteen names of lunar months have been recorded from Cowichan speakers among others (Donckele 1882; Jenness 1934; 1955, 87; Suttles Cowichan notes). These lists may simply have been the

result of attempts to make the old moon names fit the Gregorian calendar, or they may reflect a lunar calendar that was adjusted twice during the solar year, perhaps at the summer and winter solstices. Jenness (1934) reports that the Cowichan observed the winter solstice.

The calendar used by the Musqueam in earlier times must have been of this sort, although it is not clear what observation or observations may have been made. Timekeepers could have observed some biological event or some astronomical event. According to JP, there was a "weatherman" who watched progression of the sun along the horizon at sunrise and observed the solstices when the sun appeared to stand still or waver in the point at which it rises. The name given Mount Baker, *x̌eɬ̓θénəxʷ* 'measure fish' or 'measure season,' seems to imply its use as a marker of the seasons. People also observed changes in the stars and noted in particular the rising of the constellation called *sɬ̓θónə* 'bullhead,' probably the Pleiades, just before dawn.[6]

JP made two statements about the beginning of the year. On one occasion, he said that the year begins with *q̓ʷɬ́l̓əs* ('spring'), right before *wáɬx̌əs*. On another occasion, shortly after the first, he said that *xʷc̓áləwən* 'the turn of the year,' that is, the beginning of the new year, was in the fall, explaining that "the word really means the turn from old to new" and adding that "the next is *q̓ʷɬ́l̓əs*." His translation of the first term implies that the root is *c̓əl-* 'turn round,' but it seems possible that it could be *xʷəc̓-* 'insert,' which could imply a gap in the moon count. His two statements suggest that there may have been two times during the year when a moon count was started, but these do not correspond to the solstices. We can only conclude that at this time we really do not know how the old calendar worked.

6 The fish is probably the cabezon, a large species of sculpin. The constellation is often called "Little Dipper" in English.

# 23
# Sample Texts

## 23.1. GETTING WINTER SUPPLIES (CC 1)

kʷθə šxʷteʔés kʷθə syəẇéṅəłct kʷsəwł néṁs 1
kʷθə šxʷ-təʔé-s kʷθə s-yəẇéṅ-əł-ct kʷ s-wəł-néṁ-s
ART OBLNOM-be.like-3POS ART NOM-go.before-past-our ART NOM-already-go-3POS
It is the way of our ancestors when they went

ʔáləx̌ətəs kʷθə sq̓íl̓əs ʔi kʷθə c̓áy̓xʷ sʔáx̌ʷaʔs. 2
ʔáləx̌-ət-əs kʷθə s-q̓íl̓ə-s ʔəy̓ kʷθə c̓áy̓xʷ sʔáx̌ʷaʔ-s
provide-TR-3TR ART NOM-supply-3POS and ART dry butter.clam-3POS
to get their winter supplies of dried salmon and their dried butter clams.

kʷáyx̌θət kʷθə syəẇéṅəłct. 3
kʷáyx̌-θət kʷθə s-yəẇéṅ-əł-ct
move-self ART NOM-go.before-past-our
Our ancestors acted.

səw qʷə́l̓qʷəl̓tə́l̓s,
s-wə- qʷə́l̓qʷəl̓-tə́l̓-s
NOM-EST-tell-RECIP-3POS
They told each other,

“ʔáy̓ kʷsəwł néṁct xʷíwəl wəwéyələs 4
ʔáy̓ kʷ s-wəł-néṁ-ct xʷíwəl wə-wéyəl-əs
good ART NOM-already-go-our move.upstream when-become.day-3SUB
“We’d better start going upriver tomorrow

kʷsəwł néṁct cq̓íl̓ə.” 5
kʷ s-wəł-néṁ-ct c-q̓íl̓ə
ART NOM-already-go-our get-supply
to get started drying salmon.”

səw qʷéls tə łθáləq,
s-wə-qʷél-s tə ł-θáləq
NOM-EST-speak-3POS ART part-divide
Then some said,

“ʔáy̓. háyeʔct wəwéyələs. 6
ʔáy̓ háyeʔ ct wə-wéyəl-əs.
good leave we when-day-3SUB
“Good. We’ll leave tomorrow.

ƛ̓a ceʔ kʷə səwɬ ƛ̓q̓ʷátct ʔaḷ̓ kʷθə hákʷəxət.” 7
ƛ̓a ceʔ kʷə s-wəɬ-ƛ̓q̓ʷ-át-ct ʔaḷ̓ kʷθə hákʷ-əx-ət
BE3P FUT then NOM-already-prepare-TR-our just ART use-TR-we
Now then we’ll just start preparing what we will use.”

wéyəl, səwɬ ʔáɬs ʔaḷ̓ ʔéɬtən. səw qʷéls tə ɬθáləq, 8
wéyəl s-wəɬ-ʔáɬ-s ʔaḷ̓ ʔéɬtən s-wə-qʷél-s tə ɬ-θáləq
day NOM-already-embark-3POS just 3PL NOM-EST-speak-3POS ART PART-divide
In the morning they just started to get into their canoes. Then some said,

“tə́s ceʔ ʔə ƛ̓ q̓ʷá·n̓ƛ̓əḷ̓ ʔi θáləqθət ct. háy ceʔ ɬníməɬ 9
tə́s ce ʔə ƛ̓ q̓ʷá·n̓ƛ̓əḷ̓ ʔəy θáləq-θət ct háy ceʔ ɬníməɬ
arrive.there FUT OBL ART Kwantlen and divide-self we specify FUT we
“At Kwantlen we will separate. It will be we

x̌ʷtéʔ e kʷθe šxʷə́ḵ̓ʷəwəɬ ném̓ ct háy ceʔ 10
ceʔ əƛ̓ smáq̓ʷəc.
x̌ʷtéʔ ʔə kʷθə šxʷ-xʷə́ḵ̓ʷ-əwəɬ ném̓ háy ceʔ
ct ceʔ ʔə ƛ̓ smáq̓ʷəc.
head.for OBL ART specify FUT OBLNOM-be.dragging-canoe go we FUT OBL ART Point.Roberts
who will head for the portage and go to Point Roberts. It will be

sʔáx̌ʷaʔ ḵ̓ʷə ném̓ət c̓ə́y̓xʷt. háy ceʔ kʷə tə ɬwə́ləp 11
sʔáx̌ʷaʔ ḵ̓ʷə ném̓-ət c̓ə́y̓xʷ-t. háy ceʔ kʷə tə ɬwə́ləp
butter.clam ART go-we dry-TR specify FUT then ART you(PL)
butter clams that we will go and dry. It will be you folks

wəyəʔé·y̓ ʔaḷ̓ ném̓ c̓əy̓xʷéls kʷ šxʷɬíc̓əs.” 12
wə-yə-ʔé·y̓ ʔaḷ̓ ném̓ c̓əy̓xʷ-éls kʷ s-xʷ-ɬíc̓-əs
EST-along-continue just go dry-ACT ART NOM-within-cut-face
who will continue on to go and dry scored fish.”

səw háye·ʔs təwƛ̓áləm xʷíwəl. ni tə́s kʷθə 13
s-wə-háyeʔ-s təwƛ̓áləm xʷíwəl ni tə́s [ʔə] kʷθə
NOM-EST-leave-3POS they move.upstream AUX arrive.there [ʔə] ART
Then away they went upstream. They got to a certain place (as

šxʷtə́s i nə xʷnéʔent.
šxʷ-tə́s ʔəy̓ niʔ xʷə-néʔənt
OBLNOM-arrive.there and AUX become-being.night
far as they could) by the time it became night.

səw qʷéls ʔé·łtən, 14
s-wə-qʷél-s ʔéłtən,
NOM-EST-speak-3POS 3PL
Then they said,

"ʔə́y̓ ḵʷs q̓ə́ləm̓ct."
ʔə́y̓ ḵʷ s-q̓ə́ləm̓-ct
good ART NOM- camp-our
"We had better camp."

səw łé·ls ʔé·łtən. 15
s-wə-łé·l-s ʔé·łtən
NOM-EST-move.ashore-3POS 3PL
Then they landed.

səw θə́yti·t tə sálaʔac.
s-wə-θə́y-t-əy-ət tə sálaʔac
NOM-EST-be.created-TR-3PAS-SUBPAS ART house.mat
Then they put up the house-mats.

x̌a sílewtxʷs 16
x̌a síl-ewtxʷ -s
BE3P canvas-house-3POS
The house-mats were

ʔé·łtən tə sálaʔac.
ʔé·łtən tə sálaʔac
3PL ART house.mat
their tents.

səw há·yθəns tə xʷənéʔentqən. 17
s-wə-háy-əθən-s tə xʷə-néʔent-qən
NOM-EST-finish-mouth-3POS ART become-being.night-throat
Then they finished eating supper.

səw ʔaʔəltət.
s-[niʔ-s] wə-ʔaʔəltət.
NOM-AUX-3POS-EST-sleep(PL)
Then they slept.

xʷənnétəł ʔi wəłʔiʔímət. 18
xʷən-nét-əł ʔi wəł-ʔiʔímət
still-night-past and already-get.up(PL)
When it was still dark they got up.

səw yə́qʷəl̓cəps tə səwə́y̓qeʔ.
s-wə-yə́qʷ-əl̓cəp-s tə səwə́y̓qeʔ
NOM-EST burn-firewood-3POS ART men
Then the men lit fires.

səw x̌téʔems tə słənłénəy̓ tə 19
s-wə-x̌téʔ-əm-s tə słənłénəy̓ tə
NOM-EST-make-INTR-3POS ART women ART
Then the women made

šxʷnétəłqən ʔi yəʔé·y̓ tə səwə́y̓qeʔ hə́m̓əxəm tə sálaʔac. 20
šxʷ-nét-əł-qən ʔəy yə-ʔé·y̓ tə səwə́y̓qeʔ hə́m̓-əx-əm tə sálaʔac
OBLNOM-night-past-throat and along-be.continuing ART men be.removing-TR-INTR ART house.mat
breakfast and the men went on removing the house-mats.

səw steʔé· tθéʔ ʔə́łtən ʔé·łtən
s-[niʔ-s] wə-stəʔé ʔə tθéʔ ʔə́łtən ʔé·łtən
NOM-AUX-3POS EST-like OBL that eat 3PL
And thus they ate.

səw há·yθən. 21
s-wə-háy-əθən[-s]
NOM-EST-finish-mouth-3POS
And they finished eating.

səw ʔəlɬáleʔcəm.
s-[niʔ-s] wə-ʔá·ɬ-áleʔc-əm
NOM-AUX-3POS EST-aboard-container-INTR
And they loaded up.

ƛ̓a səsƛ̓əwɬ híqəθət 22
ƛ̓a s-[niʔ]-s ƛ̓e wəɬ-híq-əθət
BE3P NOM-AUX-3POS again already-go.under-self
Then they shoved off again

wəyəx̌ə̓ɬə ʔa··l̓ tθéʔ
wə-yə-x̌ə̓ɬə ʔa··l̓ tθéʔ
EST-along-be.doing just that
and just doing that

ʔi nəw təs ʔal̓ q̓ʷá·n̓ƛ̓əl̓. 23
ʔəy niʔ wə-təs ʔal̓ [ʔə ƛ̓] q̓ʷá·n̓ƛ̓əl̓
and AUX EST-arrive.there just OBL ART Kwantlen
they reached Kwantlen,

səsəw θáləqtəl̓ yəθéʔ nem̓ ɬxʷá·ɬ. 24
s-[niʔ]-s wə-θáləq-təl̓ yəθéʔ nem̓ ɬxʷá·ɬ
NOM-AUX-3POS EST-separate-RECIP those go dig.clams
Then the ones who were going to dig clams separated

xʷənsteʔ́e ʔi wəɬtás ʔəƛ̓ *Hope* yəθéʔ ni nem̓ čxʷɬíc̓əs 25
xʷən-steʔ́e ʔəy wəɬ-tás ʔə ƛ̓ *Hope* yəθéʔ ni nem̓ c-xʷ-ɬíc̓-əs
still-stay and already-reach OBL ART *Hope* they AUX go do-within-cut-face
The ones who were going to make scored fish continued on to Hope.

ƛ̓a səsəwɬ cq̓íl̓ə ʔal̓ kʷsnis ceʔ c̓əy̓xʷ 26
ƛ̓a s-[niʔ]-s wəɬ-c-q̓íl̓ə ʔal̓ kʷ s-niʔ-s ceʔ c̓əy̓xʷ
BE3P NOM-AUX-3POS already-do-supply just ART NOM-AUX-3POS FUT dry
Right away they started to get their winter supply so it would become dry.

i yeɬ sʔəm̓is wəq̓ʷíləm yəláʔəɬəl̓eʔc tə sq̓íl̓əs. 27
ʔəy yeɬ s-ʔəm̓i-s wəq̓ʷíləm yəláʔəɬáleʔc tə s-q̓íl̓əs
and after.which NOM-come-3POS move.downstream loaded ART NOM-supply
And then they came downstream loaded with their dried fish.

háy nə x̌ʷə́m kʷsəsm̓i wəq̓ʷíləm. 28
háy niʔ x̌ʷə́m kʷ-s-[ʔi]-s ʔəm̓i wəq̓ʷíləm
specify AUX fast ART NOM-AUX-3POS come downstream.
Coming downstream was faster.

ʔiséləʔal̓ swéyəl ʔi m̓i xʷəʔám̓ət. 29
ʔiséləʔal̓ swéyəl ʔi m̓i xʷə-ʔám̓ət
two just day and come become-be.sitting
In just two days they were home.

ʔi háy kʷθə niʔ t̓əx̌ʷáʔał nəw xʷənhé·wə. 30
ʔi háy kʷθə niʔ t̓əx̌ʷáʔał niʔ wə-xʷənhé·wə
and specify ART AUX be.clamming AUX EST-still-be.absent
But those who were clamming were still away.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| háy ʔáyəm tə sʔáx̌ʷaʔ kʷs c̓əy̓xʷs. | qə́x̌ syá·ys. | 31 |
| háy ʔáyəm tə sʔáx̌ʷa<br>s-c̓əy̓xʷ-s | qə́x̌ s-yá·ys | |
| specify slow ART butter.clam ART NOM-dry-3POS | much NOM-work | |
| Butter clams are slower when they dry. | It's a lot of work. | |

| | |
|---|---|
| səsəw xʷəlʔámə̓t yəθéʔ ni·ł cq̓íq̓ələ, | 32 |
| s-[niʔ]-s wə-xʷə-ʔámə̓t yəθéʔ niʔ-əł c-q̓íq̓ələ | |
| NOM-AUX-3POS EST-become-home they AUX-past get-supply | |
| When those who had been getting winter supplies got home, | |

| | |
|---|---|
| səsəw ʔəy̓áqtəl̓ tə sʔáłtəns ʔé·łtən, tə sq̓íl̓ə | 33 |
| s-[niʔ]-s wə-ʔey̓eq-təl̓ tə s-ʔáłtən-s ʔé·łtən tə s-q̓íl̓ə | |
| NOM-AUX-3POS EST-exchange-each.other ART NOM-eat-3POS 3PL ART NOM-supply | |
| they exchanged their foods, the dried salmon | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| i tə sʔáx̌ʷaʔ. | x̌̓a šxʷte·ésəł kʷθə m̓i·t | 34 |
| ʔəy̓ tə sʔáx̌ʷaʔ | x̌̓a šxʷ-teʔé-s-əł kʷθə m̓i-ə·t | |
| and ART butter.clam | BE3P OBLNOM-be.like-3POS-past ART AUX-we | |
| and the butter-clams. | That is the way it was with those whom we | |

| | |
|---|---|
| yəʔé·y̓eqt kʷshəy̓θəstal̓xʷs kʷθə šxʷəwéləyəłct | 35 |
| yə-ʔé·y̓eq-t kʷ s-həy̓θəs-t-al̓xʷ-s kʷθə šxʷ-wéləy-əł-ct | |
| along-exchanging-TR ART NOM-be.telling-TR-us-3POS ART OBLNOM-belong(PL)-past-our | |
| are replacing as our parents were telling us. | |

This text was dictated by Christine Charles on 23 November 1960 and reviewed with Della Kew in November 1972.

*Line*

1-2. This is a statement of what is going to follow, perhaps a kind of title.

1. √*təʔé* 'be like' appears in *stəʔé* (usually pronounced *steʔé*), meaning 'be like, resemble, be the same as,' and in *šxʷtəʔé* 'way, manner,' lit. 'that which is like.' Compare *stéʔe* 'remain, stay put, continue as before,' as in line 25.

2. *ʔaləx̌ət* 'get it, prepare it, provide it' usually refers to food. √*q̓íl̓ə* has not been recorded without an affix. The noun *sq̓íl̓ə,* often glossed 'winter supplies,' refers to any kind of preserved food but especially dried or smoked salmon. The verb *cq̓íl̓ə* means 'preserve food,' especially 'dry salmon.' The *sʔáx̌ʷaʔ* is the butter clam *(Saxidomus giganteus).*

3. *kʷáyx̌θət,* lit. 'move oneself,' is often used to begin a narrative or a new segment of one. *syəẇén̓,* lit. 'what has gone before,' can mean 'ancestors' or simply 'heritage.'

9. *q̓ʷáṅx̌əl̓* 'Kwantlen' is the name of the people at or near the mouth of the Salmon River, near the second site of Fort Langley. They have often been called "the Langley people."

10. The Musqueam who were going to dig clams went up the Fraser as far as Kwantlen, went up the Salmon River, portaged across the prairie to the Nicomekl, and down that stream to Boundary Bay. Although *smáq̓ʷəc* is the name for Point Roberts, CC initially translated it here as "Boundary Bay." This must have been a well-known route. In 1824, the first Hudson's Bay Company expedition to the Fraser was guided through it by Snohomish and Skagit people from Puget Sound. The term for 'portage' is probably *šxʷ-xʷáḵʷəwəł*, but it is given in the first line as recorded.

12. *šxʷłíc̓əs* was made by removing the backbone and scoring the flesh so that it could open up and dry more readily. Mrs. Charles described the catching and processing of salmon after dictating this text. For a description and photographs, see Wilson Duff's *The Upper Stalo Indians,* Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoirs 1, BC Provincial Museum, Victoria, 1952, 63-66.

16. *sálaʔac* 'house-mat' refers to the larger mat used for lining the walls of the plank house or for making temporary shelters at camping sites, as here. These were made of tules *(wí·l̓)* or of cattails *(sḵʷéʔqən).* The *słéwən* 'bed-mat' was a smaller cattail mat used for sleeping or simply sitting on. Both were made by sewing with a long matting needle and a mat creaser. *síl* 'canvas' is from the English *sail.*

22. *ʔəlɬáleʔcəm* 'load up' probably consists of *ʔá·ɬ* 'board (a vessel),' which probably has the underlying form //ʔa1əɬ//, the suffix *-əleʔc* 'container,' and *-əm* 'intransitive.' The resultative of *ʔá·ɬ* is *ʔəl̓áʔəɬ* 'aboard,' for which CC gave an unusual plural, *yəl̓áʔał*. The form in line 27, *yəlàʔəɬáleʔc* 'loaded,' appears to be based on this form.

32. Recorded *xʷəlʔamət,* but more likely *xʷəʔámn̓ət* with *xʷə-* 'become' or *xʷənʔámn̓ət* with *xʷən-* 'already.'

34-35. 'Those whom we are replacing' is another respectful term for the ancestors.

## 23.2. THE DEER DRIVE (CC 2)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ném̓ ct xʷáʔaθ ném̓ ʔə x̌ *Halfway.* | | ʔəpé·lə ct ceʔ | 1 |
| ném̓ ct xʷáʔaθ ném̓ ʔə x̌ *Halfway* | | ʔəpən-elə ct ceʔ | |
| go we deer.drive go OBL ART Halfway | | ten-persons we FUT | |
| We are going on a deer drive at Halfway. | | There will be ten of us | |
| | | | |
| wəní·t háyeʔ. | ném̓ ct wékənà·ɬ. | sq̓əlím ct ceʔ. | 2 |
| wə-níʔ-ət háyeʔ | ném̓ ct wékən-à·ɬ | sq̓əlím ct ceʔ | |
| EST-AUX-we leave | go we wagon-by | camped.out we FUT | |
| when we leave. | We'll go by wagon. | We'll be camped out. | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ẋəθí·lə ceʔ kʷθə sq̓ʷáq̓ʷəł. | ẖá ceʔ | 3 |
| ẋəʔáθən-elə ceʔ kʷθə sq̓ʷáq̓ʷəł. | ẖá ceʔ | |
| four-persons FUT ART lying.in.wait | BE3P FUT | |
| Four will be lying in wait. | They will be the ones who will | |

kʷáləxt kʷθə smə́yəθ wəm̓í·s ceʔ wəłcłáqʷθət. 4
kʷáləx-t kʷθə smə́yəθ wə-m̓í-əs ceʔ wəł-cłáqʷ-θət
shoot-TR ART deer when-come-3SUB FUT already-pass.through-self
shoot the deer when they start coming through.

i ẖá ceʔ kʷə tə səẇá·wləsà·lɬ ném̓ nəsq̓áʔ k̓ʷəns ném̓ xʷáʔaθ 5
ʔəy̓ ẖá ceʔ kʷə tə səẇá·wləs-à·lɬ ném̓ nə-sq̓áʔ k̓ʷə nə-s-ném̓ xʷáʔaθ
and BE3P FUT then ART youths-young go my-company ART my-NOM-go deer.drive
And then it will be the boys who go with me when I go to drive the deer,

yəq̓éẇəm ceʔ ʔéłtən steʔé ʔə k̓ʷ stəqéye 6
yə-q̓éẇəm̓ ceʔ ʔéłtən stəʔé ʔə k̓ʷ stəqéye
along-be.howling FUT 3PL like OBL ART wolf
howling like wolves as they go along.

ẖá ceʔ səw yətátəsəts kʷə sné·nt ʔé·łtən 7
ẖá ceʔ s-wə-yə-tátəs-ət-s kʷə sné·nt ʔé·łtən
BE3P FUT NOM-EST-along-be.hitting.together-TR-3POS ART stone 3PL
They'll be the ones striking stones together

wəm̓í·s wəłwéłətəs kʷθə smə́yəθ. 8
wə-m̓í-əs wəłwéł-ət-əs kʷθə smə́yəθ
when-come-3SUB be.chasing-TR-3SUB ART deer
when they come chasing the deer.

stq̓ʷíqən tə sné·nt i ẖəw stətíq̓ʷ tə stá̓ləw. 9
stq̓ʷíqən tə sné·nt ʔəy̓ ẖe wə-stətíq̓ʷ tə stá̓ləw
steep ART mountain and also EST-sheer ART river
The mountainside is steep and too the river bank is sheer.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| sk̓ʷéy kʷə kʷsném̓s hí·lθət. | wəṅán wəẖáp wəṅán wəcícəł. | 10 |
| sk̓ʷéy kʷə s-ném̓-s hí·l-θət | wə-ṅán wə-ẖáp wə-ṅán wə-cícəł | |
| impossible then ART NOM-go-3POS roll-self | EST-too EST-deep EST-too EST-high | |
| They can't let themselves go. | It is too far down and too far up. | |

ʔáwəteʔ kʷə šxʷném̓s təwẖa smə́yəθ. 11
ʔáwəteʔ kʷə šxʷ-ném̓-s təwẖa smə́yəθ
none ART OBLNOM-go-3POS that deer
The deer have no place to go.

nəw néṁ ʔaḷ̓ x̌ʷənxénəm təwƛ̓a smə́yəθ 12
niʔ wə-néṁ ʔaḷ̓ x̌ʷənxénəm təwƛ̓a smə́yəθ
AUX EST-go only run that deer
The deer can only run

néṁ ʔə kʷθéləy nəwł sq̓ʷáq̓ʷəł. 13
néṁ ʔə kʷθéləy niʔ wəł-sq̓ʷáq̓ʷəł
go OBL those AUX already-lying.in.wait
to those who are already lying in wait.

səsəw həlkʷə́ləxtəs ʔé·łtən. 14
s-[niʔ] -s est-həlkʷə́ləx-t-əs ʔé·łtən
NOM-AUX-3POS EST-shoot(PL)-TR-3TR 3PL
And so they shoot them.

kʷsəsəwł há·y kʷə seʔkʷə́ləx səsəw k̓ʷíc̓ətəs 15
kʷ s-[niʔ]-s wəł-há·y kʷə s-heʔkʷə́ləx[-s] s-[niʔ]-s wə-k̓ʷíc̓-ət-əs
ART NOM-AUX-3POS already-finish ART NOM-shoot-3POS NOM-AUX-3POS EST-cut.open-TR-3TR
When they have finished shooting, they draw

tə səmíyəθ. səsəwł łípətəm. səsəw t̓áx̌ətəl 16
tə səmíyəθ. s-[niʔ]-s wəł-łíp-ət-əm s-[niʔ]-s wə-t̓áx̌-ətəḷ
ART deer(PL) NOM-AUX-3POS already-quarter-TR-INTR NOM-AUX-3POS EST-divide-RECIP
the deer. Then when they are quartered, they divide them up.

ʔé·łtən. i ƛ̓á səsəwł híləkʷ ʔaḷ̓ ʔé·łtən. 17
ʔé·łtən ʔəy̓ ƛ̓á s-[niʔ]-s wəł-híləkʷ ʔaḷ̓ ʔé·łtən.
3PL and BE3P NOM-AUX-3POS already-get.ready just 3PL
And that's when they just get ready.

kʷsəwł há·y kʷst̓át̓əx̌ətəl tə sxə́n̓cəs, 18
kʷ s-wəł-há·y[-s] kʷ s-t̓át̓əx̌-ətəḷ tə sxə́n̓cə-s
ART NOM-already-finish-[3POS] ART NOM-divide-RECIP ART game-3POS
When they have finished their division of the game,

kʷsəwł snéṁs t̓ák̓ʷ. 19
kʷ s-wəł-[0]-néṁ-s t̓ák̓ʷ
ART NOM-already-NOM-go-3POS return.home
then they go home.

