THE BELLA COOLA LANGUAGE

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ABSTRACT

This volume presents a description of Bella Coola phonology, morphonology, morphology, and syntax.

In the preface attention is given to historical, areal, and typological aspects of Bella Coola and its language.

Bella Coola is a village situated on the central coast of British Columbia, Canada, the language being an isolated member of the Salish language stock.

RESUME

Ce tome présente une description de la phonologie, la morphonologie, la morphologie, et la syntaxe du Bella Coola, une langue qui est un membre isolé de la famille linguistique Salish.

Dans la préface l'auteur s'occupe des aspects historiques, aréaux, et typologiques du tribu de Bella Coola et de sa langue.

Bella Coola est un village situé à la côte centrale de la Colombie Britannique, Canada.

Les personnes désireuses de recevoir en français de plus amples renseignements sur cette publication sont priées d'adresser leurs demandes à:

      Service canadien d'Ethnologie
      Musée national de l'Homme
      Musées nationaux du Canada
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CONTENTS

The Bella Coola language is spoken in Bella Coola (Nuxalk), on the central coast of British Columbia, Canada. Formerly, the Bella Coola natives (Nuxalkmc) inhabited the shores of Dean Inlet and Bentinck Arms, and the Bella Coola valley. They lived as far north as Chatscah (Satskw), as far south as Tallio (Talyu), as far east as Stuie (Stwic), and as far west as Restauration Bay (Ts'iqwi). This entire area comprised over 100 settlements (most of which were located in the Bella Coola valley), extending from 52 to 53 degrees northern latitude, and from 126 to 127 degrees western longitude. The inhabitants of this region all spoke dialects of one language belonging to the Salish language stock.

Present-day Bella Coola is an amalgamation of the former, now largely abandoned, settlements. Dialectal differences must always have been small, and today such divergences have practically disappeared, as confirmed by fluent speakers of the language (who, to date, number some 75 individuals of, on the average, ca. 50 years of age and over), though some expressions are still felt to be of, e.g., Kimsquit (Nutl'l) or Tallio (Talyu) origin.

The name "Bella Coola" is itself a corruption of the Heiltsuk word bḷxʷlá somebody from Bella Coola. The Bella Coola area as a whole is isolated geographically from other Salish groups, and surrounded by the Wakashan Haisla, Heiltsuk, and Oowekano tribes to the northwest, west, and south, and by the Athabascan Carrier and Chilcotin Indians to the northeast, east, and southeast.

The Bella Coola language is an isolate within the Salish stock, and has both Coast and Interior Salish characteristics: the Salish portion (viz. less than 300 lexical items) of its lexicon links Bella Coola equally with both the Coast and Interior Salish languages, but the phonology and morphology (e.g., absence of pharyngals, presence of gender distinctions) are typically Coast Salish. Substantial lexical influence has been exercised by neighboring North Wakashan languages, most noticeably Heiltsuk; some 30% of the Bella Coola roots and stems with etymological counterparts in other Amerindian tongues are of Wakashan origin. To a much less extensive degree, words have been adopted also from adjacent Athabascan languages and Tsimshian (see: H.F. Nater, "Stem list of the Bella Coola language", PdR Press Publications on Salish Languages 4, The Peter de Ridder Press, Lisse 1977).

One of the most striking features of the Bella Coola language is the virtually unlimited tolerance towards obstruent-clustering: a considerable number of words consist of obstruents exclusively. This phenomenon, which has been observed and reported earlier (see: S. Newman, "Bella Coola 1: phonology", IJAL 13:129-34, and C.F. Hockett, A Manual of Phonology (p. 57)), is discussed in detail in sections 1.9 and 11 of the present volume, and is the result of vowel reduction. There is also a total lack of distinctive intonation. Note, that sections 1 through 12 form an expanded version of one of my earlier publications (H.F. Nater, "Bella Coola phonology", Lingua 49:169-87, North-Holland Publishing Company, Amsterdam 1979). Morphologically, too, Bella Coola is unusual: there is, for instance, a great amount of overlapping between nouns and intransitive verbs (but cf. 13.1 and 17.3.2).

The Bella Coolas have not only suffered almost total annihilation, but also had, and still have, to cope with a constant and systematic cultural and linguistic suppression, which has rendered their idiom all but extinct; it has never ceased to amaze me that there are any speakers of Bella Coola left, and I sincerely hope that the Bella Coola language curriculum will be an effective tool in safeguarding the oral traditions. The Bella Coolas are characterized by an admirable pertinacity and an overwhelming generosity - if otherwise, I would not have been in a position to find anybody capable and willing to share his/her knowledge of the language.

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

C <u>obstruent</u> or <u>consonantal sonant</u>; K <u>palatovelar</u> or <u>unrounded postvelar</u>; Kw <u>rounded
(post)velar</u>; M.S. <u>Mrs. Margaret Siwallace</u>; pl <u>plural</u>; R <u>sonant</u>; Ṙ <u>consonantal
sonant</u>; Ṛ <u>vocalic sonant</u>; Ʀ <u>vocalic sonant reduced to shwa</u>; Rⁿ <u>nasal</u> or <u>liquid</u>;
R^y <u>glide</u>; sg <u>singular</u>; T <u>obstruent</u>; Ṫ <u>plain occlusive</u>; T' <u>glottalized occlusive</u>;
T^f <u>fricative</u>; T^p <u>occlusive</u>; V <u>a</u>, <u>aa</u>, or <u>(doubled) vocalic sonant</u>; X <u>obstruent</u> or
<u>word border</u> (phonology) / <u>base</u> (morphology); <u>Y</u> <u>junctural y</u>; # <u>word border</u>; Π <u>pro-
nominal suffix</u>; √ <u>root (bound verbo-nominal)</u>; Ø <u>zero phoneme</u> or <u>zero morpheme</u>
(-Ø <u>3sg intransitive</u>, -Ø- <u>3sg causative object</u>, Ø+ or Ø- <u>plural article</u>, Ø+ <u>zero
variant of c+</u>); ^ <u>elision and telescoping</u> (ʔ̂, ⁺7, ⁻7 <u>elision of 7</u>, û = u͡w, ŝ =
s͡s, m̂ = m͡m or w͡m, î = i͡i, ŷ = i͡y or y͡i, ŵ = w͡u); . <u>border between redupli-
cated segments</u>; ÷ <u>junctural doubling</u>; : <u>lengthening</u>; - <u>separates affixes from
other units</u>; + <u>separates clitics from other units</u>; → <u>becomes/has become</u> or <u>is
followed by</u>; ∿ <u>alternates with</u>; ´ <u>high pitch</u>; ˆˋ <u>falling pitch</u>; * <u>non-existent
(older, reconstructed, hypothetical, ungrammatical, artificial) form</u>; — <u>position
filled by phoneme or morpheme</u>; < <u>continues older</u> or <u>derives from</u>; π and τ <u>implo-
sive occlusives</u>; |...| <u>phonetic notation</u>; /.../ <u>morphological notation</u>

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PART I - PHONOLOGY AND MORPHONOLOGY

1 PHONETIC DATA

1.1 The Bella Coola sound system comprises 34 phonemes: 23 obstruents (T), 10 sonants (R), and 1 vowel (a). The obstruents are subdivided into 16 occlusives (T^p) and 7 fricatives (T^f). The sonants fall into 6 nasals + liquids (R^n) and 4 glides (R^y). The occlusives oppose glottalized members (T') to plain ones (Ṫ), except in the laryngal series, whereas a plain lateral occlusive is lacking. In the velar series, unrounded palatovelars and postvelars (K) are opposed to rounded velars and postvelars (Kw). Both R^n and R^y oppose consonantal (Ṙ) to vocalic (R̥) members.

The phonemes are represented in the following matrix:

	T			R				vowel
	T^p		T^f	R^n		R^y		
	Ṫ	T'		Ṙ^n	R̥^n	Ṙ^y	R̥^y	
labial	p	p'		m	m̥			
dental	t	t'						
				n	n̥			
alveolar	ts	ts'	s					
lateral		tl'	lh	l	l̥			
palatovelar	k	k'	c			y	i	
postvelar	q	q'	x					
rounded velar	kw	kw'	cw					
						w	u	
rounded postvelar	qw	qw'	xw					
laryngal		7	h					a

1.2 Glottalized occlusives give an impression of a combination of plain occlusive + 7, and are in opposition to their plain counterparts: skma _moose_ vs. sk'ma _comb_, plht _thick_ vs. p'lht _warm_, tas _to poke_ vs. t'as _wren_, tslh _to break_ vs. ts'lh _to shade off_, etc. See further 7.1, 7.2.1, 8.1, 10.1.1.

1.3 The lateral glottalized occlusive tl' is opposed to tl, tlh, t'l, t'lh, and
tlh7: tl'kw <u>to pick up a small object</u> vs. tḷkw <u>to swallow</u> vs. tlh+kw <u>they say he
is strong</u>, tl'i <u>fast</u> vs. t'li <u>dog salmon</u> vs. 7at'lhits <u>I have painted it</u> vs.
tlh+7its'ik <u>and he was strong</u>.

1.4 Palatovelars compare to the initial sounds heard in "<u>c</u>ube" and "<u>h</u>uge". They
are not found before u (see 3.1).

1.5 Unrounded postvelars are pronounced further back than the palatovelars, and
are in opposition to the latter, cf. sqma <u>chest</u> vs. skma <u>moose</u>, q'is <u>stink currant</u>
vs. k'is- <u>without</u>, sx <u>to scrape</u> vs. sc <u>bad</u>, etc. Like the palatovelars, they do
not occur before u (see 3.1).

1.6 Rounded velars and postvelars are formed with simultaneous retraction of the
entire tongue mass, and often also a slight rounding of the lips (as for pro-
nouncing u), which is released immediately after the Kw involved, except before
u (see 3.1).

   Since the rounded velars are articulated further back than the palatovelars,
the untrained person will often find it difficult to distinguish them from rounded
postvelars, but there can be no doubt about their being opposed: kws <u>rough</u> vs.
qwsṃ <u>to sweat</u>, kw'p <u>straight</u> vs. qw'p <u>bare</u>, cwḷ <u>to pull</u> vs. √xwḷ <u>short</u>, etc.

   Kw contrasts with unrounded K: kwtl'is <u>he put it down</u> vs. ktl'iis <u>it is short</u>,
qw'p <u>bare</u> vs. √q'p <u>blunt</u>, sxwilh <u>conceited</u> vs. xilh <u>often</u>, etc.

1.7 p and t have aspirated allophones before #, and both aspirated and implosive
ones in the context V—T^p/Ṙ; (palato)velar and postvelar plain occlusives will in
these positions usually assume an affricative character, while before T^f, aspira-
tion of p and t is never heard: |ʔät^h| <u>herring eggs</u>, |q^{x}lä| <u>water</u>, |pɫt^h| <u>thick</u>,
|tx^{y}ẹt^s| <u>I will cut it</u>, |sọτk^{xy}, sọt^{h}k^{xy}| <u>winter</u>, |sọπt^h, sọp^{h}t^h| <u>to whistle</u>,
|ʔäτmä, ʔät^{h}mä| <u>to die</u> – 7at, qla, plht, tcits, sutk, supt, 7atma.

   One observes close transition in ts = |t^s| (see 2.2.1), while tlh may sound
|t^{h}ɫ|, |tɫ|, |x^ɫ|, or |x̌|; kc, kwcw, qx, and qwxw are always |k^{xxy}|, |k^{xxw}|,
|q^{xx}|, |q^{xxw}| resp. (see 5.2).

   Before a and Ṙ, all plain occlusives (except ts) are unaspirated, voiceless
lenes (p and t can also lose their aspiration before Ṙ); intervocalically (-sonant-
ally) they may have voiced allophones: |pəlst^h| <u>fish scale</u>, |k^{y}ιlk^{y}ιl| <u>herring</u>,
|qenx̌| <u>shoes</u> – pḷst, kḷkḷ, qinx; |k̓^{y}ẹdä| <u>little finger</u>, |ʔṃdəm| <u>sea urchins</u> –
k'ita, 7ṃtṃ; |p̓ɫlik^{y}ιm| <u>to capsize</u>, |p^{n}naːx̌tä| <u>dancer's apron</u> – plikṃ, pnaaxta.
See further 4.3.1.1. Intervocalic c, too, can have a voiced timbre: |sọγ^{y}ä| <u>hand</u>
– suca.

1.8 The vowel a, the vocalic glides i and u, and the automatic shwa that forms the syllabic peak of R^n (see 4.1) have a wide range of pronunciation, depending on the context in which they occur:

i varies from |ı| before postvelars, |ı:, ɛ:| between postvelars, |e, e:| before RC/R#, |i| in palatovelar surrounding, to |ę| in other positions: |ʔıxʷ| far, |pıq̓| flat, wide - 7ixw, piq'; |qı:qˣteːʸ, qɛ:qˣ-| little - qiqtii; |päpeːn-kʸę| little snake, |sem| rope made of cedar limbs - papinki, sim; |ʔäsikˣʸ| middle finger, |p̓likʸım| to capsize - 7asik, plikm̩; |q̓ęs| stink currant, |pęt̓ˢ| pale, whitish - q'is, pits'

a is pronounced |ɑ| in inter-postvelar position, |ä̆| before rounded velars followed by C or #, |a, a:| before RC/R#, |ä| in other positions: |qʷɑx̣ʷ| raven, |qɑqˣtä̆ɫpʰ| ninebark - qwaxw, qaqtalhp; |kˣʸläx̣ʷ| muskrat, |täkˣʷs| willow grouse - klacw, takws; |man| father, |ya:w| hi! - man, yaw; |x̣ʸnäs| woman, wife, |ʔäqˣs| halibut hook - cnas, 7aqs.

u sounds |o| in inter-postvelar position, |o, o:, ɑ̓, ɑ̓:| before RC/R#, |u,ʊ| before rounded velars followed by C or #, |ǫ| in other sequences: |q̓ʷox| to call, |qʷox̣| to cover - q'ux, qux; |ʔo(:)lx̣, ʔɑ̓(:)lx̣| to steal, |to(:)ms, tɑ̓(:)ms| breast - 7ulx, tums; |kʷu/ʊkˣʷpę| grandfather, |mu/ʊkˣʷ| red - kukwpi, mukw; |sǫlǫtʰ| sea, inlet, |mǫq̓ʷlä| louse - sulut, muqw'lha. For Ku = Kwu see 3.2.

In the cardinal numbers (see 26.2), the vowel under the accent is always (rhetorically) dragged: |sma:w| one, |ɫnǫ:s| two, |ʔäsmǫ:s| three - smaw, lhnus, 7asmus. See also 12.4.1, 16.4.2, 28.3.9.

1.9 In almost any given context T can occupy the same position as a and R (exceptions are enumerated in 10). Many words consist solely of obstruents: ts'xlh true, lhxwt to go through a narrow passage, stp freckle, p'xwlht bunchberries, t'kw to bleed, klh to fall, etc. (see further 11.5.3). T-clusters of extreme length can be found at word borders:

7aalats'amktsuts+kwts' sk'cis ta+tl'm̩sta+tx then he told them that he had seen the man

ta+s7astcwlhts sxsɫcalhs wa+7alhwɫalh+ts when I was inside, the rain started to really pour

All-obstruent sentences, although somewhat contrived, are possible:

clhp'xwlhtlhplhhs+kwts' then he had had in his possession a bunchberry plant

k'clhhtscw slhxwtlhhts you had seen that I had gone through the passage

(lhh = lh+lh)

2 PHONEMIC STATUS OF i, u, ts, ts', 7, h

2.1 The phonemes i and u are classed as sonants (not as vowels), because they are in near-complementary distribution with resp. y and w; they are related to $\overset{\cdot}{R}{}^{Y}$ as R^{n} is to $\overset{\cdot}{R}{}^{n}$ (see 4.2, 6.1.2). Besides, in view of the phonetic structure of Bella Coola words (see 1.9, 10, 11), one cannot make an absolute distinction between "vowels" on the one hand, and "consonants" on the other.

2.2 I consider the alveolar affricate ts a single phoneme, because it has a glott-alized counterpart. This counterpart (ts') takes part in the alternation VT' ᴠ V:T (see 7.2). ts and ts' occur in the lexicon with relatively high frequency (see 11.6), a feature that lends additional support to the monophonemic interpretation of ts.

2.2.1 Within the limits of the morpheme, the sequence t+s is distinct from ts as $|t^{h}s|$ vs. $|t^{s}|$. The only relevant example on record is /nu-tas.ts-iik/ musket, which contains tas to poke, and nu-...-iik hollow, inside. For the reduplicative type see 24.2 (type a); for "." see 24.4.

When affixation yields t+s, this sequence is normally pronounced $|t^{s}|$, and is then phonetically identical with ts. Examples: $|n\varrho s?\underline{e}p\ddot{a}t^{s}\overset{w}{\dot{\alpha}}t^{s}t\ddot{a}|$ larder, refriger-ator, from 7ipatsut to store food, and nu-s-...-sta storage room, container - nus7ipatsuutsta; $|?\underline{e}t^{s}\underline{e}sa:\dot{\pm}\vartheta mx^{Y}|$ to speak (7it-) Sechelt (sisaalh) - 7itsisaalhṃc.

In slow or careful speech, t+s can be articulated $|t^{h}s/t:s|$: $|?\underline{e}t^{h}s\underline{e}sa:\dot{\pm}\vartheta mx^{Y}$, $?\underline{e}t:s\underline{e}sa:\dot{\pm}\vartheta mx^{Y}|$ to speak Sechelt, $|?\underline{e}s\varrho t^{h}s, ?\underline{e}s\varrho t:s|$ = 7isuts he is (-s) travelling by canoe (7isut). Cf. 5.1.

2.3 7 and h occur only prevocalically and -sonantally (cf. 8.1). They are classi-fied as obstruents (not as sonants) for two reasons: (a) they have no vocalic counterpart (h does not alternate with a, and ha is an existing sequence, while wu is quite marginal, and yi is found only in certain formations - see 6.3, 10.1); (b) h is much rarer than 7, but for R : R' the reverse holds. In fact, h is rather defective in that it is found in only a few words (mainly borrowings): 7yanahu turnips (diminutive 7yanahwii), ha7u caterpillar, ha7ṃ pigeon, hawhaw a mythical bird with a long beak, hawyat or haw7yat a geographical name, hatst hey!, huyp a dance-cry, and a few personal names.

3 ROUNDED VELARS AND POSTVELARS

3.1 Before u, unrounded postvelars and palatovelars (K) are not found. In the context Kwu, labialization is not released as before other phonemes or a word border.

3.2 In the practical orthography, Kwu is spelled Ku throughout. In the morpho-logical transcription, however, I write /Kw-u/ or /K$\underline{w}$u/, depending on whether

rounding is inherent or caused by the affixed element. Thus: /mukw-us-m̥/ to paint one's (-m) face (-us) red (mukw), but: /lhq'$\overset{w}{-}$us/ to slap (lhq'̣) someone in the face (-us) = mukusm̥, lhq'us.

In the case of acquired rounding, K-clusters are affected as a whole (see 9.4.2).

3.3 It would be a misconception to think of Kw as a sequence K+w, since:

(a) Kw is found in the lexicon with no less frequency than other phonemes (see 11.6);

(b) Kw is distinct from K+w across morpheme boundaries: /wax.waxtsya/ great-grand-children, c+wa+... by the ...;

(c) Kw never alternates with K(w)u as does w with u in general (e.g., 7apswits I will blow at it vs. 7apsutx blow at it!, q'aw to store away vs. 7aq'u to im-prison);

(d) in one type of reduplication, where T'R → (7)Ṛ.T'R (see 24.2, c), it is not the alleged w that is reduplicated (as in, e.g., /7u.p'wi-i/ diminutive form of p'wi halibut), but the next-following R: /nu-7n̥.qw'na^{Y}al-ak-t/ hair under arm (from qw'na pubic hair, nu-...-al-ak-t armpit), in the same way as /7n̥.-k'nts-i/ diminutive form of k'nts whale;

(e) the sequence Kww is found in some items, such as sukwwaat cat's cradle, qwwas cooked sockeye salmon, kw'wams dimple in cheek, whereas *ww is not permitted (see 10.1).

4 VOCALIC SONANTS

4.1 The pronunciation of the vocalic glides i and u is explained in 1.8. The vo-calic nasals and l̥ are articulated with a preceding murmured vowel, with the quality of (and henceforth labelled as) a shwa, the phonetic actualization of which is determined by the flanking C's.

The allophonic variants of this shwa are:

	...m	...n	...l
palatovelar...		ɪ/ə[1]	
Kw...	ʊ[2]		ə[3]
dental/alveolar/7...		ä/ə[4]	
other C...	ə[5]		ə/l̥[6]

(1) |pʰʞ̓ʸɩm, pʰʞ̓ʸəm| <u>mosquito</u> - pk'm̓, |txʸɩnxʸnẹ| <u>owl</u> - tcn̓cni, |sʞ̓ʸɩl, sʞ̓ʸəl| <u>cold</u> - sk'l̩;

(2) |kʷʊmɬ| <u>firewood</u> - kwm̩lh, |tʰʞ̓ʷʊm| <u>to dig for cloverroots</u> - tkw'm̓, |q̓ʷx̣ʷʊmtẹmọtʰ| <u>automobile</u> - qw'xwmtimut;

(3) |kʷəntˢäɬä| <u>type of canoe</u> - kwn̩tsalha, |ʔẹɬq̓ʷənɬtẹmọtʰ| <u>to laugh</u> - 7ilhqw'n̩lh-timut, |ʔẹʞ̓ʷəlstʰ| <u>rockslide</u> - 7ikw'l̩st;

(4) |sämtʰ, səmtʰ| <u>mountain</u> - sm̩t, |t̓änx̣ʷ, t̓ənx̣ʷ| <u>head</u> - t'n̓xw, |tälkˣʷ, təlkˣʷ| <u>to swallow</u> - tl̩kw, |snäm, snəm| <u>log jam</u> - snm̩, |ʔäntˢ, ʔəntˢ| <u>I</u> - 7n̩ts, |ʔämtʰ, ʔəmtʰ| <u>to sit</u> - 7m̩t;

(5) |q̓ʷọpəm| <u>smoking</u> - q'upm̩, |ƛ̓əmstä| <u>person</u> - tl'm̓sta, |tʰqənkˣʸ| <u>under</u> - tqn̩k;

(6) |pəlstʰ| <u>scale of fish</u> - pl̩st, |wəl| <u>to spill</u> - wl̩, |nọx̣̓əl, nọx̣̓l̩| <u>Kimsquit</u> - nutl'l̩, |ɬəl, ɬl̩| <u>to clean</u> - lhl̩.

The |ã| variant of shwa is especially typical of endomorphemic CR̩X sequences, and is as a rule avoided on morpheme boundaries: |ʔätəm| /7at-m̩/ <u>to gather (-m) herring eggs</u>, |mənɬätənkˣʸ| /mn̩lhat-n̩k/ <u>to measure (mn̩lhat) the circumference of a tree's base (-nk)</u>, never *|ʔätäm|, |mənɬätänkˣʸ|. A special variant of shwa is treated in 4.2.1.1 and 4.2.5. A svarabhakti vowel may be heard between n/l and x/xw: |ʔoːlx̣, ʔoːlᵊx̣| <u>to steal</u> - 7ulx, |sənx̣, sənᵊx̣| <u>sun</u> - snx, |t̓änx̣ʷ, t̓änᵛx̣ʷ| <u>head</u> - t'nxw.

4.2 Vocality of R̩ is predictable in the sequences: (1) TR̩X, (2) XR̩R̩X but TR̩ʸR̩ⁿX, (3) aR̩R̩X, (4) #R̩R̩T but #R̩R̩ʸR̩ⁿT, (5) #R̩₁R₂R̩₁R₂.

     Doubled R's (see 5.2) are pronounced with a vocalic first member after C: |ʔä̓ʔənːä| <u>unidentified waterbird</u> - 7a7n̩na, |mənmənːtä| <u>stepladder</u> - mn̩mn̩nta. After V, R₁R₁ is pronounced without shwa: |yalːäkˣʸ| <u>sleepy</u> - yallak, |ʔoyːọ| <u>a name</u> - 7uyyu.

     In #R₁R₂..., R₁ is always consonantal (cf. 4.2.2): |mənä| <u>child</u> - mn̩a, |məlẹtˢ| <u>I will erase it</u> - ml̩its.

4.2.1 TR̩X: lhm̩ <u>to stand up</u>, 7apsu <u>to blow</u>, sl̩qw' <u>to find</u>, sic <u>blood</u>.

4.2.1.1 In the combination T₁R̩₁T₁R₁ (a reduplicative formation) the first R is often reduced to shwa, which then borders on a following obstruent: |təltəlkˣʷ, tätəlkˣʷ| <u>slippery</u>, |x̣ʷənx̣ʷnäm, x̣ʷʊx̣ʷnäm| <u>hummingbird</u>, |txʸɩnxʸnẹ, txʸɩxʸnẹ| <u>owl</u>, |xʸɩnxʸnaːseːʸ, xʸɩxʸ-| <u>girl</u>, |tọtọpʰ, tətọpʰ| <u>trout</u>, |kʸikˣʸyä, kʸɩkˣʸyä| <u>grandmother</u>. This phenomenon is rendered as "R̯": tᶴtl̩kw, xwᶈxwnm̩, tcᶈcni, cᶈcnaasii, tᶈtup, kᶈkya. Cf. 4.2.5.