This text was narrated by Andrew Charles Sr. on the Musqueam Reserve on 26 October 1960, with Mrs. Charles repeating more slowly to allow me to write it down. The translation is based on work with CC. Although we had used a

tape recorder on two or three previous occasions, this was our first attempt at writing down a dictated narrative. I had asked AC if he would give me an account of some activity he participated in when he was young. He said he would think about it, and the next day he gave the first thirteen lines. I believe this is a thought-out composition. He added lines 14 to 19 after I requested information on the distribution of the game.

Although AC was Musqueam, he had lived as a boy on one of the Cowichan reserves near Duncan. He was fourteen when he went with "the bunch" on a deer drive. They had rifles then, but at an earlier time they would have used bows and arrows. "Halfway" is on the Cowichan River about halfway between "Duncan's" and Cowichan Lake. That was the only place where they got deer by driving them. They had tried other places but these were too open and so they couldn't get any deer. Above the pass at Halfway was a place that was all alders and grass, where the deer fed. The boys chased the deer from there into the pass.

AC once watched the men who waited space themselves out. They took places on both sides of the trail, spaced out alternately so that they were not shooting at each other. The first man usually hit the most; the last man might not have much chance. They might get five or six at one time. If only a few persons were driving the deer, they could not get many, because the deer would hide. Deer are smart. They prefer the open to shelter under the trees – even in the rain. It is said that they don't like the heavy drops from the trees because they soak through.

The division of the deer was even, but if, say, five persons came from the same house, they might not quarter their carcass but take it home whole.

*Line*

2. *sq̓əlím* 'encamped, camped out,' resultative of *q̓ələm* 'camp.' The root appears in *q̓əl̓mən* 'campsite,' *q̓əlácθət* 'go under shelter,' *xʷq̓əléc* 'shelter (as for a fire to protect it from the wind),' and probably *q̓áləx̌ən* 'stockade, fence' and *sq̓əlέx̌ən* 'stockaded, fenced in.'

3. *sq̓ʷáq̓ʷəɬ* 'lying in wait, be ready,' resultative of *q̓áɬət* 'lie in wait for him/them, get ready for it (as an attack).'

4. The word for 'shoot' or 'spurt out' was recorded as *kʷáləx, kʷálləx, kʷələ́x,* and *kʷəlléx*. It has an irregular progressive, recorded *ʔéʔkʷəl̓əx, ʔeʔkʷəlləx,* and possibly *heʔkʷálləx* 'be shooting, be spurting,' which appears in line 14. The transitives are *kʷáləxt ~ kʷálləxt* 'shoot him (deliberately)' and *kʷəlléxnəxʷ* 'shoot him accidentally, manage to shoot him.' The plural is *həl̓kʷálləxt* or *ʔəlkʷáləxt* 'shoot several,' which appears in line 13. A noun derivative, *skʷəléx* (plural *sələkʷəléx*) means 'arrow' or 'gun.'

5. In writing 'and' as *i,* I am following DK (see §1, note 9). *səẇá·wələs* 'young men' is the plural, as given by CC, of *swíẇləs* 'young man.' (JP gave the plural as *swá·ẇləs*.) The suffix *-a·lɬ* 'young' added to the name for an animal produces

the term for the young of that species. Added to young man or *q̓éməy̓* 'young woman,' it produces 'boy' or 'girl.' A 'boy' is between 10 and 20 years old. *sq̓áʔ* is a nominalization of *q̓áʔ* 'accompany.'

6. *q̓éẇəm* (also recorded *q̓éẇəm̓*) 'be howling,' progressive of *q̓áwəm* 'howl.' *staʔé* 'like, the same as, accordingly,' is probably the resultative of a root √*teʔ* 'be alike(?), appear(?).' Cf. *təʔá·məx* 'resemble,' *stəhím̓* 'manner, way,' *šxʷtəcís* 'way (of doing something),' *šxʷteʔé·ẇən* 'think,' *ʔáwəteʔ* 'none.'

7. *tétəsət* 'be hitting together,' progressive of *tásət* 'hit together,' < *tás* (also recorded [tʰás]) 'get hit, get bumped.'

8. *wəłwéłət* 'be driving, chasing away,' progressive of *wéłət* 'drive away,' root not recorded.

9. *stq̓ʷíqən* 'steep, sheer (in slope of land)' < *təq̓ʷ* 'be cut off, be broken off,' *-íqən* 'front, slope.' *stətíq̓ʷ* 'cut up, cut off, cut straight, sheer,' resultative of *táq̓ʷ* 'be cut off.'

14-15. See note for line 4.

16. *səmíyəθ* 'deer,' plural of *smáyəθ* 'deer.' *ɬáx̌ətəl̓* 'divide, distribute (a catch or game),' < *ɬáx̌, -təl̓* 'reciprocal'; cf. *ɬáx̌əst* 'share with him,' *ɬx̌áθət* 'branch out (as a trail or stream).'

18. *ɬáɬəx̌ətəl̓* 'be dividing,' progressive of *ɬáx̌ətəl̓*. *sxə́n̓cə* 'game (of hunter), catch (of fisherman), prey (of predator)'; cf. *cxə́n̓cə* 'take as game, catch, prey.'

19. It seems to me that the second nominalizer should not be there.

## 23.3. NIGHT HUNTING IN THE GULF ISLANDS (CC 3)

niʔ nem̓ héyqʷθəs ḵʷ nem̓ hél̓x̌əweʔ. 1
niʔ nem̓ héyqʷ-t-S-əs ḵʷə nem̓ hél̓x̌əweʔ[3]
AUX AUX(go) recruit-TR-me-3TR ART AUX(go) be.night.hunting
Someone came to get me to go night hunting with him.

səct wəhéyeʔ ɬékʷəl nem̓ ʔe x̌̓ sqθáqa·ɬ. 2
s-niʔ-ct wə-héyeʔ ɬékʷəl nem̓ ʔə x̌̓ sqθáqa·lɬ
NOM-AUX-our EST-leave cross go OBL ART Active.Pass
So we left and crossed over to "Plumper's Pass" [Active Pass].

tá··x̌ʷ nəw nem̓ nét i nə ct tés. 3
táx̌ʷ niʔ wə-nem̓ nét ʔəy̓ niʔ ct tés
exactly AUX EST-AUX(go) be.night and AUX we arrive.there
It had just become night when we got there.

səct wəkʷú·kʷ tə šxʷnéʔentqənct. 4
s-niʔ-ct wə-kʷú·kʷ[-t] tə šxʷ-néʔənt-qən-ct
NOM-AUX-our EST-cook-TR ART OBLNOM-evening-meal-our
Then we cooked our supper.

səw qʷél tə gíb, "x̌ʷtéʔ ct ceʔ təʔí. x̌̓a wəyáθəł 5
s-wə-qʷél[-s] tə gíb x̌ʷtéʔ ct ceʔ təʔí x̌̓a wə-yáθ-əł
NOM-EST-speak-3pos ART Gabe head.for we FUT this BE3P EST-always-past
Then Gabe said, "We'll go this way [pointing south]. It's where I always

nəšxʷə́n̓əm̓." səctəw k̓ʷə́cnəxʷ tə čičíʔq̓ən. 6
nə-šxʷ-hə́n̓əm̓ s-[niʔ]ct wə-k̓ʷec-nəxʷ tə čičíʔq̓ən
my-OBLNOM-be.going NOM-AUX-we EST-look-TR ART mink
used to go." Then we saw a mink.

səsəw kʷə́lləxʷtəs. ʔá·· səct x̌̓əwł hə́yeʔ. 7
s-[niʔ]-s wə-kʷə́lləxʷ-t-əs ʔa··· s-[niʔ]-ct x̌̓e wəł-hə́yeʔ
NOM-AUX-3POS EST-shoot-TR-3TR well-NOM-AUX-our again already-leave
Then he [Gabriel] shot it. Well, then we went off again.

səsəw k̓ʷə́cnəxʷəs tə isél̓ə mə́lləs. səsəw 8
s-[niʔ]-s wə-k̓ʷec-nəxʷ-əs tə yəsél̓ə mə́lləs s-[niʔ]-s wə-
NOM-[AUX]-3POS EST-look-TR-3TR ART two raccoon NOM-AUX-3POS EST-
Then he saw two racoons. So he

kʷə́lləxtəs x̌̓e. səctəw mə́k̓ʷ ʔəl̓á·ł 9
kʷə́lləx-t-əs x̌̓e s-[niʔ]-ct wə-mə́k̓ʷ ʔəl̓á·ł
shoot-TR-3TR also NOM-AUX-our EST-all aboard
shot them too. Then we all were aboard [the canoe].

səctəw hə́yeʔ, i ct təwxʷənyəʔé·y̓ 10
s-niʔ-ct wə-hə́yeʔ ʔi ct təw-xʷən-yə-ʔé·y̓
NOM-AUX-our EST-leave AUX we somewhat-still-along-be.continuing
Then we left and we were still leisurely

yəʔəxʔíʔxəl i ct wəłc̓łém̓ət k̓ʷə ʔi· síqəs 11
yə-ʔəxʔíʔxəl ʔi ct wəł-c̓łém̓-ət k̓ʷə ʔi yə-síqəs
along-be.paddling(PL) AUX we already-hear-TR ART AUX along-whistle
paddling along when we heard something whistling.

(kʷəsəwł háy kʷsəs síqəs 12
kʷə s-[niʔ]-s wəł-háy kʷə s-[niʔ]-s síqəs
ART NOM-AUX-3POS already-stop ART NOM-AUX-3POS whistle
(When the whistling stopped

kʷsəctəwł c̓łém̓ət kʷsəs k̓ʷqʷéls 13
kʷə s-[niʔ]-ct wəł-c̓łém̓-ət kʷə s-[niʔ]-s k̓ʷaqʷ-éls
ART NOM-AUX-our already-hear-TR ART NOM-AUX-3POS get.struck-ACT
we heard something chopping

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| “px$^{w}$·· px$^{w}$·· x̌····”) | səw q$^{w}$éls gíb,<br>s-wə-q$^{w}$él-s [tə] gíb<br>NOM-EST-speak-3POS ART Gabe | 14 |
| “pow! pow! swooooosh.”) | Then Gabe said, | |
| “ɬ̓a ẏeł ḵ$^{w}$àḵ$^{w}$əq$^{w}$nəcí·l̓s.<br>ɬ̓á ẏeł ḵ$^{w}$áḵ$^{w}$əq$^{w}$-nəc-í·l̓s<br>BE3P EXP be.getting.struck-base-ACT<br>“It’s those Little Choppers. | sḵ$^{w}$éy k$^{w}$s cxáncəct<br>sḵ$^{w}$éy k$^{w}$ə s-c-xə́n̓cə-ct<br>impossible ART NOM-get-game-our<br>We can’t get anything. | 15 |
| ni ct wałċłém̓ət k$^{w}$sis yé··q̓ tə lé·ẏəłp.<br>ni$^{ʔ}$ ct wał-ċłém-ət k$^{w}$ə s-ni$^{ʔ}$-s yéq̓ tə lé·ẏəłp<br>AUX we already-hear-TR ART NOM-AUX-3POS fall ART mature.Douglas.fir<br>We just heard a big Douglas-fir fall. | | 16 |
| ʔə́ẏ ḵ$^{w}$s q̓á·nθətct.<br>ʔə́ẏ ḵ$^{w}$ə s-q̓én-əθət-ct<br>good ART NOM-return-self-our<br>We’d better go back. | ném̓ ct ceʔ tə ʔəx$^{w}$ín̓ ɬ̓íɬ̓cəs.”<br>ném̓ ct ceʔ [ʔə] tə ʔəx$^{w}$ín̓ ɬ̓íɬ̓cəs<br>go we FUT OBL ART little islet<br>We’ll go to the little island.” | 17 |
| səctəw tə́s.<br>s-[ni$^{ʔ}$]-ct wə-tə́s<br>NOM-AUX-our EST-arrive.there<br>Then we got there. | səctəw q̓$^{w}$áləm.<br>s-[ni$^{ʔ}$]-ct wə-q̓$^{w}$áləm<br>NOM-AUX-our EST-disembark(PL)<br>Then we [Gabe and I] got off. | 18 |
| tx$^{w}$ay Henry Louie ʔəl̓áʔał tə snə́x$^{w}$əł.<br>tx$^{w}$áy H.L. ʔəl̓áʔəł [ʔə] tə snə́x$^{w}$əł<br>only H.L. be.aboard OBL ART canoe<br>Only Henry Louie stayed aboard the canoe. | səw k$^{w}$áyx̌θət tə Gabriel.<br>s-wə-k$^{w}$áyx̌-θət[-s] tə G.<br>NOM-EST-move-self-3POS ART G<br>Then Gabriel started off. | 19 |
| səw ḵ$^{w}$ə́cnəx$^{w}$əs tə smə́yəθ.<br>s-[ni$^{ʔ}$-s] wə-ḵ$^{w}$ec-nəx$^{w}$-əs tə smə́yəθ<br>NOM-AUX-3POS EST-look-TR-3TR ART deer<br>And he saw a deer. | səw k$^{w}$álləxtəs.<br>s-[ni$^{ʔ}$-s] wə-k$^{w}$álləx-t-əs<br>NOM-AUX-[3POS] EST-shoot-TR-3TR<br>And he shot it. | 20 |
| səsəw hí··ləm tə smə́yəθ<br>s-[ni$^{ʔ}$-s] wə-híl-əm tə smə́yəθ<br>NOM-AUX-3POS EST-roll-INTR ART deer<br>Then the deer *rolled* down | tá··x̌$^{w}$ wəx$^{w}$əʔəl̓áʔał tə<br>táx̌$^{w}$ wə-x$^{w}$ə-ʔəl̓áʔəł [ʔə]<br>exactly EST-become-aboard OBL<br>*right* into | 21 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| tə snə́xʷəɬ | tá··x̌ʷ wəxʷəl̓ʷəl̓ʷcá··stəm tə smə́yəθ. | 22 |
| tə snə́xʷəɬ | tá́x̌ʷ wə-xʷə-l̓ʷél̓ʷəc-ás-t-əm tə smə́yəθ | |
| ART canoe | exactly EST-become-be.looking-face-TR-INTR ART deer | |
| the canoe, | so he was looking *right* into its face. | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ʔə́wətəʔ sɬə́q̓əlləxʷs wəniʔəs ctámət tiʔí xʷəʔəl̓áʔaɬ. | | 23 |
| ʔə́wətəʔ s-ɬə́q̓əl-ləxʷ-s wə-niʔ-əs ctámət təʔí xʷə-ʔəl̓áʔəɬ | | |
| none NOM-know-TR-3POS that-AUX-3SUB do.what.with.self this become-aboard | | |

He didn't know what happened to this thing that came aboard.

This account was told by Andrew Charles, speaking fairly fast, and relayed at dictation speed by Christine Charles on 2 November 1960. The incident happened when AC was a young man and living at Cowichan. The three of them, Gabriel Joe, Henry Louie, and Andrew, went by canoe from the Cowichan River out around Saltspring Island to "Plumper's Pass." Only Gabriel had a gun. In earlier times, hunters used pitch flares, but Gabriel had a "pit lamp," a miner's lamp worn on the forehead.

*Line*

1. The Halkomelem is literally 'went and recruited me,' but 'came and recruited me' seems more normal English. Perhaps in English the reference point of 'come' and 'go' moves with the speaker, while in Halkomelem it is the focus of the speech event, so that if I am no longer where I was recruited, they 'went' and recruited me.

*hál̓x̌əweʔ,* progressive of *ləx̌íẃə* 'hunt with a torch' (or in recent times with a miner's pit lamp, hence *həl̓x̌əwéʔ* is often rendered 'be going pit-lamping.'

2. *háyeʔ* 'leave,' originally recorded *háyeʔ. sqθáqa·ɬ,* probably should be *sqθáqa·lɬ,* place name, 'Active Pass'; older people used to call it "Plumper's Pass," from *sqəθéq* 'pass' (on water as between islands) and the place name "Porlier Pass" ("Cowichan Gap") and the suffix *-á·lɬ* 'young,' so 'little pass' or 'Little Porlier Pass.'

3. *tá́x̌ʷ* 'exactly,' so recorded from CC; recorded *tə́x̌ʷ* from DK and *tá́xʷ* from AG.

4. *kʷúkʷ* 'cook,' from English. The *-t* 'transitive' was not recorded but was probably there; grammar requires either *-t* or *ʔə* 'oblique.' *neʔənt,* progressive of *nét* 'be night.'

6. *hə́n̓əm̓,* progressive of *ném̓* 'go.' *k̓ʷə́cnəxʷ* 'see it,' < *k̓ʷéc* 'see.' The full vowel of the root appears as schwa before *-nəxʷ* 'limited control transitive.'

9. *ʔəl̓á·ɬ* 'aboard,' probably a durative of *ʔá·ɬ* (//ʔaləɬ//?) 'go aboard.'

10-11. There are three instances here of *i* or *ʔi* in a context where, because the place is elsewhere and the time is past, I would expect *niʔ*. Perhaps the *ʔi* makes the action more immediate.

10. *ʔéy̓* 'be continuing,' progressive of *ʔéy* 'continue.'

11. *ʔəxʔíʔəl,* plural progressive of *ʔáxəl* 'paddle (v.).'

12-14. The material in parentheses was added after the rest of the text was dictated. This was at my request that the story include the sounds that AC had used in an earlier discussion. The *pxʷ* is sharp with gradually decreasing volume. CC remarked on its echoing quality. The *x̌⋯* rises in volume and then gradually falls and fades like the sound of a tree falling and echoing.

14. An article seems required, Gabe being the subject.

15. The particle *y̓eł* 'expectable' perhaps gives the feeling of 'It's those pesky Little Choppers again!' *k̓ʷàk̓ʷəqʷnəcíy̓ls* is literally 'be striking at the base of something with a clubbing or chopping motion.' 'Little Choppers' was CC's term. They are forest dwarves who fell trees. (For a discussion of these and similar beings, see Suttles 1987, 73-99.)

16. *léy̓łp,* from the root of *sléy̓* 'Douglas-fir bark' (thick bark suitable for fuel) and *-əłp* 'plant,' and hence 'mature Douglas-fir tree.'

17. *ƛ̓íƛ̓cəs* 'islet,' diminutive of *ƛ̓cés* 'island.'

18. *q̓ʷáləm,* plural of *q̓ʷím* 'disembark.'

19-20. According to CC's stated preference, the verb following the first two instances of *səw* ought to be followed by *-s* 'third-person possessive,' but because the third instance is followed by *-əs* 'third-person transitive subject,' it ought to be *səsəw*. Apparent errors of this sort may have been mine in the course of taking dictation.

22. *k̓ʷək̓ʷcástəm* is a passive form, 'is being looked at in the face.' The deer is the subject of this passive. The agent must be Henry Louie, who was in the canoe.

## 23.4. MINK, BEAVER, AND SCOURING RUSH (JP 9)

| | |
|---|---|
| ném̓ c̓ə tə čəčíʔq̓əṅ ƛ̓néc̓əwtxʷ nem̓ tə léləm̓s tə sqəl̓éẇ. | 1 |
| ném̓ c̓ə tə čəčíʔq̓əṅ ƛ̓néc̓əwtxʷ nem̓ [ʔə] tə léləm̓-s tə sqəl̓éẇ. | |
| go QUOT ART mink visit to [OBL] ART house-3POS ART beaver | |
| It is told that Mink made a visit to the house of Beaver. | |

| | |
|---|---|
| wəxʷk̓ʷ́ələ c̓ə ʔal̓ tə c̓íc̓əsəm̓ ni tə sʔəƛ̓qál̓wəłs tə léləm̓ ƛ̓ sqəl̓éẇ. | 2 |
| wə-xʷkʷ́ələ c̓ə ʔal̓ tə c̓íc̓əsəm̓ niʔ [ʔə] tə sʔəƛ̓qál̓wəł-s tə léləm̓ [ʔə] ƛ̓ sqəl̓éẇ. | |
| EST-scouring.rush QUOT just ART be.growing at [OBL] ART outside-3POS ART house [OBL] ART beaver | |
| It was all scouring rushes, the growth outside of the house of Beaver. | |

| | |
|---|---|
| ném̓ c̓əw kʷtə́xʷ təwƛ̓a čəčíʔq̓əṅ tə léləm̓ ƛ̓ sqəl̓éẇ. | 3 |
| ném̓ c̓ə wə-kʷtə́xʷ təwƛ̓a čəčíʔq̓əṅ [ʔə] tə léləm̓ [ʔə] ƛ̓ sqəl̓éẇ. | |
| go QUOT suddenly-enter that mink OBL ART house OBL ART beaver | |
| Mink went into the house of Beaver. | |

ʔi c̓ə scən̓éw̓əs tə sqəl̓éw̓. yəwk̓ʷák̓ʷəy c̓ə təwƛ̓a čəčíʔq̓ən̓. 4
ʔi c̓ə scən̓éw̓əs tə sqəl̓éw̓ yə-wə-k̓ʷák̓ʷəy c̓ə təwƛ̓a čəčíʔq̓ən̓.
AUX QUOT reclined ART beaver along-EST-hungry QUOT that mink
Beaver was reclining. Mink was hungry.

səw qʷéls tə sqəl̓éw̓, "yé·, qə́ləməx, stéməs kʷeθ xʷəm̓í." 5
s-wə-qʷél-s tə sqəl̓éw̓ yé· qə́ləməx stém-əs kʷə ʔəT-šxʷ-ʔəm̓í
NOM-EST-speak-3POS ART beaver well fellow what-3SUB ART your-OBLNOM-come
Then Beaver spoke, "Well, Pal, what might be the reason for your coming?"

"ʔá·," səw qʷéls tə čəčíʔq̓ən̓, "x̌·wəłx̌łínəs cən. x̌ʔə́wəteʔ stém 6
ʔá· s-wə-qʷél-s tə čəčíʔq̓ən̓ x̌·wəł-x̌əł-ínəs cən x̌ʔə́wəteʔ stém
Ah NOM-EST-speak-3POS ART mink kkhh-already-hurt-chest I kkhh-none what
"Ah," said Mink," my khhh-chest hurts. I kkhh-haven't any

nəsʔə́łtən. x̌ƛ̓a kʷə wəʔi·xʷ təwcq̓íl̓ə k̓ʷ stém ʔal̓ 7
nə-s-ʔə́łtən x̌ƛ̓a kʷə wə-ʔi-əxʷ təw-c-q̓íl̓ə k̓ʷ stém ʔal̓
my-NOM-EAT kkhh-BE3P then if-AUX-you somewhat-get-store ART what just
khhh-food. The khh-chance that you might have something stored away

x̌nəšxʷʔi wəłəm̓í kʷətxʷíləm." 8
x̌-nə-šxʷ-ʔi wəł-ʔəm̓í kʷətxíləm
kkhh-my-OBLNOM-AUX already-come enter
is khh-why I came in."

"ʔá·," θə́t c̓ə tə sqəl̓éw̓, "ʔəθxʷʔəwé ʔe kʷə ʔə́yèʔtəxʷ 9
ʔá· θə́t c̓ə tə sqəl̓éw̓ ʔəT-šxʷ-ʔəwə ʔə kʷə ʔə́yèʔ-t-əxʷ
Aw say QUOT ART beaver your-OBLNOM-not ROG then devour-TR-you
"Aw," said Beaver, "How could you begin to eat ...

tən sweʔ nəsʔə́łtən. k̓ʷəw syáł ʔal̓ m̓ə tən swéʔ sq̓íl̓ə. 10
tə nə-s-weʔ nə-s-ʔə́łtən k̓ʷə wə-syáł ʔal̓ m̓ə tə nə-s-wéʔ s-q̓íl̓ə.
ART my-NOM-own my-NOM-eat ART EST-wood just CERT ART my-NOM-own NOM-supply
... *my* food? After all, my own supplies are just wood.

sk̓ʷéy k̓ʷəθq̓ə́k̓ʷənəxʷ ʔiwáw̓ə lə́kʷləkʷ ʔal̓ ten̓ yə́nəs." 11
sk̓ʷéy k̓ʷə ʔəT-s-q̓ək̓ʷ-nəxʷ ʔiwáw̓ə lə́kʷləkʷ ʔal̓ tə ʔən-yə́nəs
impossible ART your-NOM-bite-TR likely break(PL) just ART your-tooth
You couldn't bite it without your teeth very likely breaking."

"x̌ʔá·· siʔém̓, ʔá··," θə́t tə čəčíʔq̓ən̓. səw ʔə́ƛ̓qəl. təs kʷsʔéƛ̓q. 12
x̌ -ʔá··-siʔém̓ ʔá·· θə́t tə čəčíʔq̓ən̓ s-wəʔə́ƛ̓qəl[-s] təs [ʔə] kʷ[~ k̓ʷi] sʔéƛ̓q
khhh-ah Sir ah say ART mink NOM-EST-exit[-3POS] reach OBL ART outside
"Kkhh-yes, Sir, yes," said Mink. And he went out. When he got outside,

səw xʷiƛ̓á tə xʷk̓ʷə́l̓ə. qʷə́lstxʷəs, hə́k̓ʷnəsəs təwƛ̓a čəčíʔq̓ən̓ 13
s-wə-xʷi-ƛ̓a tə xʷk̓ʷə́l̓ə qʷel-stəxʷ-əs hek̓ʷ-nəs-əs təwƛ̓a čəčíʔq̓ən̓
NOM-EST-become-BE3P ART scouring.rush speak-COM-3TR remember-GOAL-3TR that mink
it became Scouring Rush's turn. Mink spoke to him. He remembered

kʷs wəyáθs wəsłél̓q tə xʷk̓ʷə́l̓ə. səw łq̓íltəs 14
kʷ s-wə-yáθ-s wə-słél̓q tə xʷk̓ʷə́l̓ə s-[ni-s] wə-łq̓íl-t-əs
ART NOM-EST-always-3POS EST-immersed ART scouring.rush NOM-AUX-3POS EST-ask-TR-3TR
that Scouring Rush was always under water, so he asked him,

"sk̓ʷéy ʔə wət̓ít̓ənàstələt. ƛ̓án səw c̓éc̓əwəθàm̓ə 15
sk̓ʷéy ʔə wə-t̓it̓ənàs-təl̓-ət ƛ̓á nə-s-wə-c̓éc̓əw-ət-Samə
impossible ROG if-be.sitting.beside-each.other-we BE3P my-NOM-EST-be helping-TR-you
"Couldn't we sit beside one another? Then I will be helping you

wəm̓i·s k̓ʷ st̓ᶿqʷáy̓." 16
wə-m̓i-əs k̓ʷ st̓ᶿqʷáy̓
if-come-3SUB ART small.fish
when any little fish come."

wəłk̓ʷák̓ʷəy̓ c̓θəł wən̓án. ƛ̓a šxʷx̌ə́t̓əs tθéʔ təwƛ̓a čəčíʔq̓ən̓. 17
wəł-k̓ʷák̓ʷəy̓ c̓ə θəł wə-n̓án ƛ̓a šxʷ-x̌ə́t̓ə-s tθéʔ təwƛ̓a čəčíʔq̓ən̓
already-hungry QUOT though EST-very BE3P OBLNOM-be.saying-3POS that that mink
But Mink was very hungry. That's why he said that.

səw qʷéls tə xʷk̓ʷəl̓ə, 18
s-wə-qʷél-s tə xʷk̓ʷəl̓ə
NOM-EST-speak-3POS ART scouring.rush
Then Scouring-rush spoke,

"x̌əʔmm, ʔəθxʷəwé ʔə kʷə x̌ə́t̓e·xʷ tən sweʔ nəskʷə́yx̌θət. 19
x̌əʔmm ʔəT-šxʷ-ʔəwə ʔə kʷə x̌ə́t̓ə-əxʷ tə nə-s-weʔ nə-s-kʷə́yx̌-θət.
kkhh-hmm your-OBLNOM-not ROG then be-doing-you ART my-NOM-own my-NOM-move-self
"Khhh-hmm, how could you do as I do?

haʔ m̓i kʷθə stém ʔi wəxʷkʷáy̓θəsəm cən ʔal̓. 20
haʔ m̓i kʷθə stém ʔəy̓ wə-xʷkʷáy̓θəsəm cən ʔal̓
if come what and EST-be.shaking.head I just
When something comes, I just shake my head.

ʔánəcə čxʷ kʷə wəm̓i·s kʷθə θí qʷɬéy̓. 21
ʔánəcə čxʷ kʷə wə-m̓i-əs kʷθə θí qʷɬéy̓
where you then if-come-3SUB ART big log
Where would you be if a big log comes?

tθíq̓əθà·m, né·m̓ yəx̌álc̓θət. sǩʷéy ǩʷeθ həlí.” 22
tθíq̓-ət-Sà·m ném̓ yə-x̌álc̓-θət sǩʷéy ǩʷə əT-s-həlí.
be.stepped.on-TR-you(PAS) AUX along-be.turning-self imposssible ART your-NOM-live
You’ll get stepped on. It will go rolling along. You couldn’t live.”

“x̌·ʔə̃··” səw θə́t tə čəčíʔq̓əṅ, “ʔə́wə čxʷ ɬni q̓áy tə nə́wə, 23
x̌·ʔn·· s-wə-θə́t[-s] tə čəčíʔq̓əṅ ʔə́wə čxʷ ɬ ni q̓áy tə nə́wə
kkhh-hmm NOM-EST-say-3POS ART mink not you yet AUX die ART you
“Kkhh hmm,” said Mink, “*You* haven’t died yet,

ʔi ʔé·n̓θə c̓twaʔ ǩʷám̓ǩʷəm̓ x̌ʷte· x̌̓ nə́wə.” 24
ʔəy̓ ʔé·n̓θə c̓twaʔ ǩʷám̓ǩʷəm̓ x̌ʷte ʔə x̌̓ nə́wə
and I SPEC strong toward OBL ART you
and *I* must be stronger than you.”

“ʔa··,” səw θə́ts c̓ə tə xʷǩʷə́l̓ə, “haʔ nem̓ yəl̓éẇ kʷθə qʷɬéy̓ 25
ʔa·· s-wə-θə́t-s c̓ə tə xʷǩʷə́l̓ə haʔ nem̓ yəl̓éẇ kʷθə qʷɬéy̓
ah NOM-EST-say-3POS QUOT ART scouring.rush if go pass ART log
“Well,” said Scouring Rush. “If a log passes

kʷsm̓is tθíq̓əθàmxəs ʔi x̌̓eʔ cən wəʔə́mət ʔal̓, 26
kʷ s-m̓i-s tθíq̓-ət-Sàmx-əs ʔəy̓ x̌̓eʔ cən wə-ʔə́mət ʔal̓
ART NOM-AUX-3POS step.on-TR-me-3TR and again I EST-sit.up just
when it has rolled over me, I just get up again and

nəsx̌̓əw xʷkʷə́yθəsəm ʔal̓.” 27
nə-s-x̌̓eʔ wə-xʷkʷə́yθəsəm ʔal̓
my-NOM-again EST-shake.head just
then I just shake my head again.”

“x̌ʔn̥··,”θə́t c̓ə tə čəčíʔq̓əṅ, “ʔə́y̓ c̓twaʔ ǩʷən swət̓éʔt.” 28
x̌ʔnn·· θə́t c̓ə tə čəčíʔq̓əṅ ʔə́y̓ c̓twaʔ ǩʷə nə-s-wə-t̓éʔ-t
kkhh-hmm say QUOT ART mink good SPEC ART my-NOM-EST-try-TR
“Kkhh-hmm,” said Mink, “Perhaps I’d better try it.”

“héy̓ θəɬ ʔéwəɬ,” səw θə́ts c̓ə tə xʷǩʷə́l̓ə. 29
héy̓ θəɬ ʔéwəɬ s-wə-θə́t-s c̓ə tə xʷǩʷə́l̓ə
proceed though REAS NOM-EST-say-3POS QUOT ART scouring.rush
“Go ahead then,” said Scouring Rush.

“m̓i čxʷ ʔáməṯ stətés x̌ ʔé·nθə.” 30
m̓i čxʷ ʔáməṯ stətés [ʔə] x̌ ʔé·nθə
come you sit near [OBL] ART me
“Come sit near me.”

səw ʔáməts tə čəčíʔq̓əṉ nem̓ ɬánəstəm təwx̌a xʷǩʷál̓ə. 31
swə-ʔáməṯ-s tə čəčíʔq̓əṉ nem̓ ɬánəs-t-əm təwx̌a xʷǩʷál̓ə
NOM-EST-sit-3POS ART mink AUX sit.beside-TR-INTR that scouring.rush
So Mink sat down next to Scouring Rush.

ʔáwə c̓ə ni·s yəhíθ ʔiwəł m̓i wíl tə qʷłéy̓. θí qʷłéy̓. yəx̌á··lc̓θət. 32
ʔáwə c̓ə ni-əs yə-híθ ʔəy̓ wəł-m̓i wíl tə qʷłéy̓ θí qʷłéy̓ yə-x̌álc̓-θət
not QUOT AUX-3SUB along last.long and already-come appear ART log big log
along-be.turning-self
It wasn’t long when a log appeared, a big log, *rolling* along.

“syá·· čxʷ kʷe,” səw θə́ts tə xʷǩʷál̓ə. “ʔi·təwł yəm̓i təʔəθ xəmén.” 33
syá· čxʷ kʷə s-wə-θə́t-s tə xʷǩʷál̓ə ʔiʔətə wəł-yə-m̓i tə ʔəT-sxəmén
be-warned you then NOM-EST-say-3POS ART scouring.rush here already-along-
come your-enemy
“Be careful,” said Scouring Rush. “Here comes your enemy.”

“x̌ʔó··, ʔó··,” səw θə́ts c̓ə tə čəčíʔq̓əṉ. 34
“x̌ʔó·· ʔó·· s-wə-θə́t-s c̓ə tə čəčíʔq̓əṉ
kkhh-oh oh NOM-EST-say-3POS QUOT ART mink
“Kkhh-oh, oh,” said Mink.

wəłm̓í tə qʷłéy̓, tθíq̓ətəm ʔé·łtən, nem̓ yəl̓éẇ. ʔáməṯ tə xʷǩʷál̓ə 35
wəł-m̓í tə qʷłéy̓ tθíq̓-ət-əm ʔé·łtən nem̓ yəl̓éẇ ʔáməṯ tə xʷǩʷál̓ə
already-come ART log step.on-TR-INTR 3PL go pass sit.up ART scouring.rush
When the log came, they got rolled over, and it went past. Scouring Rush
sat up,

xʷkʷəyθəsəm steʔetəwyáθ wəskʷə́yx̌θəts, 36
xʷkʷəyθəsəm steʔé [ʔə] tə wə-yáθ wə-s-kʷə́yx̌-θət-s
shaking.the.head like [OBL] ART EST-always EST-move-self-3POS
shaking his head as he always did,

c̓áləsəm sə́wq̓təs kʷθə st̓ánəsəł čəčíʔq̓əṉ. 37
c̓áləsəm sə́wq̓-t-əs kʷθə st̓ánəs-əł čəčíʔq̓əṉ
turn.to.look seek-TR-3TR ART sitting.beside-past mink
and he looked back seeking Mink, who had been sitting beside him,

ʔi ni c̓əwł nem̓ yəhə́ẇq̓ʷ yəxʷǩʷəʔíqəṉ st̓θəx̌nís. 38
ʔəy̓ ni c̓ə wəł-nem̓ yə-hə́ẇq̓ʷ yə-xʷǩʷəʔíqəṉ st̓θəx̌nís
but AUX QUOT already-go along-drifting along-belly.up teeth.showing
But he was gone, drifting along downstream, belly up, teeth showing.

ni ʔəsép̓ tə sx̌ʷəyém x̌̓ čəčíʔq̓əṅ ʔi tə sqəl̓éẇ ʔi tə xʷk̓ʷól̓ə. 39
ni ʔəsép̓ tə sx̌ʷəy̓ém̓ [ʔə] x̌̓ čəčíʔq̓əṅ ʔəy̓ tə sqəl̓éẇ ʔəy̓ tə xʷk̓ʷól̓ə
AUX end ART story [OBL] ART mink and ART beaver and ART scouring.rush
So ends the story of Mink, Beaver, and Scouring Rush.

This text was dictated by James Point on 22 March 1963, and reviewed with Arnold Guerin in 1983.

*Line*

1. *x̌̓nécˀəwtxʷ* 'visit.' Composed of the prefix *x̌̓-* 'go to,' the root *néc̓* 'differ, be different,' and the lexical suffix *-əwtxʷ* ~ *-éwtxʷ* 'house.'

2. *xʷk̓ʷól̓ə* 'scouring rush' – the species *Equisetum hiemale,* a relative of the horsetail; it and dogfish skin were used like sandpaper. The word *xʷk̓ʷól̓ə* has the same root as *xʷák̓ʷət* 'polish it.'

*c̓íc̓əsəm̓*. Progressive of *c̓ísəm* 'grow.'

*sʔáx̌̓qálwəł*. Composed of the prefix *s-* 'nominalizer,' the root √*ʔex̌̓q* 'out,' and the lexical suffix *-ál̓wəł* 'side.' AG pronounced the word *sʔəx̌̓qálweʔł*.

3. The phrase *tə lélə́m̓* [ʔə] *x̌̓ sqəl̓éẇ* is an alternate way of saying 'the house of Beaver' or perhaps 'the house of the beaver.' However, because the article *x̌̓* must appear before a proper noun or a pronoun in the oblique case, the use of it here suggests that Beaver, Mink, and Scouring Rush are proper nouns, the names of characters.

4. *scəṅéẇəs* 'reclining.' Probably a resultative form, composed of *s-* 'resultative,' the root *cəṅ* 'lean against, be propped up,' and the lexical suffix *-iẇs* 'body.' JP said that the word implied that Beaver was lying back with his hands clasped behind his neck, looking self-satisfied, we may assume.

*yə-* 'along.' Generally implies movement or duration; here it may suggest that Mink's hunger was an ongoing condition.

5. *yé* 'well.' This interjection might also be translated 'all right' or 'go ahead.' It is used to urge someone to speak or to continue, as by the audience listening to a story being told.

*qáləməx* 'pal.' Evidently a familiar, perhaps patronizing, form of address. AG thought the root might be *qál* 'bad,' but it looks like an Interior Salish word for 'person.'

*stéməs*. The *-əs* is 'third-person subordinate subject' (3SUB). The subordinate subject series appears in subordinate clauses. Here there is probably an implied main clause such as 'I wonder ...'

6. In stories, Mink, Raven, and perhaps some other disreputable characters begin words with the sound *x̌* ...

9. *ʔəθxʷʔəwéʔe kʷə ʔáyètəxʷ* ... This is literally 'Is it then the reason for your not eating my food?' The same construction appears in line 19 with a similar interpretation, 'How could you ...?'

10. *swé?* with the *s-* 'nominalizer' is literally 'property'; *cwé?* with the *c-* 'verbalizer' is 'to own.' Speakers vary in whether they use the possessive with both the *swé?* and the noun that follows. Here JP used the possessive with the following noun the first time and omitted it the second. When AG read the story, he put in a possessive where JP had omitted it.

*ƛ̓ʷəw syáɬ ʔaɬ̓ m̓ə.* The *ƛ̓ʷə* implies hypothetical existence, indicating that Beaver is referring to *some* wood, not necessarily any that Mink can see. However, the particle *m̓ə* (CERT) implies that the statement is based on direct experience, as opposed to hearsay. Beaver of course *knows* that's what his food is. The interpretation 'of course, it is' was given to the same construction in another text.

11. *lákʷləkʷ* is the plural of *ləkʷ* 'break, get broken.'

14. *sɬéɬ̓q.* Resultative of the root *ɬəlq,* seen in *ɬálqt* 'immerse it, dip it.'

15. *ɬíɬ̓ənàstəɬ̓* 'be sitting beside each other,' the progressive of *ɬ̓ənástəɬ̓* 'sit beside each other,' which is the reciprocal of *ɬ̓ánəst* 'sit beside him/her.'

16. Some people identify *sɬ̓θqʷáy̓* as 'trout,' others as any small fish.

17. *x̌áɬ̓ə.* Progressive of both *θát* 'say,' as it is here, and *x̌té?* 'do,' as in line 19.

21. *qʷɬéy̓* is usually glossed 'log,' but it is composed of the root *qʷáɬ* 'wash ashore' and *-éy̓,* an old lexical suffix meaning 'tree' or 'plant,' and so the word probably originally meant specifically a driftwood log.

23. The ə̃ is a nasalized schwa.

26. *ʔámət* is 'sit down' if one is standing or 'sit up, get up' if one is lying down.

30. *stətés* 'near,' the resultative of *tás* 'arrive there.'

31. Mink is the subject of *ʔámət* 'sit down,' but *ɬ̓ánəstəm* is the third-person passive form of *ɬ̓ánəst* 'sit beside,' and its subject is Scouring Rush. This shift to the passive may occur when the previous verb is intransitive. See also line 35. The use of *təwƛ̓a* also indicates that Scouring Rush is the subject.

33. *syá·* 'careful,' lit. 'warned,' the resultative of *yá·t* 'warn him/her.'

35. *ɬ̓θiq̓ətəm* is a passive form. Mink and Scouring Rush, indicated by *ʔé·ɬtən* 'third-person plural' (3PL) are its subject.

38. *sɬ̓ánəs,* the nominalization of *ɬ̓ánəs* 'sit beside.' The phrase *kʷθə sɬ̓ánəsəɬ čičíʔqəṅ* might also be translated 'the one who sat beside him, who was Mink.'

The conjunction *ʔi ~ ʔəy̓* can mean either 'and' or 'but' depending on context.

*háẇ̓q̓ʷ* is the progressive of *wáq̓ʷ* 'drift downstream.'

*x̌ʷƛ̓ʷəʔíqən* 'belly up' is composed of the prefix *xʷ-,* which seems often required when the reference is to a body part, the root *ƛ̓ʷíʔ* 'ascend, upward,' and the suffix *-íqən* 'front.'

*sɬ̓θəx̌nís* 'with teeth showing' is composed of *s-* 'resultative,' a root *ɬ̓θə́x̌,* not identifiable, and *-ə́nəs ~ -nís* 'tooth.' There is a verb *ɬ̓θəx̌nísəm* 'show the teeth, grin.'

## 23.5. THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME "MUSQUEAM" (JP 13)

wəłqéʔis ʔə c̓twaʔ tə sqʷíl̓qʷəl̓s kʷθə yəẇéṅəł məstáyəxʷ. 1
wəł-qéy̓əs ʔə c̓twaʔ tə s-qʷíl̓qʷəl̓-s kʷθə yəẇéṅ-əł məstáyəxʷ
already-formerly ROG SPEC ART NOM-be.telling-3POS ART before-past people
It must have been long ago, according to what the people of the past used to tell.

ni c̓ə k̓ʷə ʔi kʷíkʷəxtəm k̓ʷə xʷməm̓qʷé·m. nəwł steʔé 2
ni c̓ə ʔk̓ʷə ʔi kʷíkʷəx-t-əm k̓ʷə xʷməm̓qʷé·m niʔ wəł-steʔé
AUX QUOT ART AUX be.naming-TR-INTR ART mumquaam AUX already-like
There was a place called "Mumquaam." It is somewhat

k̓ʷəw xʷc̓sí·m ʔal̓ təṅa qéʔis i ni θəł wəx̌ácaʔ. 3
k̓ʷə wə-xʷ-c̓sí·m ʔal̓ [ʔə] təṅa qéʔis ʔəy̓ niʔ θəł wə-x̌ácaʔ
ART EST-within-grow just [OBL] this time.past and AUX but EST-lake
grown in now, but is still a lake.

sxéxəm, ʔəxʷíṅ, qʷəmcáls kʷθə ni c̓íc̓əsəm̓ ni ʔə kʷθeʔ. 4
sxéxəm ʔəxʷíṅ qʷəmcáls kʷθə ni c̓íc̓əsəm̓ ni ʔə kʷθeʔ
shallow small cranberry ART AUX be.growing be.there OBL that
It is shallow, small, and cranberries are what is growing there.

ʔəwé·́łte·ł c̓θəł k̓ʷ stém ni ʔə kʷθeʔ. wəx̌ácaʔ ʔal̓, ʔəxʷíṅ x̌ácaʔ. 5
ʔəwə-əł-teʔ-əł c̓ə θəł k̓ʷ stém ni ʔə kʷθeʔ wə-x̌ácaʔ ʔal̓ ʔəxʷíṅ x̌ácaʔ
not-past-appear-past QUOT but ART what be.there OBL that EST-lake just small lake
There was nothing there, though. There was just a lake, a small lake

x̌̓a kʷə x̌áy̓təstəm šxʷəníʔs kʷθeʔ sx̌̓éləqəməł. sʔi·łqəy̓. 6
x̌̓a kʷə x̌áy̓tə-st-əm šxʷ-níʔ-s kʷθeʔ sx̌̓éləqəm-əł. sʔi·łqəy̓.
BE3P ART be.saying-CAUS-INTR OBLNOM-be.there-3POS ART fierce-past seelthkey
It was said to be where that monster was. It was a seelthkey.

wəyáθ wəsqʷí·l̓qʷəl̓. sk̓ʷéy c̓ə kʷs nem̓s tsə́θət k̓ʷə ʔím̓əx. 7
wə-yáθ wə-sqʷí·l̓qʷəl̓. sk̓ʷéy c̓ə kʷ s-nem̓-s təs-θət k̓ʷə [yə-]ʔím̓əx
EST-always EST-told impossible QUOT ART NOM-go-3POS reach-self ART [along-]be.walking
They were always telling. It was impossible for someone walking to go near there.

xʷəṅaʔ al̓ mi c̓ísəm tə sx̌̓íx̌̓qəł iwəł yə́θəstəm, yá·təm. 8
xʷəna ʔ al̓ m̓i c̓ísəm tə sx̌̓íx̌̓qəł ʔəy̓ wəł-yə́θ-əs-t-əm yá·-t-əm
when.first just come grow ART child and already-tell-RECIP-TR-INTR
As soon as a child grew up, he was told about it and warned.

"ʔə́wə čxʷ hə́nəm̓əxʷ kʷłe x̌ácaʔ ni k̓ʷi cál̓əqʷ. sx̌éləqəm. 9
ʔə́wə čxʷ hə́nəm̓-əxʷ kʷłe x̌ácaʔ ni [ʔə] k̓ʷi cál̓əqʷ sx̌éləqəm
not you be.going-you that lake in [OBL] that inland fierce.being
"Don't be going to that lake back up there. There is a monster.

sʔí·łqəy̓ kʷłə ni ní ʔə kʷθeʔ. haʔ čxʷ wəm̓é·n i nem̓ čxʷ, 10
sʔí·łqəy̓ kʷłə ni níʔ ʔə kʷθeʔ haʔ čxʷ wə-m̓é·n ʔəy̓ nem̓ čxʷ,
seelthkey ART AUX be.there OBL that if you EST-weak and go you
It's is a seelthkey that is there. If you're foolish enough to go,

sk̓ʷéy k̓ʷəθx̌əw m̓i q̓á·nθət. x̌a c̓ə əθwəném̓ c̓íməl̓, 11
sk̓ʷéy k̓ʷə ʔəT-s-x̌e wə-m̓i q̓á·nθət x̌a c̓ə ʔəT-s-wə-ném̓ c̓íməl̓
impossible ART your-NOM-also EST-AUX(come) return-self BE3P QUOT
your-NOM-EST-go approach
you won't be able to return. They say if you go near,

wəłx̌əlx̌ál̓c̓θà·m. x̌a ʔəθniw q̓áy." 12
wəł-x̌əlx̌ál̓c̓-t-Sà·m x̌a ʔəT-s-niʔ wə-q̓áy
already twist(PL)-TR-you(PAS) BE3P your-NOM-AUX EST-die
you will get twisted up, and you will die."

x̌a šxʷsk̓ʷéys k̓ʷ wét ném̓. wəθəʔít sx̌éləqəm. 13
x̌a šxʷ-sk̓ʷéy-s k̓ʷə wét ném̓ wə-θəʔít sx̌éləqəm
BE3P OBLNOM-impossible-3POS ART who go EST-true fierce
That's why no one could go there. It was truly a monster.

néc̓ c̓ə kʷs wəłném̓s xʷəné·nt, cəlél i θətíl, 14
néc̓ c̓ə kʷ s-wəł-ném̓-s xʷə-néʔənt cəlél ʔəy̓ θət-íl
different QUOT ART NOM-already-go-3POS become-being.night nearly
and dark-become
Sometimes when it was evening, nearly dark,

iwəł c̓łém̓ət čxʷ kʷθə máʔaqʷ wəniəxʷ yəʔím̓əx təwstətés. 15
ʔəy̓ wəł-c̓łém̓-ət čxʷ kʷθə máʔəqʷ wə-niʔ-əxʷ yə-ʔím̓əx təw-stətés
and already-hear-TR you ART duck if-AUX-you along-be.walking
somewhat-near
you heard a duck if you were walking fairly near.

"qʷǽ·· qʷǽ·· qʷǽ··" steʔé· k̓ʷ tənəqsən. x̌a c̓θəł kʷs wən̓áns wəxʷθíqən. 16
qʷǽ·· qʷǽ·· qʷǽ· steʔé ʔə k̓ʷ tənəqsən x̌a c̓ə θəł kʷ s-wə-n̓án-s
wə-xʷ-θí-qən
quack quack quack like OBL ART mallard BE3P QUOT but ART NOM-EST-very-3POS
in-big-throat
"Quack! Quack! Quack!" It was like a mallard, but it was very loud.

ni šxʷx̌əʔétθ̓s k̓ʷs ʔəwəs máʔaqʷəs, 17
niʔ šxʷ-[c]-x̌əʔétθ̓-s k̓ʷ s-ʔəwə-s máʔaqʷ-əs
AUX OBLNOM-[make-]distinct-3POS ART NOM-not-3POS duck-3SUB
That's how you could tell it was not a duck,

x̌áθ̓ə kʷθə niw łəq̓łáq̓əlləxʷəł c̓twaʔ. sk̓ʷéy kʷs ném̓s málməl 18
x̌áθ̓ə kʷθə niʔ wə-łəq̓łəq̓əl-ləxʷ-əł c̓twaʔ sk̓ʷéy kʷ s-ném̓s málməl
be.saying ART AUX EST-know(PL)-TR-past SPEC impossible ART NOM-go-3POS mistake
those who used to know said. They couldn't miss their way

i nem̓ tsə́θət. wənáy kʷθə ʔəwəteʔ słáq̓əlləxʷs tənnéc̓ məstə́yəxʷ, 19
ʔəy̓ nem̓ təs-θət wənáy kʷθə ʔəwəteʔ s-łəq̓əl-ləxʷ-s tən-néc̓ məstə́yəxʷ
and go reach-self only ART none NOM-know-TR-3POS from-different person
and go close. Only those who knew nothing, people from another place,

x̌ʷə́m i ném̓ málməl, šxʷteʔéwən k̓ʷs wəθəʔíts máʔaqʷ. 20
x̌ʷə́m ʔəy̓ ném̓ málməl šxteʔéwən k̓ʷ s-wə-θəʔít-s máʔaqʷ
fast and go mistake think ART NOM- EST-true-3POS duck
could be mistaken and think it was a real duck.

x̌̓a kʷə ni q̓áq̓əynəxʷəs kʷθəwx̌̓a sx̌̓éləqəm, kʷθeʔ məstə́yəxʷ 21
x̌̓a kʷə niʔ q̓áq̓əy-nəx-əs kʷθəwx̌̓a sx̌̓éləqəm kʷθeʔ məstə́yəxʷ
BE3P then AUX be.dying-TR-3TR that fierce that person
They were the ones that monster managed to kill, those people

niʔ nem̓ má·l̓məl̓. i hay kʷθəw təl̓i·təna xʷə́lməxʷəł c̓twaʔ, 22
niʔ nem̓ má·l̓məl̓ ʔəy̓ hay kʷθə wə-təl-ʔi ʔə təna xʷə́lməx-əł c̓twaʔ
AUX go being.mistaken and specify ART EST-from-be.here OBL this people-past-SPEC
who were mistaken. But the people of that time from here,

sk̓ʷéy k̓ʷs ném̓s tsə́θət. haʔ c̓łém̓ətəs kʷθeʔ, ste· k̓ʷ tánəqsən 23
sk̓ʷéy k̓ʷ s-ném̓-s təs-θət haʔ c̓łém̓-ət-əs kʷθeʔ stəʔé ʔə k̓ʷ tánəqsən
impossible ART NOM-go-3POS reach-self if hear-TR-3SUB that like OBL ART mallard
they couldn't go near. If they heard that sound, like a mallard

ʔəłqʷáqʷəl̓əs i nay k̓ʷsəw m̓is ʔal̓ łéẇ. 24
ʔəł-qʷáqʷəl̓-əs ʔəy̓ nay k̓ʷ s-wə-m̓i-s ʔal̓ łéẇ
whenever-be.speaking-3SUB and only ART NOM-EST-come-3POS just flee
whenever it was sounding, the only thing they did was get away.

ni c̓əw híθ kʷsniʔs ní ʔə kʷθeʔ x̌ácaʔəɬ c̓twaʔ, i yeɬ 25
niʔ c̓ə wə-híθ kʷ s-niʔ-s níʔ ʔə kʷθeʔ x̌ácaʔ-əɬ c̓twaʔ ʔəy̓ yeɬ
AUX QUOT EST-last.long ART NOM-AUX-3POS be.there OBL ART lake-past SPEC and after.which
It was quite a while that it was there in what was then a lake before

sisṁi, x̌̓əw sqʷíl̓qʷəl̓s kʷθə sìyál̓əxʷa·ɬ c̓twaʔ. ṁi·· qəyáʔθət, 26
s-ʔi-s ṁi x̌̓e wə-s-qʷíl̓qʷəl̓-s kʷθə syəyál̓əxʷa-əɬ c̓twaʔ ṁi·· qəyáʔ-θət,
NOM-AUX-3POS come again EST-NOM-tell-3POS ART old.people-past SPEC come leave.den-self
it came out, according to what the old people also said. It left its den

ṁi t̓á··xʷ. wəsx̌əʔét̓θ. təwqə́x̌ məstáyəxʷ wəsx̌əx̌íʔstəxʷ, 27
ṁi t̓áxʷ wə-sx̌əʔét̓θ təw-qə́x̌ məstáyəxʷ wə-sx̌əx̌íʔ-stəxʷ
come down.shoreward EST-marked somewhat-many person EST-revealed-CAUS
to come down to the shore. It was in plain view. There were quite a few people who had the chance to see it

kʷis wəɬṁi yəʔé·y̓. wəx̌i·x̌ɬéṁətəm kʷθə niwɬíθ 28
kʷ s-ʔi-s wəɬ-ṁi yə-ʔé·y̓ wə-x̌i·x̌ɬéṁ-ət-əm [ʔə] kʷθə niʔ wəɬ-híθ
ART NOM-AUX-3POS already-AUX along-be.continuing EST-be.watching-TR-INTR [OBL] ART AUX aleady-last.long
as it came along. It was being watched by people who had known about

kʷsɬáq̓əlləxʷəs məstáyəxʷ. 29
kʷ s-ɬáq̓əl-ləxʷ-əs məstáyəxʷ
ART NOM-know-TR-3TR person
it for a long time.