4.2.2 XR̩R̩X: ml̩ <u>to erase</u>, wl̩ <u>to spill</u>, mu <u>fishtrap</u>, mn̩ts' <u>blond, hazel, yellow</u>, wn̩ts' <u>to kill</u>, nup <u>dress</u>, wisxw <u>yes indeed!</u>, kikyu <u>to chew</u>, sts'ml̩c <u>to scatter</u>,

smiks <u>mussel</u>, stwic <u>Stuie</u> (for the optional shwa in kikyu $|k^Yik^{XY}yo̧, k^Yik^{Yi}yo̧|$,
sts'm̧c $|st^{'S}m̃əlx^Y, st^{'S}əməlx^Y|$, stwic $|st^hwix^Y, st^uwix^Y|$ see 4.3 ff.).

4.2.2.1 $TŖ^YR^nX$: 7ilk <u>Indian rice</u>, t'in <u>clitoris</u>, tums <u>breast</u>, sum <u>pants</u> (cf. 4.2.4).
In some instances, where the sequence R^YR^n is the result of suffixation, free
variation is observed between $|o:R^n|$ and $|o̧^wəR^n|$ (cf. 6.1.3): $|lo:lx^Y, lo̧^wəlx^Y|$
<u>bark is getting (-lc) loose (√lu)</u>, $|ʔäp'ĭo:nk^{XY}, ʔäp'ĭo̧^wənk^{XY}|$ <u>hollowed out (√7ap'lu)</u>
<u>base of tree (-nk)</u> (for $|ĭ|$ see 4.3.1). Such pairs suggest a shift $TuŖ^nT → TwR^nT$
in the making, and reflect a preference for rising diphthongs. They are listed in
both shapes: lulc/lul̥c, 7ap'lunk/7ap'lu̥nk, morphologically: /lu-lc ∿ lu÷l̥c/,
/7ap'lu-nk ∿ 7ap'lu÷n̥k/ (cf. 6.2). Note, in this respect, that stem-final a may
be connected by junctural y with a suffix beginning in R^n: $|k^{XY}malq^Xsäk^{XY}, k^{XY}mä-$
$yəlq^Xsäk^{XY}|$ = /kma-lqs-ak ∿ kma^Yl̥qs-ak/ <u>to have a sore (kma) finger (-lqs-ak)</u>.

4.2.3 $aŖR̥X$: 7ayts'aym̥ <u>boa kelp</u>, scanm̥ <u>wearing out</u>, scali <u>jealous</u>, mawl̥xs <u>twenty</u>,
7atl'anulh <u>gooseberry</u>, s7ayulh <u>thunder</u>.

4.2.4 #R̥ŖRT: nm̥lcalh <u>one's feet are getting numb</u>, ml̥its <u>I will erase it</u>, wl̥its
<u>I will spill it</u> (cf. 4.3.1).
    When R_2 is a glide, and R_3 a nasal or liquid, we have #R̥ŖRT: miltx <u>erase it!</u>,
lumts <u>I am taking the bark off a tree</u>, wintulht <u>they are at war with us</u>, yumts
<u>I am shy</u> (cf. 4.2.2.1).

4.2.5 #Ŗ₁R₂Ŗ₁R₂: nm̧nm̧ak <u>both hands</u>, mn̥mn̥ts <u>children</u>, lulusta <u>mask</u>, wl̥wl̥katsut <u>to</u>
<u>limp</u>, yuyucw <u>bracelet</u>.
    The first Ŗ is frequently reduced to shwa (cf. 4.2.1.1): $|nəmnəmK̃^Y, nänəmK̃^Y|$
<u>animal</u>, $|mənmənt^S, mämənt^S|$ <u>children</u>, $|wəlwəlk^Yät^So̧t^h, wuwəl-|$ <u>to limp</u>, $|yo̧yux^w,$
$yɪyux^w|$ <u>bracelet</u>, $|lo̧lo̧stä, lälo̧stä|$ <u>mask</u> - nx̧nm̥k', mx̧mn̥ts, wx̧wl̥katsut, yx̧yucw,
lx̧lusta.

4.3 In the sequence CRV the difference Ŗ/R is virtually neutralized (but cf.
4.3.2.1, 6.2): presence/absence of shwa stands in correlation with the C and R
involved. The following pattern exists:

	-mV	-nV	-lV	-wV	-yV		-mV	-nV	-lV	-wV	-yV
#m-	*	+	+	(+)	+	Vm-	−	±	±	±	±
#n-	+	*	(+)	+	(+)	Vn-	±	−	−	±	±
#l-	(+)	(+)	*	+	(+)	Vl-	±	−	−	±	±
#w-	*	+	+	*	(+)	Vw-	−	−	−	*	−
#y-	(+)	(+)	*	(+)	*	Vy-	−	−	−	−	−

	-mV	-nV	-lV	-wV	-yV		-mV	-nV	-lV	-wV	-yV
/1-	±	±	±	±	±	V1-	±	±	±	±	±
/2-	(?)	(?)	–	(?)	±	V2-	(?)	(?)	–	(?)	±
/3-	±	±	±	–	±	V3-	±	±	±	–	±
/4-	±	±	±	–	±	V4-	–	–	–	–	±
/5-	±	–	–	(–)	±	V5-	–	–	–	–	±
/6-	–	–	–	–	±	V6-	–	–	–	–	±

\# denotes a word boundary; / is a word boundary or C; V = a (aa), i (ii), or u (uu);
1 = p p' t t' ts' 7; 2 = tl'; 3 = k' q' kw' qw'; 4 = k q kw qw; 5 = cw xw; 6 =
ts s lh c x h; * denotes prohibited clusters (see 10.1); + indicates compulsory
syllabicity; – marks the absence of a syllabic peak; ± indicates optional syllab-
icity; parenthetic symbols appear where CR clusters are unattested (see 10.4).

4.3.1 The above matrices condense the following svarabhakti rules:

(a) Shwa appears obligatorily in the sequence $\#R_1R_2V$ (cf. 4.2.4, 6.1.3, fn. 1):
mc̦a <u>child</u>, ml̦its <u>I will erase it</u>, wl̦its <u>I will spill it</u>, miank <u>wide canoe</u>, nuikw'
<u>a geographical name</u>, nuakila <u>a man's name</u>[1].

In VR_1R_2V, shwa may appear only if (1) $R_1 \neq R_2$, (2) $R_1 \neq R^y$, and (3) $R_1R_2 \neq$
nl or ln: 7its'amnii |-amn-, -äm$^{\partial}$n-| <u>blanket</u>, 7imlaakwlh |-eml-, -ẹm$^{\partial}$l-| <u>male</u>
<u>animal</u>, xamwa |-amw-, -äm^{u}w-| <u>to dip up</u>, ts'xanmacw |-anm-, -än$^{\partial}$m-| <u>to believe each</u>
<u>other</u>, cmanwas |-anw-, -än^{u}w-| <u>spirit</u>, panya |-any-, -än^{i}y-| <u>to smoke fish</u>, stilwa
|-elw-, -ẹl^{u}w-| <u>fat floating on top of canned fish</u>, lhalya |-aly-, -äl^{i}y-| <u>copper</u>.

In $VR^n_1R^n_1V$, VnlV, and VlnV, shwa is never inserted: ha7m̦muks <u>pigeons</u>, 7a7n̦na
<u>a bird</u>, yallak <u>sleepy</u>, st'winlits' <u>bark</u> (in these examples, the first V also stands
for shwa). When R_1 is a glide, shwa is not heard either: numawmits <u>I will take him</u>
<u>with me</u>, lawnulitxw <u>loosen it a bit!</u>, smawlits' <u>one blanket</u>, hawyat <u>a place name</u>,
s7aymis <u>always</u>, stsayliwa <u>a woman's name</u>, 7uyyu <u>a man's name</u>.

(b) In the sequence TRV, anticipatory syllabicity is associated with: <u>aspiration</u>
<u>and affrication</u>, <u>glottalization</u>, <u>fricativity + rounding</u>, and <u>palatality</u> (R = y).
We perceive the following phonetic alternations:

$$|\dot{T}^h\dot{R}V \sim \dot{T}^{\dot{R}}RV \sim \dot{T}^{\partial}\dot{R}V|$$
$$|T'R'V \sim T'^{\dot{R}}RV \sim T'^{\partial}\dot{R}V|$$
$$|x^w/\dot{x}^{w\cdot}mV \sim x^w/\dot{x}^{wu\cdot}mV|$$
$$|TyV \sim T^1yV|$$

4.3.1.1 Following are examples of TRV sequences (R $\neq$ y).

1RV: qw'pmuḷṃc |-pʰm-, -pᵐ̓m-, -pᵊm-| <u>dusty ground</u>, pnaaxta |pʰn-, pⁿ̓n-, pᵊn-| <u>dancer's apron</u>, splilh |-pʰl-, -pⁱ̷l-, -pᵊl-| <u>vagina</u>, saplin |-pʰl-, -πl-, -pⁱ̷l-, -pᵊl-| <u>bread, flour</u>, kw'pwalht |-pʰw-, -πw-, -pᵘw-| <u>wing</u>, 7ipwits |-pʰw-, -πw-, -pᵘw-| <u>I will hide it</u>, slhip'nakt |-p̓n̓-, -p̓ⁿ̓n-, -p̓ᵊn-| <u>branch</u>, sap'lusṃ |-p̓ⁱ̓-, -p̓ⁱ̷l-, -p̓ᵊl-| <u>to split wood</u>, p'wi |p̓w̓-, p̓ᵘw-| <u>halibut</u>, miltmaqw's |-tʰm-, -τm, -tᵐ̓m-, -tᵊm-| <u>to overflow</u>, 7atma |-tʰm-, -τm-, -tᵐ̓m-, -tᵊm-| <u>to die</u>, stwic |-tʰw-, -tᵘw-| <u>a geographical name (Stuie)</u>, tutwa |-tʰw-, -τw-, -tᵘw-| <u>to beg</u>, t'miixw |t̓m̓-, t̓ᵐ̓m-, t̓ᵊm-| <u>tree stump</u>, t'at'maasi |-t̓m̓-, -t̓ᵐ̓m-, -t̓ᵊm-| <u>small cockle</u>, t'niixulh |t̓n̓-, t̓ⁿ̓n-, t̓ᵊn-| <u>tumpline</u>, t'li |t̓ⁱ̓-, t̓ⁱ̷l-, t̓ᵊl-| <u>dog salmon</u>, sat'lalhp |-t̓ⁱ̓-, -t̓ⁱ̷l-, -t̓ᵊl-| <u>hemlock tree</u>, t'waax |t̓w̓-, t̓ᵘw-| <u>a geographical name</u>, st'win |-t̓w̓-, -t̓ᵘw-| <u>animal hide</u>, lhts'ma |-tˢ̓m̓-, -tˢ̓ᵐ̓m-, -tˢ̓ᵊm-| <u>belt</u>, suts'mus |-tˢ̓m̓-, -tˢ̓ᵐ̓m-, -tˢ̓ᵊm-| <u>barnacle</u>, t'ants'ni |-tˢ̓n̓-, -tˢ̓ⁿ̓n-, -tˢ̓ᵊn-| <u>Anahim Lake Indians</u>, ts'la |tˢ̓ⁱ̓-, tˢ̓ⁱ̷l-, tˢ̓ᵊl-| <u>basket</u>, sts'laaxlh |-tˢ̓ⁱ̓-, -tˢ̓ⁱ̷l-, -tˢ̓ᵊl-| <u>board, lumber</u>, suts'wakt |-tˢ̓w̓-, -tˢ̓ᵘw-| <u>old man's beard lichen</u>, 7as7mḷlxs |-m̓-, -ʔᵐ̓m-, -ʔᵊm-| <u>pugnosed</u>, na7mu |-m̓-, -ʔᵐ̓m-, -ʔᵊm-| <u>a geographical name (Namu)</u>, 7lats |ⁱ̓-, ʔⁱ̷l-, ʔᵊl-| <u>sea cucumber</u>, la7lay |-ⁱ̓-, -ʔⁱ̷l-, -ʔᵊl-| <u>a woman's name</u>, pḷki7wa |-w̓-, -ʔᵘw-| <u>a kind of box</u>, ta7wisilaqs |-w̓-, -ʔᵘw-| <u>a woman's name</u>.

2RV: endomorphemic tl'R is attested only in complexes containing tl'ḷ <u>to cover</u>, such as: tl'lusta |X̓ⁱ̓-| <u>curtain</u>, nu7ḷtl'li |-X̓ⁱ̓-| <u>small canyon</u>. In these, shwa is never perceived between tl' and l. Other tl'R sequences are found across morpheme borders; in these, too, shwa never appears (cf. 4.3.2): xitl'nu <u>thou art (-nu) skinny (xitl')</u> = |x̣ǝX̓n̓o̧|, qtl'nu+a <u>didst thou (-nu) stumble (qtl')? (+a)</u> = |qˣX̓n̓o̧ᵂä|. For the low frequency of tl' see 11.6.

3RV: sk'ma |-k̓ʸm̓-, -k̓ʸᵐ̓m-, -k̓ʸⁱm-| <u>comb</u>, tuk'maaxalh |-k̓ʸm̓-, -k̓ʸᵐ̓m-, -k̓ʸⁱm-| <u>to sprain one's ankle</u>, k'nṃ |k̓ʸn̓-, k̓ʸⁿ̓n-, k̓ʸⁱn-| <u>to shiver</u>, k'lat |k̓ʸⁱ̓-, k̓ʸⁱ̷l-, k̓ʸⁱl-| <u>steelhead</u>, sk'laltwa |-k̓ʸⁱ̓-, -k̓ʸⁱ̷l-, -k̓ʸⁱl-| <u>cold weather</u>, q'lṃ |q̓ⁱ̓-, q̓ⁱ̷l-, q̓ᵊl-| <u>to stagger</u>, kw'ni |k̓ʷn̓-, k̓ʷⁿ̓n-, k̓ʷᵘn-| <u>furseal</u>, 7akw'na |-k̓ʷn̓-, -k̓ʷⁿ̓n-, -k̓ʷᵘn-| <u>war canoe</u>, sakw'nik'slhp |-k̓ʷn̓-, -k̓ʷⁿ̓n-, -k̓ʷᵘn-| <u>black twinberry bush</u>, kw'la |k̓ʷⁱ̓-, k̓ʷⁱ̷l-, k̓ʷᵘl-| <u>abdomen</u>, 7ḷkw'lulhp |-k̓ʷⁱ̓-, -k̓ʷⁱ̷l-, -k̓ʷᵘl-| <u>sweet gale</u>, qw'na |q̓ʷn̓-, q̓ʷⁿ̓n-, q̓ʷᵘn-| <u>pubic hair</u>, qw'las |q̓ʷⁱ̓-, q̓ʷⁱ̷l-, q̓ʷᵘl-| <u>different</u>, sqw'aqw'lṃlhp |-q̓ʷⁱ̓-, -q̓ʷⁱ̷l-, -q̓ʷᵘl-| <u>fern plant</u>.

Shwa is absent in 3wV: kw'wams |k̓ʷw̓-| <u>dimple in cheek</u>, qw'waax |q̓ʷw̓-| <u>old mountain goat</u>, qw'wata |q̓ʷw̓-| <u>perseverance</u>, nusuqw'wiik |-q̓ʷw̓-| <u>old humpback salmon</u>. *k'w and *q'w are unattested. These sequences are, within Bella Coola morphemes, prohibited (see 10.1), and if they would ever occur across a morpheme boundary (cf. 4.3.2), the appearance of shwa (which would assume a rounded quality before w) would be avoided, because (1) rounded vowels do not occur after palatovelars and unrounded postvelars (see 1.4, 1.5, 3.1), (2) shwa is preferably not pronounced on morpheme borders (again, see 4.3.2).

4RV: in /4RV shwa may be heard. Examples: kma $|k^{XY}m-, k^{Y m}m-, k^{Y'}m-|$ to hurt, skma $|sk^{XY}m-, sk^{Y m}m-, sk^{Y'}m-|$ moose, knic $|k^{XY}n-, k^{Y n}n-, k^{Y'}n-|$ to eat, tl'knii $|-k^{XY}n-, -k^{Y n}n-, -k^{Y'}n-|$ a geographical name, snknic $|-k^{XY}n-, -k^{Y n}n-, -k^{Y'}n-|$ food, klacw $|k^{XY}l-, k^{Y+}l-, k^{Y'}l-|$ muskrat, ts'klakt $|-k^{XY}l-, -k^{Y+}l-, -k^{Y'}l-|$ ten, tqmalh $|-q^{X}m-, -q^{m}m-, -q^{ə}m-|$ to have stepped in something sticky, sqma $|-q^{X}m-, -q^{m}m-, -q^{ə}m-|$ chest, qla $|q^{X}l-, q^{+}l-, q^{ə}l-|$ water, kwma7it $|k^{XW}m-, k^{W m}m-, k^{WU}m-|$ to your health!, kwnm $|k^{XW}n-, k^{W m}n-, k^{WU}n-|$ to get something, pskwnaw $|-k^{XW}n-, -k^{W m}n-, -k^{WU}n-|$ the chiefs are having a meeting, kwlaltwa $|k^{XW}l-, k^{W+}l-, k^{WU}l-|$ warm weather, skwlatn $|-k^{XW}l-, -k^{W+}l-, -k^{WU}l-|$ ptarmigan, 7anutqwmik $|-q^{XW}m-, -q^{W m}m-, -q^{WU}m-|$ to hang draped over something, qwli $|q^{XW}l-, q^{W+}l-, q^{WU}l-|$ green, sqwlitq $|-q^{XW}l-, -q^{W+}l-, -q^{WU}l-|$ rotten fish.

Shwa does not appear in 4wV (cf. above: 3wV): kwwaaxa $|k^{XW}wa:\underset{.}{x}ä|$ to fool, mislead somebody, qwwas $|q^{XW}wäs|$ cooked sockeye salmon, sukwwaat $|s\underset{.}{o}k^{XW}wa:t^{h}|$ cat's cradle. *kw and *qw are unattested (cf. above: 3wV, and 10.1).

In V4RV, shwa is not heard either: plikmaw $|-k^{XY}m-|$ they are capsizing, tsictsikwmuts $|-k^{XW}m-|$ one's mouth is twitching, 7akwnutsm $|-k^{XW}n-|$ to buy food, pakwnic $|-k^{XW}n-|$ to catch up with somebody, tsaakwliwa $|-k^{XW}l-|$ worm.

5RV: in the sequence /5RV, shwa is heard only before m: 7alhkaltcwmitsut $|-x^{w}m-, -x^{w m}m-, -x^{w U}m-|$ to take care, watch out, 7alhtsxwmalh $|-\underset{.}{x}^{w}m-, -\underset{.}{x}^{w m}m-, -\underset{.}{x}^{w U}m-|$ to walk in slush, st'cwmulmcta $|-x^{w}m-, -x^{w m}m-, -x^{w U}m-|$ floor covering, linoleum, carpet.

In all other 5RV sequences there never is shwa: mucwmukwt $|-x^{w}m-|$ bluegrouse, cwnalh $|x^{w}n-|$ spring of water, tcucwnikwlh $|-x^{w}n-|$ south wind, cwla $|x^{w}l-|$ to wrestle, wacwwas $|-x^{w}w-|$ a geographical name, tsaxwmaw $|-\underset{.}{x}^{w}m-|$ they are wading, sxwnata $|-\underset{.}{x}^{w}n-|$ nickname, txwnayaax $|-\underset{.}{x}^{w}n-|$ across the river, k'axwnic $|-\underset{.}{x}^{w}n-|$ to think something is not the case, sqw'xwlun $|-\underset{.}{x}^{w}l-|$ kneecap, 7axwlit $|-\underset{.}{x}^{w}l-|$ to deny, refuse, quuxwwa $|-\underset{.}{x}^{w}w-|$ salmon milt.

6RV: mutsmalh $|-t^{s}m-|$ to err in going, go the wrong way, tsna $|t^{s}n-|$ stinging nettle, nutsnm $|-t^{s}n-|$ to remember, stsltsli $|-t^{s}l-|$ bush of dwarf blueberry, putsla $|-t^{s}l-|$ a geographical name, tswaakilakw $|t^{s}w-|$ a man's name, -altswa $|-t^{s}w-|$ a formative suffix, smaw $|sm-|$ one, ts'lsmak $|-sm-|$ to do something the wrong way, qwsmus $|-sm-|$ to have a sweating face, musmus $|-sm-|$ bovine, snaax $|sn-|$ slave, t'ksnimta $|-sn-|$ arrow, slax $|sl-|$ much, many, piisla $|-sl-|$ a geographical name, swak'c $|sw-|$ a geographical name, 7apswa $|-sw-|$ to blow, lhmaw $|ɫm-|$ they stand, nuklhmaw $|-ɫm-|$ they are going across, tlhmaw $|ʎm-|$ Indian paint, silhmak $|-ɫm-|$ fish weir, lhnus $|ɫn-|$ two, lhliixw $|ɫl-|$ to cut somebody's hair, cmanwas $|x^{y}m-|$ spirit, pscmaw $|-x^{y}m-|$ they are pit-lamping, micmik'lh $|-x^{y}m-|$ star, sicmana $|-x^{y}m-|$ a man's name, cnas $|x^{y}n-|$ woman, cli $|x^{y}l-|$ penis, xma $|\underset{.}{x}m-|$ to bite, tsxmaax $|t^{s}\underset{.}{x}m-|$ roof is dripping, lhaluuxmana $|-\underset{.}{x}m-|$ a man's name, nup'iixmaax $|-\underset{.}{x}m-|$ exhaust gasses, xnulh7a $|\underset{.}{x}n-|$ a man's name, sxaxni $|-\underset{.}{x}n-|$ sweetheart, xlamanta $|\underset{.}{x}l-|$ bear's den, ts'ayxlilh $|-\underset{.}{x}l-|$ a man's name, qaaxla $|-\underset{.}{x}l-|$ to drink, 7yanahwii $|-hw-|$ diminutive

form of 7yanahu <u>turnips</u>.

<u>TₐV</u>: spyu |-pʰy-, -pⁱy-| <u>auklet</u>, tipyaaq |-pʰy-, -pⁱy-| <u>one-legged</u>, tyaax |tʰy-, tⁱy-| <u>steady boat</u>, tsyakṃ |tˢy-, tˢⁱy-| <u>to reach out</u>, tsaatsyuulhi |-tˢy-, -tˢⁱy-| <u>cheap</u>, ts'yaaxw |t'ˢy'-, t'ˢⁱy-| <u>flicker</u>, 7its'yaaxwlhp |-t'ˢy'-, -t'ˢⁱy-| <u>yarrow</u>, nuqaaxatscyaalh |-xʸy-, -xʸⁱy-| <u>to have ticklish feet</u>, syut |sy-, sⁱy-| <u>song</u>, kusyut |-sy-, -sⁱy-| <u>lower class dance</u>, tl'yuk |ƛ'y'-, ƛ'ⁱy-| <u>to talk, discuss</u>, 7itl'yukṃtmacw |-ƛ'y'-, -ƛ'ⁱy-| <u>to have an argument</u>, salhya |-ɫy-, -ɫⁱy-| <u>a geographi- cal name</u>, kikya |-kˣʸy-, -kˣⁱy-| <u>grandmother</u>, k'yuk |k'ʸy'-, k'ʸⁱy-| <u>to recognize, identify</u>, sk'yaax |-k'ʸy'-, -k'ʸⁱy-| <u>a geographical name</u>, sts'qyaaxaksta |-qˣy-, -qⁱy-| <u>tree stump</u>, siqyulc |-qˣy-, -qⁱy-| <u>name of a month</u>, qxyu |-x̣y-, -x̣ⁱy-| <u>extraordi- nary, miraculous</u>, nuxyals |-x̣y-, -x̣ⁱy-| <u>it is bright in the house</u>, nut'kwyuuts |-kˣʷy-, -kˣʷⁱy-| <u>it is chipped</u>, kw'yay |k'ʷy'-, k'ʷⁱy-| <u>a geographical name</u>, skw'yan |-k'ʷy'-, -k'ʷⁱy-| <u>knee</u>, tscwyakṃ |-xʷy-, -xʷⁱy-| <u>to reach for something</u>, tscwicwy- uulhi |-xʷy-, -xʷⁱy-| <u>of average size</u>, siqw'yuuslh |-q'ʷy'-, -q'ʷⁱy-| <u>chickadee</u>, nutl'xwyalits |-x̣ʷy-, -x̣ʷⁱy-| <u>to have broken a tooth</u>, 7yanahu |y'-, ʔⁱy-| <u>turnips</u>, paaqi7yala |-y'-, -ʔⁱy-| <u>kind of box</u>, pu7yaas |-y'-, -ʔⁱy-| <u>Indian tea</u>.

4.3.2 The svarabhakti rules given in 4.3 ff. are not rigorous, and describe only the most typical pronunciation of words that contain a CRV sequence. There are two counter-rules:

(a) The occurrence of shwa is usually inhibited on morpheme borders - the absence of shwa then signals the morpheme boundary: /nu-tup-m-ik/ |-pʰm-, -πm-| <u>liquid in pot (nu-...-ik) is bubbling</u> (√tup + -m), /7alh-tṃp-nalus-ḷxs-alh-m-i-ts/ |-pʰn-, -πn-| <u>I (-ts) have (7alhtṃp) it (-i-) between (-nalus) my toes (-ḷxsalh)</u>, /nits- -ṃ-nic/ |-əmn-| "to cause (-nic) somebody to be alive (√nits + -m)" = <u>to revive somebody</u>, /tsp-likt-ṃ/ |-pʰl-, -πl-| <u>to wipe (tsp) one's (-m) body (-likt)</u>, /tṃ- -ya-lc/ |-əmy-| "just (tṃ-) getting (-lc) good (ya)" = <u>in the prime of life</u>, /s-ɫip'-nalus/ |-p̓n'-| <u>joint</u> (s- <u>nominalizer</u>, ɫip' <u>to fold, bend</u>, -nalus <u>joint, con- nection</u>), /7ulq-liwa/ |-qˣl-| <u>crazy, mischievous</u> (7ulx, 7ulq- <u>abnormal</u>, -liwa <u>sem- blative</u>), /stuq'-layc/ |-q̓l'-| <u>to get (-layc) snagged</u> (stuq' <u>snag</u>), /lik'-layc/ |-k'ʸl'-| <u>to have something (-layc) (pot, bucket) full</u> (lik' <u>to fill something</u>), /tuk'-m-aax-alh/ |-k'ʸm-| <u>to sprain one's ankle (-aax-alh)</u> (/tuk'-ṃ/ <u>to sprain</u>, from tuk' <u>to stretch</u>), etc.