"sx̌̓éləqəm. sx̌̓éləqəm, ɬwáləp, kʷáʔəyθət ce·p. ʔə́wə ce·p i sxən̓cəʔe·p." 30
x̌̓éləqəm sx̌̓éləqəm ɬwáləp kʷáʔəy-θət ce·p ʔə́wə ce·p yə-sxən̓cəʔ-e·p
fierce fierce you.folks keep.away-self you(PL) not you(PL) before-be.victim you(PL)
"It's a monster. A monster, you folks. Move away. Don't let it catch you."

səw steʔé kʷθe xʷə́lməxʷəɬ c̓twaʔ. ne··ṁ θə́ləqtəl̓ tə xʷə́lməxʷəɬ c̓twaʔ. 31
s-wə-steʔé kʷθe xʷə́lməxʷ-əɬ c̓twaʔ neṁ θə́ləq-təl̓ tə xʷə́lməxʷ-əɬ c̓twaʔ
NOM-EST-like ART people-past SPEC go divide-each.other ART people-past SPEC
So the people remained that way. The people divided

steʔé ʔe ḵʷəw cxéłstəm təwx̌a sx̌éləqəm kʷíkʷəxtəm ḵʷə sʔí·łqəy̓. 32
steʔé ʔə ḵʷə wə-c-xéł-st-əm təwx̌a sx̌éləqəm kʷíkʷəx-t-əm ḵʷə sʔí·łqəy̓
like OBL ART EST-make-path-CAUS-INTR that fierce.one be.naming-TR-INTR ART seelthkey
so as to make a path for that monster that is called the seelthkey.

səw nem̓ yəʔé·y̓ ne··m̓ tə θí stál̓əẇ. nem̓ xʷəšxʷtál̓əẇèmən 33
s-wə-nem̓[-s] yə-ʔé·y̓ nem̓ [ʔə] tə θí stál̓əẇ nem̓ xʷə-šxʷ-tál̓əẇ-èmən
NOM-EST-go-3POS along-be.continuing go OBL ART big river AUX(go) become-OBLNOM-river-track
It continued on to the big river. Where it went became the course

tə ni šxʷyałeʔés. məḵʷ stem tə ni tθíq̓ətəs c̓íc̓əsəm, sáx̌ʷəl, 34
ptékʷəm,
tə ni šxʷ-yə-łaʔé-s məḵʷ stem tə tθíq̓-ət-əs c̓íc̓əsəm sáx̌ʷəl ptékʷəm
ART AUX OBLNOM-along-follow-3POS all what ART AUX step.on-TR-3SUB be.growing grass fern
of a stream. Everything that it passed over, grass, ferns,

kʷθəw məḵʷ ʔal̓ stém, nə q̓áy, kʷsnis wałnem̓ yəl̓éẇ kʷłəwx̌a 35
sx̌éləqəm.
kʷθə wə-məḵʷ ʔal̓ stém niʔ q̓áy kʷ s-niʔ-s wał-nem̓ yəl̓éẇ kʷłəwx̌a sx̌éləqəm
ART EST-all just what AUX die ART NOM-AUX-3POS already-go pass that fierce.one
everything, died as that monster passed by.

təwqə́x̌ c̓ə mstə́yəxʷ kʷθə niw sc̓éc̓əṉ wəḵʷcáləs. 36
təw-qə́x̌ c̓ə məstə́yəxʷ kʷθə niʔ wə-sc̓éc̓əṉ wə-ḵʷec-áləs
somewhat-many QUOT person ART AUX EST-really EST-see-eye
There were many people who saw it with their own eyes.

ʔə́y̓ sx̌łéms. isél̓ə tə sx̌ə́y̓əss yəkʷənátəl kʷsnis yəx̌ʷákʷθət. 37
ʔə́y̓ s-x̌łém-s yəsél̓ə tə sx̌ə́y̓əs-s yə-kʷənátəl kʷ s-niʔ-s yə-x̌ʷákʷ-θət
good NOM-watch-3POS two ART head-3POS along-together ART NOM-AUX-3POS along-be.dragging-self
They had a good view. It had two heads together as it was dragging itself along.

stəʔé c̓e ḵʷ θí šxʷkʷéʔem tə sʔənxʷícəns θəwx̌a sx̌éləqəm. 38
stəʔé c̓ə ḵʷ θí šxʷkʷéʔem tə sʔənxʷícən-s θəwx̌a sx̌éləqəm
like QUOT ART big storage.basket ART middle-3POS that fierce.one
The middle of that monster was like a big storage basket.

yəpál̓xʷəm̓ c̓ə. ƛ̓a kʷə x̌ə́t̓əstəm šxʷqənxʷéləs, 39
yə-pál̓xʷəm̓ c̓ə ƛ̓a kʷə x̌ə́t̓ə-st-əm šxʷqənxʷélə-s
along-be.steaming QUOT BE3P ART be.saying-CAUS-INTR stomach-3POS
It was steaming. That is what is called the stomach,

šxʷniʔs təwmək̓ʷ stem smə́q̓s təwƛ̓a sƛ̓éləqəm. 40
šxʷ-niʔ-s təw-mək̓ʷ stem s-mə́q̓-s təwƛ̓a sƛ̓éləqəm
OBLNOM-AUX-3POS somewhat-all what NOM-swallow-3POS that fierce.one
where everything which that monster swallows goes.

səw x̌ə́t̓əs kʷθəwƛ̓áləməł siyál̓əxʷaʔ, ƛ̓a šxʷniʔs wən̓án 41
s-wə-x̌ə́t̓ə-s kʷθəwƛ̓áləm-əł syəyál̓əxʷaʔ ƛ̓a šxʷ-niʔ-s wə-n̓án
NOM-EST-be.saying-3POS those-past old.persons BE3P OBLNOM-AUX-3POS
EST-very
Then the old people were saying, that is why this creek is very

wəspày̓pəy̓ tən̓a stáʔtləw̓. ni šxʷyəłəʔés kʷsnis nem̓ ʔə́ƛ̓qaʔθ 42
wə-spày̓pəy̓ tən̓a stáʔtləw̓ niʔ šxʷ-yə-łəʔé-s kʷ s-niʔ-s nem̓
ʔə́ƛ̓q-aʔθ
EST-crooked this creek AUX OBLNOM-along-follow-3POS ART NOM-AUX-3POS
go.out-mouth
crooked. It is the path it followed when it went out,

kʷθəwƛ̓a sƛ̓éləqəmał. 43
kʷθəwƛ̓a sƛ̓éləqəm-əł
that fierce-past
that monster.

i·· c̓ kʷə mi·· xʷc̓áləwən, səw mi c̓ísəm tə sáx̌ʷəl ʔə tə niʔəł 44
ʔi c̓ə kʷə m̓i xʷc̓áləwən s-wə-m̓i[-s] c̓ísəm tə sáx̌ʷəl ʔə tə niʔ-əł
AUX QUOT then come next.year NOM-EST-AUX-3POS grow ART plant OBL
ART AUX-past
When the next year came, then grass grew at what had been the place
where

šxʷyəłəʔés kʷs nem̓ yəʔé·y̓ kʷθəwƛ̓a sƛ̓éləqəmał c̓twaʔ 45
šxʷ-yə-łəʔé-s kʷ s-[niʔ]-s nem̓ yə-ʔé·y̓ kʷθəwƛ̓a sƛ̓éləqəm-əł c̓twaʔ
OBLNOM-along-follow-3POS ART NOM-AUX-3POS go along-be.continuing
that fierce.one-past SPEC
it had passed when it went along, that monster

kʷíkʷəxtəm k̓ʷə sʔí·łqəy̓. néc̓ sáx̌ʷəl kʷθéʔ. kʷíkʷəxətəs 46
kʷíkʷəx-t-əm [ʔə] k̓ʷə sʔí·łqəy̓ néc̓ sáx̌ʷəl kʷθéʔ kʷíkʷəx-ət-əs
be.naming-TR-INTR OBL ART seelthkey different grass that be.naming-TR-3TR
that was called a seelthkey. That was a different plant. The people called it

tə xʷə́lməxʷəł c̓twaʔ k̓ʷ məθkʷəy̓. m̓i·· qəl̓ét yəl̓ánəm, 47
mi xʷc̓áləwən,
tə xʷə́lməxʷ-əł c̓twaʔ k̓ʷ məθkʷəy̓ m̓i qəl̓ét yəl̓ánəm m̓i xʷc̓áləwən
ART people-past SPEC ART muthkwey come next.year come next.year
muthkwey. When it was another year, next year,

niwəł nem̓ t̓ét̓θ kʷis nem̓ c̓ísəm təwx̌a sáx̌əl, məθkʷəy̓. 48
niʔ wəł-nem̓ t̓ét̓θ kʷ s-niʔ-s nem̓ c̓ísəm təwx̌a sáx̌əl məθkʷəy̓
AUX already-go everywhere ART NOM-AUX-3POS go grow that grass muthkwey
then that plant muthkwey spread out when it grew.

niw p̓ép̓əq̓əm stəʔé ʔə k̓ʷ x̌əw néc̓ sáx̌ʷəl. ʔə́wəteʔ k̓ʷə x̌əw stəʔé 49
niʔ wə-p̓ép̓əq̓əm stəʔé ʔə k̓ʷ x̌e wə-néc̓ sáx̌ʷəl ʔə́wəteʔ k̓ʷə x̌e
wə-stəʔé
AUX EST-be.blooming like OBL ART again EST-different grass none ART again
EST-like
It bloomed like any other plant. But it was not like any other

sáx̌ʷəl. ʔəwé·ł c̓ə kʷs t̓ʰíq̓əts kʷθəw t̓átəł məstáyəxʷ. x̌éʔx̌eʔstəm. 50
sáx̌ʷəl ʔəwə-əł c̓ə kʷ s-t̓ʰíq̓-ət-s kʷθə wə-t̓át-əł məstáyəxʷ
x̌éʔx̌eʔ-st-əm.
grass not-past QUOT ART NOM-get.stepped.on-3POS ART EST-ancient-past
person holy-CAUS-INTR
plant. The old people did not step on it. It was thought sacred.

sweʔs sqəlqəl̓íl̓θəts c̓twaʔ [ʔə] łə sx̌éləqəməł c̓twaʔ, sʔí·łqəy̓. 51
s-weʔ-s s-qəlqəl̓íl̓-θət-s c̓twaʔ [ʔə] łə sx̌éləqəm-əł c̓twaʔ sʔí·łqəy̓.
NOM-own-3POS NOM-soil-self-3POS SPEC OBL ART fierce past SPEC seelthkey
It was from the droppings of the monster, the seelthkey.

m̓i·· swəcx̌ánəms tθeʔ sáx̌ʷəl ni·t kʷík̓ʷ'xət k̓ʷə məθkʷəy̓, 52
m̓i s-wəcx̌ánəm-s tθeʔ sáx̌ʷəl niʔ-ət kʷík̓ʷəx-ət k̓ʷə məθkʷəy̓
come NOM-fall-side[?]-3POS that plant AUX-we be.naming ART muthkwey
It is what fell, that plant that we call muthkwey,

niw xʷəqə́x̌ st̓ét̓əl̓θ kʷs c̓íc̓əsəms. x̌a k̓ʷə šxʷis kʷíxətəs 53
niʔ wə-xʷə-qə́x̌ st̓ét̓əl̓θ kʷ s-c̓íc̓əsəm-s x̌a k̓ʷə šxʷ-niʔ-s kʷíx-ət-əs
AUX EST- become-spread.out ART NOM-be.growing-3POS BE3P then
OBLNOM-AUX-3POS name-TR-3TR
which came to be growing plentifully all over. So that is why

kʷθəw t̓átəł xʷə́lməxʷ təṅa táməxʷ i šxʷʔict 54
kʷθə wə-t̓át-əł xʷə́lməxʷ təṅa táməxʷ ʔi šxʷ-ʔi-ct [ʔə]
ART EST-ancient-past people this land be.here OBLNOM-be.here-our OBL
the people of long ago named this place where we are

ḵʷə xʷməθkʷəy̓əm. wəł yəl̓él ʔə c̓twaʔ. wəłhíθ, i cən mi sx̌íx̌qəł 55
ḵʷə xʷməθkʷəy̓əm wəł-yəl̓él ʔə c̓twaʔ wəł-híθ ʔi cən m̓i sx̌íx̌qəł
ART having-muthkwey-INTR already-long.time SPEC already-last.long AUX
I come child
"Musqueam." A long time must have passed. When I was a child

tə ʔé·n̓θə i nəwł kʷíkʷəxtəm ḵʷ xʷməθkʷəy̓əm təna. 56
tə ʔé·n̓θə ʔəy̓ niʔ wəł-kʷíkʷəx-t-əm ḵʷ xʷməθkʷəy̓əm təna.
ART be.I and AUX already-be.naming-TR-INTR ART Musqueam this
myself, they had already been calling this "Musqueam."

x̌ə́l̓ə kʷłən síl̓e·ł p̓əlíqʷəye. 57
x̌ə́l̓ə kʷłə nə-síl̓ə-əł p̓əlíqʷəye.
say ART my-grandparent-past Peliqwiye
So said my grandmother Peliqwiye.

This text was dictated by James Point on 1 April 1963 and checked with Arnold Guerin on 27 August 1983.

*Line*

1. *qʷtí·l̓qʷəl̓* 'be telling,' progressive of *qʷə́l̓qʷəl̓* 'tell, relate.'

2. AG said he would have begun the sentence with *ni c̓ə ʔə kʷθə* rather than JP's *ni c̓ə ḵʷə,* but reconsidering this, I think JP's original is consistent with the syntax of the sentence as I understand it: 'There was, it is said, what was called Mumquaam.' An oblique particle *ʔə* would be appropriate if there were a different subject, identified as *at* the place called Mumquaam.

*xʷməm̓qʷé·m,* from *máqʷəm* 'bog'; a place name, that of a bog near Chaldecott Park. The name may be based on the diminutive *mám̓qʷəm* 'little bog' with the combination of the prefix *xʷ-* and the suffix *-əm,* the underlying form being //xʷ-mam̓qʷəm -əm//, with the medial *m* lost and a shift in stress. This combination of affixes with the meaning 'place where there are' is common in place names over the region.

3. *xʷc̓sí·m* 'grown up,' from *c̓ísəm* 'grow,' perhaps with the *xʷ-* and *-əm* seen in place names. The underlying form would be //xʷ-c̓isəm-əm// 'place where there are growing things.' I have inserted, in square brackets, an oblique particle that AG would have used.

4. *c̓íc̓əsəm̓* 'be growing,' progressive of *c̓isəm* 'grow.'

6. *x̌á l̓əstəm* 'said to be, so-called.' JP used this term fairly often as a modifier, as he did here.

*šx̌ʷəniʔ* 'place where.' AG indicated that this is pronounced either *šxʷniʔ* or *šxʷəniʔ.*

*sx̌éləqəm*. This word can be translated in various ways. JP may have suggested 'monster' in this context, but in another narrative he referred to the warrior Capilano as *sx̌éləqəm,* meaning 'fierce' or 'dangerous,' and CC used it in

the context *sx̌éləqəm šxʷnéʔəm,* which I translate 'powerful shaman.' AG commented on how broadly the term is used and how hard to give it a single gloss. He suggested 'fearsome being' in this context and said it could be used for feared things such as a whale at sea or a ghost; a little bug is a *sx̌íʔx̌ələqəm* (the diminutive).

*sʔí·łqəy̓* 'seelthkey.' This is the two-headed serpent known to the speakers of Northern Straits as the *sʔínəłqəy̓* and to the speakers of Kwakwala as the *sisiuł*. The name in Halkomelem and Northern Straits appears to be composed of an unidentifiable element and *ʔáłqəy* 'snake.'

10. *kʷłə,* JP was not consistent in which gender he used with the seelthkey, but often, as here, it was feminine. *wəm̓é·n* 'foolish, not having good judgment,' probably composed of *wə-* 'established' and *m̓é·n* 'weak.'

12. *x̌əlx̌ál̓θə̀·m* 'you'll get twisted up,' probably a plural form, that is, 'you'll get twisted in several places'; cf. *x̌ál̓t* 'turn it around, twist it,' *x̌él̓t* 'be turning it.' A seelthkey was said to cause a kind of paralysis that contorts the body of its victim.

13. *šxʷsk̓ʷéy̓s* 'cause of its being impossible, reason why it is impossible'

15. *máʔəqʷ,* usually translated 'duck,' this term really refers to any larger bird; the eagle is a *máʔəqʷ*.

16. *tánəqsən* 'mallard,' composed of an unidentifiable root and the suffix *-əqsən* 'nose, bill.'

17. *šxʷcx̌əʔét̓θs* 'means by which it is made evident.' The root is that of *x̌ét̓θt* 'measure it' and *sx̌əʔét̓θ* 'measured, marked, known, evident.' I heard JP say *šxʷx̌əʔet̓θs* here and in another context, but AG (on tape) clearly said *šxʷcx̌əʔét̓θs*. The verbalizing prefix *c-* seems reasonable.

18. *łəq̓łáq̓əlləxʷ* is the plural of *łáq̓əlləxʷ* 'know it.'

*-əł c̓twaʔ-* 'past speculative.' JP used this fairly often when referring to people of the past. If any translation is needed, it would be 'who must have been.'

20. *má·l̓məl̓*. Progressive of *məlməl* 'make a mistake, lose one's way.'

27. *sx̌əʔét̓θ*. See 17 above. *sx̌əx̌íʔstəxʷ* 'witness it,' causative of *sx̌əx̌íʔ* 'visible, seen'; cf. *x̌íʔ* 'appear, be revealed,' *x̌íʔt* 'reveal, disclose.'

28. *x̌ix̌łém̓*. Progressive of *x̌łém* 'watch.'

30. AG corrected what I had written *i sxáṅcə* as *yəscáṅcə,* and identified the *yə-* as 'before,' saying that the *yə-* could be omitted and in fact the sentence would be better without it.

33. The 'big river' is of course the Fraser. The 'river-track' became the bed of the creek that flows past *sc̓əléxʷ*.

34. *sáx̌ʷəl* is often translated 'grass,' but it has a wider meaning, since it includes flowering plants that die down in the fall, as seen in what follows.

37. *sx̌łém* 'sight, view,' nominalization of *x̌łém* 'watch.' AG pronounced the word *sx̌łém̓*.

38. *šxʷkʷéʔəm* ‘storage basket,’ also given as *skʷéʔəm*.

39. *pál̓xʷəm̓*. Progressive of *páləxʷəm* ‘steam, come to a boil.’

39. *šxʷqənxʷélə* ‘stomach.’ Composed of *šxʷ-* ‘oblique nominalizer,’ *qánəxʷ* ‘throat, gullet,’ and *-élə* ‘container’; cf. *sqánəxʷ* ‘greedy,’ *cłqənxʷíləm* ‘die of overeating.’ *smáq̓s* ‘that which it swallowed,’ a relative clause, from *máq̓* ‘swallow.’

41. *syəyál̓əxʷaʔ* [siyál̓əxʷaʔ] plural of *syál̓əxʷaʔ* ‘old person.’

42. *spáy̓pəy̓* ‘crooked, winding,’ plural of *spápəy̓* ‘bent,’ resultative of *pá·yt* ‘bend it.’

42. *stáʔtləw̓* ‘creek,’ diminutive of *stál̓əw̓* ‘river.’ *ʔáx̌̓qaʔθ* ‘go out into open water’ (as from Burrard Inlet into the gulf).

44. *xʷc̓éləwən* ‘turn of the year’ was JP’s gloss, presumably from √*c̓al-* ‘turn’; cf. *c̓áləsəm* ‘turn the head (to look in another direction),’ said to come in the fall.

45. *kʷs*. AG said he would have used *kʷis* instead. This is short for *kʷsniʔs*.

47. *məθkʷəy*. The identity of this plant, for which Musqueam was named, is not clear. (See Appendix 2, under the name “Musqueam.”)

51. *qəlqəl̓ílθət* ‘soil oneself, defecate’; cf. *qəlqəlílt* ‘spoil it,’ from *qál* ‘bad,’ used today as a euphemism for *q̓á y̓θəx̌*.

52. *wəcx̌̓ánəm* ‘fall beside’(?), from *wəcáx̌̓* ‘fall’ (also recorded *wəc̓áx̌̓,* cf. Cowichan *wəx̌̓ác̓*), *-anəm* ‘-side’? (cf. *-é·n* ‘side,’ *-ənə ~ -ənеʔ* ‘ear’).

55. *xʷməθkʷəy̓əm* ‘Musqueam,’ formed with *xʷ-* and *-əm,* ‘place of *məθkʷəy̓.*’

57. *kʷłə nəsil̓e·ł* ‘my deceased grandmother.’ JP used both the feminine remote article *kʷłə* and *-əł* ‘past.’ Some older people speaking English nearly always use *poor* to convey the fact of deceased status. Others say *late.* I have generally ignored this in a free translation.

*p̓əlíqʷəyə* (also recorded *pəlíqʷəyə*) was JP’s mother’s mother, and she was AG’s great-great-aunt, the sister of his father’s mother’s mother.

## Appendix 1

# Index of Grammatical Elements and Lexical Affixes

This index lists all prefixes and suffixes, both grammatical and lexical, all particles, and words (and a few phrases) of special classes the functions of which are described in this grammar. Each entry gives the number of the section where the item is identified. In a few cases, other numbers refer to sections describing special uses.

The entries are ordered in a phonological (rather than alphabetical) order. Glottalized resonants are not given separate status but are ordered with the plain resonants. Suffixes with initial vowels are distinguished thereby, but otherwise vowels are ignored in the ordering. The order is as follows:

*p* *p̓* *m* *t* *t̓* *n* *θ* *tˠ* *t̓ˠ* *s* *S* *š* *ɬ* *ƛ̓* *l* *c* *č* *c̓* *x* *kʷ* *k̓ʷ* *xʷ* *q* *q̓* *x̌* *qʷ* *q̓ʷ* *x̌ʷ* *y* *w* *h* *ʔ* *ə* *e* *a* *i*

***m***

*mə-* ‘come’ (< *ʔəm̓í* ‘come’), lexical prefix, §12.4.1.

*m̓ə ~ m̓e* ‘certainty’ (CERT), predicate particle, §16.2.11.

*m̓i* ‘come’ (< *ʔəm̓í* ‘come’), directional auxiliary (AUX), §3.2.1; prepositional verb, §3.5.

*-mət ~ -əmət ~ -mit ~ -met ~ -meʔt* ‘concern’ (CON), applicative suffix, §10.4.5.

*-mət* ‘appearance’(?), lexical suffix, §13.6, 4.

*-mat* ‘kind, piece, part,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 5.

*-mən ~ -əmən ~ -əmən̓ ~ -mín* ‘instrument,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 6.

*-mən ~ -émən ~ -mín* ‘residue,’ lexical suffix, §13.6.8 (cf. *-ém̓ən* ‘extracted liquid’).

*-məx ~ -áməx ~ -ám̓əx* ‘country, person,’ lexical suffix, §13.6.11 (cf. *-məxʷ,* etc. ‘place, people’).

*mák̓ʷ* ‘all, every,’ §18.4.40, §18.4.8; ‘whenever,’ §18.4.18, §4.3.1.

*-məxʷ ~ -éməxʷ ~ -álməxʷ ~ -áwməxʷ ~ -áẇməxʷ* ‘place, people, cluster’(?), lexical suffix, §13.6.12 (cf. *-álməxʷ* ‘breast, etc.’).

***t***

*-t ~ -ət ~ -ét ~ -át* ‘transitive’ (TR), §10.1.1.
*-t* ‘stative’ (STAT), §12.1.6.
*tə* ‘a, the (non-feminine, present and visible),’ article (ART), §15.1.
*təm- ~ tən- ~ təm̓-* ‘time of, season for,’ lexical prefix, §12.4.2.
*√tém* ‘what.’ See *stém* ‘what?’ §17.3.
*təmtém* ‘when?’ interrogative word, §17.5.
*témc* ‘what people?’ interrogative word, §17.4.
*tən- ~ təm̓- ~ təm-* ‘time of, season for,’ lexical prefix, §12.4.2.
*tən- ~ təl-* ‘from,’ lexical prefix, §12.4.3.
*-tən ~ -təm̓ ~ -tén ~ -tém̓* ‘instrument,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 16.
*tənípˀ* ‘there, that way,’ locative demonstrative, non-feminine, visible, §15.2.2.1.
*tənípm̓ə* ‘that,’ locative demonstrative, non-feminine, visible, §15.2.2.1.
*təm̓á* ‘this, he/him,’ locative demonstrative, non-feminine, visible, §15.2.2.1.
*təm̓á·nə* ‘that over there, over there,’ locative demonstrative, non-feminine, visible, §15.2.2.1.
*təm̓á·ɬtən* ‘they/them,’ locative demonstrative, plural, visible, §15.2.2.1.
*tənəwx̌̓á* ‘he/him, that,’ third-person demonstrative, §15.2.2.2.
*tθépˀ* ‘that, he/him, it, there,’ simple demonstrative, non-feminine, visible, §15.2.1.
*təl- ~ tən-* ‘from,’ lexical prefix, §12.4.3.
*təlípˀ~ təl̓ípˀ* ‘be from, from,’ as prepositional verb, §3.5.
*-təl̓ ~ tál̓* ‘each other,’ reciprocal suffix (RECIP), §10.6.
*txʷ-₁* ‘buy,’ verbalizing prefix, §12.2.3.
*txʷ-₂* ‘(something) belonging to,’ lexical prefix, §12.4.4.
*txʷ-₃* ‘remaining, only,’ lexical prefix, §12.4.5.
*-txʷ ~ -əẇtxʷ ~ -éwtxʷ ~ -əltəxʷ* ‘house,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 18.
*txʷáy* ‘only remaining, except for,’ §18.4.38, §4.1.5.2.
*txʷwét ~ təwét* ‘whose?’ interrogative word, §17.2.
*túˑxʷ* ‘nine,’ §19.
*tqécəˀ* ‘eight,’ §19.
*tášʷ ~ táxʷ* ‘later, occur later, follow (an example),’ §18.4.22.
*tášʷ ~ táxʷ ~ təšʷ* ‘adjust, exactly, just,’ §18.4.27.
*təw-* ‘like, somewhat, a bit, sort of (like),’ aspectual prefix, §11.1.3.
*təwét ~ wét* ‘who?’ §17.1.
*təwét ~ txʷwét* ‘whose?’ §17.2.
*təwx̌̓á* ‘he/him, it, that,’ non-feminine, visible third-person pronoun and demonstrative, §15.2.2.2.
*təwx̌̓áləm* ‘they/them, those,’ plural third-person pronoun and demonstrative, §15.2.2.2.
*təwx̌̓áx̌̓əm* ‘that little one,’ non-feminine diminutive third-person pronoun and demonstrative, §15.2.2.2.

*təwx̌əx̌ax̌ám̓* ‘those little ones,’ plural diminutive third-person pronoun and demonstrative, §15.2.2.2.
*təʔí ~ tiʔí* ‘this, here, this way,’ locative demonstrative, non-feminine, visible, §15.2.2.1.
*təʔínə* ‘this,’ locative demonstrative, non-feminine, visible, §15.2.2.1.
*təʔén* ‘how wonderful! what a ___! how powerful!’ exclamatory-interrogative adjective, §20.2.3.

***ṫ***

*-ṫ* (?) possible lexical suffix, §13.7, 3.
*ṫát* (usually *wəṫát*) ‘long before, from long ago, earlier,’ §18.4.11.
*-ṫén̓* (?) possible lexical suffix, §13.7, 4.
*ṫx̌ám* ‘six,’ §19.
*ṫáʔθət* ‘try,’ §3.2.3.

***n***

*-n- ~ -nəxʷ* ‘limited control transitive suffix’ (LCTR), §10.1.2.
*nə-* ‘my,’ first-person singular possessive prefix, §14.2.4.
*níʔ* ‘be there, some,’ preceding a noun in a pseudo-cleft sentence, §4.1.5.1.1.
*niʔ ~ ni ~ nə* ‘there,’ locative auxiliary verb, §3.2.1.
*níʔ ~ ní* ‘in, at, on, onto by, with, for,’ prepositional verb, §3.5.
*níʔ ~ ní* ‘hey there, excuse me,’ interjection, §20.3.5.
*ná* ‘what? yes?’ in reply to call, §20.3.3.
*-n̓a* ‘be here’(?), ‘exist’(?), follows the articles in a series of locative demonstratives, §15.2.2.1
*-n̓a· ~ -na·* ‘be yonder,’ in locative demonstratives, §15.2.2.1
*ném̓* ‘go.’
*ném̓ ~ nem̓* ‘go,’ directional auxiliary (AUX), §3.2.1; ‘to (away from speaker),’ prepositional verb, §3.5.
*-námət ~ -lámət* ‘oneself (limited control),’ reflexive suffix corresponding to *-nəxʷ* ‘limited control transitive,” §10.5.2.
*n̓án* (usually *wən̓án*) ‘too, very, very much,’ §18.4.24.
*-nəs* ‘goal’ (GOAL), applicative suffix, §10.4.2.
*-nís ~ -ənəs ~ -ələs* ‘tooth,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 23.
*-nəc ~ -néc ~ -ləc ~ -əlləc* ‘butt, tail, base, bay, price,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 24.
*nəċím̓* ‘why?’ interrogative word, §17.19.
*néċ* ‘different, strange, at other times, sometimes, there are different times (when),’ §18.4.4.
*nəċéxʷ* ‘once, one time, once in a while,’ §18.4.5.
*néċəw-* ‘one’ (combining form), §19.
*náċaʔ* ‘one,’ §19, §18.4.10.
*-nəxʷ ~ -néxʷ ~ -n- ~ -ləxʷ ~ -l-* ‘limited control transitive’ (LCTR), §10.1.2.
*nəxʷ-* (identical with *xʷ-* ‘inward’?) lexical prefix, §12.4.8.

*nəx$^{w}$s-* ~ *x$^{w}$s-* 'habitually' (HAB), aspectual prefix, §11.1.8.
*náy* (usually *wənáy*) 'only,' §18.4.37.
*náẇ* ~ *ná·ẇ* ~ *náw* 'yes (in answer to call), hey,' §20.3.4.
*náwə* 'you,' second-person singular personal word, §14.2.7.
*náʔətə* 'there,' demonstrative auxiliary verb, non-feminine, §15.3.
*náʔəθə* 'there,' demonstrative auxiliary verb, feminine, §15.3.

## *θ*

*-θ* realization of *-t* 'transitive' and *-S* 'me, you (singular),' §14.2.5.
*θə* 'a, the,' article, feminine, present and visible (ART), §15.1.
*θém-* ~ *θəm-* 'two' (combining form), §19.
*θəmé* 'twice,' §18.4.5, §19.2, 2.
*-θam-* realization of *-t* 'transitive' and *-Sam-* 'you,' second-person passive subject, §14.2.6.
*-θamx* realization of *-t* 'transitive' and *-Samx* 'me,' §14.2.5.
*-θamə* realization of *-t* 'transitive' and *-Samə* 'you,' second-person singular object, §14.2.5.
*θə́t* 'intend, try,' §3.2.3.
*θə́t* 'say.'
*-θət* ~ *-θát* 'oneself,' reflexive suffix corresponding to *-t* 'transitive,' §10.5.1.
*-θən* ~ *-aʔθ* 'mouth,' lexical suffix, §13.6, 26.
*-θín* ~ *-aʔθ,* etc. 'mouth, lip, margin, edge,' lexical suffix, §13.6, 26.
*θəńá* 'this, she/her,' locative demonstrative, feminine, visible, §15.2.2.1.
*θənəwx̌a* 'she/her, that,' third-person demonstrative, §15.2.2.2.
*θəł* 'however, nevertheless, but, still, etc.,' adversative predicate particle (ADV), §16.2.15.
*-θél-* realization of *-t* 'transitive' and *-Sél-* 'I,' first-person singular passive subject, §14.2.6.
*θəwx̌á* 'she/her, that,' third-person demonstrative, §15.2.2.2.
*θəwx̌áx̌əḿ* 'that little one,' third-person feminine diminutive demonstrative, §15.2.2.2.
*θéʔ* 'that, she/her,' simple demonstrative, feminine, visible, §15.2.1.
*θəʔí* 'this,' locative demonstrative, feminine, visible, §15.2.2.1.
*θəʔít* (usually *wəθəʔít*) 'truly, really,' §18.4.26.

## *t$^{θ}$ə*

*t$^{θ}$ə* 'a, the,' article, Cowichan equivalent of *tə,* occasionally used by some Musqueam speakers, §15.1.

## *ṯ$^{θ}$*

*-ṯ$^{θ}$*(?) possible lexical suffix, §13.7, 7.
*ṯ$^{θ}$íx$^{w}$əm* 'pity, be so kind as to ..., please ...,' §3.2.3.
*ṯ$^{θ}$x$^{w}$íməṯ* 'pity him, be so kind as to ... for him,' §3.2.3.
*ṯ$^{θ}$á$^{ʔ}$k$^{w}$s* 'seven,' §19.

***s***

*s-*$_1$ ‘nominalizer’ (NOM), derivational prefix, §12.1.1; in nominalized clauses, §4.3; in relative clauses with extracted oblique objects, §4.1.1.2.
*s-*$_2$ ‘resultative’ (RES), derivational prefix, §12.1.2. Cf. resultative aspect, §7.7.
*-s*$_1$ ‘his, her, its, their,’ third-person possessive suffix, §14.2.4.
*-s*$_2$ ‘permissive,’ §10.7; following *ʔə́wə* ‘not,’ §6.1.1.
*s- ... -aʔɬ* forming adjective-like words, §3.8.3.4.
*-sím* ‘berry’(?), possible lexical suffix, §13.7, 8.
*-st-* → *-stəxʷ*$_1$ ‘causative’ (CAUS), §10.3.
*stém* ‘what?’ interrogative word, §17.3.
*stətés* ‘near,’ as prepositional verb, §3.5.
*-stəxʷ*$_1$ ~ *-stéxʷ* ~ *-əstəxʷ* ~ *-st-* ‘causative’ (CAUS), §10.3.
*-stəxʷ*$_2$ ‘comitative’(COM), applicative, §10.4.1.
*-stənáməṫ* ~ *-stənəməṫ* ~ *-stənməṫ* ‘oneself,’ causative reflexive suffix corresponding to *-stəxʷ*$_1$ causative, §10.5.3.
*stəʔé* ~ *steʔé* ‘resembling, like,’ as prepositional verb, §3.5.
*sníʔənɬ* ‘enough, just enough, permitting,’ §18.4.32.
*səsəw* ~ *sisəw* ‘then he/she/it/they,’ composed of *s-*$_1$ ‘nominalizer,’ the auxiliary *niʔ* or *ʔi,* the third-person possessive *-s*$_1$*,* and the aspectual prefix *wə-*$_2$ ‘established,’ §4.3.4.
*sx̌íʔ* ‘want, like,’ §18.4.47.
*sx̌áx̌əm* ‘enough, ought, can,’ §18.4.42.
*sc-* compound of *s-* ‘nominalizer’ and the verbalizing prefix *c-* ‘get, make, etc.,’ §12.2.1.
*scékʷəl̓* ‘how? how much? who?’ interrogative word, §17.12.
*scəkʷəl̓ím̓* ‘how? how constructed? how intended?’ interrogative word, §17.13.
*scəwét* ‘smart, capable, able,’ §18.4.44.
*sċéċən̓* ‘really, certainly,’ §18.4.25.
*sk̓ʷéy* ‘impossible, unable,’ §18.4.43.
*sxʷəʔíʔnt* ‘what meaning?’ §17.15.
*sqíʔqəl̓* ~ *sqíqəl̓* ‘unable, ignorant (of how to do something),’ §18.4.45.
*sq̓eq̓áʔ* ‘accompanying, with,’ as prepositional verb, §3.5.
*səw* ‘then,’ composed of *s-* ‘nominalizer’ and the aspectual prefix *wə-*$_2$ ‘established,’ §4.3.4.
*swéʔ* ‘one’s own,’ basis of possessive words other than ‘ours,’ §14.2.8.
*sʔáʔɬ* ~ *sʔáʔʔɬ* ‘ours,’ first-person plural possessive word, §14.2.8.

***S***

*-S* ‘me, you (sing.),’ first- and second-person singular object suffix following *-t* ‘transitive,’ the sequence realized as *-θ,* §14.2.5.
*-Samx* ~ *-S* ‘me,’ first-person singular object suffix following *-t* ‘transitive,’ §14.2.5.

-*Sam*- 'you (sing.),' second-person passive subject suffix following -*t* 'transitive,' §14.2.6.
-*Samə* ~ -*S* 'you,' second-person singular object suffix following -*t* 'transitive,' §14.2.5.
-*Sél*- 'I,' first-person singular passive subject suffix following -*t* 'transitive,' §14.2.6.

***š***

*šx*$^{w}$- 'oblique nominalizer' (OBLNOM) ('place where, time when, means of, reason why'), derivational prefix composed of *s*- 'nominalizer' and *x*$^{w}$- 'oblique,' §12.1.4; in relative clauses with extracted oblique nominal adjuncts, §4.1.1.2; in nominalized clauses, §4.3.3.

***ł***

*ł*-$_{1}$ 'partake, experience,' verbalizing prefix, §12.2.4.
*ł*-$_{2}$ 'portion,' lexical prefix, §12.4.6.
*łə* ~ *łe* ~ *ł*- 'imperative-optative' (PER), predicate particle, §16.2.7.
*łə* ~ *k*$^{w}$*łə* 'a, the,' article (ART), feminine, near or accessible but invisible, §15.1.
*ł* ~ *k*$^{w}$*ł* ~ *ʔəł* same as last, introducing relative clauses following negatives, §6.3, (s) to (x).
*łnímət* 'we, us,' first-person plural personal word, §14.2.7.
-*łnét* ~ -*łnéʔ* 'day of the week, day,' lexical suffix, §13.6.34.
-*łsxé* ~ -*łcyé* 'tens,' lexical suffix §13.6, 35.
-*łət* ~ -*əłət* ~ -*łél*- 'throat, breath, wind, food,' lexical suffix, §13.6, 31.
-*łél*- 'fire,' lexical suffix, §13.6, 36.
-*łc*- 'benefactive' (BEN), applicative suffix, §10.4.4.
-*łcyé* ~ -*łsxé* 'tens,' lexical suffix, §13.6, 35.
*łíx*$^{w}$ 'three,' numeral, §19.
*łx*$^{w}$*él* 'three times,' §18.4.5.
*łqécəs* 'five,' §19.
*łáq̓* 'usually, generally, habitually,' §18.4.2.
*łəwƛ̓á* 'she/her, that,' third-person demonstrative, §15.2.2.2.
*łwáləp* 'you (pl.),' second-person plural personal word, §14.2.7.
*łiʔá·aq*$^{w}$*t* 'after, next, following, behind, last, go last,' §18.4.21.

***ƛ̓***

*ƛ̓* oblique article, §15.1.4.
*ƛ̓*- 'go to,' verbalizing prefix, §12.2.5.
-*ƛ̓* (?) possible lexical suffix, §13.7, 11.
*ƛ̓á* 'he, she, it (is),' third-person singular personal word, §14.2.7; in the formation of demonstratives, §15.2.2.2; in nominalized narrative sentences (i.e., with *səw, səsəw,* etc.), §4.3.4; followed by *s- wəł*- with the sense 'be about to, be now starting,' §4.3.1; in cleft sentences, §4.1.5.2.

*x̌áləm* ‘they (are),’ third-person plural personal word, §14.2.7.
*x̌e ~ x̌eʔ* ‘again, also, too,’ §18.4.15.
*x̌íċ* ‘how long!’ exclamatory-interrogative adjective, §20.2.6.
*x̌əxʷláʔas (ʔaḷ)* ‘worthless, of no account, no matter that, even if,’ §18.4.33.
*x̌q̇éẏ* ‘how far! however far, for an unknown distance,’ exclamatory-interrogative adjective, §20.2.1.

***l***

*-l- ~ -ləxʷ (→ -nəxʷ)* ‘limited control transitive’ (TR), §10.1.2.
*-lámət (→ -námət)* ‘oneself (limited control),’ §10.5.2.
*-lénəxʷ ~ -əlénəxʷ* ‘season,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 25.1.
*-ləc (→ -nəc)* ‘base, etc.,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 24.
*-líc ~ -eʔc,* etc. ‘route across,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 64.1.
*-ləxʷ (→ -nəxʷ)* ‘limited control transitive’ (LCTR), §10.1.2.
*léq* ‘how fast! however fast, at an unknown speed,’ exclamatory-interrogative adjective, §20.2.2.
*-líʔc ~ -əḷeʔc ~ -əleʔc* ‘container,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 50.

***c***

*c-* ‘get, have, make, do,’ verbalizing prefix, §12.2.1.
*-c* ‘origin’(?), possible lexical suffix, §13.7, 16.
*-c* ‘low tide,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 64.2.
*-cəp ~ -əlcəp ~ -áḷcəp* ‘fire, firewood,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 67.
*ce·p* ‘you (pl.),’ second-person plural subject particle, §14.2.1.
*ct* ‘we,’ first-person plural subject particle, §14.2.1.
*-ct* ‘our,’ first-person plural possessive suffix, §14.2.4.
*ctétəm* ‘be doing what?’ interrogative word, §17.6.
*ctámət* ‘do what with oneself? do what? have what happen to one?’ interrogative word, §17.8.
*cən* ‘I,’ first-person singular subject particle, §14.2.1.
*-cəs ~ -cs- ~ -cís* ‘hand, branch (of tree)’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 68.
*cástəxʷ* ‘do what with it? do what about it?’ interrogative word, §17.7.
*cł-* ‘die of,’ verbalizing prefix, §12.2.6.
*cəlél* ‘nearly, about to,’ §18.4.28.
*cəlél ʔaḷ* ‘barely,’ §18.4.29.
*cəḷíṁ* ‘even,’ §18.4.39.
*-calaʔ ~ -əčáleʔ* (?) possible lexical suffix, §13.7.17.
*ceʔ* ‘future,’ predicate particle, §16.2.6.

***č***

*čxʷ* (//c-xʷ//) ‘you,’ second-person singular subject particle, §14.2.1.

### *c̓*

*-c̓ ~ -əc̓* (?) possible lexical suffix, §13.7, 18.
*c̓ə ~ c̓-* 'quotative' (QUOT), predicate particle, §16.2.4.
*c̓twaʔ* 'speculative' (SPEC), predicate particle, §16.2.12.
*c̓ɬ-* 'fellow, co-,' lexical prefix, §12.4.7.
*c̓iɬ̓əmət̓θ* 'how tall!' exclamatory-interrogative word, §20.2.7.
*c̓k̓ʷáx* 'twenty,' numeral, §19.
*c̓əxʷléʔ* 'sometimes, there are times when,' §18.4.3.

### *x*

*-x* 'transitive' (TR), §10.1.3.
*-xən ~ -xə- ~ -xén ~ -xin* 'foot, leg, brim (of hat),' lexical suffix, §13.6, 69.
*-xən* 'drop, droplet,' lexical suffix, §13.6, 69.2.

### *kʷ*

*kʷə* 'then,' predicate particle, §16.2.13.
*kʷə ~ kʷ* 'a, the,' article (ART), non-feminine, near and accessible but invisible (cf. *kʷθə*), usual with nominalizations rather than tangibles, §15.1.
*kʷθə* 'a, the,' article (ART), non-feminine, near and accessible but invisible, §15.1.
*kʷθéləy̓* 'those, they/them,' simple plural demonstrative, near, invisible, §15.2.1.
*kʷθəwɬ̓á* 'he/him, it, that,' third-person demonstrative, non-feminine, near, invisible, §15.2.2.2.
*kʷθəwɬ̓áləm* 'they/them, those,' third-person plural demonstrative, near, invisible, §15.2.2.2.
*kʷθəwɬ̓ələməɬ* 'they/them (deceased),' third-person demonstrative, §15.2.2.2.
*kʷθéʔ* 'that, he/him, it, there,' simple demonstrative, non-feminine, near and accessible but invisible, §15.2.1.
*kʷsə* 'a, the,' article (ART), feminine, remote, §15.1.
*kʷsən̓á* 'she/her,' locative demonstrative, feminine, invisible, §15.2.2.1.
*kʷsəwɬ̓á* 'she/her,' third-person demonstrative, feminine, remote, §15.2.2.2.
*kʷsəwɬ̓á·ɬ* 'she/her (deceased),' third-person demonstrative, §15.2.2.2.
*kʷɬ* 'by now, by then'(?), predicate particle, §16.2.16.
*kʷɬə ~ ɬə* 'a, the,' article (ART), feminine, near and accessible but invisible, §15.1. Cf. *ɬə*.
*kʷɬéʔ* 'that, she/her,' simple demonstrative, feminine, near or accessible but invisible, §15.2.1.

### *k̓ʷ*

*k̓ʷə ~ k̓ʷ* 'a, the,' article (ART), non-feminine, remote, §15.1.
*-k̓ʷ* (?) possible lexical suffix, §13.7, 20.
*k̓ʷí* 'that, there,' simple demonstrative, non-feminine, remote, §15.2.1.

*k̓ʷín* ‘how many?’ interrogative word, §17.20.
*k̓ʷəṅá* ‘he/him,’ locative demonstrative, non-feminine, invisible, §15.2.2.1.
*k̓ʷəṅáɬtən* ‘they/them,’ locative demonstrative, plural, invisible, §15.2.2.1.
*k̓ʷəná·nə* ‘way over there,’ locative demonstrative, non-feminine, invisible, §15.2.2.1.
*k̓ʷəwx̌á* ‘he/him, that,’ third-person demonstrative, non-feminine, remote, §15.2.2.2.
*k̓ʷəwx̌á·ɬ* ‘he/him (deceased),’ third-person demonstrative, §15.2.2.2.
*-k̓ʷeʔ ~ -k̓ʷaʔ* ‘dead person’(?), lexical suffix, §13.6, 70.
*k̓ʷəʔí* ‘around that way,’ locative demonstrative, non-feminine, invisible, §15.2.2.1.

### *xʷ*

*xʷ-₁* ‘oblique relater’ (OBREL), derivational prefix, §12.1.3.
*xʷ-₂* ‘move toward,’ verbalizing prefix, §12.2.7.
*xʷ-₃* ‘inward, inhering, possessing, vulva,’ lexical prefix, §12.4.8.
*xʷə- ~ xʷi-* ‘become,’ aspectual prefix, §12.2.2.
*xʷəṁí* ‘to (toward speaker),’ prepositional verb, §3.5; ‘than,’ §3.7.1.
*xʷən-* ‘still, soon,’ aspectual prefix, §11.1.4.
*xʷném* ‘to (away from speaker), for,’ prepositional verb, §3.5; ‘than,’ §3.7.1.
*xʷəntécəl* ‘early’; cf. *xʷən-*, §11.1.4.
*xʷənx̌ət̓éʔətθeʔ* ‘meanwhile, in the course of that, after some time, finally,’ §18.4.23.
*xʷəṅáʔ* ‘first, when first, as soon as,’ §18.4.19.
*xʷənéʔənt* ‘become evening,’ §18.4.14. *k̓ʷ xʷənéʔənt* ‘last evening.’
*xʷs- ~ nəxʷs-* ‘habitually’ (HAB), aspectual prefix, §11.1.7.
*-xʷəɬ* ‘canoe,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 73.
*xʷéləq* ‘nearly,’ §18.4.30.
*xʷcél* ‘go where?’ interrogative word, §17.9.
*xʷcálθət* ‘go where?’ interrogative word, §17.10.
*xʷcélstəxʷ* ‘put where?’ interrogative word, §17.11.
*xʷəẇé* ‘not yet,’ §6.2.
*xʷəwém* ‘how big!’ exclamatory-interrogative adjective, §20.2.5.
*xʷəʔí·nt* ‘say what?’ interrogative word, §17.14.
*xʷəʔí·ntstəxʷ* ‘say what to him? say what to him about something?’ interrogative word, §17.16.

### *q*

*-q ~ -əlq* (?) possible lexical suffix, §13.7, 25.
*-qən ~ -qín* ‘head, end, bow of canoe,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 75.
*-qən ~ -qen ~ -íqən* ‘front, slope,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 75.1.
*-qən ~ -qə- ~ -qín* ‘throat, voice, speech, meal, opening facing upward,’ lexical suffix, §13.7, 75.2.

*-qs ~ -əqs ~ -əqsən ~ -áqsən ~ -qsín* ‘nose, snout, point (of land),’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 76.
*qəl̓ét* ‘do again, again, (no) more, (no) longer,’ §18.4.16.
*qx̌éɬ* ‘often, many times,’ §18.4.6.
*qéʔis* (//qéy̓əs//?) ‘recently, just a short time ago, formerly,’ §18.4.12.

***q̓***

*-q̓* (?) possible lexical suffix, §13.7, 25.
*q̓ə* ‘emphatic’ (EMPH), predicate particle, §16.2.14.