A few complexes have apparently become lexicalized to such a degree, however, that they allow the insertion of shwa: /sk'st-lits'/ |-τl-, -tˡl-, -tᵊl-| <u>skin</u> (petrified √sk'st (?cf. sk'st <u>charcoal</u>), -lits' <u>skin</u>), /sk'-ma/ |-k'ʸm̓-, -k'ʸṃm-, -k'ʸⁱm-| <u>comb</u> (sk' <u>to rake or comb</u>, -ma <u>implement</u>).

(b) In reduplications having the structure T₁R₁T₁R₁V..., the vocalic peak in the first R is often echoed in the second R: tsḷtsluksi |tˢəltˢ(ᵊ)l-| <u>youngsters</u>, xwnxwnṃ |xʷənxʷ(ᵊ)n-| <u>hummingbird</u>, tcṇcni |-xʸ ɪnxʸ(ˡ)n-| <u>owl</u>, q'xṇxnalhp |-x̣ənx̣(ᵊ)n-| <u>star-flowered seal</u>, etc.

4.3.2.1 From the examples ta7wisilaqs (4.3.1.1, 1RV) and ha7ui (6.1.3) it follows that w and u can be distinguished in an otherwise identical environment (note the difference: ...a7wi... = |...äẉẹ..., ...äˀwẹ..., ...äˀ^{u}wẹ...| vs. ...a7ui... = |...äˀọ^{w}ẹ...|). This is possibly also the case with y and i, but I have no examples involving *V7RiV |VR'ẹ^{y}V| that would contrast with, say, ha7myaqw's |häˀəmyäq^{w}s| pigeon-colored. See further 4.4 ff., 6.2.

4.3.3 In the foregoing examples, Ř/Ṛ will be interpreted, and spelled, as conso-nantal R, except in the context #RR^{y}V: miank, nuikw', nuakila; y and w are always distinguished from i and u[1] (see also 4.5).

4.4 In the following context the consonantal, c.q. vocalic, nature of R cannot be predicted: (1) TR₁R₂V, (2) word-medial clusters of more than two sonants.

4.4.1 TR₁R₂V: 7ik'nuas[1] fog vs. kw'ḷwas brother-in-law, lhula ringfinger vs. 7alh-wḷalh rain, tṃyalc in the prime of life vs. qwlials[1] green wall.
    Often, the choice between ṚR and ŘR is morphologically determined: when there is a morpheme boundary between R₁ and R₂, we usually see ṚR: /nits-ṃ-nic/ "to cause (-nic) somebody to be (-ṃ) alive (√nits)" = to revive somebody, /tṃ-ya-lc/ "just (tṃ-) getting (-lc) good (ya)" = in the prime of life, /cṃ-nalus/ to break (cṃ) something in pieces (-nalus), while ŘR prevails, when both R's belong to the same morpheme: /7alh-wḷ-alh/ "pouring (7alhwḷ) from the sky (-alh)" = (it is) rain(ing), /7alh-k'nṃ-aak/ one's hands (-aak) are trembling (7alhk'nm), /clh-mṇa-lc/ to have (clh-...-lc) a child (mṇa), /qwli-als/ green (qwli) wall (-als). But to this ap-parent rule there are several exceptions: /nu-k'ṃn-alhh/ "something gets stuck (k'ṃn-) in one's throat (nu-...-alhh)" = to choke on something, /7atṃn-aak/ "dead- (7atṃn-) -handed (-aak)" = to have a paralyzed hand, /sm.k'ṃn-i/ diminutive form of sk'ma comb. Note, that these items all derive from bases that are subject to a change a → n (see 9.3): k'ma/k'ṃn-, 7atma/7atṃn-, sk'ma/sk'ṃn-. Note also, that in the diminutive form sqw'aaqw'ḷmi (from sqw'alṃ edible male fern root) vocality of ḷ is unpredictable (one would have expected *sqw'aaqw'ḷmi, but the avoidance of *Clṃ... may be corre-lated with the absence of *#lṃ; cf. 4.3, 10.4).

4.4.2 Clusters of more than two sonants: tl'iliwa fast worker vs. talyu+a[1,2] is it Tallio?, sṃnṃṃuuts mute vs. smṃmṇtsaw (the fact) that they are children.

4.5 It should now be clear that Ř and Ṛ are not mutually exclusive, and must be considered phonemically distinct. In my orthography, Ř^y and R^y are distinguished throughout[1], whereas vocality of R^n is indicated only where necessary (i.e., un-predictable), e.g., I write smt mountain, kw'lwas brother-in-law, tmyalc in the prime of life, but: nitsṃnic to revive somebody, clhmṃalc to have a child, smk'ṃni small comb.

5 DOUBLING AND TELESCOPING

5.1 Doubled, i.e. juxtaposed identical, occlusives are released separately, as in: 7ic7akwkwa |-k^{xw}k^w-| <u>to be shopping</u>, ti+kwtmtsts+tc |-t^{s}t^s-| <u>my husband</u>, 7atl'tl'a-nulhp |-ƛ'ƛ'-| <u>gooseberry plant</u>, 7aqw'qw'alxyayc |-q$^{\dot{w}}$q$^{\dot{w}}$-| <u>one's hair gets entangled in something</u>.

In quick speech, doubled Ṫ and tts (but not tsts) are often pronounced with a single release, Ṫ$_1$Ṫ$_1$ and tts then sounding |Ṫ:| and |t:s| resp.: 7icwappattsut |ʔix^{y}wäp:ät:sọt^h| <u>to look around constantly</u>, 7ic7akwkwa |-k^w:-| <u>to be shopping</u>, putsuttimut |-t:-| <u>to be rising, swelling</u>. For |t:s| = ts see 2.2.1.

5.2 In clusters of homorganic T^p + T^f, T^f + T^f, and R + R, the first member is never released separately, but connected with the following phoneme, thus yielding a sustained affricate, fricative, or sonant (for t+s see 2.2.1): kca |k^{xxy}-| <u>to draw a line, strike a match</u>, kwcwayc |k^{xxw}-| <u>to fit</u>, qxyu |q^{xx}-| <u>extraordinary</u>, sp'tss |-t^{ss}| <u>he hit me</u>, tsi+cnass |-s:| <u>his wife</u> vs. tsi+cnas <u>a woman</u>, -alhh |-ł:| <u>throat</u> vs. -alh <u>foot</u>, 7assik |-s:-| <u>backbone</u> vs. 7asik <u>middle finger</u>, sissi |-s:-| <u>uncle</u> vs. sisi <u>a nickname</u>, 7axxa |-x̣:-| <u>exclamation of disgust, yuck!</u>, 7axxut |-x̣:^{w}-| <u>to cough</u>, tⱡtllkw |-əl:-| <u>pill</u> vs. tⱡtllkw <u>slippery</u>, mⱥmnnta |-ən:-| <u>stepladder</u> vs. mⱥmnta <u>road</u>, 7uyyu |-y:-| <u>a man's name</u>, sⱥsmmti |-əm:-| <u>diminutive form of smt</u> <u>mountain</u>. For T^{f}7 → |T^f:| see 8.2.

The automatic shwa in doubled sonants often sounds more open, and slightly longer, than the one occurring in single sonants, the lengthening effect then being shifted from the sonant to the shwa: |tätəl:k^{xw} ᴧ tätä:lk^{xw}|, |məmən:dä ᴧ məmä:ndä|, |səsəm:tẹ ᴧ səsä:mtẹ|.

5.2.1 Telescoping of homorganic clusters (cf. 6.1): should affixation result in a geminate R- or T^f-cluster, then such a sequence is usually reduced to single R, resp. T^f: nulhlxsm <u>to clean (lhl), blow one's (-m) nose (nu-...-lxs)</u>, kanuscm <u>having a bad (sc) taste (kanus-...-m)</u>, nus7imc <u>preoccupied with (nus-...-mc) having sexual intercourse (7im)</u>, 7anusuuxi <u>having lost (7anus-) one's younger sibling (suuxi)</u>.

In the morphological notation, telescoping is symbolized as "⌒": /nu-lhl⌒lxs-m/, /kanus⌒sc-m/, /nus-7im⌒mc/, /7anus⌒suuxi/ (cf. 6.2), while in the phonemic orthography, this symbol appears above the contraction: nulhîxsm, kanuŝcm, nus7iĉmc, 7anuŝuuxi.

5.2.2 In some cases (as a rule when pronominal suffixes are added), T^f$_1$T^f$_1$ and R$_1$R$_1$ are retained: 7acwsannu <u>thou art (-nu) an expert (7acwsan)</u>, tsi+cnass <u>his (-s) wife (cnas)</u>, kannm̩acw <u>to bump (√kan) into each other (-tmacw)</u>.

Note, that in 7illxs <u>to go around a point</u> (√7il <u>to go in an arch</u>, -lxs <u>point</u>), (a) the two l's do not telescope, (b) the second l is vocalic. This example is unique (cf. 10.1).

5.3 Here we must, again (cf. 4.5), make a distinction between R^n and R^y, as the latter, when doubled, are marked not only by their longer duration, but also by a higher degree of openness compared to single R^y; this feature is shared with the pair a/aa: aa = |a:|, ii = |e:^{y}|, uu = |ȧ:^{w}|. Compare, in this respect, the special variant of shwa discussed in 5.2.

In addition, doubled R^y and aa are remarkably stable in comparison with the single R^y's and a in that they show little, if any, phonetic variation.

The opposition V/V: is phonologically relevant, as shown by the following minimal pairs: pux <u>to poke</u> vs. puux <u>mouldy</u>, t'axw <u>plural demonstrative</u> vs. t'aaxw <u>to lick</u>, qax <u>rabbit</u> vs. qaax <u>salmonberry</u>, tsix <u>new</u> vs. tsiix <u>to dig</u>, 7ixw <u>far</u> vs. 7iixw <u>to burn</u>, yulakm <u>to stir soapberries</u> vs. yulaakm <u>to rub one's hands</u>.

5.3.1 Another feature that separates R^y: from R^n: is that, before X, R^y: (like aa) may alternatively be pronounced R^y7 (resp. a7), but because V:RV and V7RV must be distinguished (see 7.3.1), we are compelled to regard V: as doubled V, an analysis which is also descriptively more convenient: thus, long V is put on a par with $R^n{}_1R^n{}_1$, $T^P{}_1T^P{}_1$, and $T^f{}_1T^f{}_1$.

The plausibility of this analysis can be substantiated further by an item like |ʔeste:yälǫs| <u>to want to drink tea</u>, which cannot be spelled *7isti7alus, because this would sound |-ẹʔä-| (cf. si7aqw'm |sẹʔäq̇^{w}ʋm| <u>name of a month</u>). On the other hand, the ambiguous *7isti7yalus (cf. 7.3.1) could be pronounced |-ẹy̆ä-|. I write 7istiialus: 7is- <u>to consume</u>, tii <u>tea</u>, -alus <u>desiderative</u>.

5.3.2 Before RC and R# the opposition V/V: is neutralized. One may hear, for example, either |män| or |ma(:)n| <u>father</u>, though the latter pronunciation is favoured. To be precise, V is in this position preferably articulated more open, and (especially before syllable-final R) often also longer: |ya:nt^{s}ani| <u>house made of driftwood</u>, from |yant^s| <u>driftwood</u>, |päpe:nk^{y}ẹ| diminutive of |päpenk^{xy}| <u>snake</u>. Further proof of the neutralization V/V: is provided by the example |ta:mnät^s| <u>my son</u> (vs. |täma(:)nt^s| <u>my father</u>). I write: yantsanlh, yants, papinki, papink, ta+mnats, ta+mants[2].

5.3.3 In rapid speech, V's exhibit a tendency to merge when separated by 7, thus forming diphthongs or long vowels. The following modifications were recorded:

a7a → |a:|	i7a → |eä|	u7a → |ǫä, əä, a:|
a7i → |əẹ, əy, e:^{y}|	i7i → |e:^{y}|	u7i → |ǫẹ, əẹ, əy, e:^{y}|
a7u → |əǫ, əw|	i7u → |ẹǫ, ew|	u7u → |əǫ, o:^{w}|

Examples: 7ala+7ats |ʔäläʔät^s, ʔäla:t^s| <u>here</u>, ta+7imlk |-äʔẹ-, -əẹ-, -əy-, -e:^{y}| <u>a man</u>, wa+7ulhqn |-äʔǫ-, -əǫ-, -əw-| <u>buckets</u>, si7aqw'm |-ẹʔä-, -ẹä-| <u>name of a month</u>, ti+7imlk |-ẹʔẹ-, -e:^{y}-| <u>a man</u>, ti+7ulhqn |-ẹʔǫ-, -ẹǫ-, -ew-| <u>a bucket</u>, nu7asuusta |-ǫʔä-, -ǫä-, -əä-, -a:-| <u>front door</u>, nu7ipii |-ǫʔẹ-, -ǫẹ-, -əẹ-, -əy-, -e:^{y}-| <u>narrow</u>,

tu+7imlk |-o̧ʔę̧-, -o̧ę̧-, -əę̧-, -əy-, -e:ʸ-| men, nu7upts |-o̧ʔo̧-, -əo̧-, -o:ʷ-| stench.

This sandhi phenomenon is marked with "^" (cf. 5.2.1): 7ala≠7ats, ta≠7imlk, wa≠7ulhqn, siʔaqw'm, ti≠7imlk, ti≠7ulhqn, nuʔasuusta, nuʔipïi, tuʔimlk, nuʔupts. For the phonetic character of proclitics see fn. 2. Other instances of 7-elision are shown in 8.2.

5.3.4 Doubled V's are: (a) idiosyncratic (see 5.3); (b) caused by reduplication (see 24.3 ff.); (c) optional or idiolectal (tupa/tuupa belly button, nuspanyasta/ nuspanyaasta smokehouse); (d) in some suffixes in complementary distribution with single V (some bases take the short allomorph, others the long one: piq'uulh flat (piq') rock (-uulh) vs. sk(w)'culh black (sk'c) rock (-ulh)); (e) the result of deglottalization (see 7.2, 7.3.1); (f) caused by elision of 7 (see 5.3.3).

Word-finally, aa is not found, whereas uu# and ii# have limited occurrence: the former sequence is found only in +tuu exactness and +luu/+lhuu still, yet, and the latter one exclusively in tii tea, tl'knii a geographical name, and -ii diminutive suffix.

6 JUNCTURE FEATURES

6.1 When due to grammatical processes two V's come in contact, one observes the following sandhi rules: (a) telescoping; (b) CR̥ + V → C̣R̥V and a + i → ay; (c) R̥₁R̥₂ + V → Ṙ̥₁R̥₂V, 7R̥ʸ + V → 7Ṙ̥ʸV, 7R̥ + V → 7Ṙ̥₁R̥₁V/7Ṙ̥yV, and a + V → ayV.

6.1.1 Telescoping (cf. 5.2.1): i/y + i → i/y, u/w + u → u/w: tl'i fast + nu-...-ik mind, brains → nutl'ik smart, √q'lu to stick one's finger into something + -ulhaqw's eye + -m medium → q'lulhaqw'sm to stick one's finger into one's eye, q'aw to store something + -uts food → q'awts to store food, √tpi next, adjacent + nu-...-iik inside, room → nutpiik next room, √paaqu afraid + -uulhla behavior + -m transitivizer → pac.- paaquulhlam to scare somebody, q'ay pitiful + nu-...-ik mind + -mitsut reflexive → nuq'aykmitsut to feel sorry for oneself.

6.1.2 CR̥ + V → C̣R̥V and a + i → ay: tuk'm |-ḱʸɪm| to sprain + -aaxalh ankle → tuk'm- aaxalh |-ḱʸṃ-| to sprain one's ankle, 7as7m |-ʔəm| erect + -llxs nose → 7as7ṃllxs |-ṃ-| pugnosed, xamu to dip up something + -a intransitivizer → xamwa to be dipping up things, stn |stən| wood + -aalh spoon → stnaalh |stʰn-| wooden spoon, ti firm + -alh feet → tyalh standing firmly, qwi to open + nu-...-uts door → nuqwyuts to open the door, ts'u grey + -iixw hair → ts'wiixw (having) grey hair, kma to hurt + nu- -...-iklxsak inside fingertip → nukmayklxsak one's fingertip hurts inside. Cf. 4.3 ff.

6.1.3 $\dot{R}_1\dot{R}_2 + V \rightarrow \dot{R}_1R_2V$, $7\dot{R}^Y + V \rightarrow 7\dot{R}^YV$, $7\dot{R} + V \rightarrow 7\dot{R}_1\dot{R}_1V/7\dot{R}yV$, and $a + V \rightarrow ayV$: Ri
+ a → Ria, Ri + u → Riu, Ru + a → Rua, Ru + i → Rui (cf. 4.3.1, a and 4.3.2.1),
7u + i → 7ui (cf. 4.3.2.1), $7m + V \rightarrow 7\dot{m}mV/7myV$, a + a → aya, a + u → ayu: ml <u>to erase,</u>
<u>eradicate</u> + nu-....-aax <u>people, population</u> + -ayc <u>passive</u> + -aw <u>3pl intransitive</u> →
numḷaaxaycaw <u>they have all been killed</u>, wl <u>to spill</u> + -its <u>I ... it</u> → wlits <u>I will</u>
<u>spill it</u>, mi <u>wide</u> + nu-....-als <u>room</u> → numials <u>large room</u>, qwli <u>green</u> + -us <u>face</u> →
qwlius <u>pale, sick-looking</u>, 7alhinu <u>thou art there</u> + +a <u>question marker</u> → 7alhinu+a[2]
<u>art thou there?</u>, kikyu <u>to chew something</u> + -its <u>I ... it</u> → kikyuits <u>I will chew it</u>[1]
ha7u <u>caterpillar</u> + -i <u>diminutive</u> → ha7ui <u>small caterpillar</u>, ha7m <u>pigeon</u> + -uks
<u>plural</u> → ha7ṃmuks <u>pigeons</u>, ha7m <u>pigeon</u> + -aqw's <u>color</u> → ha7ṃmaqw's/ha7myaqw's <u>pi-</u>
<u>geon-colored</u>, kma <u>to hurt</u> + -alus <u>chest</u> → kmayalus <u>to have a chest-cold</u>, tutwa <u>to</u>
<u>beg</u> + -uts <u>food</u> + -m <u>medium</u> → tutwayutsm <u>to beg for food</u>.

Rather reluctantly, M.S. volunteered the somewhat anomalous ha7uwuks <u>cater-</u>
<u>pillars</u>. She seems to feel uncomfortable with the sequence uwu (see 10.1). Equally
hesitantly, she offered the alternative form ha7uyuks, which, at any rate, is com-
patible with the phonotactic rules. Typologically, compare 4.2.2.1.

6.2 The junctural y in aya and uyu must be indicated in order to keep these com-
binations apart from aa and uu; in the morphological notation it is written above
the separating hyphen: /kma^{Y}alus/, /ha7u^{Y}uks/. For the sake of uniformity, in ayi
(see 6.3), ayu, and 7myV, this y, though automatic, is also indicated: /tu.twa^{Y}uts-m/,
/ha7m^{Y}aqw's/. Junctural doubling is rendered as "÷": ha7uwuks = /ha7u÷uks/, ha7ṃmuks
= /ha7m÷uks/, ha7ṃmaqw's = /ha7m÷aqw's/. Telescoping (cf. 5.2.1) is symbolized as
"^": /nu-tl'i^ik/, /q'aw^uts/, /nu-tpi^iik/, /pac.paaqu^uulhla-m/, /nu-q'ay^ik-
-mitsut/, phonemically: nutl'îk, q'aŵts, nutpîik, pacpaaqûulhlam, nuq'aŷkmitsut.

Note again (cf. 4.3.2.1), how Ṛ and Ṙ can contrast in identical environments:
stilwa |stelwä, steḷ^{u}wä| vs. 7alhinua |ʔäɬeno̥^{w}ä|, 7imlaakwlh |-ml-, -m^{ə}l-| vs.
numḷaaxaycaw |-məl-|.

6.3 The sequence yi is found only in some diminutive formations: walaasyayi from
waḷasya <u>lynx</u>, kaakp'ayi from kap'ay <u>humpback salmon</u>, qp'aap'ayi from qp'a <u>egg</u>,
7aatstsayi from 7atsaya <u>fox</u>. See also 10.1, 18.3.

7 GLOTTALIZATION

7.1 T' cannot be regarded as a sequence T7, because: (a) T' is quite frequent in
the lexicon (see 11.6); (b) T' can be reduplicated (see 24.4, g-IV), whereas $T_1T_2T_1T_2$
reduplications are unknown in Bella Coola; (c) tl' would have to be seen as a hypo-
thetical *tl |ƛ| followed by 7; (d) T' ∿ 7T ∿ :T, but not T^f7 ∿ $7T^f$ (cf. 7.2, 7.3.1).

7.2 In some stems and suffixes VT' alternates with V:T (cf. 7.3.1, d): /tic.tiiq-ta/ yarn, thread vs. tiq' to sew, mend, /sic.siiqw/ airplane vs. sqw' (√siqw') to fly, √lhuuk ∿ √lhuk' repulsive, /nu-s-cuuk-sta/ bath-tub vs. cuk' to bathe, -aaqws ∿ -aqw's eye, -liits ∿ -lits' skin, bark.

7.2.1 #7 can cause glottalization of preceding T#. Note, that Ṫ + 7, T' + 7, and T' are phonetically identical (cf. 8.1, 28.3.16, 28.3.19 ff., 30.2).

7.3 Phonetically glottalized sonants appear in two surroundings: ─V and ─ṘV.

7.3.1 Before V, closure of the glottis precedes R, and is released simultaneously with it: |ʔṘ|. Four types of occurrence are distinguished:

(a) glottalization is optional in, e.g., |ʔäɫʔn̈äpeṭˢ/ʔäɫnäpeṭˢ| I know it, |ʔäʔm̈ät-äla:x̣tʰ/ʔämätäla:x̣tʰ| parent;

(b) glottalization is compulsory in, for example, |ʔäɫʔn̈ayxʸ| to accompany, |ʔl̈ätˢ| sea cucumber, |ʔÿänemoṭʰ| to observe chastity (vs. |yänemoṭʰ| to brag, boast), |ʔÿänähọ| turnips;

(c) |ʔṘV| is in complementary distribution with |ʔəRX|, cf. |ʔäsʔm̈əl:x̣s| pugnosed vs. |ʔäsʔəm| erect (-llxs nose);

(d) |VʔṘ| is in free variation with |V:R|: |pọʔÿa:s, -ọʔⁱy-, -oⁱy-, -ȧ:ʷy-| Indian tea, |pəlkʸẹʔẅä, -ẹʔᵘw-, -eᵊw-, -e:ʸw-| kind of box, |läʔl̈ay, -äʔⁱl-, -äᵊl-, -a:l-| a woman's name, |ɫäʔn̈ä, -äʔⁿn-, -äᵊn-, -a:n-| she. Cf. 4.3.1.1, 5.3.3, 7.2.

The variation R' ∿ :R is not always permitted, cf. ts'aamas Victoria, qaali a name, taala money, ts'uts'uulit to make a dental click, where :R cannot be replaced freely by R' (see also 5.3.1).

From (c) and (d) it follows that R'V must be interpreted as 7RV: 7alh7nayc, 7lats, 7yanimut, 7yanahu, 7as7ml̥lxs. Where this (pre-)glottalization is optional, I write ĵ: 7alhĵnapits, 7aĵmatalaaxt. The doublets in (d) are uniformly spelled with 7R: pu7yaas, plki7wa, la7lay, lha+7na². one need only remember that V7 can alternatively be pronounced V: (again, see 5.3.1).

The phenomenon described in (d) can be linked with the ones mentioned in 5.3.1 and 7.2, and suggests a shift VC' → V7C → V:C (or the other way around, or: V7C → V:C/VC'), that is still in progress.

In addition to the above, sonants are automatically glottalized in the surrounding T'─V when no shwa intervenes (see 4.3 ff.); this is merely a matter of delayed release of the glottal closure in T'. Examples: |ẗˢl̈ä| basket, |ẗl̈ẹ| dog salmon, |ẗme:ʸxʷ| stump of tree - ts'la, t'li, t'miixw.

7.3.2 The monophonemic status of R' seems to be attested in only a few items, where R' is found in pre-Ṙ position, and cannot be identified with 7 + R, viz. |səl̈ⁱɫäpä|

a geographical name, |t^{S}əl^{,l}ik^{xy}| coyote, |say^{u}wälọs| a family name (Siwallace),
|x̣aw^{ə}lẹ| big mussel, |ʔoy^{,l}ọ| a man's name, |nan^{n}ẹ| diminutive form of nan grizzly
bear. In each of these, glottalization is optional - we also hear |səl:äpä|,
|t^{S}əl:ik^{xy}|, |saywälọs|, |x̣awlẹ|, |ʔoy:ọ|, |nan:ẹ|.