***x̌***

*-x̌* (?) possible lexical suffix, §13.7, 26.
*-x̌én ~ -éx̌ən* ‘arm, side, branch, perimeter,’ lexical suffix §13.6, 77
*x̌əʔáθən ~ x̌aʔáθən* ‘four,’ numeral, §19.

***qʷ***

*-qʷ ~ -ʔqʷ ~ -əqʷ ~ -aʔqʷ ~ -áləqʷ ~ -áwaqʷ* ‘head,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 78.

***q̓ʷ***

*-q̓ʷ* ‘fully, vigorously’(?), possible lexical suffix, §13.7, 27.

***x̌ʷ***

*x̌ʷə́m* ‘move fast, be quick, immediately, be able to, §18.4.41.
*x̌ʷtéʔ* ‘head toward, toward,’ as prepositional verb, §3.5; ‘than,’ §3.7.1.

***y***

*yə-*$_1$ ‘along, while moving, simultaneously,’ aspectual prefix, §11.1.5.
*yə-*$_2$ ‘first, before doing anything else, above all,’ aspectual prefix, §11.1.6.
*yə-*$_3$ ‘plural’ in demonstratives, §15.2.1, §15.2.2.
*yé* ‘taunting echo,’ sentence-final tag, §16.3.2.
*yé ~ yé·* ‘well, all right,’ interjection, §20.3.7.
*yən̓á* ‘these, they/them,’ locative demonstrative, plural, visible, §15.2.2.1.
*yən̓áɬtən* ‘they/them,’ locative demonstrative, plural, visible, §15.2.2.1.
*yəθéʔ* ‘those, they/them,’ simple demonstrative, plural, present, visible, §15.2.1.
*yáθ* (often *wəyáθ*) ‘always, frequently,’ §18.4.1.
*yəsélə ~ ʔiséla* ‘two,’ numeral, §19.
*yéɬ* ‘only now, only then,’ §18.4.13, §4.3.1.
*yeɬ* ‘expectable’ (EXP), predicate particle, §16.2.10.
*yəxʷ* ‘inferential’ (INF), predicate particle, §16.2.3.
*yəw̓én̓* ‘before,’ §18.4.20.

***w***

*wə-*$_1$ ‘if, when, that,’ subordinating particle, §4.2.
*wə-*$_2$ ‘established, continuing, now’ (EST), aspectual prefix, §11.1.1.
*wə-*$_2$ *... ʔaḷ* forming adjectival phrases, §3.8.3.3.
*wə-*$_3$ ‘suddenly, with a burst,’ lexical prefix, §12.4.9.
*wét ~ təwét* ‘who?’ interrogative word, §17.1.
*wəṫát → ṫát*.
*wənə́n → nə́n*.
*wənáy* ‘only, be only,’ §18.4.37, §4.1.5.2, §4.3.1.
*-wíʻnxʷ ~ -íʻnxʷ* ‘year,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 25.2.
*wəθəʔít → θəʔít*.
*wəł-* ‘already,’ aspectual prefix, §11.1.2.
*-wəł ~ -əwəł ~ -éwəł ~ -áwəł ~ -wíł ~ -wəl- ~ -wíl-* ‘canoe, vessel, mind’(?), lexical suffix, §13.6, 90.
*-wíł ~ -áḷwəł ~ -áḷwəł ~ -əlwəl- ~ -əlwíl-* ‘side,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 91.
*waḷə ~ wáʻḷə* ‘probably, presumably, I guess,’ §18.4.35.
*wəqéʔis ʔaḷ* ‘for a short time,’ §18.4.12.
*wəq̇éq̇əl ʔaḷ* ‘barely,’ §18.4.31.
*wéyəl* ‘become day, tomorrow’ §18.4.14. *təṅa wéyəl* ‘today.’
*wéwə* ‘how wonderful!’ exclamatory-interrogative adjective, §20.2.4.
*waʔ* ‘presumptive (it seems that ...)’ (PRES), predicate particle, §16.2.17.
*-weʔł ~ -əwéʔł* ‘back,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 92.

***h***

*həṁ- ~ həṅ- ~ hən- ~ ʔəṁ-* ‘come,’ lexical prefix, §12.4.10.
*híθ* ‘last long, be a long time,’ §18.4.9.
*héẏ* ‘go ahead’; *héẏ łe* ‘Let’s go. Let’s ...,’ §3.2.4.
*háy* ‘stop, finish’; *wəłháy ~ wəláy* ‘have already ...,’ §3.2.3.
*háy* ‘specifically, uniquely, as for, more,’ §18.4.36; in cleft sentences, §4.1.5.2; *háy ʔaḷ ...* ‘most, -est,’ with superlative sense, §3.7.1.
*haʔ* ‘if, when,’ §18.4.17.
*héʔe* ‘yes,’ §20.3.1.

***ʔ***

*ʔə* oblique particle (OBL), §2.7, §3.4, §3.8.1.
*ʔə* ‘interrogative’ (ROG), predicate particle, §16.2.2.
*ʔə- (→ ʔən-)* ‘your,’ second-person possessive prefix, §14.2.4.
*ʔa ~ ʔe* question tag (‘eh? isn’t it? etc.’), sentence-final tag, §16.3.1.
*ʔeʻ* plural imperative (PLPER), predicate particle, §16.2.5.
*ʔí* ‘be here,’ lexical verb.
*ʔi* ‘here,’ locative auxiliary verb (AUX), §3.2.1; ‘in, at,’ prepositional verb, §3.5.
*ʔí* ‘here,’ interjection, §20.3.6.

*ʔi łé* ‘let’s go, let’s ...’ (cf. *héy̓ łé*), §3.2.4.
*ʔápən* ‘ten,’ numeral, §19.
*ʔəm- (→ həm-)* ‘come,’ lexical prefix, §12.4.10.
*ʔəm̓í* ‘come,’ lexical verb.
*ʔəm̓i ~ m̓i* ‘come,’ directional auxiliary verb (AUX), §3.2.1; ‘to (toward speaker),’ prepositional verb, §3.5.
*ʔən- ~ ʔəT- ~ ʔə-* ‘your,’ second-person possessive prefix (singular if there is no suffix, plurality being indicated by *-ələp*), §14.2.4.
*ʔánθə ~ ʔé·nθə ~ ʔé·n̓θə* ‘I,’ first-person singular personal word, §14.2.7; in pseudo-cleft sentences, §4.1.5.1.2.
*ʔánəcə ~ ʔáncə* ‘where?’ interrogative word, §17.17.
*ʔánəcəstəxʷ* ‘put it where?’ interrogative word, §17.18.
*ʔəθ-* realization of *ʔəT-* ‘your’ and *s-* ‘nominalizer,’ §1.5.7, §14.2.4.
*ʔiséla ~ yəséla* ‘two,’ numeral, §19.
*ʔəł-* ‘whenever, whatever, that,’ subordinating particle, §4.2.
*ʔəł* variant of *łə ~ kʷłə* ?, which see.
*ʔé·łtən* third-person plural particle, §14.2.9.
*ʔal̓* ‘just,’ predicate particle, §16.2.8.
*-əqʷ,* etc. ‘head,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 77
*ʔáy̓* ‘good, better,’ §18.4.46.
*ʔəy̓ ~ i* ‘and,’ conjunction linking nominal adjuncts, §3.8.4; ‘and, but, and at that time,’ conjunction linking clauses in compound sentences, §5.
*ʔé·y̓* ‘continue,’ §3.2.3.
*ʔáwə* ‘not,’ §6.1; ‘no,’ §20.3.2.
*ʔáwə scékʷəl̓əs* ‘never,’ §18.4.7.
*ʔáwəteʔ* ‘absent, non-existent, none,’ §6.3.
*ʔéwəł* ‘reassuring’ (REAS), predicate particle, §16.2.9.
*ʔiwáwə ~ ʔiwáw̓əʔ ~ ʔiwáw̓wə ~ ʔiwáw̓áʔ* ‘maybe, perhaps,’ §18.4.34.
*ʔáʔa* ‘emphatic interrogative’ (ROG!), predicate particle, §16.2.18.
*ʔíʔətə* ‘here,’ demonstrative auxiliary verb, non-feminine, §15.3.
*ʔíʔəθə* ‘here,’ demonstrative auxiliary verb, feminine, §15.3.

***ə***

*-əp ~ -é·p* ‘you (pl.),’ second-person plural subordinate subject suffix, §14.2.3.
*-əp ~ -ép* ‘base, bottom’(?), possible lexical suffix, §13.6, 1.
*-əp ~ -ép* ‘hair’(?), lexical suffix, §13.6, 2.
*-ápsəm ~ -əpsém* ‘neck, nape,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 3.
*-əm ~ -ám ~ -ém* ‘intransitive’ (INTR), §10.2.1.
*-əmət (→ -mət)* ‘concern’ (CON), applicative suffix, §10.4.5.
*-áməŋ ~ -áməŋ̓ ~ -mən ~ -mín* ‘instrument,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 6.
*-əməl̓ʸ ~ -éməl̓ʸ* ‘long object,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 10.
*-ət* ‘we,’ first-person plural subordinate subject suffix, §14.2.3.
*-ət* ‘subordinate passive,’ §10.8.

*-ən ~ -é·n* ‘I,’ first-person singular subordinate subject suffix, §14.2.3.
*-ən ~ -ən̓* ‘instrument,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 20.
*-ənə ~ -ənəʔ* ‘ear, side’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 19.
*-ənəp* ‘ground,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 21.
*-ənt* ‘day’(?), possible lexical suffix, §13.7, 5.
*-ənəs ~ -ínəs ~ íləs* ‘chest, beach,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 22.
*-ənəs ~ -ələs ~ -nís* ‘tooth,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 23.
*-ənəq* ‘someone else, another person,’ intransitive suffix, §10.2.3.
*-əθ ~ -aʔθ ~ -áʔθ ~ -áθən ~ θín* ‘mouth, edge, margin,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 26.
*-əs* ‘he, she, it, they,’ third-person transitive subject suffix, §14.2.2.
*-əs* ‘he, she, it, they,’ third-person subordinate subject suffix, §14.2.3.
*-əs* ‘recipient’ (RECIP), applicative suffix, §10.4.3.
*-əs ~ -ás* ‘face, round object, moon, dollar, bow of canoe, bank,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 28.
*-əł* ‘past,’ predicate particle, §16.2.1.
*-əłp* ‘plant, bush, tree, vegetation,’ lexical suffix,’ §13.6, 33.
*-əłtən ~ -əłtín-* ‘someone, another,’ intransitive suffix, §10.2.4.
*-əłtxʷ* lexical suffix, §13.6, 18.2.
*-əłəł ~ -łəł ~ -łél-* ‘throat, breath, wind, food,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 31.
*-əłcə* ‘water,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 37.
*-əłqəy̓* ‘snake,’ possible lexical suffix, §13.7, 9.
*-əłx̌e* (?) possible lexical suffix, §13.7, 10.
*-əl ~ -íl* ‘move toward, turn to, become,’ verbal suffix, §12.3.1.
*-ələ ~ -élə* ‘place for, container for,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 40.
*-ələ ~ -élə* ‘person,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 41.
*-əl̓ə* ‘standing object’(?), possible lexical suffix, §13.7, 12.
*-ələp* second-person possessive plural suffix, always occurs with *ʔən- ~ ʔə- ~ ʔəT-* ‘your,’ §14.2.4.
*-álmən* ‘want to, intend to, seem about to,’ modal suffix, §11.2.1.
*-əlməxʷ ~ -məxʷ,* etc. ‘place, people, cluster’(?), lexical suffix, §13.6, 12.
*-álməxʷ* ‘breast, milk, spring (of water),’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 13.
*-əltəxʷ (→ -txʷ)* ‘house,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 18.
*-əlénəxʷ ~ -lénəxʷ* ‘season,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 25.1.
*-əl̓s* ‘activity’ (ACT), equivalent of *-éls* in the progressive aspect, §10.2.2.
*-əls ~ -ls* ‘weapon,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 45.
*-ələs (→ -ənəs)* ‘tooth,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 23.
*-ələł ~ -əl̓íl-* ‘crotch, between the legs,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 46.
*-ələłcə ~ -a·łcə* ‘belly, mind,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 38.
*-ələłcə ~ -a·łcə* ‘giant,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 39.
*-álləc → -nəc* ‘butt, tail, base, bay, price,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 24.
*-ələc → -eʔc* ‘route across,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 64.1.
*-əl̓əc* ‘dung,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 49.

*-əlcəp* → *-cəp* ‘fire, firewood,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 67.
*-əlәcən* → *-écən* ‘testicle(s),’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 66.
*-əlcɬ* ‘mind, feelings,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 38.
*-əl̓xən* ‘line,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 53.
*-əlkʷɬ ~ -álkʷɬ* ‘winter dancer, possessing song,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 54.
*-ál̓qən* ‘pelt, fur, hide,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 58.
*-əlqɬ ~ -élqɬ* ‘catch, game,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 59.
*-əléx̌ən* ‘arm,’ lexical suffix, §13.5, 77.1.
*-əlәx̌әt̓θ ~ -éləx̌әt̓θ* ‘barrier,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 60.
*-əl̓yən ~ -éẏən* ‘net, trap,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 83.
*-əlwəm ~ -álwəm* (?) possible lexical suffix, §13.7, 15.
*-álwət* ‘garment,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 61.
*-əlwəs* ‘heart, side of chest,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 62.
*-əlәẇs ~ -íẇs* ‘body, bird,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 88.
*-ál̓wəɬ ~ -əlwəl-* → *-wíɬ* ‘side,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 91.
*-əleʔ ~ -əlí ~ -əyí* ‘game, sport’(?),lexical suffix, §13.6, 42.
*-əleʔc ~ -el̓eʔc ~ -liʔc* ‘container,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 50.
*-əléʔc* ‘bundle,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 50.1.
*-əc* ‘hundred,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 65.
*-əcən ~ -əc-* → *-ícən* ‘back, surface, top,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 64.
*-əc̓aleʔ ~ -c̓alaʔ* (?) possible lexical suffix, §13.7, 17.
*-əc̓ ~ -c̓* (?) possible lexical suffix, §13.7, 18.
*-əx* (?) possible lexical suffix, §13.7, 19.
*-əxʷ* ‘you,’ second-person singular subordinate subject suffix, §14.2.3.
*-əxʷ* (?) possible lexical suffix, §13.7, 21.
*-əxʷθəɬ ~ -éləxʷθəɬ* ‘tongue,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 72.
*-əxʷaʔ* (?) possible lexical suffix, §13.7, 23.
*-əqən ~ -íqən,* etc. ‘front, slope,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 75.1.
*-əqən ~ -əqən̓* ‘container,’ lexical suffix, §13.7, 75.3.
*-əqs ~ -əqsən ~ -qs,* etc. ‘nose, snout, point (of land),’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 76.
*-əx̌ən ~ éx̌ən ~ -x̌én* ‘arm, side, branch, perimeter,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 77.
*-əqʷ ~ -qʷ,* etc. ‘head,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 78.
*-əy ~ -i* ‘third-person subordinate passive subject suffix,’ §14.2.6.
*-əẏ ~ -éẏ* ‘plant, tree, wood,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 79.
*-əẏ* ‘someone who does (agent)’(?), lexical suffix, §13.6, 80.
*-əẏ ~ -aẏ* ‘fish’(?), lexical suffix, §13.6, 81.
*-əye ~ -əẏe ~ -áẏe* ‘dear one(?), small creature(?),’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 82.
*-əyí ~ əléʔ ~ -əlí* ‘game, sport’(?), lexical suffix, §13.6, 42.
*-əyət ~ -i·t* realization of *-əy-* ‘third-person subordinate passive subject’ and *-ət* ‘subordinate passive,’ §14.2.6.
*-əyás ~ -əẏás ~ -əyəs* ‘circular figure,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 84.
*-áyəɬ ~ -éyəɬ ~ -eẏɬ* ‘child, people, ceremony,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 85.
*-əẏeʔq ~ -aẏeʔq ~ -ayəq* ‘projection,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 74.1.

*-əwməxʷ* → *-məxʷ* ‘place, people, cluster’(?), lexical suffix, §13.6, 12.
*-əwtxʷ* → *-txʷ* ‘house,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 18.
*-əwən* ~ *-íwən* ‘inside, middle, waist, behind, rump, trunk (of tree),’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 86.
*-əwəθ* ~ *-aẇəθ* ‘kind, ingredient,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 87.
*-əẇs* → *-iẇs* ‘body, bird,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 88.
*-əwəł* → *-wəł* ‘canoe, vessel, mind’(?), lexical suffix, §13.6, 90.
*-əweʔł* ~ *-weʔł* ‘back,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 92.
*-əwíc* ~ *-əwəc* ‘back,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 64.3.

***e***

*-é* ‘times’(?), possible lexical suffix, §13.7, 28.
*-ép* ~ *-əp* ‘base, bottom’(?), lexical suffix, §13.6, 1.
*-ép* ~ *-əp* ‘hair’(?),lexical suffix, §13.6, 2.
*-é·p* ~ *-əp* ‘you (pl.),’ second-person plural subordinate subject suffix, §14.2.3.
*-émẇən* ~ *-mən* ~ *-min* ‘residue,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 8.
*-émẇən* ‘extracted liquid,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 9.
*-éməṫᶿ* ~ *-əməṫᶿ* ‘long object,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 10.
*-éməxʷ* → *-məxʷ* ‘place, people, cluster’(?), lexical suffix, §13.6, 12.
*-é·n* ~ *-ən* ‘I,’ first-person singular subordinate subject suffix, §14.2.3.
*-é·n* ‘side, component, tip, feather,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 19.1.
*-é·nxʷ* ~ *-é·nəxʷ* ~ *-énəxʷ* ‘fish, food, fish run, season, (bad) weather’(?), lexical suffix, §13.6, 25.
*-éł* ‘times,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 29.
*-él-* ~ *-Sél-* ‘I,’ first-person singular passive subject suffix, §14.2.6.
*-élə* ~*-ələ* ‘place for, container for,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 40.
*-élə* ~ *-ələ* ‘person,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 41.
*-é·lt* realization of *-él-,* first-person singular passive subject suffix, and *-ət* subordinate passive suffix, §14.2.6.
*-é·ltəxʷ* ‘spouse,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 18.1; §21.2.1.
*-é·lṫᶿeʔ* ~ *-iṫᶿeʔ* ‘blanket, wealth,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 27.
*-éls* ‘activity’ (ACT), §10.2.2.
*-éləc* ‘person,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 48.
*-élə̓c* ~ *-eʔc,* etc. ‘route across,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 64.1.
*-éləcən* ~ *-ələcən* ~ *-écən* ‘testicle(s),’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 66.
*-élċ* ~ *-əlċ* ‘hair, line,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 52.
*-éləq* ‘wave,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 55.
*-éləqəp* ‘smell, taste, sound’ (perhaps ‘trace’), lexical suffix, §13.6, 56.
*-élə̓qən* ~ *-éləqən* ‘line, stream,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 57.
*-élqł* ~ *-əlqł* ‘catch, game,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 59.
*-éləx̌əṫᶿ* ~ *-ələx̌əṫᶿ* ‘barrier,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 60.
*-éləẇs* → *-iẇs* ‘body, bird,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 88.
*-élə̓weʔs* ~ *-ələ̓weʔs* ‘paddle,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 63.

*-él̓eʔc ~ -əleʔc ~ -liʔc* ‘container,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 50.
*-écən ~ éləcən ~ -áləcən* ‘testicle(s),’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 66.
*-éxʷ* ‘times’(?), possible lexical suffix, §13.7, 22.
*-eq* ‘penis, projection, rear,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 74.
*-éx̌ən ~ -əx̌ən ~ -x̌ín* ‘arm, side, branch, perimeter,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 77.
*-éy̓ ~ -əy̓* ‘plant, tree, wood,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 79.
*-éy̓ən ~ -əl̓yən* ‘net, trap,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 83.
*-éy̓əɬ ~ -əyəɬ ~ -éy̓ɬ* ‘child, people, ceremony,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 85.
*-éwtxʷ → -txʷ* ‘house,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 18.
*-éwəs* ‘figure, back, trunk (of body),’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 89.
*-éwəɬ → -wəɬ* ‘canoe, vessel, mind’(?), lexical suffix, §13.6, 90.
*-éʔɬ* ‘bed, bedding,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 30.
*-eʔɬ* ‘throat, breath, wind, food,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 31.
*-eʔc ~ -él̓əc ~ -əl̓əc ~ -lic* ‘route across,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 64.1.

***a***

*-am- ~ -Sam-* ‘you,’ second-person singular passive subject suffix, §14.2.6.
*-aˑm* realization of *-am- ~ -Sam-* ‘you,’ second-person singular passive subject suffix, and *-əm* ‘intransitive,’ §14.2.6.
*-amə ~ -Samə* ‘you,’ second-person singular object suffix, §14.2.5.
*-amx ~ -Samx* ‘me,’ first-person singular object suffix, §14.2.5.
*-áməx ~ -áḿəx ~ -məx* ‘country, person,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 11.
*-áˑməx ~ -amx* ‘look, appear,’ verbal suffix, §12.3.4.
*-ámaʔ* ‘body,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 14.
*-anəm* (?) possible lexical suffix, §13.7, 6.
*-áθən ~ -əθ,* etc. ‘mouth, lip, margin, edge,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 26.
*-ás ~ -əs* ‘face, round object, moon, dollar, bow of canoe, bank,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 28.
*-áˑɬ* ‘travel by,’ verbal suffix, §12.3.3.
*-aˑɬcə ~ -ələɬcə* ‘belly, mind,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 38.
*-aˑɬcə ~ -ələɬcə* ‘giant,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 39.
*-al-* ‘we, you (pl.),’ first- and second-person plural passive subject suffix, §14.2.6.
*-alə* ‘you (pl.),’ second-person plural object suffix, §14.2.5.
*-aˑlt* realization of *-al-,* first- and second-person plural passive subject, and *-ət,* subordinate passive suffix, §14.2.6.
*-al̓xʷ* ‘us,’ first-person plural object suffix, §14.2.5.
*-áləs ~ -ələs* ‘eye, mesh (of net), star, appearance, tendency’(?), lexical suffix, §13.6, 43.
*-áls* ‘rock, spherical, object, round berry,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 44.
*-alɬ ~ -al̓ɬ* ‘young,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 47.
*-álkʷɬ* ‘winter dancer, possessing song,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 54.

*-álḭkʷł* ‘child of,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 54.1.
*-alwəm* (?) possible lexical suffix, §13.7, 15.
*-álәẇcəs* ‘finger,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 68.1.
*-álәẇxən* ‘toe,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 69.1.
*-aqʷ ~ -aʔqʷ ~ -qʷ,* etc. ‘head,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 78.
*-aẏe ~ əyə ~ -əẏə* ‘dear one (?), small creature (?),’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 82.
*-ayaθ ~ -aẏaʔθ* ‘head of weapon’(?), lexical suffix, §13.6, 26.1.
*-á·yθən ~ -aʔθ,* etc. ‘mouth, lip, margin, edge,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 26.
*-aẏeʔq ~ əẏeʔq ~ -áẏəq* ‘projection,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 74.1.
*-aẇməxʷ ~ -məxʷ* ‘place, people, cluster’(?), lexical suffix, §13.6, 12.
*-áẇəθ ~ -əwəθ* ‘kind, ingredient,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 87.
*-áwəł → -wəł* ‘canoe, vessel, mind’(?), lexical suffix, §13.6, 90.
*-álwəł ~ -alwíl- ~ -wíł,* etc. ‘side,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 91.
*-awaqʷ → -qʷ* ‘head,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 78.
*-áẇaqʷ* ‘hat,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 78.1.
*-aʔθ → -θən* ‘mouth, lip, margin, edge,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 26.
*-aʔł* ‘attribute formative’ (ATT), derivational suffix, §12.1.5.

***i***

*-i- ~ -əy* third-person subordinate passive subject suffix, §14.2.6.
*-i·m* ‘die from,’ verbalizing suffix, §12.3.2.
*-i·maʔ* (?) lexical suffix, §13.6, 15.
*-i·t* realization of *-əyə-,* third-person subordinate passive subject, and *-ət,* subordinate passive suffix, §14.2.6.
*-i·n* (?) lexical suffix, §13.6, 19.2.
*-ínəs ~ -íləs ~ -ənəs* ‘chest, beach,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 22.
*-í·nxʷ ~ -wí·nxʷ* ‘year,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 25.2.
*-iṫᶿeʔ ~ -e·lṫᶿeʔ* ‘blanket, wealth,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 27.
*-i·ł ~ -iəł* ‘arrange to, seek to (arrange),’ modal suffix, §11.2.2.
*-íl ~ -əl* ‘move toward, turn to, become,’ verbalizing suffix, §12.3.1.
*-íləm* compound of *-íl* ‘move toward’ and *-əm* ‘intransitive,’ §12.3.1.
*-íləs ~ -ínəs ~ -ənəs* ‘chest, beach,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 22.
*-í·ḭ́s* ‘activity’ (ACT), equivalent of *-éls* in the progressive aspect following a lexical suffix, §10.2.2.
*-íləx* (?) possible lexical suffix, §13.7, 13.
*-íləẇs → -iẇs* ‘body, bird,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 88.
*-ícən ~ -əcən ~ -ic- ~ -əc-* ‘back, surface, top,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 64.
*-íqən ~ -əqən ~ -qən ~ -qén* ‘front, slope,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 75.1.
*-íwən ~ -əwən ~ íwə-* ‘inside, middle, waist, behind, rump, trunk (of tree),’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 86.
*-íẇs ~ -əẇs ~ -íləẇs ~ -ələẇs* ‘body, bird,’ lexical suffix, §13.6, 88.

## Appendix 2
# Names of Places and Peoples

I will list first the names recorded from Musqueam sources for places or features within the territory that the Musqueam people regard as having been their own in the recent past. This territory extends from the north shore of Burrard Inlet south to the main channel of the Fraser River and eastward to where the North Arm separates from the main channel. Some of this territory may be disputed by others. While Musqueam traditions tell that they once had villages on Burrard Inlet at the Capilano River and at Jericho, for several generations Squamish people have been settling there. Kuipers (1969, 32-38) and others have recorded a greater number of Squamish place names on Burrard Inlet than I have recorded Musqueam place names.[1] What I have recorded for the whole territory is probably only a fraction of the names that were once in use, however.

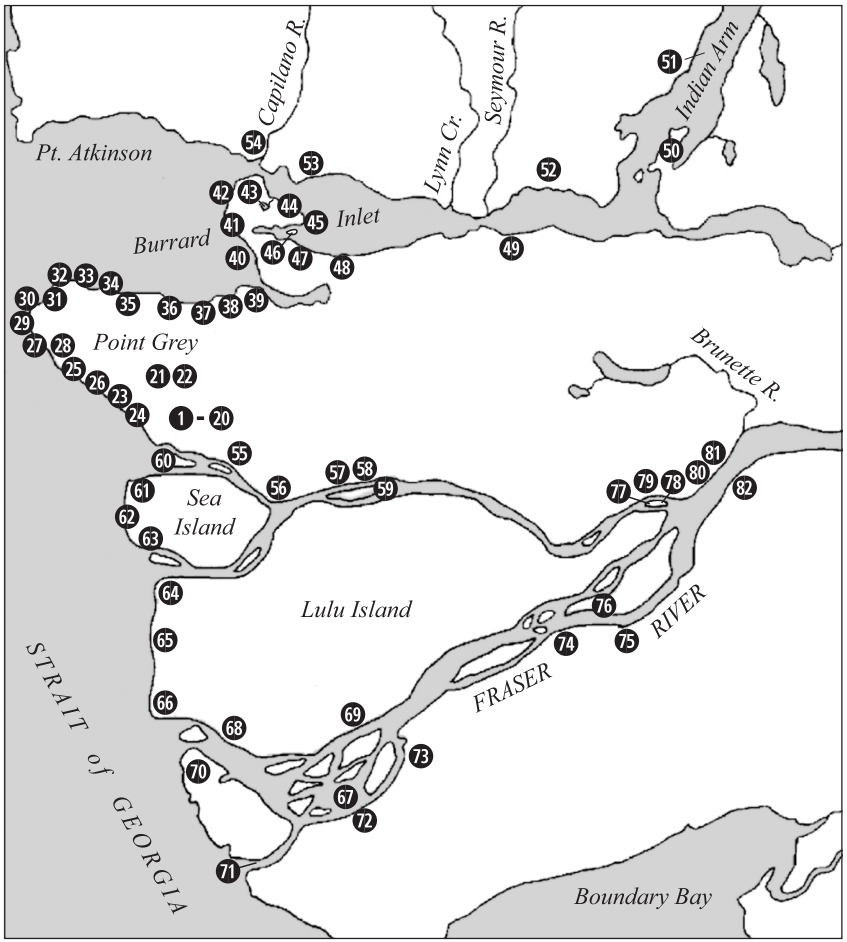
These names were given by Andrew Charles (AC) and Christine Charles (CC) in the late 1950s, by James Point (JP) in the 1960s, by Arnold Guerin (AG) in the early 1980s, and by Ed Sparrow (ES) in 1994. I have also included names recorded by David Rozen (R) in 1979 from an unidentified source or sources, transliterated into the orthography used here. Where there are several versions of a name, I have listed first the one I believe to be most accurate. I will begin with the Musqueam village and its immediate environs and then list names to the north, east, and south.

### The Musqueam Village

(1) *xʷməθkʷəy̓əm* (< *məθkʷəy̓* 'a rush-like plant') Musqueam, the village and the people.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Musqueam consisted of two settlements, *mələ́y̓* and *sc̓əlélxʷ*, on the north bank of the North Arm, within the present Musqueam Reserve. The settlement of *mələ́y̓* was near the bank of the

1 See Suttles 1996 for a comparison of Musqueam and Squamish place names around Burrard Inlet.




Map 2 *Map of Musqueam Territory*

river, below the cemetery. A few hundred metres upriver was the mouth of a stream with two tributaries, one a creek flowing out of the forest to the north, the other a slough flowing from the east. The settlement of *sc̓əléxʷ* was within the conflux of these two streams, a few hundred metres above the mouth of the creek. There may have been only a single large house at *máləy̓,* but there may have been as many as a dozen at *sc̓əléxʷ*. By the mid-1890s, the space between the two settlements was partly filled with new houses.

The name "Musqueam" was first recorded, as "Misquiame," on 2 July 1808 by Simon Fraser, who was guided "up a small winding river to a lake to the village." After an hour in the village, Fraser's party found their canoe stranded by

an ebbing tide and had to drag it "some distance" to the water. Downriver they saw a second village, but did not land (Lamb 1980, 106). It is likely that the village Fraser visited was *sc̓əléxʷ*. The one he only saw may have been *máləy̓,* or it may possibly have been *q̓ə́ləx̌ən*.

The plant for which the village is named has been described variously. The Charleses said that the plant, which they had never seen, was said to have been grasslike, with an edible root. It no longer exists because of grazing cattle. JP said it had sharp thorns, and possibly small violet flowers, and it was now gone because of burning and dyking. However, Kinkade (1986) has shown that comparative linguistic evidence indicates that the name originally designated the blackcap, which, aside from its thorns, does not fit either description.

The Charleses said that the plant underwent cycles of abundance; it could be reduced to small numbers and then increase greatly in a short time, and the Musqueam people were pleased to compare themselves to the plant in this respect. JP told a story of how a two-headed serpent came down out of a small lake at *xʷməm̓qʷé·m* and through the village, making the winding bed of the stream and leaving the plant *mə́θkʷəy̓,* which was regarded as sacred. (See §23.5 for the text.) During my work with them, however, the Charleses did not mention this story, but they learned from an older person that the name *xʷmə́θkʷəy̓əm* properly applies to a site between *máləy̓* and *sc̓əléxʷ* where Mink was playing with a log and got tangled in this grass and got stuck to the log.

Some of the named sites within the village were identified by references to houses that existed in the period when the work was done, from the late 1940s to the early 1970s. I have omitted references to occupants of earlier houses.

(2) *xʷqím̓ək̓ʷəm* ('octopus place' [AC]), *sqimək̓ʷə́lməxʷ* ('octopus breast' [JP] < *sqím̓ək̓ʷ* 'octopus, "devilfish,"' *-əlməxʷ* 'breast, milk, spring'). A spring near *máləy̓,* where *x̌é·l̓s* destroyed a giant octopus.

(3) *máləy̓* (< ?) below the cemetery (AC, CC). From the west end of the occupied area below the cemetery to Cornelius Johnny's house (JP).

(4) *xʷƛ̓əpícən* (AC, CC, JP) (> *ƛ̓əp* 'deep, down, below,' *-icən* '-back, -surface'). From the last to Nelson Dan's (AC, CC). Between *máləy̓* and *t̓ᵊít̓ᵊəx̌ət* (JP).

(5) *xʷmə́θkʷəy̓əm* (see [1] above). From Nelson Dan's to Alice Louie's (AC, CC).

(6) *t̓ᵊít̓ᵊəx̌ət* ('midden'? < *t̓ᵊə́x̌ət* 'white beach of mixed shell and pebbles'). Extending from Alice Louie's to the creek (AC, CC). From the site of the new smokehouse along the beach upriver (JP).

(7) *pípqʷəcən* ('sandy on high land,' < *pqʷícən* 'sand on the beach,' < *pə́qʷ* 'break,' *-icən* 'back, surface'). From George Robert's house to the creek (AC, CC). Two big houses stood here, east of the church (JP).

(8) *šxʷkʷə́m̓ƛ̓* ('ridge,' < √*kʷəm-,* cf. *šxʷkʷə́mƛ̓əs* 'with unflattened head, with forehead sticking out,' *skʷə́mt̓ᵊ* 'lump,' *kʷám̓əcən* 'humpbacked'). The

ridge behind Alice Louie's house (AC, CC). There was just one big house here (JP).

(9) *stáʔtləẇ̓* ('creek') (AC, CC, JP). The creek that flows through Musqueam, separating *sc̓əléxʷ* from *máləy̓* and the other named sites.

(10) *sɬ̓élqəy* (AC, CC) (< √*ɬ̓əlq* 'get muddy'?). A stream that flows from the northwest into the creek.

(11) *scəẇ̓éɬ̓əc* (AC, CC) (< √*ceẇ̓* 'shore,' *-éɬ̓əc* 'route across'). The grassy area along the mouth of the creek, also called *spáɬx̌ən* 'meadow, prairie, pasture.'

(12) *sc̓əléxʷ* ('upstream,' resultative of *cáləxʷ* 'go upriver'). The upper village. According to the Charleses, it consisted of two rows of houses, the gap between them filled by another house at the east end, the whole forming a rectangle open at the west end. The creek from the north flowed just to the west of this rectangle. The front row of houses was on a ridge running parallel to the slough. Unless the tide was low, canoes could be brought up the creek and into the slough. The space within the rectangle formed by the houses was a playground, in which the stone trophy called *qiscám* stood. JP identified the houses along the front ridge, but was less clear about location of the others. The house sites were sites 13 to 20 below.

(13) *wáq̓ʷəx̌ən* (AC, CC, JP) ('downstream side,' < *wáq̓ʷ* 'drift with current,' *-éx̌ən* 'arm, side'). The lower (western) end of the ridge. AC and CC thought that two or three houses had stood here. JP thought that before his time there may have been four houses on this segment of the ridge, one or two of them standing at right angles to it. When he was a boy, there were two houses there. The upper one he identified as *səmén̓ə* (see next).

(14) *sʔəmén̓ə* (AC, CC), *səmén̓e* (JP) ("seems to mean 'missing one ear,'" < √*ʔem-* 'give,' *-én̓ə* 'ear'). AC and CC identified this as a site above *wáq̓ʷəx̌ən*. JP identified it as a part of that segment.

(15) *títməɬqsən* (AC, CC) ('painted end,' < *tə́məɬ* 'red ochre, red paint,' *-əqsən* '-nose, -point ). So called because a beam end was painted to prevent rot (AC). This house was said to have been built at right angles to the ridge and the other houses. It had three posts in front and sloped upward to the rear. It was gone before JP's time. Vincent Stogan's house was there in 1962 (JP).

(16) *q̓ələ́m̓qən* (AC, CC, JP) (< ?).

(17) *tə́ytx̌ən* ('upstream side,' < *tə́yt* 'upstream,' *-ex̌ən* '-arm, -side'). There were two houses on this segment of the ridge.

(18) *xʷlə́m̓ləm̓əs* (AC, CC, JP) (< *lə́m̓* 'get struck by something thrown,' *-əs* '-face'). The site of a house oriented at right angles to the front row. The ball used on the playing field used to strike the side of the house, hence the name (AC, CC). JP thought that this house may have been on the hillside to the east rather than where the Charleses indicated.

(19) *scəlqʷáθən* ('woods-edge' < *cáɬ̓əqʷ* 'inland,' *-aθən* '-lip, margin'). A row of houses parallel to the first (AC, CC). JP thought this site lay east of the ridge with sites 13 to 17, along the slough, at about a 45° angle to the ridge.

(20) *k̓ʷək̓ʷqʷələ́x̌ən* (AC, CC) (< *k̓ʷáqʷ* ‘get hit by something held in the hand,’ *-é x̌ən* ‘-arm, side’). A house at the upper (eastern) end of *scəlkʷáθən,* opposite *táytx̌ən*.

(21) *x̌ácələqʷ* (R) (‘lake at the head,’ < *x̌ácaʔ* ‘lake,’ *-ələqʷ* ‘-head’). A small lake that is the source of Musqueam Creek, near 25th Avenue and Camosun Street, according to Rozen’s source.

(22) *xʷməm̓qʷé·m* (AC, JP) (‘boggy place,’ < *máqʷəm* ‘bog’). A swamp where the Catholic School is now (AC). A bog that was until recently a small, shallow lake, from which the two-headed serpent came in an account of how Musqueam got its name (JP; see §23.5). This is probably the same as the name Rozen recorded as *məqʷé·m,* off Crown Street and 25th Avenue.

### North Shore of North Arm Below the Village

(23) *há m̓ləsəm̓* (AG), *há m̓ləsəm* (CC, JP). A big rock at the west end of the reserve. The name is said to mean ‘bend over to drink directly from the water,’ but this word was given as *həm̓á·ysəm*. A person doing this was turned into stone by *x̌é·l̓s*.

(24) *šxʷáy̓tən* (AG), *šxʷáytən* (CC), *šxʷéy̓tən* (JP) (‘chamber pot’). A smaller rock next to the last, to whom it had belonged. It was spilled at the time of the transformation (AG).

(25) *x̌ə(p)x̌páy̓əɬp* (R) (‘cedar trees’). A place near Point-No-Point.

(26) *syéʔtən* (CC) (‘widow, widower’). A rock below the Simon Fraser monument, a widow turned into stone by *x̌é·l̓s* (AC).

(27) *q̓íq̓ələx̌ən* (CC), *q̓íq̓ləx̌əm̓* (AG) (dim. of next). A place near Wreck Beach (in its earlier sense, not in its recent extension).

(28) *q̓álax̌ən* (‘stockade,’ probably < √*q̓əl-* ‘camp,’ *-é x̌ən* ‘arm, side’). A place south of Point Grey, where Capilano had a fort (JP).

(29) *ʔálqsən* (AC, AG) (cf. *sʔálqsən* ‘point’). Point Grey.

(30) *t̓ᶿácəliqʷ* (AC), *t̓ᶿcəlíqʷ* (JP), *t̓ᶿəcəlíqʷ* (R) (possibly from *t̓ᶿc̓ət* ‘grab by the hair,’ or possibly a plural of *t̓ᶿcʔqʷ* ‘hard head’). AC identified the name as that of a rock seen at low tide where people would poke the bottom and sing, *ʔa· stéyəwət ʔa* ‘Oh, West Wind, Oh,’ to bring the west wind. JP identified the name as ‘Point Grey,’ saying that the name implies that the point is stormy, always rough. August Jack, a Squamish source, identified this as a man who had intended to blow away “the great man” (presumably *x̌é·l̓s*) but was instead transformed into a rock, the biggest on the shore at Point Grey (Matthews 1955, 394).

(31) *q̓éẇəm* (JP, AG) (‘howling’). A rock near Point Grey that was a dog about to bite *x̌é·l̓s*.

(32) *t̓ᶿát̓ᶿəɬəm* (JP) (‘shivering,’ progressive of *t̓ᶿáɬəm* ‘feel cold’). A rock of white granite below the University of British Columbia. According to JP, it was an old lady who was crying here (presumably when *x̌é·l̓s* came and transformed her). Tim Moody, a Squamish source, identified the name as that of a

little ravine with a spring directly below the BC Tel cable hut (Matthews 1955, 395).

**Burrard Inlet**

(33) *pəqʷácən, pípqʷəcən* (R) ('sand on the beach,' < *páqʷ* 'be broken' and *-icən* 'back, surface'). A sandbar off Spanish Banks.

(34) *šxʷsɬc̓əm* (ES) (so recorded, probably 'sandy place' < *šxʷ-, syɬc̓əm* 'sand'). Spanish Banks.

(35) *qʷəʔápəɬp, qʷáʔapəɬp* (R) ('crabapple tree'). A creek at Spanish Banks.

(36) *ʔəy̓álməxʷ* or *ʔiʔálməxʷ* (AC, JP, ES) *ʔiyéʼlməxʷ* (AG) (< *ʔáy̓* 'good' and either a connective *-al-* plus *-məxʷ* 'earth, people' or *-əlməxʷ* 'breast, milk, spring,' thus either 'good place' or 'good spring water'). Jericho Beach. According to Musqueam tradition, this was the site of a Musqueam village at the time of the warrior Capilano. (The Northern Straits version of the name refers to a place at American Camp on San Juan Island that was a parklike prairie and also the site of a good spring.)

(37) *t̓ᶿəmt̓ᶿáməl̓s* (AG), *t̓ᶿəmt̓ᶿáməls* (JP, R) ('grindstone,' from the root of *t̓ᶿáməls* 'file'). A creek at Bayswater Street.

(38) *sk̓ʷáyus, sk̓ʷáyəẇs* (R). Kitsilano Beach. The Squamish is *sq̓ʷáyus,* possibly 'burnt face,' < *q̓ʷáy* 'burn, scorch' and *-us* 'face,' which might have referred to the hillside after a logging operation there. If the Musqueam is correctly transcribed, it would seem to mean 'disabled body,' < *sk̓ʷéy* 'disabled,' *-əẇs* 'body.'

(39) *səm̓áqʷ* (AC, JP, AG, ES, R) (according to information obtained by Donna Gerdts, the resultative of *nəʔáqʷ* 'direct the head there'). The site of the Kitsilano Reserve at the entrance to False Creek.

(40) *ʔáy̓əlxən* (ES) (< *ʔáy̓* 'good,' *-xən* '-foot,' hence probably 'good under foot'). English Bay.

(41) *sɬt̓əwəq̓ʷ* (R) (dim. of *sɬáwəq̓ʷ* 'fuller's earth'). Second Beach.

(42) *sɬx̌íl̓əx* (*s-* 'nominalizer,' *ɬx̌íl̓əx* 'be standing'). Siwash Rock.

(43) *x̌áʔx̌cə* (ES), *x̌áx̌cə* (R) (probably *x̌áʔx̌caʔ,* dim. of *x̌ácaʔ* 'lake'). Beaver Creek and Lake.

(44) *x̌ʷáy̓x̌ʷəy* (JP), *x̌ʷáy̓x̌ʷəy̓* (ES) (< *sx̌ʷáy̓x̌ʷəy* 'masked dance performance'). Lumberman's Arch. The name is from the tradition that an ancestor received the privilege there.

(45) *spápəyəq̓* (ES) (the final *q̓* may be an error for *q,* cf. Squamish *pápiyaq,* possibly < √*pay* 'be bent' and *-ay̓əq* 'projection,' i.e., 'bent at the end'). Brockton Point.

(46) *sk̓ʷθéʔ* (R). Deadman's Island. The name is probably an error for *skʷθéʔ* or *skʷθéʔs,* the Island Halkomelem for 'island.' The Squamish name for the islet is the cognate *skʷcáʔs* 'island.' The Musqueam for 'island' is *x̌̓cés.*

(47) *p̓q̓ál̓s* (R) ('white rock' < *p̓áq̓* 'white,' *-al̓s* 'rock'). The foot of Granville Street.

(48) *q̓əmq̓áməlałp* (ES, R) (‘bigleaf maple trees,’ < *q̓áməl* ‘paddle’). Hastings Mill.

(49) *x̌əx̌ípi(ʔałp)* (R) (< *x̌péy̓* ‘Western red cedar’). Cedar Cove. The Squamish given by Rozen (recorded by Randy Bouchard) is *x̌apx̌ápay̓ay,* which appears to be the plural of *x̌ápay̓ay* ‘young cedar.’ The Musqueam form recorded by Rozen is not one I have recorded, but it looks like a possible plural.

(50) *təmtəmíxʷtən*. CC gave this for the Burrard Reserve, but it is properly the name for Belcarra. The name is the same in Squamish and seems to be from Squamish *təmíxʷ* ‘earth, land,’ reduplicated, probably for plural, with the suffix *-tən* ‘instrument.’ The Halkomelem for ‘earth’ is *tə́məxʷ*. AG identified *təmíxʷtən,* the unreduplicated form, as referring to crossed logs filled with earth to prevent erosion. The similar name *təmíxʷtən* is the name in the Nooksack language of a Nooksack village near Sumas, Washington, said to have consisted of pit houses. The name suggests this use, but it is not the term for pit house, which is *sqəmín* in Nooksack and in Squamish (so given by Hill-Tout 1900, 485), *sqə́məl* in Halkomelem, also *spənéwtxʷ* in Musqueam. The village at Belcarra is said to have been the earlier home of the Burrardview people. Probably for this reason CC identified the name with the Burrardview Reserve.

(51) *səl̓ílwətaʔɬ* (ES), *səlíl̓wətaɬ* (JP), *sʔəl̓ílwətaʔɬ* (AG). Indian Arm and Indian River. This is also said to be the name of the Burrardview people, whose earlier home was at Belcarra and whose salmon stream was Indian River, which was also used by the Musqueam. According to Musqueam and Katzie sources, they formerly spoke Halkomelem and later adopted Squamish. The name is probably derived, by Rə́- → hə́R- reduplication and the combination *s-* ‘nominalizer’ and *-aʔɬ* ‘attributive,’ from the name of the group identified by Boas (1887, 132) as the “Lel’elot” (in modern symbols probably *lə́l̓ílut*), the Squamish “family” on Burrard Inlet. The Squamish name is *səlʔílʔutuɬ*. The affixes correspond to those of Halkomelem, but since this type of reduplication is usual in Halkomelem but rare if present at all in Squamish, the name is probably Halkomelem in origin.

(52) *ʔáθnəc* (ES) (cf. *sʔáθnəc* ‘bay’). Burrardview Reserve. The Squamish is the cognate *ʔácnač* or *ʔə́cnač* ‘bay.’ CC gave the name of the Burrardview Reserve as *təmtəmíxʷtən,* no doubt because this is the name of the earlier village of the Burrard people.

(53) *x̌́ɬəmáɬqəʔ* (R) (< *x̌́éɬəm* ‘salt’?). Mackay Creek. Kuipers translates the Squamish name *x̌́ałəmáʔəlkʷ* as ‘salt water,’ composed of Squamish *x̌́áɬəm* and a suffix containing the formative *-kʷ* ‘found in words connected with the sea,’ and he adds that the name “is otherwise not quite clear.” The suffix in the Musqueam name Rozen recorded is not identifiable, unless it is an error for *-ałcə* ‘water.’

(54) *xʷmáləc̓θən* (AC), *xʷmálc̓θən* (JP, AG). Capilano River. According to AC, the name is from *máləc̓* ‘horsefly,’ because these were numerous there. AG

believed the root to be *məlc̓* 'roll,' which appears in *málc̓θət* 'roll (as salmon when spawning),' and the suffix *-θən* 'mouth, lip, margin.' The name may thus mean 'horseflies at the mouth' or 'where they [presumably salmon] roll at the mouth.' According to Musqueam traditions, this was a Musqueam village site. Simon Pierre of Katzie gave the name of the Capilano River as *xʷmáθkʷəyəmaɬ* (probably more accurately transcribed *xʷmáθkʷəy̓əmaʔɬ*) meaning '[river] of the Musqueam.'

### Up the North Arm

(55) *šxʷəm̓qʷəyém* (AC) (< *máqʷəm* 'bog'?). Celtic.

(56) *c̓əsnáʔam* (CC, AG), *c̓əsnáʔəm* (JP). Marpole. JP knew two stories about the people who lived here, people who spoke the same as the Musqueam. They were wiped out by smallpox.

(57) *skʷtéxʷqən̓* (AG), *skʷtéxʷqən* (AC) ('entering the throat,' < *skʷtéxʷ* 'inside,' *-qən* 'throat'). Wiggins Drift. A place where a creek runs into the Fraser near the site of the bridge to Lulu Island, so called in English from the name of a settler and the fact that fishermen made a drift from there down.

(58) *šxʷk̓ʷəlx̌élə* ('coupling place,' < *k̓ʷéx̌* 'copulate,' *-elə* '-place for'). A creek that flows into the North Arm, so called because it was used as a lovers' lane.

(59) *c̓əw̓x̌éləməɬ* (R) (< ?). The east end of Mitchell Island. Rozen identified this name as 'whistling (people),' but cf. (63).

### Islands between the North Arm and South Arm (Richmond)

(60) *xʷəyéyət* (AC), *xʷiyéy̓t* (AG) (< ?). Iona Island.

(61) *sqʷsáθən* (AC, JP) ('sloping into the water, sunken shore,' < *qʷás* 'enter the water,' *-áθən* 'lip, margin'). IR #3, on the northwestern tip of Sea Island, sometimes used for the whole island.

(62) *xic̓əmál̓səm* (R) (perhaps *xc̓əmál̓səm,* < ?). A place on the western shore of Sea Island.

(63) *xʷáy̓qəθən* (AG), *xʷáyqəθən* (JP), *xʷáyəqəθən* (CC), *wáyqəθən* (R) (means 'crook of land' [JP], < ?). A place on the southwestern tip of Sea Island, at the mouth of the Middle Arm. It is said that there were once people here who whistled when they talked. They came from the black ducks that whistle (the *xápələθ* 'American scoter,' < √*xep* 'whistle'). They did not behave correctly when *x̌é·l̓s* came, and so disappeared (JP).

(64) *sp̓ələk̓ʷəqs* (AG), *spələkʷəqs* (AC, JP) ('boiling point' < *p̓ələk̓ʷ* 'boil up,' *-əqs* '-nose, -point'). The northwestern tip of Lulu Island, at the mouth of the Middle Arm, site of the Terra Nova cannery. It was once a Musqueam village site, and continued to be used as a campsite. There were graves there.

(65) *ʔənxʷícən̓* (R) (? < *ʔánəxʷ* 'stop,' *-ícən* 'back, surface'). On the western shore of Lulu Island, halfway between Terra Nova and Garry Point (R).

(66) *q̓ʷéyaʔx̌ʷ* (JP, AG) (< ?). Garry Point. A summer campsite for some of the Musqueam people. JP's father stayed there and so took "Point" as his surname (JP).

(67) *q̓ʷáyax̌ʷ stál̓əw* (AC). The main channel at Steveston.

(68) *qʷłáy̓əm* (R) (probably *qʷłéy̓əm* or *xʷqʷłéy̓əm*, 'driftwood place,' < *qʷłéy̓* 'driftwood log'). Another campsite at the southwestern end of Lulu Island, east of Garry Point.

(69) *x̌̓əqətínəs* (AC, JP, AG) ('long shore,' < *x̌̓éqt* 'long,' *-ínəs* '-chest, beach'). On the south shore of Lulu Island, above where Ladner ferry was (AC), Woodward's Landing (AG). This was the great summer village of the Cowichan-speaking people of Vancouver Island.

### Westham Island and South Shore of South Arm

(70) *ʔəléqsən* (JP, R) ('points'? < *sʔálqsən* 'point'; cf. *ʔálqsən* 'Point Grey'). The northwestern point of Westham Island (JP), the south end of Westham Island (R).