These glottalized sonants differ phonetically from the ones discussed in 7.3.1
in that the glottal closure sets in simultaneously with the first sonant, and is
released immediately after it. This peculiarity leads us to interpret R'R̊ as a
sequence R7R, here R7̂R: sl7lapa, tsl7lik, say7̂walus, xaw7li, 7uy7̂yu, nan7̂ni.

8   THE GLOTTAL STOP

8.1   7 appears before R and V only (not to mention the free variation cases treated
in 5.3.1). It is in the context #7V always automatically present (in structural
terms: only C's can occur word-initially), but it is written in all instances, because
most roots preserve the glottal stop when provided with a prefix, cf. 7alh7atma
dead from 7alh- stative, 7atma to die; s7mtsta chair from 7mt to sit down, -sta
implement (for s- see 8.2). Only suffixes, enclitics, and a+ (15.1) may begin in V.

Furthermore, 7 can, like other obstruents, be inverted (cf. 24.6): nusi7mc
plural form of nus7imc preoccupied with having sexual intercourse.

Unless elided, #7 will glottalize preceding Ṫ# (cf. 7.2.1, 28.3.16, 28.3.19 ff.,
30.2).

8.2   Some roots drop initial 7 when combined with certain prefixes (even in careful
speech): sulicts provisions for trip, food-to-go from 7ulic to choose, -ts food;
satl'a canoe from 7atl'a to build a canoe; sats'ista fishing rod from 7ats'i to fish
with a rod, -sta implement; slq' mind, brains from 7lq' to think; 7alhaq'u impris-
oned from 7alh- stative, 7aq'u to imprison. The prefix s- is a nominalizer (see
23.9 ff.).

In allegro speech, too, 7 may disappear (see 5.3.3, 30.2). Elision of 7 after
word-medial fricative then often results in lengthening of this fricative: 7alh7atma
|ʔäɬʔ-, ʔäɬ:-| dead, 7alh7apq |ʔäɬʔ-, ʔäɬ:-| brave, 7ic7akwkwa |ʔix^{y}ʔ-, ʔix^y:-| to
be shopping, 7is7uk'uk' |ʔẹsʔ-, ʔẹs:-| to gather skunk cabbage leaves.

9   MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL ALTERNATIONS

9.1   In morphological processes the following alternations are noted: (1) V ∿ ∅,
(2) a ∿ n, (3) Kw ∿ K, (4) q ∿ x, (5) lh ∿ l. Of these, only (2) and (3) are truly
productive.

9.2   V ∿ ∅

9.2.1 a ∿ Ø: /7us-mntacw-uuts/ <u>to skim off</u> (7us-...-uuts <u>surface of liquid</u>) vs.
mntcw <u>to dip up</u>, 7imlaakwlh <u>male animal</u> vs. 7imlk <u>man</u>, law ∿ √lu <u>loose</u>, 7atsiwa
<u>belly</u> vs. /7atsiw-lt/ <u>pregnant</u> (-lt <u>offspring</u>), t'akw <u>sanitary towel</u> vs. t'kw <u>to</u>
<u>bleed</u>.

9.2.2 n̦ ∿ Ø: /nu-sᵊsqn.xnts'-ta/ <u>bird's appendix</u> (nu-s-...-ta <u>container, storage</u>)
vs. sqts' <u>sand</u>, /7ilh-qw'nlh-timut/ <u>to be laughing</u> (7ilh- = 7ic- <u>frequently</u>, -timut
<u>causative reflexive</u>) vs. qw'lh <u>to laugh</u>. For "." see 24.4.

9.2.3 i ∿ Ø: /7ic.p'ic-lhp/ <u>crabapple tree</u> (-lhp <u>tree, plant</u>) vs. p'c <u>crabapple</u>,
/s-xits-ta/ <u>bed</u> vs. /7a-xts-m/ <u>to lie down</u> (s- <u>nominalizer</u>, -ta <u>implement</u>, 7a- <u>allo-</u>
<u>morph</u> of 7alh- <u>stative</u>, -m <u>medium</u>). For "." see 24.4.

9.2.4 u ∿ Ø: -uts ∿ -ts <u>food, mouth</u>, √tup ∿ √tp <u>spotted</u>.

9.3 a ∿ n: in many words containing final a, this a is replaced by n when a suffixal
derivation is formed: 7iixsa <u>medicine</u> + nu-...-uts <u>inside mouth</u> + -ta <u>implement,</u>
<u>means</u> → nu7iixsnutsta <u>poison</u>, tsaaxa <u>to chase out, get rid of</u> + -aynic <u>to manage to</u> →
tsaaxnaynic <u>to manage to get rid of somebody</u>, ts'ikwa <u>clam</u> + -als <u>vertical surface</u> →
ts'ikwnals <u>cup</u>, t'uka <u>mink</u> + reduplication + -i <u>diminutive</u> → t'uut'kwni <u>small mink</u>
(for "." see 24.4).

   This change can take place only when the suffix involved has a V as its first
phoneme, for otherwise a is retained: tsaaxatits <u>I (-ts) chase them (-ti-) away</u>.
See also 18.2.3, 18.3.1.

9.4 K alternates with Kw in two morphological processes.

9.4.1 K immediately following u is replaced by Kw in other surroundings (usually as
a result of reduplication, see also 24.3): tuk'm <u>to sprain</u> vs. /tu.tkw'm-ik/ <u>to sprain</u>
<u>one's back (-ik)</u>, t'uka <u>mink</u> vs. /t'uu.t'kwn-i/ <u>id. diminutive</u>, suuxi = /su.sqwiᵊii/
<u>younger sibling</u> (for -i(i) and "." see 9.3).

9.4.2 Although clusters of unrounded and rounded K's are possible (s7ickw'cw <u>bush-</u>
<u>tail rat</u>, qwaaxqwni <u>youngest in family</u>), palatovelar and postvelar clusters are
labialized entirely when followed by a suffix with initial u: sk(w)'cus /sk'cʷus/
"black (sk'c) face(d) (-us)" = <u>negro</u>, k(w)'cusis /k'cʷus-i-s/ <u>he (-s) looked at (k'c)</u>
<u>his (-i-) face (-us)</u>, q(w)'xuusnm <u>to carve (q'x) a face (-uus) in rock</u>. Cf. 3.2, 10.2.

9.5 q ∿ x: in a few words, q is in free variation with x, viz. xiku/qiku <u>dragonfly</u>,
xts'a/qts'a <u>rod, stick, wand</u>, 7ulxliwa/7ulqliwa <u>crazy</u>. In others, q is within one root
in complementary distribution with x, i.e., different allomorphs of the root are

found before different suffixes: /tsiix-ak/ <u>to clear land</u> vs. /tsiiq-nk/ <u>to dig roots</u>, /nu-yalx-m-tu-/ <u>to arrange things in a circle</u> vs. /nu-yalq-iilh/ <u>hoop</u>, /qi.-qnq-ii/ diminutive of qinx <u>shoes</u>. In some suffixes, q and qw alternate with resp. x and xw: -aaq/-aax <u>leg</u>, -iiqw/-iixw <u>head</u> (see 20.2.2, 20.3.2).

9.6 lh ∿ l: this alternation is observed in some enclitics, such as +lhu/+lu <u>yet, still</u> (28.3.9), and +alhu/+alu <u>to try</u> (28.3.13). The choice between the allomorphs is determined by the phoneme directly preceding the enclitic: lh is found after forms ending in R or V, l after ones ending in T: 7alhinu+lhu <u>thou art still here</u> vs. 7alhits+lu <u>I am still here</u>, putl'aw+alhu <u>they tried to come</u> vs. putl's+alu <u>he tried to come</u>.

10 PHONOTACTIC RESTRICTIONS

10.1 Within the limits of the Bella Coola morpheme, a number of limitations are in force, viz.: (a) the clusters $\dot{T}_1\dot{T}_1$, $\dot{T}_1T'_1$, $T'_1\dot{T}_1$, $T'T'$, Ch, hC, T^P7, 7T, $\dot{R}_1\dot{R}_1$, a$\dot{R}$, K + u, K + w, t + s, ns/ṇs, lts/ḷts, wm, ww, uw, wu, iy, yi, and yḷ are not allowed; (b) K-clustering is subject to severe restrictions (see 10.2).

The sequence lts is found only in the formative suffix -altswa (see 22.3), which may, however, be analyzable as -al- <u>connective</u> (22.4) + -tswa (22.2). ṇs occurs only in the borrowed word 7antsns <u>oranges</u>, whereas yi is encountered exclusively in diminutives (see 6.3, 18.3). In addition, uyT was recorded only in the item huyp <u>a dance-cry</u>, and iwX only in kasmiw <u>golden eagle</u>.

The diphthongs ua, ui, and ia (see also 6.1.3) are found in only a few words, viz.: 7ik'nuas <u>fog</u>, nuakila <u>a personal name</u>, nuikw' <u>a geographical name</u>, miaysila <u>a name</u>[1]. Note, that in each of these, the diphthong is preceded directly by a consonantal sonant (this complication is explained in detail in 4.3.1, a).

10.1.1 Some of the above restrictions to not apply to complex forms: occlusives, both plain and glottalized, can be reduplicated (see 24.2 ff.). Furthermore, as a result of affixation or reduplication, $\dot{T}_1T'_1$, $T'_1\dot{T}_1$, $\dot{R}_1\dot{R}_1$, t + s, iy, yi, ns, lts, $\dot{T}7$ (→ T'), and others, may arise.

10.1.2 If suffixation would produce the inadmissible clusters yḷ and wm, then these are usually reduced, i.e. telescoped, to resp. l and m: tay <u>to hit</u> + -lxs <u>nose</u> + -ayc <u>passive</u> → /tay⌒lxs-ayc/ → taîxsayc <u>to get hit on the nose</u>; tsay <u>to stop, finish</u> + -lc <u>inchoative</u> + -ak <u>hand, work</u> + -m <u>medium</u> → /tsay⌒lc-ak-m/ → tsaîcakm <u>to give up, change one's mind about doing something</u>; kulh- <u>pertaining to sex</u> + √kaw <u>to deliver</u> + -mut <u>reflexive suffix</u> → /kulh-kaw⌒mut/ → kulhkañut <u>to pay a prostitute</u>; q'aw <u>to bury</u> + -mut <u>reflexive suffix</u> → /q'aw⌒mut/ → q'añut <u>to put away, bury</u>. However: numaw <u>to be alone</u> (numawta <u>partner</u>) + -m <u>transitivizer</u> + -its <u>I ... him</u> → numawmits <u>I will take him with me</u>; q'ay <u>poor</u> + -lc <u>inchoative</u> → q'aylc <u>to become poor</u>.

10.2 Morphemes that contain KK, KKw, KwK, and KwKw sequences are small in number. The following matrix will give an idea of the low frequency of such clusters. Asterisks appear where clusters are inadmissible; plus, resp. minus, signs denote the occurrence, c.q. non-occurrence, of certain combinations.

	-k	-k'	-c	-kw	-kw'	-cw	-q	-q'	-x	-qw	-qw'	-xw
k-	*	*	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
k'-	*	*	+	-	*	-	-	*	-	-	*	-
c-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
kw-	-	-	-	*	*	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
kw'-	-	*	-	*	*	+	-	*	-	+	*	-
cw-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
q-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	+	-	-	-
q'-	+	*	-	-	*	-	*	*	+	-	*	-
x-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+
qw-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	-
qw'-	-	*	-	-	*	-	-	*	-	*	*	+
xw-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

10.3 It is of significance that after m, ṃ, n, ṇ, l, ḷ, w, and y, the frequency of glottalized occlusives is extremely low. Note, in this respect, that after aa, ii, and uu, the occurrence of glottalized occlusives is, likewise, very limited (cf. 7.2) - this suggests that diphthongization and glottalization, being almost mutually exclusive, are closely related phenomena in Bella Coola.

10.4 Endo-morphemic sequences that are theoretically possible, but nevertheless non-existent in my notes, are:

pm, pṃ, pt', pts', ptl', pkw', pqw, pxw, p'm, p'ṃ, p'ṇ, p'l, p'ḷ, p'k, p'y, p'kw, p'cw, p'q, p'x, p'qw, (mp'), mm, (mt'), (mtl'), ml, my, mkw, (mq'), mx, mqw, (mqw'), m7, (ṃp'), ṃw, (ṃt'), (ṃts'), (ṃtl'), ṃl, ṃy, (ṃkw'), (ṃq'), ṃx, ṃqw, (ṃqw'), ṃxw, (wp'), wt, (wt'), wts, (wts'), wn, (wtl'), wl, (wk'), wc, wkw, (wkw'), wcw, wq, (wq'), wx, wqw, wxw, uh, tp', tts', ttl', t'lh, t'c, t'y, tsp', tst', tss, tstl', tsqw', np, (np'), nm, (ntl'), nl, nḷ, nc, (nkw'), (nq'), nqw, n̥p, (n̥p'), n̥m, n̥w, (n̥t'), n̥l, (n̥k'), n̥c, n̥y, (n̥kw'), n̥cw, n̥q, (n̥q'), n̥qw, tl'm, tl'w, tl'ts, tl'n, tl'n̥, tl'c, tl'qw, lhs, lhtl', lp, (lp'), #lm, (lt'), ln, ln̥, (ltl'), llh, (lk'), (lkw'), (lq'), lqw, (lqw'), lxw, ḷp, (ḷp'), ḷm, (ḷt'), (ḷts'), ḷn, (ḷtl'), ḷlh, (ḷk'), ḷy, ḷq, kp', kt', kts', cp', ct', ctl', cḷ, (yp'), yts, (yt'), #yṃ, (ytl'), #yḷ, ykw, (ykw'), ycw, (yq'), yqw, (yqw'), yxw, ih, kwp', kwt', kw'm, kw'ts, cwn̥, cw7, qt', qn, q'n, x7, qwp, qwp', qwṃ, qwt', qwts, qwts', qwn, qwtl', qw'm, qw't, qw'ts, qw'ḷ, xwp, xwp', xwm, xwt', xwts', xwtl', xwl, xw7, aa#

(vocality of syllabic sonants is indicated throughout in the above sequences)

The forms in parentheses do not surprise us: see 10.3. The non-occurrence of certain clusters within Bella Coola morphemes is certainly correlated with the low frequency of either (both) member(s) (see 11.6).

11 MORPHEME STRUCTURE

11.1 In this section I analyze the structure of Bella Coola morphemes. Emphasis is put on the number of phonemes in morphemic units, the environmental conditions governing the sequential arrangement of phonemes, and the proportional distribution of the phonemes.

In what follows in 11.2, I list all possible formations, from the shortest morphemes (consisting of one phoneme: "class I") on to longer ones ("class II" through "class VIII").

Since the doubled V's aa, ii, uu, mm, nn, ll (the latter three vocalic) often alternate with single ones, "V" will here stand for both single and double vocalic sonants and a/aa.

With the exception of a few roots that have lost their initial 7, and a+ (see 8.2, 15.1), only enclitics and suffixes may begin in V.

11.2 Class I contains 2 formations, class II: 3, class III: 5, class IV: 8, etc.; the underlined numbers begin the well-known sequence of Fibonacci integers.

Within my inventory of some 1800 native morphemes, classes I through VIII occur proportionally (percentage-wise) as indicated in parentheses.

I - C (.88), V (.29)

II - CC (7.06), VC (1.47), CV (4.41)

III - CCC (1.59), VCC (.94), CVC (19.35), CCV (3.94), VCV (.35)

IV - CCCC (.35), VCCC (.06), CVCC (6.53), CCVC (5.12), CCCV (1.29), VCVC (.53), VCCV (.23), CVCV (7.35)

V - (CCCCC), (VCCCC), CVCCC (1.06), CCVCC (1.41), CCCVC (.94), CCCCV (.06), VCVCC (.06), VCCVC (.12), VCCCV (.12), CVCVC (8.53), CVCCV (3.76), CCVCV (.94), (VCVCV)

VI - (CCCCCC), (VCCCCC), CVCCCC (.12), CCVCCC (.47), CCCVCC (.41), CCCCVC (.06), (CCCCCV), VCVCCC (.06), VCCVCC (.06), (VCCCVC), (VCCCCV), CVCVCC (2.06), CVCCVC (2.76), CVCCCV (.88), CCVCVC (1.18), CCVCCV (.65), CCCVCV (.12), VCVCVC (.06), (VCVCCV), (VCCVCV), CVCVCV (2.12)

VII - (CCCCCCC), (VCCCCCC), (CVCCCCC), (CCVCCCC), CCCVCCC (.12), (CCCCVCC), (CCCCCVC), (CCCCCCV), (VCVCCCC), (VCCVCCC), (VCCCVCC), (VCCCCVC), (VCCCCCV), CVCVCCC (.12), CVCCVCC (.7), CVCCCVC (.59), CVCCCCV (.12), CCVCVCC (.53), CCVCCVC (.35), CCVCCCV (.06), CCCVCVC (.12), CCCVCCV (.12), (CCCCVCV), (VCVCVCC), (VCVCCVC), (VCVCCCV), (VCCVCVC), (VCCVCCV), (VCCCVCV), CVCVCVC (1.23), CVCVCCV (.47), CVCCVCV (.18), CCVCVCV (.7), (VCVCVCV)

VIII - (CCCCCCCC), (VCCCCCCC), (CVCCCCCC), (CCVCCCCC), (CCCVCCCC), (CCCCVCCC), (CCCCCVCC), (CCCCCCVC), (CCCCCCCV), (VCVCCCCC), (VCCVCCCC), (VCCCVCCC), (VCCCCVCC), (VCCCCCVC), (VCCCCCCV), (CVCVCCCC), (CVCCVCCC), (CVCCCVCC), (CVCCCCVC), (CVCCCCCV), (CCVCVCCC), CCVCCVCC (.12), CCVCCCVC (.12), CCVCCCCV (.12), (CCCVCVCC), (CCCVCCVC), (CCCVCCCV), (CCCCVCVC), (CCCCVCCV), (CCCCCVCV), (VCVCVCCC), (VCVCCVCC), (VCVCCCVC), (VCVCCCCV), (VCCVCVCC), (VCCVCCVC), (VCCVCCCV), (VCCCVCVC), (VCCCVCCV), (VCCCCVCV), CVCVCVCC (.18), CVCVCCVC (.7), CVCVCCCV (.12), CVCCVCVC (.23), CVCCVCCV (.12), CVCCCVCV (.23), CCVCVCVC (.06), CCVCVCCV (.12), (CCVCCVCV), (CCCVCVCV), (VCVCVCVC), (VCVCVCCV), (VCVCCVCV), (VCCVCVCV), (CVCVCVCV)

11.2.1 Items consisting of over eight phonemes are so scarce, that it would be a waste of time to enumerate all possible constructions with more than eight phonemes. The ones that exist are:

CVCVCVCCC (.06), CVCVCCVCC (.06), CVCCVCVCC (.18), CCVCVCCVC (.06), CCVCCVCVC (.06), CCVCCVCCV (.06), CVCVCVCVC (.06), CVCVCVCCV (.06), CVCVCCVCV (.23), CVCCVCVCV (.12), CCVCVCVCC (.06), CVCVCVCVCV (.12), CCVCVCCVCV (.06), CCVCCCVCCV (.06), CVCCVCVCVC (.12), CVCVCCVCVC (.06), CCVCCVCCVCC (.06), CVCVCCVCVCV (.06), CVCCCVCVCCC (.06), CVCCVCCVCVC (.06)

11.2.2 The parenthetic forms found in 11.2 do not occur in Bella Coola. On the one hand, the relative occurrence of morpheme structures is, roughly, inversely pro-portional to the number of phonemes they contain; on the other, many forms in paren-theses involve clusters of three C's or over (the tolerance towards such sequences is limited). The high frequency of morphemes having the CVC shape is striking.

11.3 It is not easy to draw a sharp line between complex words and monomorphemic ones. There can be no doubt that many of the numerous words beginning in, e.g., s, nu, and 7alh are, at least historically, complex. There are also many lexical items that seem to contain petrified suffixes: consider, for instance, the great amount of words ending in m (-m medium). The above-mentioned affixes are described in resp. 23.9 ff., 23.6.2, 23.5, and 19.5 ff.

11.4 The basic structure of the Bella Coola morpheme can be captured in this model:

$$
\# \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \rightarrow Cx \longrightarrow \\ \quad\downarrow \\ \rightarrow V \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \rightarrow (CxV)x \rightarrow \\ \quad\downarrow \\ \longrightarrow Cx \longrightarrow \\ \longrightarrow \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \#
$$
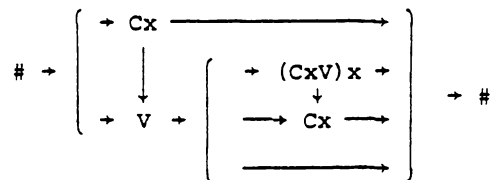
(x stands for any of the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4; Cx means x consecutive C's; (CxV)x means x consecutive CxV sequences; # indicates a word or morpheme boundary; → means followed by)

The above structural formula condenses the sequences: #Cx#, #CxV(CxV)x#, #CxV(CxV)xCx#, #CxVCx#, #CxV#, #V(CxV)x#, #V(CxV)xCx#, #VCx#, #V#.

11.5 In what follows, I enumerate all existing sequences that derive from the ab-stractions ...VCx#, ...VCxV..., #CxV..., #Cx#.

11.5.1 In this section are listed all sequences with the structures ...VCx# and ...VCxV...:

m̓p, m̓t, m̓tm̓, m̓ta, m̓ts, m̓tsi, m̓s, m̓sta, m̓lh, m̓lhk, m̓k, m̓ki, m̓k', m̓c, m̓ckw'i, m̓kwa, m̓cw, m̓qa, m̓7u, m̓7ma, m̓ma, n̓t, n̓ta, n̓tcw, n̓ts, n̓tsa, n̓tsk, n̓ts', n̓ts'lht, n̓tl', n̓lh,

nlhkwa, n̦k, n̦kw, n̦x, n̦xt, n̦qw's, n̦xw, n̦7na, n̦na, l̦t, l̦ti, l̦tcu, l̦s, l̦si, l̦st, l̦scw,
l̦k, l̦ka, l̦ks, l̦kt, l̦c, l̦kw, l̦ku, l̦kw'a, l̦cwi, l̦q', l̦x, l̦xa, l̦xlha, l̦qwi, l̦qw', l̦xw,
l̦7la, l̦7li, l̦la, l̦li, l̦wa, up, upq't, upa, upi, upts, upt, upk, up', up'a, up't, ut,
utm̦, utl̦, uta, utk, utc, utx, ut', ut'a, ut'i, ut'u, ut'pi, ut'p, ut's, uts, utsm̦,
utsa, utsi, utsu, utsci, utsla, utslh, utsq', uts', uts'm̦, uts'i, uts'u, uts'tn̦,
us, usa, usi, usu, usm̦, usti, uslha, uslh, usku, usqa, usq'a, usxi, usqwa, usna,
ustcw, usxlhm̦, usxlh, utl', ulh, ulhm̦, ulha, ulhi, ulht'i, ulhtsa, ulhkwm̦, ulhqn̦,
ulh7a, ulhla, ulhk, ulhkw, uk, uka, ukt, uks, uk', uk'a, uk'i, uc, uca, ucta, ukw,
ukwa, ukwi, uku, ukwwa, ukwt, ukw'l̦, ukw'ptu, ukw's, ucw, ucwsi, uqa, uq', uq'a, uq's,
ux, uxi, uxa, uxma, uxt, uqw, uqwi, uqwa, uqwta, uqw'a, uq'u, uqw'sma, uqw'lha, uqw'xw,
uxwa, uxwl̦, uxu, uxwi, uxwwa, uxwski, uxwlht, u7a, u7ya, um, uma, umi, umu, umk'u,
umts'a, umxu, umni, umta, umts', ums, umsci, umkli, umc7i, umqla, un, unu, uni, una,
unq'u, unxwa, uncw, unkwtsta, ul, ulm̦, uli, ulu, ula, ulta, ult, ulc, ulkw, ulkwma,
ulx, ulxlh, uyu, uyyu, uy7yu, uyp, ip, ipa, ipi, ipu, ipt, ipts, ipsci, ipsc, ip',
ip'na, ip'tu, it, ita, itu, iti, itka, itk'u, itcwm̦, itqu, itma, itya, itk, itkw,
itq, itqlh, itxw, it', it'a, its, itsa, itsu, itskw, its', its'm̦, its'l̦, its'a, its't,
its'ka, is, ism̦, isu, isa, isi, ista, istu, issi, issa, isma, isla, ist, isxw, ists'kw,
isksu, itl', itl'a, ilh, ilha, ilhu, ilhi, ilhta, ilhpu, ilht'm̦, ilhtsa, ilhka, ilhqa,
ilhqwa, ilhma, ilhts, ilhla, ilhh, ilhk', ik, ikm̦, ika, iki, ikn̦, iknu, ikt, iks,
iklh, ik', ik'm̦, ik'i, ik'nu, ik't, ik's, ik'lh, ic, icm̦, ica, ici, ictsa, ictsi,
iclha, icmi, icma, ics, iclh, ickw'cw, ikw, ikwa, iku, ikwlh, ikw', ikw'i, ikw'l̦,
ikw'lh, icw, icu, iq, iqyu, iqs, iq', iq'a, iq'i, iq'x, iq'lhkn̦, ix, ixa, ixn̦, ixm̦,
ixi, ixsa, ixlha, ixla, iqw, iqwi, iqw', iqw'i, iq'u, iqw'yu, ixw, ixwa, ixwsi, ixwni,
ixwt, ixwts, i7i, i7wa, i7ya, im, ima, imi, imu, iml̦, imts, imla, imtsk, in, ina, ini,
inu, inni, inwa, ints, ink, inx, inxw, il, ila, ili, ilu, ilm̦, ilwa, ilt, ilk, ilc,
ilct, iw, iwa, ap, apa, apn̦, apu, api, aptsa, apsu, apsm̦, apli, apla, apwa, apts, aps,
apcw, apq, apx, aps7a, apsmu, ap', ap'a, ap'st, at, atm̦, ati, atn̦, ata, atu, atci,
atqu, atma, atli, atwi, atk, atxw, atcyu, atcsya, at', at'a, at'ma, ats, atsa, atsi,
atsu, atsta, atski, atsk'a, atsci, atswa, atsqi, atskw, atskw', atsx, atsqwla,
atsqwtu, ats', ats'i, ats'm̦, ats'a, ats'ta, as, asi, asu, asa, asta, astu, asti,
astsm̦, astsa, asts'a, aska, asqa, asmu, asma, asmi, asla, asya, asyu, ast, ask, ask',
ascw, astcw, atl'a, atl's, atl'tn̦, alh, alhu, alhm̦, alhi, alha, alhl̦, alhtsi, alhtsxwm̦,
alhts'ya, alhka, alhk'i, alhku, alhqa, alh7i, alh7a, alh7u, alhmu, alhna, alhla, alhya,
alht, alhcw, alhh, alhkw, alhps, alhtcwi, ak, aka, aki, aktu, akli, akt, akts, ak',
ak'a, ak'i, ak'c, aca, acsa, aclha, acli, akw, akwm̦, akwa, aku, akwi, akwts, akws,
akwni, akwla, akw', akw'a, akw'i, akw'na, acw, acwa, acu, acwm̦, acwta, acwwa, acws,
acwlh, aq, aqa, aqm̦, aqta, aqs, aq', aq'a, aq'sn̦, aq'mi, aq't, aq's, aq'k, ax, axa,
axn̦, axi, axm̦, axl̦, axta, axtsi, axsa, axsu, axlhn̦, axlha, axla, axqa, axxa, axqwi,
axqwa, axxu, axp, axt, axts, axlh, axs, axkw, axtsya, axqlhm̦, aqu, aqwa, aqwi, aqwma,
aqwli, aqw', aqw'a, aqw's, aqw'lh, axw, axu, axwm̦, axwn, axwi, axwa, axwni, a7m̦, a7u,
a7i, a7l̦, a7mu, a7la, a7wi, a7ya, am, ama, amu, ami, amsa, amwa, amcw, ams, amlh, amk,
amk', amtsk, an, anm̦, ana, ani, anu, anta, ant'u, antsn̦, ants'ni, anku, annm̦, anya,
anwa, ants, anlh, ank, ancw, anxt'u, anksta, ank'pts, anqlhh, al, ali, alu, alm̦, ala,
altm̦, alqm̦, alqi, alxm̦, alxi, almi, alla, alli, alya, alyu, alt, als, alk, alkw, alcw,
alq, altwa, altswa, alsqa, altcw, alst, alxs, aw, awa, awn̦, awi, aws, awlh, awk, awqw',
awya, awpla, awsti, awlhmi, aw7li, awlht, ay, ayu, aym̦, aya, aysa, aysi, ayki, aymi,
ayni, ayli, ayt, ayts', ays, aylh, ayk, ayk', ayc, ayx, aylhxu, ayk'sa, aycts'm̦,
aycna, ayxli, ay7wa, aytxw, ayk's, ayct, ayqs, ayxlh, ahu, aha.

11.5.2 In this section are enumerated all existing sequences having the structure #CxV...:

pa, kwpa, spa, scwpa, p'a, qp'a, ta, sta, sq'ta, lhxwta, qta, t'a, st'a, lht'a, tsa,
k'tsa, stsa, tl'xwtsa, ts'a, xts'a, sts'a sa, xsa, psa, tl'a, stl'a, lha, p'lha,
tl'lha, tq'lha, ka, tka, t'ka, ska, k'a, sk'a, ca, kwa, skwa, kw'a, skw'a, lhkw'a,
cwa, qa, tqa, sqa, ts'qa, sts'qa, q'a, sq'a, xa, tl'xa, sxa, qwa, sqwa, t'qwa,
sts'qwa, qw'a, sqw'a, xwa, sxwa, 7a, s7a, ma, sma, tma, kma, cma, kwma, xma, k'ma,
skma, sqma, tlhma, sts'ma, wa, twa, tswa, swa, lhwa, kwwa, qwwa, qw'wa, kw'pwa, na,
pna, tsna, sna, cna, cwna, 7na, qw'na, txwna, sxwna, qw'xwna, la, ts'la, kla, k'la,
qla, q'la, 7la, sla, kw'la, xla, qw'la, skwla, ts'kla, kw'qwla, ya, tsya, ts'ya,
kw'ya, xya, 7ya, sk'ya, skw'ya, ha, pi, tpi, spi, sts'pi, p'i, ti, sti, q'xti, t'i,

tsi, stsi, ts'i, sts'i, si, sksi, tl'i, lhi, slhi, ki, ski, tski, sts'ki, k'i, tk'i,
sk'i, ci, sci, kwi, kw'i, cwi, tscwi, scwi, qi, t'qi, sqi, q'i, sq'i, xi, sxi, qwi,
ts'qwi, sqwi, qw'i, xwi, sxwi, tl'xwi, 7i, s7i, slh7i, hi, mi, t'mi, smi, lhmi, wi,
p'wi, twi, stwi, st'wi, ni, sni, kni, kw'ni, tl'kni, li, t'li, sli, cli, qwli, qw'li,
spli, stsli, skli, sqwli, sxwli, pu, spu, qlhpu, p'u, sp'u, lhp'u, tu, stu, t'u,
st'u, tsu, stsu, k'tsu, kwtsu, sktsu, ts'u, sts'u, qts'u, su, t'xwsu, tl'u, lhu, slhu,
ku, sku, k'u, sk'u, cu, scu, stcu, qu, squ, q'u, sq'u, xu, t'xu, tl'xu, lhxu, mu,
k'mu, 7u, s7u, xnu, nu, lhnu, knu, lu, slu, qlu, q'lu, sqw'xwlu, yu, syu, tl'yu, kyu,
k'yu, spyu, qxyu, hu, tm̩, kwtm̩, sm̩, tl'm̩, stl'm̩, lhm̩, qlhm̩, k'm̩, pk'm̩, lhk'm̩, cm̩,
pscm̩, kwm̩, lhkw'm̩, st'cwm̩, qm̩, q'm̩, lhq'm̩, xm̩, t'qwm̩, lhxwm̩, 7m̩, nm̩, tnm̩, stnm̩, lhtnm̩,
lhlm̩, tn̩, stn̩, lhtn̩, xwtn̩, t'n̩, st'n̩, tsn̩, tl'xwtsn̩, ts'n̩, sn̩, t'ksn̩, sqwsn̩, ts'xlhn̩,
kn̩, plhtkn̩, k'n̩, scn̩, kwn̩, pskwn̩, kw'n̩, qn̩, q'n̩, tqwn̩, 7n̩, mn̩, wn̩, pl̩, tl̩, stl̩, st'l̩,
tsl̩, ts'l̩, sts'l̩, sl̩, tl'l̩, lhl̩, kl̩, k'l̩, sk'l̩, kwl̩, kw'l̩, cwl̩, ql̩, q'l̩, xl̩, qwl̩,
t'qwl̩, xwl̩, 7l̩, ml̩, wl̩.

11.5.3 Many Bella Coola morphemes consist of obstruents only (see also 1.9). These
elements, having a #Cx# structure, are:

p, ps, psc, plht, pc, pqw', p'ts, p's, p'lht, p'c, p'xwlht, t, tp, tc, tlh, tk', tc,
tkw, tkw', tcw, tq', tx, tqw', txw, t'ts, t's, t'kw, t'cw, t'q, t'xt, ts, tsp, tst,
tslh, tsk, tsklh, tsk', tsc, tskw, tscw, tsq, tsq', tsx, tsqw, ts', ts'p, ts's, ts'lh,
ts'k, ts'kt, ts'x, ts'xlh, ts'xw, s, sp', stcwts', stqw, sk'st, stslh, sts', sts'q,
stl'kw, slhq', slh, sk', sk'c, sc, skwp, skwts, skwts', skw', scw, scwtl', sqts', sq',
sq'sk, sx, sxp, sxp', sxts, sqwlh, sqw', tl'lh, tl'q, tl'x, lh, lhp, lht, lhts', lhh,
lhk', lhkw, lhkw', lhcw, lhq, lhq', lhx, lhqw', lhxwt, kp, ks, ktl', klh, klhc, kc,
k'ts, k'lht, k'c, c, cp, cs, clh, kw, kws, kwst, kwtl', kwlh, kwcw, kw', kw'pt, kw'pst,
kw's, kw'lh, cw, cwp, cwp', cwt', cwts, qp, qts, qtl', qlh, q'p, q'pst, q's, q'lhkw,
q'lhp, q'x, x, xp', xt, xs, xtl', xlh, qwt, qwsk, qw'p, qw's, qw'lh, qw'xw, xws, xwlh.

11.6 The individual phonemes are distributed proportionally over the 1800 morpheme
inventory as follows: a/aa - 15.84%, s - 8.13%, i/ii - 8.12%, u/uu - 6.49%, t - 4.75%,
lh - 4.75%, 7 - 4.2%, n - 3.99%, l - 3.97%, m - 3.18%, ts - 3.01%, p - 2.68%, x -
2.58%, y - 2.45%, k - 2.39%, w - 1.86%, m̩/m̩m - 1.81%, ts' - 1.78%, kw - 1.67%, c -
1.65%, q - 1.61%, k' - 1.48%, xw - 1.44%, q' - 1.38%, qw - 1.24%, cw - 1.17%, t' -
1.04%, qw' - 1.02%, tl' - .95%, n̩/n̩n - .92%, kw' - .86%, l̩/l̩l - .85%, p' - .56%,
h - .16%.

11.6.1 The phonemes are arranged in the clusters listed in 11.5.1 through 11.5.3.
Of these sequences, some are of limited occurrence, others appear to be hapaxes.
Furthermore, certain clusters are, although theoretically possible, not found,
whereas others are inadmissible (see 10.1-4).

12 STRESS AND PITCH

12.1 Stress is not phonetically distinctive, but does exist on the phonetic level.
It is of a dynamic-tonal nature (marked V́).

12.2 Usually, stress is subject to variation: yáki/yakí <u>mountain goat</u>, máts'i/mats'í
<u>cured salmon eggs</u>.

12.3 In certain environments, however, there is a certain preference concerning
the place of stress:

(a) it usually falls on the last V in the position —T(T(T))#: kulhík roof, t'amás
     cockle, ta+tl'mstá+tx^2 the man;

(b) if a word contains a vocalic sonant, or one following a V, the stress is, in
     general, attracted by the automatic shwa, resp. V, immediately preceding that
     sonant: maxwat'álaqa dipper (bird), lhmk'máni weasel, yulṁta instrument used
     for spinning wool;

(c) if a word contains two or more VR sequences or R̥'s, the stress will lie on the
     V or shwa before the last sonant but one: nu7ayawálsmaw they are cleaning the
     house, tl'mstáliwa well-to-do, q'úmsciwa whiteman;

(d) in the surrounding —T^{f}T^{P}a# it is the V directly preceding T^f that is usually
     stressed: slúcta crosspiece, tl'lústa curtain, tl'ṁsta person;

(e) the final i/ii in diminutives is always stressed.

12.4 Doubled V's are marked by falling pitch contour and diminishing energy (V̂V̀):
tƛtíìkw pill, 7at'máàkw kingfisher. This pattern can operate simultaneously with the
stress rules given in 12.3, so that a word may be accented in more than one syllable:
qúùxúùx swan, sƛsṁ̀tí small mountain, kƛkláàcwíì small muskrat, 7istílalús to want
to drink tea.

12.4.1 V's that are phonetically long, but not phonemically doubled (see 1.8 and
5.3.2), do not exhibit the tonal pattern that is characteristic of doubled V's.
     Dragged vowels (1.8, 16.4.2, 28.3.9) are pronounced with sustained high tone:
mus |mǫ́ːs| four, ts'icw |t^{S}éːx^W| five, 7ulh+ |ʔǫ́ːɫ| towards, +lu |lǫ́ː| yet, still.

FOOTNOTES

[1] The transcription of some of the items adduced in these sections calls for comment. It should be pointed out that writing, e.g., _ia_ (instead of _iya_) is not merely a matter of arbitrary choice. Let us consider three spelling variants:

(a)	7yk'nwas	qwlyals	kykywyts	7alhynw+a	lwlc
(b)	7ik'nuwas	qwliyals	kikyuwits	7alhinu+wa	luwlc
(c)	7ik'nuas	qwlials	kikyuits	7alhinu+a	lul̦c

(a) entails a hierarchy of vocality $w > y > R^n$, which does not hold true in every case (see 4.4, 6.2); choosing (b) implies the disadvantage that we use redundant symbols, and also complicates the description of the language (viz.: qwli ∿ qwliy-, kikyu ∿ kikyuw-, lu- ∿ luw-, or: -als ∿ -yals, -its ∿ -wits, +a ∿ +wa, -lc ∿ -wlc). Notation (c) can be applied with consistency, and has therefore been given preference over both (a) and (b).

[2] I have considered items of the type: full word + enclitic, proclitic + full word justifiable examples, because clitics behave like affixes phonetically: they have in common with the latter that they (1) play a decisive role in the placement of stress, (2) may influence adjoining phonemes, and (3) may begin in V.

PART II - MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

13 INTRODUCTION

13.1 Morphologically, Bella Coola stems fall into three classes according to whether they allow (a) a bipersonal paradigm, characterized by suffixes for object and subject, (b) a unipersonal paradigm with suffixes expressing subject or possessor, or (c) no personal paradigm.

Category (a) comprises the transitive verbs. These fall into two main classes, viz. plain transitives and -tu- transitives (the latter have a formally different set of pronominal suffixes).

Category (b) includes first of all the passives of the transitives mentioned under (a). For the rest, the intransitive subject and possessive paradigms are identical, e.g., /man-ts/ "father-1sg" in isolation means I am a father. When this same word is accompanied by deictic elements: ti+mants+tc "present+father-1sg+definite", it translates as my father: 7inu ti+mants+tc "2sg present+father-1sg+definite" = thou art my father. Approximately the same meaning can be expressed mannu 7alh+7nts "father-2sg to+me", with the 2sg subject/possessive suffix -nu, the preposition 7alh+, and the 1sg pronoun 7nts. The intransitive stems fall into a verbal and a nominal class on the basis of their regular use in syntagms such as ti+mants+tc: from the word tl'ap to go we have tl'apts I go, but not *ti+tl'apts+tc "my one who is going, my going one"; to allow use with nominal deictics, the combination tl'apts must be nominalized, e.g., /wa+s-tl'ap-ts+ts/ "present+nominalizer-going-1sg+definite" = my going. Forms such as ti+tl'ap+tc the one who goes do occur, but these as a rule do not allow pronominal suffixation. Stems translatable as adjectives and numerals go together with the intransitive verbs, but the former of these two stem-classes do on occasion accept pronominal suffixation: note, e.g., the presence in Bella Coola of such idiomatic expressions as tsictsikwm ti+yats+tc "my good (ya) one is twitching (tsictsikwm)" = that part of my body that forebodes good luck (when it twitches) is twitching (now), and tsictsikwm ti+scts+tc "my bad (sc) one is twitching" = that part of my body that forebodes bad luck (when it twitches) is twitching (now) (vs. *ti+tl'apts+tc, which is considered ungrammatical).
The verbo-nominal stems (categories (a) and (b)) can be sub-classed as illustrated on the following page.