(71) *xʷłíc̓əm* (AG, R), *xʷłícəm* (JP) ('cut inside out,' < *xʷ-* 'inside,' √*łic̓* 'cut'). Canoe Pass. According to AG, the name comes from the practice of cutting rushes to let salmon pass through.

(72) *sc̓áləxʷqən̓* (JP, AG, R) (< *c̓áləxʷ* 'go upstream,' *-qən̓* 'throat'). Ladner.

(73) *pəłx̌ənéməx* (JP, AG) ('meadow land'? cf. *spáłx̌ən* 'prairie, meadow,' *-éməx* '-country'). An area a little above Ladner. AG translated the name as 'meadow flat.' Rozen recorded *pəłx̌ané·wməxʷ* 'meadow land' as the name for the western end of Deas Island and simply *spáłx̌ən* 'meadow' for "The Delta Area."

(74) *xʷméc̓ənəłp* (JP) ('black haw trees,' < *méc̓ən* 'black haw fruit'). The high land from Sunbury down to Mud Bay.

(75) *qʷəqʷəʔápəłp* (AC) ('crabapple trees'). The site of St. Mungo's Cannery.

(76) *səẃq̓ʷéqsən* (R) ('drifting away point,' < *háẃq̓ʷ* 'be drifting with current,' *-əqsən* 'nose, point'). The southwestern side of Annacis Island.

### At and Above the Forks

(77) *yálək̓ʷə, yélək̓ʷə* (R) (< ?). The western end of "Tree Island" (Poplar Island?).

(78) *skʷtéxʷqən* (R). The eastern end of "Tree Island"; but cf. (57).

(79) *wáq̓ʷax̌ən sx̌ʷáyməł* (AC). Usual designation for IR below New Westminster.

(80) *sx̌ʷəyém* (AC) ('story, myth'). A rock on the western side of the Patullo Bridge.

(81) *sx̌ʷéyəməł* (AG) (< *sx̌ʷəyém* 'myth'). New Westminster.

(82) *qiqéyt* (JP, AG), *qəyqáyt* (AC). South Westminster IR.

**Place Names and Tribal Names**

These names for peoples, marked (tr), are also place names in the sense that they may be used to refer to the home territories of the peoples they name.

*To the east:*

*kʷíkʷəƛ̓əm* Coquitlam (tr), *skʷƛ̓áma·ɬ (ǩáxaʔ)* (the lake) belonging to the Coquitlam (JP).

*q̓íc̓əy̓* ('moss') Katzie (tr).

*q̓ʷáʔaṅƛ̓əl̓* 'Langley' (Kwantlen) (tr).

*méθxʷəy̓* Matsqui (tr).

*səméθ* Sumas (tr).

*sc̓əlxʷíʔqʷ* (< *c̓áləxʷ* 'go upstream,' *-iʔqʷ* 'head') Chilliwack (tr).

*sq̓əwq̓ín* (√*q̓iw* 'go round a point,' *-qən ~ -qín* 'head') Skulkayn IR.

*sq̓áẇnəc* (< √*q̓iw* 'go round a point,' *-nəc* 'butt bay') Scowlitz, 'Harrison Mills' (tr).

*sc̓əʔínəs* (< *c̓éʔ* 'land on,' *-inəs* 'chest, beach') Chehalis (tr).

*sθqʷáɬ* (< ?) Douglas and other Lillooet (tr).

*xʷséʔeq* (< *séʔeq* 'bracken root') Nooksack (tr), *šxʷséʔeqaʔɬ smənmé·nt* 'Nooksack Mountains,' i.e., the North Cascades.

*ǩeɬ̓θénəxʷ* (< √*ǩeɬ̓θ* 'measure, mark,' *-enəxʷ* 'season, fish') Mount Baker.

*łáq̓əteʔ* (< Klickitat?) Plateau tribes, described by JP as a "belt" of people from "our *łáq̓qən*" (the Upper Fraser River) to Yakima; according to AG, the term refers to people with braids, cowboy hats, and teepees (tr).

*To the north:*

*sqʷx̌ʷámaṁəx* (AC), *sqx̌ʷámaṁəx* (DK) Squamish (tr), *sqʷx̌ʷámaṁəxaʔɬ* (AC, JP) ('Squamish' + *-aʔɬ* 'attributive') Howe Sound, especially the eastern shore, where Musqueam hunters went for mountain goats (also the Squamish-style canoe).

*x̌ʷté·kʷi łəłáɬ̓wəɬ-ct sməənme·nt* 'mountains behind us,' i.e., the Coast Mountains north and east of Vancouver.

*sxiʔxéʔɬ* (JP) Sechelt (tr).

*čiyátəlič* (JP) Skookumchuck Narrows, in Sechelt country.

*sx̌ʷəʔíti* Lasquiti Island (AG), Texada Island (JP).

*c̓íʔc̓səṁ* (dim. of *c̓íc̓səṁ* 'be growing') Texada Island (AG).

*q̓ʷáẇməxʷs* (AG) The Comox (tr).

*yáqʷəɬteʔx̌* (JP) (< Kwak'wala *líGʷiɬdaʔx̌ʷ*, probably via Comox, which has /y/ for /l/) Lekwiltok (the people now at Campbell River and Cape Mudge) (tr).

*kʷékʷeʔɬ* (AG) (< Kwak'wala *kʷágʸuɬ*) The Kwakiutl, the people of Queen Charlotte Strait (tr).[2]

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2 A form like *kʷákʷəɬ* appears not only in Halkomelem and I believe in other Salishan languages but also in Heiltsuk, and it evidently refers to more than simply the people who settled at Fort Rupert, whom Boas identified as *kʷágʸuɬ*.

*xʷtáyəwəl* (AC) (< √*təy* 'upstream'; cf. *táyt* 'upstream,' *táyəl* 'go upstream,' *táywət* 'west wind,' 'north') The northern peoples (Comox and Cape Mudge northward [AC]).

*To the west:*

*šxʷnəwíɬaʔɬ smənmé·nt* 'far-side mountains,' i.e., the mountains on Vancouver Island.

*xʷk̓ʷál̓əxʷəm* (< *k̓ʷál̓əxʷ* 'chum salmon') Qualicum.

*snəẃnáẃəs* (AC) ('looking inward,' < √*nəw-* 'enter,' *-əs* '-face') Nanoose (tr).

*snənéyməxʷ* (AC) (< ?, probably not < *néyəm* 'laugh') Nanaimo (tr).

*l̓é·l̓əqeʔ* (AC) Valdez Island (tr).

*pənél̓əx̌aẃθ* (AC) Kuper Island (tr).

*xc̓əmínəs* (AC) Yellow Point ('Chemainus Bay,' the Kulleet Bay of charts) (tr).

*xʷc̓ásəẏ̓* (AC) Westholm (tr).

*qəẃicən* ('warm the back,' < √*qəw* 'warm,' *-icən* '-back') (AC) Cowichan (tr). This name, or rather its Cowichan form *qáẃəcən,* was identified by Cowichan speakers as that of Mt. Tzouhalem (named by the Whites after a famous warrior) because of its bare side facing the sun. Cowichan villages (identified by AC and CC) are: *sʔámənеʔ* Duncan, *kʷámẃəcən* Quamichan, *xʷəlq̓ʷsélə* Koksilah, *q̓ʷəməyéqən* Komiaken, *x̌ínəpsəm* Kanipsim, *łəmłáməlc̓* Clemclemalitz.

*sʔámənеʔ x̌áce* Cowichan Lake.

*xsénəc* (CC) Saanich (tr). Villages are: *méləx̌əɬ* Malahat, actually a Cowichan-speaking reserve, but it is generally classified as Saanich, *p̓ákʷəcən* Cole Bay, *xʷsáẏ̓q̓əm* Patricia Bay, *st̓θé·wtxʷ* 'East Camp.'

*st̓θámәs* Victoria (also *mətúliə*).

*lək̓ʷámən* Victoria people (tr).

*sáʔakʷ* Sooke (tr).

*məθéləməxʷ* West Coast (tr).

*To the south:*

*scəẃáθən* (JP) Tsawwassen (tr).

*smáq̓ʷəc* (JP) Point Roberts.

*xʷláməẏ̓* (JP) Lummi (tr).

*swél̓əx̌* (JP) Orcas Island.

*xʷyíxəl* (CC) the people from LaConner south, i.e., the speakers of Lushootseed (tr). *šxʷyíxəlaʔɬ smənmé·nt* the Cascades east of Puget Sound (JP).

*šxʷx̌él̓əm* Clallam (tr), *šxʷx̌él̓əmaʔɬ smənmé·nt* 'Clallam mountains,' i.e., the Olympic Mountains (JP).

## Appendix 3
# A History of Work on Halkomelem

### Early Vocabularies

Probably the earliest published example of Halkomelem is a short Cowichan word list, one of a number of Northwest Coast vocabularies collected by W.F. Tolmie, probably in the late 1830s, and appended by John Scouler to "Observations on the Indigenous Tribes of the N.W. Coast of America" (Scouler 1841). The words are poorly recorded and some are wrongly identified, no doubt because of the difficulties Tolmie must have had eliciting them through the recently introduced Chinook Jargon.

From the late 1850s, we have lists in the Cowichan and Chilliwack dialects collected by Charles Wilson and published in what is the earliest ethnographic article on the Halkomelem area (Wilson 1866), and we have lists in the Nanaimo and Tait dialects (about 1,100 words) collected by George Gibbs and published in his "Comparative Vocabularies" (Gibbs et al. 1877, 270-83). From the 1870s, we have word lists collected by Tolmie and G.M. Dawson and included in their *Comparative Vocabularies of the Indian Tribes of British Columbia* (1884, 38B-49B). These later vocabularies were recorded with somewhat greater accuracy in the identification of the words but without much improvement in transcription. If Tolmie and Dawson heard the difference between glottalized (ejective) and unglottalized plosives or between velars and uvulars, or had sorted out the laterals and the back fricatives, they give no indication of it in their spellings. The same symbol (letter or sequence of letters) may represent several sounds and the same sound may be represented by several symbols, and their words are generously sprinkled with gratuitous hyphens.

In 1882 the Roman Catholic missionary priest Fr. G.C. Donckele collected a vocabulary, now in the British Columbia Provincial Archives (Donckele 1882), of "la langue sauvage Cowichan" to complete a printed form evidently designed for use in French Oceania. It contains some interesting items but it is no better in the way it represents the sounds of the language. Fr. Donckele may

have left other manuscripts on Halkomelem. I was told that he tried preaching in Halkomelem rather than the usual Chinook Jargon but was not very fluent. A Protestant missionary, the Reverend C.M. Tate, is also said to have learned Halkomelem well enough to translate hymns (see Pilling 1893, 67, where Halkomelem appears as "Ankomelum"). I was told that he could indeed communicate in the native language but amused people by mixing dialectal forms. The Reverend Thomas Crosby may also have spoken some Halkomelem (which he wrote "An-ko-me-num"), but the few words given in his book (Crosby 1907) suggest that he too did not make the distinctions that the Native phonological system requires. Anything recorded by these and other nineteenth-century missionaries would certainly be useful in establishing the times and places when particular words were in use, but given the inadequacy of systems of transcription then available, it seems unlikely that they could contribute much to our understanding of Halkomelem grammar.

"Comparative vocabularies" such as those of Gibbs and Tolmie and Dawson did serve to suggest relationships among languages and had allowed Hale and Gallatin to propose a "Salish" or "Selish" family (Powell 1891, 102-5). But they were certainly not adequate for any more refined taxonomy. Even in the 1890s, it seems that the various samples of Salishan all stood coordinate, with dialects of the same language given equal status with separate languages. Powell (1891, 104-5) lists as Salishan sixty-four "principal tribes," of which six (Cowichan, Kwantlen, Nanaimo, Nanoose, Sumas, and Tait) are names for groups of Halkomelem speakers. Pilling (1893) lists as Salishan "languages" five names (Kawichan, Kwantlen, Snanaimuk, Stalo, and Tait) that actually designate groups of Halkomelem speakers.

### Boas

In 1886, just two years after the publication of Tolmie and Dawson's *Comparative Vocabularies,* a profound change occurred. Franz Boas, then a young man, made his first trip to British Columbia, where he met Tolmie, then an old man soon to die. Later Boas wrote home that he had managed in a few weeks to learn more about the Indians than Tolmie had in over fifty years on the Northwest Coast (Rohner 1969, 69). With respect to language, this extravagant statement was probably correct. In recording Native words and in discovering linguistic relations, Boas had moved far ahead.

Boas's earliest transcriptions are certainly not wholly accurate (nor perhaps are anyone's), but his earliest publications (e.g., Boas 1888) show that he was aware of the opposition of glottalized and unglottalized plosives and of velars and uvulars and was using an orthography that permitted him to make most of the distinctions that are phonemic, that is, significant to speakers of the Native languages. His principal faults were that he did not record glottal stops after vowels or distinguish labialized back consonants in all environments. During

the next few years he corrected these faults, so that by the time he was producing the reports of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, around 1900, his transcriptions of Kwakiutl were meticulously accurate phonetically. Unfortunately, however, he did not continue work on the Salishan languages of the Strait of Georgia into that period, and so we have only his earlier transcriptions for Halkomelem and neighbouring languages, far superior to what came before and to much of what was done later but still not altogether accurate.

Boas's classification of the Coast Salish of Georgia Strait was also far superior to any before it. In 1887 he published an article (Boas 1887) in German that accurately distinguished the languages and presented a map that has not been excelled (and has been almost wholly ignored). The taxonomy was modified only slightly when presented again in later works (Boas 1890, 805-6; 1897, 320-21). As a statement of what forms of speech were spoken where, it needs no correction today.

Unfortunately, however, Boas always referred to the languages of the region as "dialects," using that word simply in the sense of "related forms of speech" (Thompson 1973, 992), while in recent decades the word has been used for mutually intelligible forms of speech (e.g., Sapir 1931), forms not mutually intelligible being called "languages." Boas almost certainly knew that his "dialects" such as "Sqxō´mic" (Squamish), "Qau´etcin" (Cowichan, i.e., Halkomelem), and "Lku´ñgEn" (Songhees, i.e., Northern Straits) were not intelligible; that they "diverge unusually strongly from one another" *(weichen ausserordentlich stark voneinander ab)*. Some later anthropologists (e.g., Barnett 1942, 380), however, seem not to have understood Boas's usage and to have supposed that all of the "Coast Salish" speak dialects of a single Coast Salish language.

Boas is also the author of the first published material on Halkomelem grammar, less than three pages on the Nanaimo dialect, presented as one of a number of sketches published in his report to the British Association for the Advancement of Science (Boas 1891, 680-83). Short though it was, it showed that roots undergo internal modification for plural, diminutive, and progressive forms; it identified some of the affixes and auxiliaries expressing tense and mode and some of the pronominal and demonstrative elements; and it noted the categories of gender, presence versus absence, and visibility versus invisibility.

Boas seems to have done no further work with Halkomelem. He left a few pages of manuscript.

### Hill-Tout

Boas was succeeded among the Coast Salish of British Columbia by Charles Hill-Tout, a local scholar who worked in archeology, ethnography, and linguistics. Among his many publications are three (Hill-Tout 1903, 1904, 1907) that present Halkomelem material. These contain: (1) notes on the grammar of the

Chilliwack dialect, with a glossary of about a thousand words (1902, 369-400); (2) notes on the Kwantlen dialect, with a short vocabulary and two texts (1902, 415-41); (3) notes on the Chehalis ("StsEélits) dialect, with one text (1904, 334-39); (4) five texts in the Scowlitz ("Sk·aúlits") dialect (1904, 368-76); and (5) two texts in the Cowichan dialect (1907, 366-72). The whole, including translations of the texts, amounts to a total of about seventy-five pages, which was fairly respectable for the time, being more than the shortest sketches that appear in the *Handbook of American Indian Languages* (Boas 1911). It has serious defects, however.

Phonologically, Hill-Tout's work is retrogressive. It suffers from the same faults as Boas's of the 1880s – the failure to record glottal stops after vowels and with resonants and to record labialization of back consonants except before vowels – while it also suffers from Hill-Tout's own failure to distinguish glottalized plosives, which Boas did from his first work. (Hill-Tout's raised commas simply separate consonant clusters, presumably to mark the absence of a vowel where English speakers might expect one.) Moreover, Hill-Tout was often inaccurate in distinguishing dentals from palatals, uvulars from velars, and even back fricatives from stops. Hill-Tout refers to Boas's earlier work and must have been influenced by it, but he met Boas only once and clearly did not get much encouragement from him (Maud 1978, 1:15, 4:9). It seems that Hill-Tout did not fully grasp principles that Boas had discovered, and was unable to move ahead on his own.

Hill-Tout did go beyond Boas in his exploration of Halkomelem grammar, although not in the direction Boas would have gone. Rather than seeking to describe the language in its own terms, Hill-Tout pretty well kept to the categories of traditional grammar. And rather than analyzing forms and identifying sets of morphemes, Hill-Tout simply gave extensive paradigms. He did not account for all of the morphemes in his material; for example, subordinate subject pronominal suffixes occur in his paradigms, but he nowhere identified them and listed them parallel to their coordinate counterparts. Perhaps because of the defects in his transcription he could not have accounted for everything. One verb root, which he does identify, occurs in five different forms – not in reality but in Hill-Tout's inconsistent spelling.

Nevertheless, Hill-Tout's work is useful. It attests to the existence of words and features of grammar at the times when and places where he recorded them. His texts were, I believe, recorded carefully – within the limits of his capacity to transcribe the language. I found it possible, working with James Point, to reconstruct one of Hill-Tout's Kwantlen texts. Mr. Point found only a few places where he might have used a different term or construction.

### Twentieth-Century Ethnographers

For half a century after Hill-Tout's work, Halkomelem was almost wholly neglected. Hill-Tout's last publication reporting work on the language appeared in

1907; the next publication reporting work on it was that of Elmendorf and Suttles in 1960.

During this time, a few ethnographers worked in the Halkomelem area – Curtis and his associates around 1912, Barnett and Jenness in the mid-1930s, Marian Smith and her students in the mid-1940s, Lane in the late 1940s, Duff in 1949 and 1950. Most recorded Native terms deemed culturally significant as well as proper names, but the quality of their transcriptions is quite variable. Terms in Curtis (1913) are spelled in a system that is not wholly adequate to the task but that is at least used consistently and (within its limits) fairly accurately. Those appearing in Barnett (1955) are more in the tradition of Tolmie and Dawson. Those appearing in Jenness (1934-35), Smith (1949), and Duff (1952) are somewhat better but still sometimes quite inconsistent. All are, of course, useful in documenting the existence of the terms but are not reliable for any study that requires phonetic accuracy.

## This Study

My own work on Halkomelem grew rather gradually out of the practice of ethnography and the conviction, dating back to student days, that ethnography ought to be based on more than "a smattering of knowledge" of the Native language (Boas 1911, 60). As a student at the University of Washington, I had had some experience with the Northern Straits language working on Northern Straits ethnography for my dissertation (Suttles 1951). I first recorded some Halkomelem in 1952, while teaching at the University of British Columbia, when I undertook the task of re-eliciting from Simon Pierre of Katzie (see Suttles 1955) the Native terms recorded by Diamond Jenness in the 1930s in the course of doing ethnographic work with Simon's father, Peter Pierre – the "Old Pierre" of *The Faith of a Coast Salish Indian* (Jenness 1955). I did not proceed very far linguistically with Simon because, while he was a pleasure to work with on ethnography, his lack of interest in language (to say nothing of his lack of teeth) made linguistic work difficult. There are certainly errors in my transcription of Katzie words.

The opportunity to work with people more suitable for my purposes came in 1957, when Harry Hawthorn suggested that I continue ethnographic work that he had begun with Andrew and Christine Charles at Musqueam, which is very near the university. Mr. Charles was an excellent source of traditional knowledge, and Mrs. Charles proved to be an ideal teacher of her language, patient with my ignorance and yet intolerant of my mistakes.

During 1957 I elicited a fairly extensive vocabulary, reviewing what I had gotten from Simon Pierre, getting Halkomelem equivalents of Northern Straits terms I had recorded still earlier, and adding many new items. I also got some grammatical material and a good deal of ethnography.

During the summer of 1958, William W. Elmendorf was at the university and joined me in working with the Charleses. We re-elicited much of the

vocabulary that I had recorded the previous year, expanded on it in some areas, and matched the Musqueam with forms in Cowichan, from Mr. Charles, and Chilliwack, from Mrs. Charles and several people we interviewed briefly in the Chilliwack area. The result of this collaboration was an article (Elmendorf and Suttles 1960) in which we showed something of the phonological and lexical differences among these three dialects and discussed apparent evidence for recent change in the use of the articles. In particular, we showed that the three dialects seem to differ lexically to different degrees in different semantic categories.

I continued to work with the Charleses, for a few days only in 1959 and early 1960, then more frequently during the fall of 1960, when Mrs. Charles dictated nine texts of ethnographic and historical interest. I had hoped to continue this work during my sabbatical year of 1961-62 but Mr. Charles died during the summer of 1961 and Mrs. Charles, understandably, did not want to continue immediately with the work that we had all enjoyed so much together. And so during that year I collected materials, mainly on tape, in the Cowichan and Tait dialects, wrote a brief sketch of Musqueam grammar (essentially the first draft of the present work), and mainly observed and studied the winter ceremonialism, which had been developing and expanding for some years.

During the academic year 1962-63, I worked again briefly with Mrs. Charles, who dictated three more texts. In September 1962, I also began with James Point of Musqueam. Mr. Point was born in 1881. Although older than the Charleses, he was less traditional in his outlook. Nevertheless, he had a good knowledge of myths and, like Mrs. Charles, he was a patient and conscientious teacher. I worked with him often during 1962-63, and by July 1963 he had dictated twenty-seven texts totalling just 300 handwritten pages.

During the summer of 1963, I left the University of British Columbia to teach at the University of Nevada at Reno, where I taught for three years before going, in 1966, to Portland State University. While at Nevada, I was able to spend one short period at Musqueam, in 1965, working on problems in morphology with both Mrs. Charles and Mr. Point and recording one more text from Mr. Point.

After I went to Portland State, my work with Halkomelem had its productive and unproductive periods. During the summer of 1967, I worked again very briefly with Mrs. Charles (for the last time), Mr. Point, and Mrs. Della Kew, the daughter of Andrew and Christine Charles. During the academic year 1968-69, I experimented with teaching Halkomelem to university students. For the class, I ran off ditto copies of several texts and of grammatical notes, which might be seen as the second draft of the present work. During the summer of 1969, one of the students, Bonnie McCay, was able to spend a month at Musqueam eliciting and tape-recording materials from Mr. Point and also several people with whom I had not worked, among them Ed Brown and Steven August. In July

1971, I worked again with Mr. Point, mainly going through my lexical file, rechecking, and filling out paradigms. We worked very hard. He was then 90 but insisted on putting in around six hours a day with only an occasional day off. This was our last extended work together, although I consulted him again briefly in 1973. He died in 1979 at the age of 98 (older according to some). In the fall of 1973, Della Kew visited Portland, and we worked through her mother's texts, checking transcription and translation.

In June 1975, Dr. Barbara Efrat, then Curator of Linguistics at the British Columbia Provincial Museum, invited me to write a reference grammar of Halkomelem for a series of publications that the museum was planning. I accepted the invitation, but a number of other obligations slowed down the work. I did, however, spend several short periods between 1979 and 1983 working with Arnold Guerin, and worked again briefly with Della Kew in 1979. I finally turned in the last portions of the grammar in January 1985. Soon afterward, however, the museum abandoned the planned series, and this version of the grammar was never published. Because I had other work to do, I did nothing further with it for several years.

I had typed the version I submitted to the Provincial Museum (now the Royal British Columbia Museum) on an IBM Selectric typewriter. This version has been consulted by several linguists. When I went back to it, however, I felt that it had to be revised and redone on a computer. I had sent a copy of the typed version to Brent Galloway; he had it entered into a computer, using a font that he had devised for Upriver Halkomelem, and he sent it to me on disks in June 1993. By this time I was using a computer, but in spite of heroic efforts on Brent's part, I never found it possible to use his font. However, the format and the English were there and available, so in the end I simply retyped the phonetic symbols using the Straight font devised by Charles Ulrich. The present version differs from the typed version principally in formatting, but I have added more examples and made several changes in terminology and in the interpretation of the data.

### Recent Linguistic Work

Since the mid-1960s, a good deal of work has appeared on Halkomelem, especially on the Upriver and Island dialects. For Upriver we have a vocabulary collected by a non-linguist, Oliver Wells (1965), a master's thesis on phonology by Jimmy Harris (1966), and a doctoral dissertation and a series of articles describing the grammar and a number of semantic domains by Brent Galloway (1971, 1973). For Island Halkomelem we have a master's thesis on Cowichan phonology by Tiiu Kava (1969), a master's thesis on the Cowichan aspect system by M.K. Jones (1976), a doctoral dissertation on Cowichan grammar by Adrian Leslie (1979), a series of articles on grammatical problems by Thomas Hukari beginning in the mid-1970s, a text in Cowichan by Hukari, Ruby Peters,

and Ellen White (1977), a Cowichan dictionary by Hukari and Peters (1995), and a doctoral dissertation by Donna B. Gerdts (1981, 1988), author of a series of articles on problems in syntax. Gerdts's master's thesis (1977) was a survey of lexical differences among a number of dialects. Nancy C. Turner and M.A.M. Bell (1971) assembled ethnobotanical data that include Island Halkomelem plant names. David Rozen (1977a, 1977b, 1978a, 1978b) gathered both Island and Downriver place names and Cowichan ethnozoological data and transcribed Catholic prayers and hymns.

For much recent work on Island dialects by Gerdts, Hukari, and Mercedes Hinkson, on Musqueam by Patricia Shaw, Susan Blake, and Jill Campbell, and on Upriver dialects by Galloway and Marina Wiltschko, see the bibliographies in Czaykowska-Higgins and Kinkade 1998 and Mithun 1999.

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Set in Times New Roman, Scala, Bernalillo, Straight and First Nations New
by Artegraphica Design Co. Ltd.

Printed and bound in Canada by Friesens

Copy editor: Francis Chow

Cartographer: Cameron Suttles