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                            ·
                            ·
                            ·
                            ·
                   verbo-nominal
          ┌─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─┬─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─┐
          ↓                    ·             ↓
  TRANSITIVE VERBS        intransitive
                       ┌─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─┬─ ─ ─ ─┐
                       ↓           ·        ↓
                    verbal                NOUNS
             ┌─ ─ ─ ─┬─ ─ ─ ─┬─ ─ ─ ─┐
             ↓       ·        ↓        ↓
   INTRANSITIVE VERBS    ADJECTIVES  NUMERALS
                     ·
                     ·
      performative ·            stative
                     ·
                     ·
```
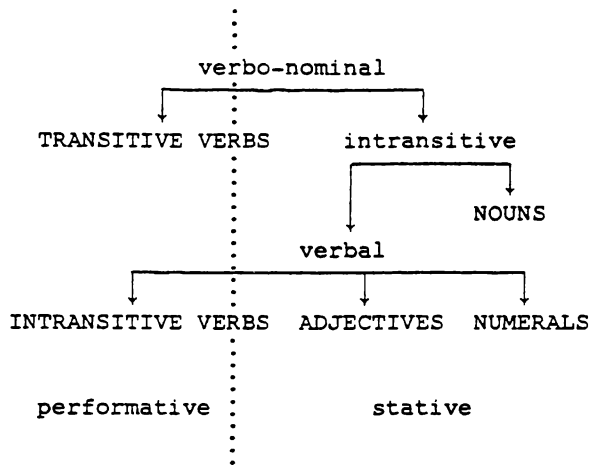
For the morpho-semantic dichotomy stative-performative see 19.14.1.2, 19.14.3, and
19.14.4. In 15.2 and 15.3 a morphological subdivision of nouns is given. For transi-
tive-intransitive verbs see 19.2.

Verbo-nominal stems can be simple (consisting of a single morpheme) or complex (con-
taining one or more affixes; the language hardly makes use of compounds). All simple,
and many complex, stems are morphologically unmarked as regards their nominal or
verbal character and transitivity or intransitivity, cf. nan grizzly bear (noun),
tl'ap to go (intransitive verb), pitl' (to be) dirty (adjective), tsp to wipe some-
thing (transitive verb), and with the suffix -a(a)k hand: nanaak grizzly bear's paw
(noun), tl'apak to begin a manual activity (intransitive verb), pitl'aak to be dirty-
-handed, have dirty hands (adjective), tspak to wipe somebody's hand (transitive verb),
tspakm (1) to wipe one's hand (intransitive verb), (2) to wipe something with one's
hand (transitive verb). The transitive or intransitive character of the above stems
appears when pronominal suffixes are added, e.g., with -ts 1sg subject we have on the
one hand: nants I am a grizzly bear (with deictics: my grizzly bear), pitl'ts I am
dirty, tspakmts I wipe my hand, and on the other hand (with -i- 3sg object): tspits
I wipe it, tspakmits I wipe it with my hand. Notice that though tsp to wipe something
is transitive (*tspts is ungrammatical), the complex stem tspakm can be translated
transitive as well as intransitive, with different meanings.
An intransitivizer -a forms (marked) intransitives from transitives: besides tsp to
wipe something there is tspa to be wiping (things). Conversely, stems extended with
the suffix -tu- causative are marked transitives, e.g., putl'tutits "I (-ts) cause
(-tu-) them (-ti-) to come (putl')" = I bring them. Transitive roots are as a rule ex-
tended with the intransitivizer -a before the transitivizer -tu-, e.g., tspatuts I (-ts)
cause (-tu-) him (-Ø-) to wipe (tsp). Other suffixes that mark stems as either tran-
sitive or intransitive are treated in 19 ff.
Only a few affixes have a nominalizing function, e.g., the prefix s- which merely
nominalizes, the suffixes -ta and -ma denoting implements (see further 21 and 23).

Category (c) comprises in the first place a number of <u>particles</u> (adverbs, conjunc-tions, interjections, exclamations), and in the second place several categories of <u>clitics</u> (deictics, articles, prepositions, syntactic modifiers).

The substitutes (25) have a verbo-nominal character, but the pronouns (25.2), the identifiers (25.3), and some of the interrogatives (25.5) allow only limited pro-nominal suffixation. The determinative 7na (25.6) is never inflected.

13.2   In giving an account of Bella Coola morphology and syntax we treat first the <u>pronominal paradigms</u>; words belonging to these paradigms can all function as predi-cates. Next we discuss the <u>articles and demonstratives</u>, which are characteristic of relata (object and subject), and the <u>prepositions</u>, which are typical of adjuncts. Thereafter the relata (<u>nominal forms</u>) as such are discussed. In chapters on non--personal affixation, the different groups of <u>affixes</u> are treated - these range from grammatical elements to mere formatives, the largest group being formed by the lexical suffixes. Separate treatment is further necessary of <u>metathesis and reduplication</u>, <u>substitutes</u>, <u>numerals</u>, <u>negation</u>, and <u>indeclinables</u> (particles and a number of clitics not treated under earlier headings).

14   PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

14.1   There exist two types of pronominal paradigms: (a) the <u>intransitive</u> (possessive and subject) paradigm; (b) the <u>transitive</u> (object-subject) paradigm. Of the latter, there are two varieties, viz. the <u>plain</u> and <u>-tu-</u> paradigms.

The transitive paradigms each are matched by a <u>passive</u> paradigm.

14.2   The intransitive indicative paradigm is characterized by suffixes for 1sg, 2sg, 3sg, 1pl, 2pl, and 3pl. Depending on the morpho-semantic nature of the base they are attached to, they translate as <u>I (thou etc.) am (art etc.) a ...</u> (nominal use), <u>I am (thou art etc.) ...</u> (adjectival use), or <u>I (thou etc.) ...</u> (verbal use).

Nominal forms can occur with deictic elements, in which case the suffixes are glossed as <u>my (thy etc.) ...</u>

The intransitive endings are:

	1	2	3
sg	$-ts^{123}$	$-nu^{123}$	$-\emptyset^{123} \sim -s^{123}$
pl	$-lh^{12}/-ilh^3$	$-nap^{12}/-ap^{23}$	$-naw^{12}/-aw^{23}$

The raised Arabic numbers refer to three sub-paradigms: stems that belong to sub--paradigm 1 end in one of the phonemes a, i, u, y, w, l, ḷ; stems with sub-paradigm 2 endings end in a nasal; all stems with an obstruent as final phoneme belong to sub-paradigm 3.

The choice between $-\emptyset$ and $-s$ <u>3sg</u> is of a contextual nature (see 14.2.3), while

there is free variation in sub-paradigm 2 between -ap and -nap <u>2pl</u>, and between -aw and -naw <u>3pl</u>.

-(n)aw <u>3pl</u> is always <u>animate-locomotive</u>, whereas -Ø/-s <u>3sg</u> can also be plural <u>inanimate-inert</u> (see further 15.3).

14.2.1 Following are examples of all possible combinations: 1 = sub-paradigm 1, 2 = sub-paradigm 2, 3 = sub-paradigm 3; A = nominal use, B = adjectival use, C = verbal use:

		1	2	3
A		<u>child(ren)</u>	<u>father(s)</u>	<u>man (men)</u>
	1sg	mnats	mants	7imlkts
	2sg	mnanu	mannu	7imlknu
	3sg	mna(s)	man(s)	7imlk(s)
	1pl	mnalh	manlh	7imlkilh
	2pl	mnanap	man(n)ap	7imlkap
	3pl	mnanaw	man(n)aw	7imlkaw
B		<u>good</u>	<u>deaf</u>	<u>sleepy</u>
	1sg	yats	tqants	yallakts
	2sg	yanu	tqannu	yallaknu
	3sg	ya(s)	tqan(s)	yallak(s)
	1pl	yalh	tqanlh	yallakilh
	2pl	yanap	tqan(n)ap	yallakap
	3pl	yanaw	tqan(n)aw	yallakaw
C		<u>blow(s)</u>	<u>capsize(s)</u>	<u>work(s)</u>
	1sg	7apswats	plikmts	ksnmakts
	2sg	7apswanu	plikmnu	ksnmaknu
	3sg	7apswa(s)	plikm(s)	ksnmak(s)
	1pl	7apswalh	plikmlh	ksnmakilh
	2pl	7apswanap	plikmap/plikmnap	ksnmakap
	3pl	7apswanaw	plikmaw/plikmnaw	ksnmakaw

14.2.2 The endings -aw and -naw have the reduced allomorphs -a and -na before certain enclitics (see 28.3.23).

14.2.3 The choice between -Ø and -s is determined by syntactic factors.

14.2.3.1 As a possessive suffix, -s is obligatory. When the possessor is overtly expressed, this expression follows the -s syntagm: tsi+cnass <u>his wife (cnas)</u>, ti+tq'lhas <u>his knife (tq'lha)</u>, ti+kwtmtss Mary <u>Mary's husband (kwtmts)</u>, ti+7alhqulhs ti+mants+tc <u>my father's (man) book (7alhqulh)</u>.

14.2.3.2 In negative and subordinate clauses, verbal -s is compulsory: 7axw ksnmaks <u>he is not (7axw) working (ksnmak)</u>, maaskanmaak+7iks ska+ts'kts <u>at what time (maaskanmaak+7iks) will he arrive (ts'kt)?</u>, wika+ks wa+7amats s7apsulhs "where (wika+ks) is the place (7amat) that he lives (7apsulh)?" = <u>where does he live?</u> (cf. 23.9.2.1.1), wic+7its'ik sklhs ti+snx+t'ayc <u>that is when (wic) the sun (snx) sets (klh)</u>, wic txw

stl aps _that was when (wic txw) he went (tl'ap)_ (cf. 23.9.2.1.2), s7aymis sksnm̥aks
he always (s7aymis) works (ksnm̥ak) (cf. 23.9.2.1.3), k'cim+ts' stsics 7ilh _they saw
("her") (k'cim) that is was (tsic) her (7ilh)_, 7anayk t'ayc ska+tl'aps _he (t'ayc)
wants (7anayk) to go (tl'ap)_ (cf. 23.9.2.1.4), tl'iliwa s7mts _he got up (7mt) fast
(tl'iliwa)_, yalhkayc t'ayc sxss _this (t'ayc) is overly (yalhkayc) fat (xs)_ (cf.
23.9.2.1.5), kaynucs+ma ska+putl's _maybe (+ma) he will come (putl') tomorrow (kay-
nucs)_ (cf. 23.9.2.1.3).

14.2.3.3 On the inter-sentential level, verbally used -Ø and -s differ in a stylistic
manner: -Ø introduces a _new_ topic, chapter, or piece of information, while -s _links_
topics and chapters: -Ø can be rendered as _He/She ..._, and -s as _..., and (s)he ...:_

smsmayamkits ti+qwaxw+tc 7n ti+t'uka+tc / 7alh7ayØ+kwsu ta+t'uka+tx 7ala+kulhuuts
_I will tell about (smsmayamk) Raven (qwaxw) and (7n) Mink (t'uka) / Mink was (walking)
(7alh7ay) on a beach (kulhuuts)_

sutslhmclhhØ t'ayc ŝ7aalats'iis _this (t'ayc) story (s7aalats'ii) is from (-lhh) Kim-
squit (sutslhmc)_, literally "this is from Kimsquit that (s-) it is a story"

7us7atsyanmaw swnts'lhtaw / numawiiØ+kw7iluts'ik ta+tl'upana+tx sputl'aylaycs c+a+p'wi
_they boarded the canoe (7us7atsyanm), and (s-) went halibut-fishing (wnts'lht) /
only (numawii) Cormorant (tl'upana) caught (putl'aylayc) halibut (p'wi)_

lhkw'mim ta+qiqtii+tx c+ta+tl'msta+tx, 7alh7ays+tuu ta+qiqtii+tx slhkw'mis ta+tl'msta+tx
_the little boy (qiqtii) was loved (lhkw'm) by the man (tl'msta), and (t)he (little boy)
loved the man too_

"tsqm+na", tsutØ+kw7its'ik t'ayc, tsqm̥s+kwtutuu tx _"open thy mouth (tsqm)", he said,
and indeed, he did open his mouth_

tl'aps+kw ska+7usqas tu+scwilm+txw, wics+kwts' 7ats wa+s7alhpstum qwaxw _and then the
roe (scwilm) started to (tl'ap) come out (7usqa), and this is (wic 7ats) what Raven
was given to eat (7alhps-tu-)_

14.2.4 Besides the indicative endings, there are imperative suffixes: -x^{123} _sg_ and
-axw^{23}/-naxw^{12} _pl_: 7apswax _blow!_, 7alh7alhtsimx _speak!_, ksnm̥akx _work!_, 7apswanaxw _blow,
folks!_, 7alh7alhtsim(n)axw _speak, folks!_, ksnm̥akaxw _work, folks!_
    These endings can alter the shape of a number of enclitics (see 28.3.22.1).

14.2.4.1 -(n)axw continues older *-(n)aw-x. Compare, in this respect, 28.3.20.1-6.

14.3 The plain transitive endings are complex. That is, they consist of two members,
one to denote the object, and one indicating the subject.

14.3.1 The subject-object suffixes with 1sg/pl and 3sg/pl object typically are ar-
ranged in object-subject order: the object suffixes -ts(an)- _1sg_, -i- _3sg_, -tulh- _1pl_,

-ti- <u>3pl</u> are combined with the subject suffixes -ts <u>1sg</u>, -cw <u>2sg</u>, -s <u>3sg</u>, -lh <u>1pl</u>,
-(a)p <u>2pl</u>, and -t <u>3pl</u> as follows:

		SUBJECT					
		<u>1sg</u>	<u>2sg</u>	<u>3sg</u>	<u>1pl</u>	<u>2pl</u>	<u>3pl</u>
OBJECT	<u>1sg</u>	---	-ts-cw	-ts-s	---	-ts-ap	-tsan-t
	<u>3sg</u>	-i-ts	-i-cw	-i-s	-i-lh	-i-p	-i-t
	<u>1pl</u>	---	-tulh-cw	-tulh-s	---	-tulh-p	-tulh-t
	<u>3pl</u>	-ti-ts	-ti-cw	-ti-s	-ti-lh	-ti-p	-ti-t

Examples: 7alh7awlhtss <u>(s)he follows me</u>, 7alh7awlhtilh <u>we follow them</u>. After bases
ending in a or i, 3sg and 3pl object both are expressed by -ti-: qaaxatscitits means
both <u>I tickle him/her</u> and <u>I tickle them</u>, tsaaxatilh <u>we chase him/her/them out</u>.
Again, 3pl is always <u>animate-locomotive</u> (cf. 14.2, 15.3).

14.3.1.1 Imperatives are formed by replacing the 2sg/pl subject suffixes by -x <u>sg</u>
and -axw <u>pl</u> (cf. 14.2.4): 7alh7awlhtsx <u>follow me!</u>, 7alh7awlhtulhx <u>follow us!</u>, 7alh-
7awlhtsaxw <u>follow me, folks!</u>, 7alh7awlhtulhaxw <u>follow us, folks!</u>
     Imperatives involving a 3sg/pl object are derived from the participial forms Xt
<u>Xing him/her</u> and Xtan <u>Xing them</u>: 7alh7awlhtx <u>follow him/her!</u>, 7alh7awlhtaxw <u>follow
him, folks!</u>, 7alh7awlhtanx <u>follow them!</u>
     The regular imperative ending corresponding to -ti-p is lacking. The expected
*-tan-axw is accepted by none of my consultants; where this ending would have appeared,
we find instead -tan-x, so that 7alh7awlhtanx can also mean <u>follow them, folks!</u>
More information on the participles is found in 17.2.2.

14.3.2 Plain transitive endings involving a 2sg/pl object are characterized by sub-
ject-object order. The subject suffixes -tsi- <u>1sg</u>, -tulh- <u>1sg/pl</u> are followed by the
object suffixes -nu <u>2sg</u>, -ap <u>2pl</u> as illustrated in the following examples: 7alh7awlh-
tsinu <u>I follow thee</u>, 7alh7awlhtulhap <u>I/we follow you</u>, 7alh7awlhtulhnu <u>we follow thee</u>.
Note, that *-tsi-nap "I-you" is non-existent.
     The endings -tst <u>(s)he/they-thee</u> and -tap <u>(s)he/they-you</u> are passive suffixes (see
14.3.3), the agent, if expressed, requiring the preposition c+ (see 16.4.3, b).

14.3.3 The passive suffixes are:

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
<u>sg</u>	-tinits	-tst	-im
<u>pl</u>	-tinilh	-tap	-tim

Of these, -im and -tim may be interpretable as -i-m and -ti-m resp. (cf. -i- <u>3sg</u>
<u>object</u>, -ti- <u>3pl object</u>, -m <u>medium</u>). The underlined elements in -tini<u>ts</u> and -tini<u>lh</u>
are identical to -ts <u>1sg subject</u>, resp. -lh <u>1pl subject</u>. -tst and -tap may go back to
*-ts-t and *t-ap resp. (?cf. -t <u>3pl subject</u>).

After bases ending in a or i (cf. 14.3.1), the 3sg suffix -im is not permitted; -tim
is then used to express both 3sg and 3pl: tsaaxatim (s)he/they is/are chased out.

14.3.3.1 The passive suffixes can follow certain nouns, in which case they are glossed
as being bothered by ..., being ...-ridden: muqw'lhatim he has lice (muqw'lha), tsap-
tinits "my bones (tsap) are bothering me" = I have arthritis, sktsulhktinilh we have
heartburn (sktsulhk heart), sxwatilhim he has bladder (sxwatilh) trouble. Cf. 19.2.
   Nouns expressing meteorological phenomena usually require the suffix -m before
passive endings (cf. 19.5.1.1, 19.5.2): 7alhwlalhmtinilh we had rain (7alhwlalh),
k'aymtim they had snow (k'ay), 7ik'nuasmtap+a did you have fog (7ik'nuas)? However:
sninyatim they had an earthquake (sninya) (but cf. 19.2).

14.4 The causative transitive endings are always preceded by the suffix -tu-, this
element meaning to cause to (be) ... As is the case with the plain transitive suf-
fixes, the causative suffixes are complex, and two sub-paradigms are distinguished,
viz. one with 1sg/pl and 3sg/pl object, and another one with 2sg/pl object.

14.4.1 The object suffixes -m(an(ts))- 1sg, -∅- 3sg, -mulh- 1pl, -ti- 3pl (animate-
-locomotive) are combined with the subject suffixes -ts 1sg, -cw 2sg, -s 3sg, -lh 1pl,
-(a)p 2pl, and -t 3pl (animate-locomotive) in object-subject order:

		SUBJECT					
		1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
OBJECT	1sg	---	-m-cw	-m-s	---	-man(ts-a)p	-man-t
	3sg	-∅-ts	-∅-cw	-∅-s	-∅-lh	-∅-p	-∅-t
	1pl	---	-mulh-cw	-mulh-s	---	-mulh-p	-mulh-t
	3pl	-ti-ts	-ti-cw	-ti-s	-ti-lh	-ti-p	-ti-t

Examples: 7alhpstums "(s)he causes me to eat (7alhps)" = (s)he feeds me, 7alhpstuts
I feed him/her.

14.4.1.1 Causative imperatives are formed by replacing the 2sg/pl subject suffixes
by the endings mentioned in 14.2.4 and 14.3.1.1: 7alhpstumx feed me!, 7alhpstumulhx
feed us!, 7alhpstumulhaxw feed us, folks!
   The expected causative imperative ending *-man(ts)-axw (which would correspond
to -man(ts-a)p) is not accepted by any of my consultants. Instead, we find -man-x
(cf. 14.3.1.1): 7alhpstumanx feed me, folks!
   As is the case with the plain transitive endings, causative imperatives involving
a 3sg/pl object are derived from participial forms: Xtcw/Xt(w)- causing him/her to
(be) X, Xtu-tan causing them to (be) X, as in 7alhpstxw (< */7alhps-tcw-x/) feed
him/her!, 7alhpstutanx feed them!, 7alhpst(w)axw feed him/her, folks!
   There is no regular imperative ending that would match -ti-p; instead of the
expected *-tan-axw we find -tan-x, so that 7alhpstutanx can mean both feed them! and

<u>feed them, folks!</u> (again, compare 14.3.1.1).

14.4.2 Causative endings involving a 2sg/pl object are, like their plain transitive counterparts, characterized by subject-object order: the subject suffixes -mi- <u>1sg</u>, -mulh- <u>1sg/pl</u> are followed by the object suffixes -nu <u>2sg</u>, -(n)ap <u>2pl</u> in the way as illustrated in the following examples: 7alhpstuminu <u>I feed thee</u>, 7alhpstumulhap <u>I/we feed you</u>, 7alhpstumulhnu <u>we feed thee</u>. The form 7alhpstuminap <u>I feed you</u> is regarded odd by many speakers of Bella Coola.

   The endings -mt <u>(s)he/they-thee</u> and -tap <u>(s)he/they-you</u> are in reality passive endings (see 14.4.3), the agent requiring the preposition ꝯ (see also 14.3.2, 16.4.3, b).

14.4.3 The causative passive suffixes are:

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
<u>sg</u>	-minits	-mt	-m
<u>pl</u>	-minilh	-tap	-tim

Again (cf. 14.3.3), these suffixes may be complex, viz.: -m-ini-ts, -m-t, -∅-m, -m-ini-lh, -t-ap, -ti-m. Examples: 7alhpstuminits <u>somebody is feeding me</u>, 7alhpstutim <u>they are being fed</u>.

14.4.3.1 The passive causative suffixes can follow proper names (and walts-), and are then translated as <u>my, thy, etc. name is ...</u>: xalatuminits <u>my name is Xala</u>, waltstumt+7iks <u>what is thy name?</u> (for /walts-tu-/ see 25.5.4).

14.4.4 The imperative ending -txw can serve as an <u>optative</u> suffix, and then translates as <u>let ... be (the case)!</u> Examples: 7ntstxw <u>let it be me (7nts)!</u>, 7axwtxw <u>don't (do it)!</u> (see 27.2.1).

   Optative -txw can also follow finite verbal forms: tspistxw <u>let him wipe it!</u> (tspis <u>he will wipe it</u>), wicanawtxw 7ats <u>let it be them!</u> (wicanaw 7ats <u>it is them</u>).

14.4.5 The suffix -tu- can only follow intransitive bases; transitive stems must first be intransitived before -tu- can be added (see 19.12.1).

   Complexes containing an intransitive or intransitivized performative base and -tu- translate as <u>to help somebody X (something)</u>, hence: (a) <u>to let somebody X (some-thing)</u>, (b) <u>to X (something) for somebody</u>. Thus: qulhatumx <u>let me write it!</u> or <u>write it for me!</u>, 7aalats'iituminu <u>I will tell thee something</u>.

   After tam- complexes (see 23.2), -tu- also serves as a <u>benefactive</u> suffix: tamsulhtuminu <u>I am building (tam-) a house (sulh) for thee</u>, tamts'latumx <u>make (tam-) me a basket (ts'la)!</u>, tam7akw'natutim <u>somebody made (tam-) them a sea canoe (7akw'na)</u>.

15 DEIXIS

15.1 Bella Coola employs a number of articles that always precede the noun they relate to. They are typically proclitics. When occurring without additional deixis, they usually translate as a(n) (sg) or Ø (pl), less often as the.

Three types of distinction are made: (1) gender (only in the sg), i.e., female vs. non-female; (2) number, i.e., sg vs. pl/mass; (3) location relative to speaker, i.e., close vs. remote.

The articles are:

	singular		plural
	female	non-female	
close	tsi+	ti+	wa+/a+/Ø+
remote	lha+/7ilh+	ta+	tu+/ta+

lha+ and 7ilh+ are in free variation; so are pl tu+ and ta+, whereas a+ is (1) the sentence-medial allegro form of wa+, (2) the obligatory allomorph of wa+ after c+, 7alh+, and 7ulh+ (see 16.3). The zero variant of wa+ occurs before the proclitic ka+ unrealized (see 15.5.3, 28.2.1.1), and is sometimes used where wa+ would be expected (see 15.5.3).

Examples: tsi+cnas a woman (near, visible, present) vs. lha+cnas or 7ilh+cnas a woman (invisible, absent, remote), ti+7imlk a man (close) vs. ta+7imlk a man (remote), wa+7imlk men (close) vs. tu+7imlk men (remote).

When a possessive ending is added, the article no longer conveys indeterminateness: ti+mants my father, tsi+stants my mother.

15.2 There are in Bella Coola no exact lexical equivalents of, e.g., bull and cow, brother and sister. Where such distinctions (as to gender) must be made, one makes a choice between the female and non-female sets of articles: skma moose can be specified as ti+skma a bull moose or tsi+skma a cow moose, musmus bovine as ti+musmus a bull or tsi+musmus a cow. There are two words for sibling, viz. suuxi younger sibling and qw'alm older sibling - the distinction is one of age, not of sex. Again, the article used determines the gender: ti+suuxits my younger brother vs. tsi+suuxits my younger sister, ti+qw'almts my older brother vs. tsi+qw'almts my older sister.

In general, a Bella Coola noun is, grammatically, either female: tsi+cnas a woman, non-female: ti+7imlk a man, ti+lhalas a boat, or neutral: ti+skma a bull moose, tsi+skma a cow moose. The grammatical gender of a noun is as a rule semantically predictable (only one exceptional case: tsi+waats a wrist-watch). Certain nouns occur preferably with the pl articles. Such nouns refer to "mass" phenomena: wa+qla water, wa+k'ay snow, or phenomena having a fixed location (usually large objects): wa+sulh

a house, wa+7anuxum <u>a river</u>. In many cases, the dichotomy singular-plural can also be described in terms of <u>transportability</u> vs. <u>non-transportability</u>. Constructions such as ti+qla do exist, but in that case reference is made to a <u>specific amount</u>: this expression is glossed as <u>(an amount of) water (as contained in a bucket, or at a certain location)</u>. See also 15.5.1.

Proper names and <u>geographical names</u> are often found without an article (due to English influence?): nuxalk <u>Bella Coola</u>, saaxwan <u>a girl's name</u>.

15.3 Bella Coola nouns are grammatically either <u>animate-locomotive</u> or <u>inanimate-inert</u>. As animate-locomotive are considered: (1) living humans and animals, (2) vehicles equipped with an engine (cars, motorboats); inanimate-inert are all objects and phenomena not belonging in the animate-locomotive category.

The distinction animate-inanimate is expressed in pronominal suffixation and deixis:

	female	neutral	non-female	mass	
As	tsi+	ti+/tsi+	ti+	(ti+)	D
Ap	wa+	wa+	wa+	wa+	M
	animate		inanimate		
Os	-i-		-i-		O
Op	-ti-				
Sts	-s		-s		St
Stp	-t				
Sis	-s/-∅		-s/-∅		Si
Sip	-(n)aw				

(A = article, D = discrete, M = mass, O = object, S = subject; i = intransitive, p = plural, s = singular, t = transitive)

Thus: 7alhk'c<u>i</u>ts tsi+cnasnu+tsc <u>I see (7alhk'c) thy wife (cnas)</u>, 7alhk'ct<u>i</u>ts wa+wats'-uks+ts <u>I see the dogs (wats')</u>, quts'uks<u>i</u>ts wa+kapuks+ts <u>I am washing (quts') the cups (kap)</u>, quts'uulhukst<u>i</u>s wa+qw'xwmtimut+ts <u>he is washing the cars (qw'xwmtimut)</u>. However, nouns denoting plural (non-female) objects can be ambiguous: qw'ala<u>naw</u> wa+slaq'k+ts <u>the fillets (slaq'k) are all finished (qw'ala)</u> vs. nulikw'aak<u>i</u>lh wa+slaq'k+ts <u>we turn (nulikw'aak) the fillets over</u>. In the first example, the fillets are looked upon as <u>individual</u> items (<u>each</u> fillet is finished), whereas in the second, they are considered <u>collectively</u>, "en masse".

15.4 More specific deixis (<u>the</u>, <u>that</u>, <u>this</u>, <u>yonder</u>, etc.) is expressed by deictic elements, which occur both as free forms, i.e., as relata, and as enclitics. We will here concern ourselves with the enclitical deictics only. These elements follow the

noun they relate to - in this environment, they must co-occur with an article, the general construction being article+noun+deictic.

15.4.1 There are four types of enclitical deictics: (1) primary nominal deictics, (2) secondary nominal deictics, (3) verbal deictics, and (4) spatial deictics.

15.4.1.1 Primary nominal deictics are typically complex. They contain from one to four elements, each marking a specific property: gender, number, relative location. The gender, number, and close-remote distinctions are the same as those made in the articles, but there is in addition a dimension of demonstrative force vs. the lack of it:

	close		remote	
	non-dem.	demonstr.	non-dem.	demonstr.
female	tsi-tsc/tsic	tsi-ts'ayc	lha-7ilh	lha-7ilha7ilh
non-female	ti-tc/tic	ti-t'ayc	ta-tx/tax	ta-t'ax
plural	wa-ts/tsi	wa-7ats/7atsi	tu-txw/tux	tu-t'axw

Note, that "-" here stands for "+verbo-nominal+". Again (cf. 15.1), lha+ = 7ilh+, pl tu+ = ta+.

When both the article and primary nominal deictic relate to the same phenomenon, there must be agreement between the two as regards number, gender, and closeness--remoteness: ti+7imlk+t'ayc this man, not *ta+7imlk+t'ayc. Constructions such as tsi+cnass t'ayc do exist, but (as the absence of "+" before t'ayc already suggests) here the situation is quite different. There is now a genitive relation between tsi+ cnass and t'ayc - this syntagm is glossed as this one's wife, and can be paraphrased as tsi+cnass ti+7imlk+t'ayc this man's (7imlk) wife (cf. 14.2.3.1). t'ayc is here equivalent to ti+7imlk+t'ayc, and is used independently.

The non-demonstrative deictics denote determinateness, and translate as the: ti+7imlk+tc the man (close), lha+cnas+7ilh or 7ilh+cnas+7ilh the woman (remote). The demonstrative "close" deictics translate as this or these, the "remote" ones as that or those: ti+7imlk+t'ayc this man, tu+cnas+t'axw those women.

The alternative deictics +tsic, +tic, +tsi, +7atsi, +tax, and +tux are in com-plementary distribution with resp. +tsc, +tc, +ts, +7ats, +tx, and +txw. The former set is used in interrogative sentences only, when the information asked for concerns the person or object referred to by the noun or deictic: tic+a ti+7imlk+tic ti+ stl'yukcnu is it (tic+a) the man (7imlk) thou art talking (tl'yuk) about (s-)?, wic+a tsi is it (wic+a) these things?

As observed before, the primary nominal deictics can be segmented. Each segment contributes as follows: t- non-female, ts- female close, Ø- plural close, -c close

<u>singular</u>, -i(-) <u>interrogative close</u>, -7a(y)- <u>demonstrative force</u>, -x <u>remote non-</u>
<u>-female</u>, -xw <u>remote plural</u>, -ts(-) <u>close plural</u>, -a- <u>interrogative remote non-female</u>,
-u- <u>interrogative remote plural</u>. Thus, we analyze the enclitical deictics:

	close		remote	
	non-dem.	demonstr.	non-dem.	demonstr.
female	ts-c/ts-i-c	ts-7ay-c	(7ilh)	7ilh-7a-7ilh
non-female	t-c/t-i-c	t-7ay-c	t-x/t-a-x	t-7a-x
plural	Ø-ts/Ø-ts-i	Ø-7a-ts/Ø-7a-ts-i	t-xw/t-u-x	t-7a-xw

Only 7ilh cannot be described in terms of meaningful units, whereas t-u-x alternates
with the less frequent (and more archaic) t-u-xw.

15.4.1.2 The secondary nominal deictics lhay and -7alhay express <u>slight or increased</u>
<u>distance</u> (cf. Latin <u>ille</u>). lhay is used independently only: lhay t'axw <u>(way) over</u>
<u>there</u> (pointing to a remote location). -7alhay is provided with one of the reduced
articles t- <u>non-female</u>, ts- <u>female</u>, and Ø- <u>plural</u>. When used enclitically, -7alhay
is inserted between the noun and the primary nominal deictic.
The degree of remoteness is specified by the primary nominal deictic:

-7alhay + close demonstrative	<u>here, over there (quite close)</u>
-7alhay + close non-demonstrative	<u>over there (not too far away)</u>
-7alhay + remote non-demonstrative	<u>over there (further away)</u>
-7alhay + remote demonstrative	<u>way over there (quite distant)</u>

Examples: tsi+cnas+ts'alhay+tsc <u>the woman over there</u>, ta+7imlk+t'alhay+t'ax <u>that man</u>
<u>way over there</u>, wa+wats'uks+7alhay+ts <u>the dogs over there</u>, ti+lhalas+t'alhay+t'ayc
<u>the canoe here</u>. Independent use: tic t'alhay+t'ayc <u>it is (tic) this one</u>, wicanaw
t'alhay+t'axw <u>it is them (wicanaw) way over there</u> (t- is reduced pl tu+/ta+).

15.4.1.3 The verbal deictics show vestiges of a transitive paradigm. Their field
of deixis involves: 1. <u>the speaker</u>, 2. <u>the addressee</u>, 3. <u>another person or object</u>,
4. <u>the person or object referred to or pointed at</u>. The relation between 1, 2, 3, and
4 is such that 1 elaborates on the location of 4 relative to 2 or 3; these deictics
are reminiscent of Latin <u>iste</u>.
      There are two verbal deictic roots, viz. -7aw- conveying <u>proximity</u>, and -7atu-
which suggests <u>contact or use</u>.

15.4.1.3.1 The root -7aw- is conjugated as a plain transitive verb, but the paradigm
is defective: the "object" (i.e., the thing or person indicated) is always 3sg ex-
clusively, the "subject" is either 2sg/pl, 3sg/pl, or absent. Furthermore, the object
suffix has the shape -Ø- rather than -i-. The following forms are found: -7aw-Ø-,

-7aw-∅-cw, -7aw-∅-s, -7aw-∅-p, -7aw-∅-t. As is the case with the secondary nominal deictics, they can occur both independently and as enclitics. In both cases they are provided with the reduced articles t-, ts-, and ∅- (cf. 15.4.1.1, 15.4.1.2), in the latter case they are inserted between the noun and the primary nominal deictic: ti+ 7imlk+t'aws+tc the man near him, tsi+cnas+ts'awcw+tsc the woman near thee, wa+7alh-qulh+7awp+ts the books near you.

Syntagms such as ti+7imlk+t'aws ts'ayc also exist - there is then a genitive relation (cf. 15.4.1.1): the man she is next to. ti+7imlk+t'aws ts'ayc compares to both ti+7imlk ti+sp'is ts'ayc the man she hits (cf. 17.2.1.1) and ti+7imlk+t'aws tsi+cnas+ts'ayc the man this woman is close to (cf. 15.4.1.1).

-7aw- is also found with the proclitical articles ti+, tsi+, and wa+ (ti+7awcw +tc, wa+7awt+ts, etc.), but less frequently so.

When -7aw- occurs without any ending, it is glossed as around there (not too far away from you): tic t'aw+tc it is (tic) that thing around there (closer to you than to me).

The conjugated forms of -7aw- can co-occur with a formative suffix -t (cf. 22.3): t'awcwt, t'awpt, etc. The addition of this element implies that the speaker is also included in the deictic field: ti+qw'xwmtimut+t'awcwt+tc means the car that thou and I are close to or in.

15.4.1.3.2 The root -7atu-, too, is conjugated transitively. Its derivational poten-tial is greater than that of -7aw-: the "object" is 3sg/pl (-∅-/-ti-) and the "sub-ject" either 2sg/pl or 3sg/pl. The following forms are used: -7atu-∅-cw, -7atu-∅-s, -7atu-∅-p, -7atu-∅-t, -7atu-ti-cw, -7atu-ti-s, -7atu-ti-p, -7atu-ti-t. These deictics can occur both independently and as enclitics (they are always preceded by the reduced articles t- and ts-, but proclitical wa+). In the latter case they are placed between the noun and the nominal deictic: ti+lhalas+t'atucw+tc the canoe thou art using. There are also constructions such as ti+lhalas+t'atus ts'ayc (which really conveys a genitive relation, cf. 15.4.1.1, 15.4.1.3.1) the canoe this (woman) is using.

As we saw in 15.4.1.3.1, the root -7aw- does not occur in combination with 3pl object suffixes; where we would have expected, e.g., *7awtis+ts, we find instead wa+ 7atutis+ts the ones he is close to/holding: -7atu- overlaps to some extent -7aw-. Otherwise, -7atu- unites the meaning of -7aw- with that of involvement, use, contact, and therefore requires a human (animate) subject.

-7atu- is also found with the proclitical articles ti+ and tsi+, but much less frequently so than with reduced t- and ts-.

The conjugated forms of -7atu- can be followed by -t (cf. 15.4.1.3.1, 22.3): t'atucwt, t'atupt, t'atust, etc. Again, the speaker is now included in the field of deixis: ti+qw'xwmtimut+t'atucwt+tc the car that thou and I are driving.

15.4.1.4 A small category is formed by the spatial deictics. A number of these are identical with some of the primary nominal deictics, others appear to belong with the

verbal deictics. Their semantic and syntactic behaviour justifies treating them under one heading. The term "spatial" is here used in a broad sense: these deictics can also have a temporal connotation.

The primary nominal deictics ts, 7ats, txw, and t'axw can function as spatial deictic roots, and appear in adjuncts. After the preposition 7alh+ at, 7ats requires the plural close article, as in 7ala+7ats here (7ala+ is fused 7alh+ plur a+, cf. 15.1, 16.3). There are further: 7alh+ts there, among them, 7alh+txw (back) then, (way) over there, 7alh+t'axw (way) over there, 7ula+7ats towards here (again, note the use of a+), c+ts then, c+7ats right now, c+txw (back) then/there.

There are two spatial deictic roots, viz. √7aw and √7awcw, which apparently belong with the verbal deictic root -7aw- (√7awcw may represent /∅-7aw-∅-cw/). We find the following combinations: 7awcw+ts, 7awcw+tsi, 7awcwa, 7awa, and 7aws+ts, as in: 7ala+7awcw+ts right over there, 7ala+7awcw+tsi (is it) right over there?, wa+sulh+7awcwa the house (sulh) right here (the one I am in), ya 7awcwa it is good (ya) in here, 7ala+7awcwa in here, 7ala+7awa (around) here, wa+sulh+7awa the house next door or across the street, ya 7awa it is good around here, c+7aws+ts shortly, presently (vs. c+7ats right now).

The suffix -a in 7awcwa and 7awa may be identical to -a in: /tu-nic-a/ yesterday, /tu-ma-ynuc-a/ the day before yesterday, /tu-ma-lacw-a/ last year (see 23.7), and can be added to verbal deictics: wic+a 7atucwa is this the place (where thou didst it)?

15.5 In what follows, I give more examples of the use of deictics.

15.5.1 In 15.2 we considered the mass nouns, which receive plural deixis. Such mass nouns, along with a number of nominally used deictics and adjectives, refer to:

(a) buildings: wa+sulh a house, wa+7anu7alhlqwalsim a theatre, wa+7apsulh a village;

(b) foods and substances: wa+scwilm salmon roe, wa+tl'awqw' tobacco, wa+qla water, wa+sq'alh flesh, meat;

(c) geographical and meteorological phenomena: wa+suncw sky, world, universe, wa+kulh-ulmc land, ground, country, wa+sulut sea, inlet, wa+7alhwlalh rain, wa+mʎmnta road;

(d) temporal and spatial concepts: 7ala+7ats here, 7alh+t'axw over there, 7ala+waycii recently, 7ala+7ayk' long ago;

(e) events: 7ula+ska+lip'aycs until he comes back (lip'ayc), wiclhh+tu+s7akwatits+txw since I bought (7akwa) it (cf. 23.9.1.2).

15.5.2 The verbal deictics -7aw- and -7atu-, and the secondary nominal deictic -7alhay are used in "tempo-spatial" expressions, such as: c+7aws+ts shortly, presently (cf. 15.4.1.4), c+7atus+ts right now, 7ala+7aws na7mu where Namu is, 7ala+7atucw+ts (right there) where thou art, 7alhays+ts now, at this moment (a petrifaction of */∅-7alhay-s ts/).

15.5.3 In some instances the zero allomorph of wa+ is encountered when the latter variant would be expected: 7ala+tsay Ø+kulhulmc _in every (tsay) country (kulhulmc)_, 7ula+paaqi7yala Ø+qiqipaalhi+7ats _into these small (qiqipaalhi) boxes (paaqi7yala)_, Ø+7acwlh+ts _some people_, nucwpaaxmtus Ø+7anuxum+ts _he is going all the way down (nu-cwpaaxmtu-) the river (7anuxum)_. In each of these examples, the use of wa+ is also legitimate.

As a rule, wa+ is replaced by Ø+ before the proclitic ka+ _unrealized, hypothet-ical_ (cf. 15.1): 7alhi+a 7ala+7awcwa Ø+ka+tsaatsaws _is there (7alhi+a) a church (tsaatsaws) here (7ala+7awcwa)?_, but 7ala+ never becomes 7alh+Ø+ before this same element: 7anaykts 7ala+ka+qla _I want (7anayk) some water (qla)_. Cf. 28.2.1.1.

15.5.4 There is, in general, a subtle difference between, on the one hand, enclitics, and suffixes on the other: the former are, morpho-syntactically, more mobile than the latter (which are rigidly bound morphemes). This semi-bound character of enclitics is also apparent in the case of enclitical deixis.

15.5.4.1 Enclitical deictics can be separated from the noun they relate to by other, non-demonstrative, enclitical elements: ta+tl'msta+tuu+tx _the person too (+tuu)_, ti+ tl'upana+tsk+tc _the cormorant, apparently (+tsk)_.

15.5.4.2 Circum-clitical deictic complexes can be attached to appositions in phrases such as: ti+7axw+t'ayc 7alh7alhtsimaylayc _this one who can (-aylayc) not (7axw) speak (7alh7alhtsim)_, wa+7axw+7ats kstcw _these (people) who have not (7axw) done it (kstcw)_, 7ala+7axw 7ayk' _not (7axw) long ago (7ala+7ayk')_. In these examples, 7axw _not_ has the value of an adjective: _not being_ (cf. 27.3). Further examples of retrograde deixis are: ta+wiclhh+tx wa+txaxaaxlh+7ats _the one who came from (wiclhh) Alert Bay (txaxaaxlh)_ (cf. 16.4.4), ti+7alh7ikw+t'ayc t'uka _this mink (t'uka) who is barbecuing something (7alh7ikw)_, ti+7ax+kwts'+t'ayc ksnmakaylayc tl'msta _this person (tl'msta) who could (-aylayc) not (7ax) work (ksnmak) then (+kwts')_ (for 7axw → 7ax see 27.8), q'uxlc-liwats 7alh+ti+s7aymis+t'ayc sqaaxlas _I am getting sort of (-liwa) tired (q'uxlc) of this perpetual (s7aymis) drinking (sqaaxla) of his (-s)_.

15.5.5 Expressions such as _a good man, those big houses_, etc. are rendered as arti-cle+adjective article+noun(+deictic), occasionally article+noun article+adjective(+ deictic): ti+ya ti+tl'msta (ti+tl'msta ti+ya) _a good (ya) person (tl'msta)_, ta+ya ta+ 7imlk+t'ax (ta+7imlk ta+ya+t'ax) _that good man (7imlk)_, wa+lhk'uulh wa+sulh+ts (wa+ sulh wa+lhk'uulh+ts) _the big (lhk'uulh) house (sulh)_. With ka+ _hypothetical_: tsi+ka+ lhkw'lc tsi+(ka+)cnas _some old (lhkw'lc) woman (cnas)_. With more than one adjective: wa+lhk'uulh wa+mukuulh wa+sulh _a big red (mukuulh) house_.

Nouns can function as adjectives: ti+staltmc ti+7imlk+t'ayc "this chief-being (staltmc) man (7imlk)" = _this man who is a chief_.

Possessive phrases (cf. 14.2.3.1) have in common with attributive syntagms that the first verbo-nominal member does not receive enclitical deixis: ti+7alhqulhs ti+mants +tc my father's (man) book (7alhqulh) (*ti+7alhqulhs+tc ti+mants+tc sounds rather queer, as does the English gloss: "the my father's book").

15.5.5.1 In a few idiomatic expressions, the predicate is followed by a subject that contains the same noun as the one used in the predicate. Such constructions serve as metaphors: wats' ti+wats' "a dog (wats') is a dog" = dogs will be dogs = what a son- -of-a-bitch!, snaax ti+snaax "a slave (snaax) is a slave" = what an inferior person!

15.5.5.2 In sentences meaning this/these X is/are Y, this/these is/are Y X, the demon- strative element can precede the subject, which then receives no further deixis: 7ntslh t'ayc 7alhqulh this book (7alhqulh) is mine (7ntslh), this is my book, 7alhksulh 7ats q'lhkwta these clothes (q'lhkwta) are cheap (7alhksulh), these are cheap clothes.

16 PREPOSITIONS

16.1 There are four prepositions, which are of a proclitical nature. A two-way dis- tinction is made, viz. one of static vs. dynamic, and one of centripetal vs. centri- fugal:

	static	dynamic
centripetal	7alh+ (1)	7ulh+ (2)
centrifugal	c+ (3)	-clhh (4)

These translate as: (1) at, (2) towards, (3) via, (4) away from. When precision is required as to the exact location or motion of a person or object, use is made of verbs: to be (go) underneath, to be in between, to be at the side of, etc.: 7astcwts 7ala+sulh+ts I am inside (7astcw) the house (sulh) (for 7ala+ < *7alh+wa+ see 16.3), 7asankts 7alh+7inu I am (sitting) beside (7asank) thee (7inu), kulhulhikts 7alh+tc I am (standing) behind (kulhulhik) him (tc), etc.

For a more detailed discussion of the semantics of the prepositions see 16.4.1- -4 and 16.5.

16.2 Syntactically, the prepositions are typical of adjuncts: ksnmakts 7alh+nuxalk I work (ksnmak) in Bella Coola (nuxalk), tl'apts 7ulh+ts'aamas I am going (tl'ap) to Victoria (ts'aamas), sp'iixwis ta+7imlk+tx ta+wats'+tx c+ta+stn the man (7imlk) hit (sp') the dog (wats') on the head (-iixw) with a stick (stn), wiclhh+tu+s7akwatits+txw since (the time) I bought (7akwa) it.

16.3 The plural article wa+ is always reduced to a+ (cf. 15.1) after the prepositions

7alh+ and 7ulh+, the final lh of these then being replaced by l: *7alh+wa+ and *7ulh+ wa+ become fused 7ala+ and 7ula+. After c+ we usually find this variant too, although in deliberately slow speech the w may be retained: c+a+, less often c+wa+. After wiclhh+, wa+ and a+ are found with almost equal frequency.

16.4 The English glosses of the Bella Coola prepositions as given in 16.1 are mere approximations. In what follows, I will discuss the use and semantics of each preposition in detail.

16.4.1 The basic meaning of 7alh+ is pertaining or relative to. It is related to 7ulh+ as 7a- is to 7u- in general (see 23.6.1).

The correct English rendition of this preposition poses, in general, no problem, since the relation between the predicate and the 7alh+ phrase will rarely be ambiguous. Consider: niixsnutsaycts 7ala+mats'i I got poisoned (niixsnutsayc) WITH "stink eggs" (mats'i), 7usqas 7alh+tu+sulh+txw he came out (7usqa) OF the house (sulh), 7aalats'iits 7alh+ti+qwaxw+tc I will tell (7aalats'ii) ABOUT Raven (qwaxw), yayaatwii-lhilh 7alh+tu+7alhlxwim+t'axw "we have been happy (yayaatwii) WITH that show (7alhlxw-im)" = we have enjoyed that show.

Ambiguity seldom arises, and when imminent, can be avoided. For example, ksnmakts 7alh+tc could mean both I work FOR him and I work WITH him, but the latter gloss will preferably be rendered as 7alh7naycakts 7alh+tc, 7alh7naycak meaning to accompany in work, be a co-worker. Furthermore, there are "spatial verbs" (see 16.1) that facilitate the proper translation of 7alh+: tcasutsaaxalhhtus 7alh+ta+nu7amataaxutsilh+tx he took it FROM UNDERNEATH our dining table (nu7amataaxuts), 7usutsaaxamtut sts'xlhnit wa+ qinxlhaw 7alh+ti+sxitstanaw+tc they kick (ts'xlhn) their shoes (qinx) UNDER their bed (sxitsta), ksilh+ts' wa+t'xt+7ats 7ala+7ulhqn+ts we remove these rocks (t'xt) FROM the pails (7ulhqn) (tcasutsaaxalhtu- to cause something to come from underneath something, 7usutsaaxamtu- to cause something to be underneath something, ks to pull something out). Compare further: clhmmalc 7alh+tx she had a child (clhmmalc) WITH him (tx), 7alhkultts 7alh+7inu I am indebted (7alhkult) TO thee (7inu), I owe thee, kw'cwmitsut-tums 7ala+nan+ts he warned (kw'cwmitsuttu-) me FOR the grizzly bears (nan), suncws+ kuks 7alh+lhmilh it is day(time) (suncw) FOR us (lhmilh), 7anaykts 7ala+ka+qla "I wish (7anayk) FOR some water (qla)" = I want some water, 7icaasnms 7ala+ka+snknic he is looking FOR (7icaasnm) food (snknic), 7alhits 7ala+sulh+7ats I am staying (7alhi) IN this house (sulh).

16.4.1.1 In some instances one seems to have a choice between the use of, on the one hand, 7alh+ and c+, and of 7alh+ and 7ulh+ on the other. For example, 7alh+ti+stn and c+ti+stn both translate into English as with a stick, but the difference between these syntagms is one of "centripetality" vs. "centrifugality". The first phrase implies that the stick happens to be around, and has to be picked up first before it is going to be used, whereas the latter is said when one already has the stick with oneself.

Compare also: 7alhps 7alh+tu+qaax+txw <u>he ate (7alhps) the salmonberries (qaax)</u> vs.
7alhps c+tu+qaax+txw <u>id.</u> Between these utterances, there is a difference as to degree
of availability: in the first example, the berries happened to be around, while in the
second, the person already had the berries in his possession. The difference between
7aalats'iits 7alh+ti+qwaxw+tc <u>I will tell (7aalats'ii) about Raven (qwaxw)</u> and 7aala-
ts'iits c+ti+s7aalats'ii+t'ayc <u>I will tell this story (s7aalats'ii)</u> is even more evi-
dent: <u>Raven</u> does not belong to the narrator, but the <u>story</u> does.

The choice between 7alh+ and 7ulh+, when possible, is less clear-cut. I know of
one minimal pair only, viz. 7icaasnm 7ala+ka+snknic <u>he is looking for (7icaasnm) food</u>
<u>(snknic)</u> vs. 7icaasnm 7ula+ka+snknic <u>id.</u> (? "to be searching for" vs. "to be in a
searching motion towards").

16.4.2 7ulh+ conveys <u>motion or direction towards something or somebody</u>. It is related
to 7alh+ as 7u- is to 7a- in general (see 23.6.1). Examples: k'cx 7ulh+tc <u>look (k'c)</u>
<u>at him!</u>, 7ayaax̂ 7ulh+ti+7amataaxlhts+tc <u>sit (7ayaax) in my chair (7amataax)!</u>, tl'apts
7ulh+ts'aamas <u>I am going (tl'ap) to Victoria (ts'aamas)</u>, lhk'mts 7ulh+7inu <u>I am speak-</u>
<u>ing (lhk'm) to thee (7inu)</u>, talaws+ts' 7ulh+7ilh <u>he married (talaws) her</u>, nmpaycaw
7ulh+ta+lhalas+tx <u>they went aboard (nmpayc) the ship (lhalas)</u>, sclikt 7ulh+7ilh <u>he</u>
<u>was mad (sclikt) at her</u>.

Certain verbs that do not themselves express motion or direction can be followed
by a 7ulh+ phrase. They then translate as <u>to go somewhere in order to ...</u>: qaaxlas
7ulh+ta+cwnalh+tx <u>he WENT to the spring (cwnalh) IN ORDER TO DRINK (qaaxla) (from it)</u>,
mntcwas 7ulh+ti+qla+t'ayc <u>he WENT to the water (qla) IN ORDER TO DIP it UP (mntcwa)</u>,
mntskis 7ulh+t'ax s7alh7ays ti+sqnks+tsk <u>he WENT to him IN ORDER TO MEASURE (mntsk)</u>
<u>how deep he was (buried)</u> (7alh7ay <u>to be (thus)</u>, sqnk <u>depth</u>).

7ulh+ often translates as <u>striving for, in search of</u>: xltnmx 7ulh+ti+ka+takwta
<u>send (xltnm) for a doctor (takwta)!</u>, 7iclq'ms 7ula+ka+ts'ktas <u>he is thinking (7iclq'm)</u>
<u>of what to do</u> (ts'kta <u>doings, activity</u>), 7icaasnm 7ula+ka+snknic <u>he is looking for</u>
<u>(7icaasnm) food (snknic)</u> (cf. 16.4.1.1).

7ula+ska+ followed by a finite verbal form means <u>until</u>: 7alhits 7ala+7ats 7ula+
ska+lip'aycs <u>I am staying (7alhi) here (7ala+7ats) until he returns (lip'ayc)</u>.

When pronounced with a dragged vowel, 7ulh+ |ʔọ:ɫ| appears in phrases that are
glossed as until <u>he reached, arrived at</u>: 7ulh+tsi+stamnumusam+ts'ayc <u>until he met this</u>
<u>fourth (numusam) (woman) he lived with (stam-)</u>, 7ula+smaw+kw ∅+7anuxum <u>until he ar-</u>
<u>rived at a ("one" - smaw) river (7anuxum)</u>.

16.4.3 The basic meaning of c+ is <u>via</u>. I distinguish four different situations:
(a) when a c+ phrase is preceded by a predicate containing a finite transitive verbal
form, c+ is glossed as <u>with</u> or <u>by means of</u>: napis c+ta+7alhqulh "he presented him with
a book (7alhqulh)" = <u>he gave him a book</u> (nap <u>to give something "for keeps"</u>), 7iinatsx
c+ti+ka+st'sals "present me with a bottle (st'sals)!" = <u>give me a bottle!</u> (7iina <u>to</u>
<u>give something to somebody for him to use it</u>), sp'iixwis c+ta+stn <u>he hit (sp') him over</u>

the head (-iixw) with a stick (stn) (note that the noun contained in these c+ phrases
is inanimate);

(b) after passive forms, c+ (the noun is animate) translates as by: 7alhpstum c+lha+
stans+7ilh he was fed (7alhpstu-) by his mother (stan), sp'iixwim c+ta+mans+tx he was
hit (sp') over the head (-iixw) by his father (man);

(c) after intransitive predicates, c+ is either ignored in the translation (the predi-
cate then translates transitive, and the nominal complex following c+ is the patient),
or is rendered as with (the predicate now translates either passive or intransitive):
7alh7usquxs c+tu+st'cwm+txw he was covered (7alh7usqux) with the mats (st'cwm), numukw-
lcs wa+7asanks tu+sulh+txw c+a+sic the sidewall (7asank) of the house (sulh) became
red (numukwlc) with blood (sic), 7asiscts c+t'ayc I dislike (the taste of) (7asisc)
this;

(d) preceding proper names, c+a+s- means by the name of (cf. 23.9.1.1, a), but is not
rendered in English (this construction occurs after verbs meaning to name somebody):
ka+paaxtsinu+ma c+a+sThom maybe I will name (paax) thee Thom, 7alhpaaxtut c+a+sJesus
they named (7alhpaaxtu-) him Jesus.

A Bella Coola sentence can contain several c+ phrases: napim+kwts' c+tsi+lhkw'lc
tsi+7alh7aylh+tuu c+tsnlh c+ti+pats'alhta "she was presented+then by+an+old woman
a+having been like+exactly Ø+herself with+an+awl" = then an old woman who had looked
just like her gave her an awl, knicalstnim+kwts' c+ta+qwaxw+tx c+tu+s7alh7ikws "he was
deprived of his food+then by+a+raven+the with+Ø+his barbecue" = then Raven stole from
him his barbecue(d food), 7alh7ay+kw7iluts'ik ts'ayc c+tsi+7alh7awlhim+tsc c+ta+matskw'
+tx "she was like+subsequently she Ø+a+being followed+the by+a+frog+the" = next, she
seemed to be followed by the frog.

16.4.3.1 In 15.5.3 we saw that wa+ is deleted before the proclitic ka+. Thus, we would
expect *c+(w)a+ka+ to be reduced to *c+Ø+ka+, but c+ is also dropped in that position:
wnts'lhtaw Ø+Ø+ka+p'wi they were fishing (wnts'lht) halibut (p'wi), napim 7ilh Ø+Ø+
ka+si7ayaktus she was given (nap) some things to use (7ayaktu-) (for si- see 23.10).
In hyper-correct speech, however, c+Ø+ka+ may be used.

16.4.4 The preposition -clhh+ conveys motion or direction away from something or
somebody, and is always found in combination with one of the bound articles ti- non-
-female, tsi- female, and wi- plural (cf. 25.3, 25.5.2). ticlhh+ is found in adjuncts
containing a neutral or non-female noun or pronoun, tsiclhh+ with neutral and female
(pro)nouns, wiclhh+ with plural and mass (pro)nouns: 7akwalhits t'ayc ticlhh+ta+xala
I have bought (7akwa) this from Xala, 7ulxlhis t'ayc tsiclhh+7ilha7ilh he has stolen
(7ulx) this from her, 7alhk'ctx wiclhh+t'axw look (7alhk'c) at it from there!

In a temporal sense, wiclhh+ translates as since: lhwaask'mtam+ts' wiclhh+tu+
s7akwatits+txw "it is two days (lhwaask'mtam) now (+ts') since my buying (7akwa) it"
= I bought it two days ago, wic 7ats wa+snknicilh wiclhh+a+7ayk' this has been our
food for a long time, i.e., "this is (wic 7ats) our food (snknic) since long ago (7ayk')".

-clhh (more often -clhh-alh; -alh <u>feet → motion</u>) is also used as a morpheme with morpho-syntactic properties that are intermediate between those of verbo-nominals and those of prepositions:

    <u>verbo-nominal features</u>: predicative use (intransitive conjugation)

                                  appositive use (retrograde deixis)

    <u>prepositional features</u>: followed by nominal complex (which agrees
                                  in number and gender with prefixal article)

                                  co-predicative use

Predicative use: wiclhhts Ø+Holland <u>I am from Holland</u>, tsiclhhalhilh ts'ayc s7ixq'mlh <u>we are walking (7ixq'm) away from her</u>.

Co-predicative use: 7ixq'm ticlhhalhs ti+7imlk+tc <u>he is walking away from the man (7imlk)</u>, tl'ikmaw wiclhhalhaw 7ats <u>they are running (tl'ikm) away from them/there</u>.

Appositive use (cf. 15.5.4.2): ta+wiclhh+tx wa+txaxaaxlh+7ats <u>the one who came from Alert Bay (txaxaaxlh)</u>, ta+7imlk ta+ticlhhalhs ta+mans+tx <u>the man who moved away from his father (man)</u>.

16.5 Semantically, the prepositions form a continuum:

    7ulh+   = → | =   <u>going TOWARDS</u>
    7alh+   = →| =   <u>being close to, located AT</u>
    c+   = |→→   =   <u>having at one's disposal, available, ready for use,</u>
                                  <u>doing something WITH, making USE OF</u>
    -clhh+ = | →   =   <u>going away FROM</u>

The dynamic nature of 7ulh+ and -clhh+ explains why these elements can occur as (semi-)verbs. ticlhh+, tsiclhh+, and wiclhh+ go back to resp. /ti-c-lhh/, /tsi-c-lhh/, and /wi-c-lhh/, -lhh meaning <u>coming from</u> (cf. 18.5 ff., 25.3). 7alh+ is possibly related to 7alhi <u>to be somewhere</u>, and c+ compares to clh- <u>to have, possess</u> (? < *c-lh-, cf. lh- <u>dualis, ... and somebody/something else</u>).

17 NOMINAL FORMS

17.1 A Bella Coola sentence consists of a predicate followed by relata (in "VSO" order). For the latter, nominal forms are used. Any intransitive can function as relatum, in which case it is usually accompanied by an article, and often also by one or more deictic elements: ti+man <u>a father</u>, ti+man+tc <u>the father</u>, ti+tl'ap <u>somebody who goes</u>, tsi+tl'ap+ts'ayc <u>this one (woman) who goes</u>.

    The object-centered nominal forms <u>(the) one I, thou, etc. hit</u> (see 17.2.1) are identical to the predicative forms <u>I, thou, etc. hit him</u> (see 14.3.1, 14.4.1). The subject-centered nominal forms (see 17.2.2) <u>(the) one that hits me, thee, etc.</u> are identical to the predicative forms <u>he hits me, thee, etc.</u> (see 14.3.1, 14.4.1), but

for cases with 2/3 object there are special forms. These forms (participles and passives, see 14.3.1.1, 14.3.3, 14.4.1.1, 14.4.3) do not specify the subject's number, this being expressed solely by the article or deictic complex: ti/wa+sp't <u>one/ ones who hit(s) him</u>, ti/wa+sp'tap <u>one/ones who hit(s) you</u>.

17.1.1 Marked nouns typically contain one or more nominalizing affixes, which are discussed in 21, 22, and 23. Many deictics (see 15) and substitutes (see 25) can function as relata, and as such could be considered semi-nominal.

17.2 Object- and subject-centered nominal forms receive deixis, and are found either with or without an explicit subject and/or object.

17.2.1 Transitive object-centered nominal forms can occur either with or without an explicit object: ti+sp'its+tc <u>the one I hit</u>, and ti+7imlk ti+sp'its+tc <u>the man (7i- mlk) I hit</u> - the explicit object precedes the object-centered form.

The use of the object-centered forms is illustrated below in the sentence 7alhk'yuk(t)its ti(wa)+sp'(t)i...+tc(ts) <u>I know the one(s) I, thou, etc. hit</u>:

7alhk'yukits ti+sp'its+tc	<u>I know the one I hit</u>
7alhk'yukits ti+sp'icw+tc	<u>I know the one thou hittest</u>
7alhk'yukits ti+sp'is+tc	<u>I know the one he hits</u>
7alhk'yukits ti+sp'ilh+tc	<u>I know the one we hit</u>
7alhk'yukits ti+sp'ip+tc	<u>I know the one you hit</u>
7alhk'yukits ti+sp'it+tc	<u>I know the one they hit</u>
7alhk'yuktits wa+sp'tits+ts	<u>I know the ones I hit</u>
7alhk'yuktits wa+sp'ticw+ts	<u>I know the ones thou hittest</u>
7alhk'yuktits wa+sp'tis+ts	<u>I know the ones he hits</u>
7alhk'yuktits wa+sp'tilh+ts	<u>I know the ones we hit</u>
7alhk'yuktits wa+sp'tip+ts	<u>I know the ones you hit</u>
7alhk'yuktits wa+sp'tit+ts	<u>I know the ones they hit</u>

In sentences with an explicit object, such as 7alhk'yukits ti+7imlk ti+sp'icw+tc <u>I know the man thou hittest</u>, this sentence part is object to both the predicate (7alh- k'yukits) and the nominal form (ti+sp'icw+tc). In the same way: 7alhk'yukits tsi+cnas tsi+sp'it+tsc <u>I know the woman they hit</u>.

Note, that in object complexes such as the above, enclitical deixis is applied only after the last verbo-nominal element (cf. 15.5.5, 17.2.1.1).

17.2.1.1 The subject, too, may be explicit. This sentence part follows the nominal form: 7alhk'yukits ti+7imlk ti+sp'is tsi+cnas+tsc <u>I know the man the woman hits</u>. Again, enclitical deixis is restricted to the final verbo-nominal element (cf. 17.2.1).

17.2.1.2 The use and formation of the causative object-centered nominal forms par-
allel those of the plain transitive ones exactly: 7alhk'yukits ti+7imlk ti+7alhps-
tucw+tc <u>I know the man thou feedest</u>, 7alhk'yuktits wa+7imlkuks wa+7alhpstutit wa+
cnasuks+ts <u>I know the men the women feed</u>. For the restricted use of enclitical deixis,
see 17.2.1, 17.2.1.1.

17.2.2 The transitive subject-centered forms are illustrated below in the sentence
7alhk'yuk(t)its ti(wa)+sp'...+tc(ts) <u>I know the one(s) who hit(s) me, thee, etc.</u>:

7alhk'yukits ti+sp'tss+tc	<u>I know the one who hits me</u>
7alhk'yukits ti+sp'tst[1]+tc	<u>I know the one who hits thee</u>
7alhk'yukits ti+sp't[2]+tc	<u>I know the one who hits him</u>
7alhk'yukits ti+sp'tulhs+tc	<u>I know the one who hits us</u>
7alhk'yukits ti+sp'tap[1]+tc	<u>I know the one who hits you</u>
7alhk'yukits ti+sp'tan[2]+tc	<u>I know the one who hits them</u>
7alhk'yuktits wa+sp'tsant+ts	<u>I know the ones who hit me</u>
7alhk'yuktits wa+sp'tst[1]+ts	<u>I know the ones who hit thee</u>
7alhk'yuktits wa+sp't[2]+ts	<u>I know the ones who hit him</u>
7alhk'yuktits wa+sp'tulht+ts	<u>I know the ones who hit us</u>
7alhk'yuktits wa+sp'tap[1]+ts	<u>I know the ones who hit you</u>
7alhk'yuktits wa+sp'tan[2]+ts	<u>I know the ones who hit them</u>

[1] sp'tst and sp'tap are <u>passive</u> forms (see 14.3.3)
[2] sp't and sp'tan are <u>participles</u> (see 14.3.1.1)

The subject may be explicit, and then precedes the nominal form: 7alhk'yukits tsi+
cnas tsi+sp'tss+tsc <u>I know the woman who hits me</u>. Cf. 17.2.1, 17.2.1.1.

17.2.2.1 When the object is specified, it will follow the subject-centered form:
7alhk'yukits ti+7imlk ti+sp't tsi+cnas+tsc <u>I know the man who hits the woman</u>. Cf.
17.2.1, 17.2.1.1.

17.2.2.2 The use and formation of the causative subject-centered forms parallel those
of the plain transitive ones: 7alhk'yukits ti+7imlk ti+7alhpstcw+tc <u>I know the man
who feeds him</u>, 7alhk'yuktits wa+7imlkuks wa+7alhpstumulht <u>I know the men who feed
us</u>. For the causative participial and passive endings, see 14.4.1.1, resp. 14.4.3.
Compare also 17.2.1, 17.2.1.1.

17.3 There are restrictions to the nominal use of verbal forms: (1) not all passives
can be used nominally, (2) nominally used intransitive verbs do not allow pronominal
suffixation.

17.3.1 In 17.2.2 we saw that the passive endings -tst and -tap are found in subject-
-centered forms. As for the remaining passive suffixes, note that (a) -tinits <u>I am</u>

...ed and -tinilh we are ...ed cannot occur in nominal forms, (b) -im he is ...ed
and -tim they are ...ed are used in object-centered forms: ti+sp'im one who is hit,
wa+sp'tim ones who are hit. In addition, some passive forms in -im have become lex-
icalized: wa+qaaxlamim "which is drunk" = beverage, hard liquor, wa+7alhlxwim "which
is watched" = a show, movie.

Occasionally, bare transitives are used as "passive nouns" (cf. 19.2): wa+qaaxlam
= wa+qaaxlamim, wa+tl'apamk a catch (from tl'apamk to catch something, cf. 19.7.3).

17.3.2 In 13.1 we observed that forms such as ti+tl'ap one who goes are never com-
bined with possessive suffixes: *ti+tl'apts+tc "my one who goes" is considered un-
grammatical. Verbal stems such as tl'ap to go differ in·this respect from nominal stems
such as man father (from which ti+mants+tc my father can be derived).

18 MODIFYING SUFFIXES

18.1 The four productive modifying suffixes denote quantity (size or number) or
quality (change or resemblance). They follow verbal and nominal bases, and (a) do not
affect the morphological status of the base they are attached to (verbs remain verbs,
nouns remain nouns), (b) leave (in)transitivity intact, (c) precede pronominal suf-
fixes, but generally follow lexical and verbal suffixes.

The productive modifiers are: -uks plural (number), -i(i)/-y(i) diminutive
(size), -liwa semblative (resemblance), and -lh disconnected (change). In addition,
there are two improductive modifiers, viz. -anaats superlative, which is found only
in combination with a restricted number of exclusively adjectival bases (and one ex-
clamation), and -slh characterizer, which occurs in a handful of nouns.

18.2 The suffix -uks denotes true plurality/multitude (more than two): ti+tl'msta+tc
the person vs. wa+tl'mstayuks the persons, tsaaxatits I will chase him out vs. tsaa-
xayukstits I will chase them (all) out.

18.2.1 The addition of -uks is often optional: wa+tl'mstayuks+ts = wa+tl'msta+ts
the persons - the article or deictic complex contains sufficient information as to
singularity or plurality.

In two cases, however, -uks has a discriminating function: (a) mass nouns, (b)
transitives ending in a or i. Examples: wa+tmcw+ts the river vs. wa+tmcuks+ts the
rivers, wa+sulh a house vs. wa+sulhuks houses, tsaaxatits I will chase him out vs.
tsaaxayukstits I will chase them out, qaaxatscitits I will tickle him vs. qaaxatscy-
ukstits I will tickle them. Cf. 14.3.1, 15.2.

-uks refers to the subject when following intransitives: tl'apuksilh we (all)
go, but to the object when affixed to a transitive base: tsaaxayukstits I will chase
them (all) out.

18.2.2 The suffix -uks is also found in the lexicalized complexes scuukstu- to beat, defeat (a team: pl object only), lit. "to cause (-tu-) all to be bad (sc)", and ts𝜒-tsluksi youngsters, adolescents, where a root √tsl has become petrified.

18.2.3 Although morpheme-final a is frequently replaced by ṅ when suffixation takes place (see 9.3), this generally does not happen when -uks is added. Instead, we find junctural y (cf. 6.1.3): tl'mstayuks vs. 7mtl'mstni plural, resp. diminutive form of tl'msta person, tq'lhayuks plural form of tq'lha knife vs. 7astq'lhnak to use a knife. However: numutstnuks plural of numutsta door, 7akwnuksaw they are shopping (7akwa/7akwn-).

18.2.4 The variant -uk's is found only in k'amk'uk's plural of k'amk' bull kelp. This glottalized allomorph must be the result of progressive assimilation.

18.2.5 When -uks and -liwa semblative follow the same base combinedly, we find both -uks-liwa and -liwaᵞuks: stataltmcuksliwanaw = stataltmcliwayuksaw they all make the impression of being chiefs (stataltmc). Likewise, when -uks and -i(i) diminutive are found in conjunction, there is some fluctuation as to the order in which they appear: tsitstsipuksiinaw = tsitstsipiiuksaw they all are little birds (tsitstsipii), although M.S. often favors one variant: qiqipuksiinaw they all are small (qiqipii) (*qiqipiiuksaw is considered odd), tsalaatstiiuksaw they all are young people (tsalaatstii) (here, *tsalaatstuksiinaw is quite unacceptable to M.S.).

18.3 The suffix -i/-ii denotes diminutivity. After stem-final a, we find the allomorphs -y and -yi. Phonetically, ayi = |ae:|. The addition of the diminutive suffix to nouns is usually accompanied by reduplication (see 24.2), but when -i(i) is affixed to verbs, this process is not required: /7m.tl'mstn-i/ diminutive of tl'msta person, /tq'lhaa.lha-y/ diminutive of tq'lha knife vs. /7ixq'm-ii/ to go for a short walk (7ixq'm to walk), /ksnmak-ii/ to work a bit (ksnmak to work).

18.3.1 Morpheme-final a is preferably replaced by n before -i(i) (cf. 9.3): 7mtl'mstni diminutive of tl'msta person, smk'mni diminutive of sk'ma comb, but there are exceptions to this rule: tq'lhaalhay diminutive of tq'lha knife, 7aatstsayi diminutive of 7atsaya fox. -liwa semblative (see 18.4) becomes -liwn- or -lun-/-nul- before the diminutive suffix.

18.3.2 Some verbs and adjectives do not occur without the diminutive suffix, and even have no diminutive connotation whatsoever: yayaatwii happy, 7iiklhii close, near, 7aalats'ii to tell, report. That we are dealing with -ii becomes apparent when other suffixes are added: -ii is then separated from the base, and follows the other suffix(es): yayaatwamktsutii to be happy about (-amk) oneself (-tsut), 7iiklhlcii to come (-lc) closer, 7aalats'amkii to tell something about (-amk) somebody.

Other, equally lexicalized, forms with final -i(i) still carry a diminutive meaning: qiqipii <u>small (child)</u>, qiqtii <u>baby</u>, ts⁄tsluksi <u>youngsters</u>.

18.3.3 The imperative suffixes -x and -naxw (14.2.4) are often preceded by -i(i), which <u>attenuates</u> the command given: 7mtiix <u>be seated (for a while)!</u>, nulhumaaxnmiinaxw <u>have a bit of tea, folks!</u>, 7itskwix <u>please let me pass, excuse me!</u> (7itskw <u>(to be) distant, further away</u>).

18.4 -liwa <u>semblative</u> (<u>having the appearance of, sort of, ...-like</u>) is productively applied after both verbal and nominal bases:

<div align="center">

+ -liwa

√pc <u>nice, enjoyable</u>	→	pcliwa <u>pretty, lovely</u>
√malh <u>slow</u>	→	malhliwa <u>sort of slow</u>
tsnlh <u>self</u>	→	tsnlhliwa <u>introverted</u>
tsakw' <u>straight</u>	→	tsakw'liwa <u>right, correct</u>
tl'i <u>fast</u>	→	tl'iliwa <u>working fast</u>
kmalayc <u>to be ill</u>	→	kmalaycliwa <u>to feel ill</u>
snaax <u>slave</u>	→	snaaxliwa <u>slave-like, lowly</u>
staltmc <u>king, chief</u>	→	staltmcliwa <u>dignitary</u>

</div>

18.4.1 Besides -liwa we find the allomorphs -liwn-, -lun-, and -nul-. Of these, -liwn- is rare: tsakw'liwnaak <u>to be right on time</u> (tsakw'liwa <u>right, correct</u>, -aak <u>(clock-) hand → time</u>), tsaakwliwni diminutive of tsaakwliwa <u>worm</u> (tsa(a)kw <u>long</u>). For a ∿ n see 9.3. The more frequent -lun- (*-ləwn-) and -nul- (inverted form of -lun-) are found before the diminutive and other suffixes, -lun-i and -nul-i after verbal bases meaning <u>a bit</u>: numutslunitx <u>close the door (numuts) a bit!</u>, lawnulitxw <u>loosen (lawtu-) it a bit!</u>, q'slcnulitxw <u>tighten (q'slctu-) it a bit!</u>, naclunak <u>to have finished one's work (-ak)</u> (nacliwa <u>ready, finished</u>).

     After adjectival bases, -nul-i (less often -lun-i) conveys the <u>comparative degree</u>, i.e., <u>a bit ...er</u>: qiqtnuli <u>a bit smaller</u> (qiqtii <u>small</u>), 7alhksulhnuli <u>a bit cheaper</u> (7alhksulh <u>cheap</u>).

18.5 The qualitative modifier -lh conveys <u>disconnection</u>:

1	incipient (after substitutes):	BELONGING TO
2	progressive (after nouns):	COMING FROM
3a	completed (after verbs):	PERFECT TENSE
3bI	completed (after animate nouns):	FORMER, DEAD
3bIIα	completed (after organic inanimate nouns):	SEPARATED
3bIIβ	completed (after inorganic inanimate nouns):	NOT BEING USED

18.5.1 -lh expresses incipient disconnection after the pronouns 7nts I/me, 7inu thou/thee, lhmilh we/us, lhup you, and the identifiers tic be him/it, tsic be her, wic be them/it (see 25.2 ff., 25.3). -lh then glosses as belonging to, as in: 7inulh+a t'ayc is this thine?, 7ntslh 7ats these are mine, 7inulhtxw t'ayc let this be thine!, 7axw lhuplhs 7ats these are not yours, lhuplhtaxw 7ats let these be yours!, tsiclh tsc t'ayc this is hers, 7axw wiclhanaw ts 7ats these are not theirs.

   With -nic to consider: 7inulhnicits t'ayc I think this is thine, ticlhniclhits tc t'ayc I thought this was his, and from wa+ks who?: walh+7lks t'ayc whose is this?

   -lh belonging to can co-occur with -lh perfect tense, -lhh being translated as having belonged to (cf. 18.5.2): 7inulhhnicits t'ayc I think this has been thine. See also 25.4, 25.4.1, 25.4.2, 25.5.

18.5.2 -lhh (i.e., belonging to + perfect tense, cf. 18.5.1) can also be affixed to nominal bases, and then means having been part of, coming or originating from: tl'alhh ŝq'alhs "it is from (-lhh) a black bear (tl'a) that (s-) it is (-s) meat (sq'alh)" = it is bearmeat, yakilhh t'awt switl'axs that (t'awt) is a goat's (yaki) horn (witl'ax), tl'mstalhh t'ayc stsaps this is a human ("person's" - tl'msta) bone (tsap), qw'xwmti-mutlhh+a t'ayc 7anulikw'muulh is this a car (qw'xwmtimut) wheel (7anulikw'muulh)?

18.5.3 -lh expresses completed disconnection (having been) in combination with verbo--nominals:

(a) in predicates, -lh = perfect tense: 7alhpslhts I have eaten ("je viens de manger", cf. 18.5.2), xllhtuminits I have been sent.
    Combined with ka+ hypothetical, -lh conveys the irrealis: ka+tl'aplhts I would go. Reduplicated -lhh renders the pluperfect, ka+...lhh = past irrealis: tl'aplhhts I had gone, ka+tl'aplhhts I would have gone;

(b) when affixed to animate nouns, -lh translates as former, late, dead: ta+manlhts+tx my late father, ti+wats'lhts+tc the dog that used to be mine;

(c) -lh following inanimate nouns that describe organic objects means separated: t'nxwlh head (cut off), putsq'lh (picked) Indian hellebore;

(d) when following nouns denoting implements, household items, and vehicles (the latter are often grammatically animate-locomotive), -lh means not being used by the pos-sessor: ti+7amataaxlhts+tc my (vacated) chair, ta+qw'xwmtimutlhts+tx my car (parked outside - I am not using it right now).

18.6 -anaats superlative: very, really is found in combination with a small number of adjectives: scanaats very bad, yayanaats (i.e., /ya^{y}anaats/) very good, lhkw'anaats very big, xitl'anaats really skinny, st'axwanaats very difficult.

   Infixal -anaats- occurs in 7ananaatsanay /7an-anaats-ana-y/ an exclamation ex-pressing extreme pain or shock, from 7anana(y) "ouch, oh my!"

18.7 The suffix -slh <u>characterizer</u> has restricted productivity, and was recorded
in only a handful of strictly nominal elements. In each of these, -slh appears to
mean approximately <u>being characteristic of</u>.

Reference is made to <u>insects</u> in the following items: /s-1.t'lii-slh/ "insect
that is characteristic of, abundant during the t'li <u>dog salmon</u> season" = <u>horsefly</u>,
/s-ka.kp'ay-slh/ "insect that is abundant during the kap'ay <u>humpback salmon</u> season"
= <u>blackfly</u>, /s⌃sqa.nqpts⌃slh/ "insect that abounds during the sqapts <u>old springsalmon</u>
season" = <u>tiger swallowtail</u>. Each of these also contains the nominalizer s- (see
23.9.1.1), and is marked by reduplication (see 24.1 ff.). /tsi.tstumn-als⌃slh/, too,
refers to an insect: "one that is characterized by sleeping (tsitumn-) on walls (-als)"
= <u>night moth</u>.

Other -slh derivations pertain to <u>body parts</u>: skw'paaqslh <u>right (skw'p-) leg
(-aaq)</u> from skw'paaq <u>right-legged</u>, skw'paakslh <u>right hand</u> from skw'paak <u>right-handed</u>
(-aak <u>arm, hand</u>), slhxaaqslh <u>left (slhx-) leg</u> from slhxaaq <u>left-legged</u>, slhxaakslh
<u>left hand</u> from slhxaak <u>left-handed</u>. These derivations, like the ones mentioned above,
must contain s-: s⌃s... Most other skw'p- and slhx- extensions do not occur with
-slh, and denote some body part rather than a person having either a right- or left-
-sided propensity: slhxaalh <u>left foot (-aalh)</u>, slhxalmc <u>left breast (-almc)</u>, slhxanlh-
aqw's <u>left eye (-anlhaqw's)</u>, skw'paalh <u>right foot</u>, skw'palmc <u>right breast</u>, skw'panlh-
aqw's <u>right eye</u>.

-slh may go back to *-s-lh (-s = -us <u>face, appearance</u>, -lh <u>belonging to</u> or <u>coming
from</u>).

19 VERBAL SUFFIXES

19.1 There are a number of suffixes that follow verbal bases. These suffixes carry a
variety of meanings, and express voice, tense, mood, or the like. There is one verbal
suffix that changes some interjections and nouns into verbs, and several verbal suffixes
can also be attached to nominal bases.

19.2 Verbal roots and stems can be divided into three classes, viz. (a) <u>transitives</u>,
(b) <u>transitive-intransitives</u>, and (c) <u>intransitives</u>. The second category is limited,
and comprises the following sub-categories:

1	verbs: TO ... (SOMETHING)	
2	adjectives: (TO MAKE SOMETHING) ...	
3a	nouns (materials, implements): (TO APPLY) ... (TO SOMETHING)	
3b	nouns (food sources): (TO GIVE SOMEBODY) ... (TO EAT/DRINK (FROM))	
3c	nouns (social status): (TO MAKE SOMEBODY) ...	
3dI	nouns (passive forms - bugs): (TO BE) ...(-RIDDEN)	
3dII	nouns (passive forms - body parts): (TO HAVE A PAIN IN ONE'S) ...	
3dIII	nouns (passive forms - meteorological phenomena): (TO HAVE) ...	

Examples: 1 - k'c _to see (something)_, klh _to fall, drop (something)_, 7akwa _to buy_
(something), 7alhlxw _to look (at something)_, 7ulx _to be mischievous/to steal something_,
lalaq'a _to fry (something)_; 2 - tsakw' _straight/to stretch, straighten something_,
lhq _wet, damp/to dampen something_, sk'l _cold/to cool something off_; 3a - maaxts _(to_
apply) clay (to something), spux _(to strew) eagle down (on somebody)_, tl'pa _fish spear/_
to spear fish, tiilh _(to) bait (a hook)_, sacwa _(to catch fish with a) dipnet_; 3b -
tums _(to give a baby the) breast_, sulicts _(to give somebody) food-to-go_; 3c - snaax
(to en)slave (somebody); 3dI - muqw'lhatim _he has lice (muqw'lha)_, 7ilht'mlhtst+a
dost thou have fleas (7ilht'mlh)?; 3dII - tsaptim _they have arthritis_ (tsap _bone_),
7atsiwatinits _I have a stomach (7atsiwa) ache_, slicim _he suffers from tuberculosis_
(slic _slime_); 3dIII - sninyatim _they had an earthquake (sninya)_, 7asuk'tinilh _we had_
wind (7asuk'). See also 14.3.3.1.

19.3 A verbal suffix may or may not affect (in)transitivity of the base it follows.
The following processes are observed:

>   transitive base + verbal suffix → transitive verb
>   transitive base + verbal suffix → intransitive verb
>   intransitive base + verbal suffix → transitive verb
>   intransitive base + verbal suffix → intransitive verb

The verbal suffixes are: -m _medium_, -a _active-intransitive_, -amk _adjunct-incorporative_,
-n _transitive_, -amcw _autonomous-transitive_, -tsut/-m-i-tsut/-mut/-i-mut/-t-i-mut/-n-i-
-mut _reflexive_, -t-macw/-n-macw _reciprocal_, -(s)tu-/-nic _causative-transitive_, -t-nm₁/
-nm₁ _causative-intransitive_, -ncw _rare allomorph of -nic_, -ayc/-layc/-a(y)-layc _passive-_
-accidental-intransitive, -ay-nic _passive-accidental-transitive_, -alst _deprivative_,
-a(n)m/-(a)lc _inchoative_, -t-nm₂/-nm₂ _habitual_, nu-s-X-mc _predilectional_, (nu-X)-ik/
-al-us _desiderative_, -lit _imitative_.

19.3.1 A number of the above suffixes belong to one of two separate classes, viz.
the t-class and the n-class. It suffices here to state that verbal suffixes beginning
in t express _control or intention_, whereas the ones with initial n lack this connota-
tion. Thus, -(s)tu- : -nic = -t-nm₁ : -nm₁ = -t-macw : -n-macw = -t-i-mut : -n-i-mut.
Note further, that -(s)tu- goes back to *-(s)t-əcw/w-; -nic and -ncw continue older
*-n-əcw, and -nm₁ may be telescoped -n̂nm. We are also able to isolate: -ayc/-ay-
passive-accidental, -m(-) _medium_, and -i- _euphonic vowel_, so that -∅ : -m(-i-) =
-tsut : -m-i-tsut; -∅ : -i- = -mut : -i-mut; -∅ : -ayc = -layc : -a(y)-layc = -nic :
-ay-nic.

19.4 In what follows, I will discuss the semantic and morphological properties of the
verbal suffixes in the same order as they are listed in 19.3.

19.5   The suffix -m performs a variety of functions. The gloss "medium" covers only
a fraction of its semantic range, and its morphological character is equally complex.

19.5.1   First of all, -m can be employed as an <u>intransitivizer</u>.

19.5.1.1   When -m is placed after an intransitive stem without altering intransitivity,
it either functions as <u>activizer</u>, or it renders the <u>medium</u> voice. These functions are
mutually exclusive.

   Activizing -m is used after nominal bases denoting <u>food items, utensils, and games</u>,
and then translates as <u>to be involved with, to work with or on X</u>: sputcm <u>to work on</u>
<u>(i.e., prepare) eulachons (sputc)</u>, sxtl'ikm <u>to fix up, prepare fish backbones (sxtl'ik)</u>,
7atm <u>to gather herring eggs (7at)</u>, satsqwlam <u>to (use a) raft (satsqwla)</u>, 7aqsm <u>to use</u>
<u>a halibut hook (7aqs)</u>, sukwwaatm <u>to play cat's cradle (sukwwaat)</u>. These are <u>perform-</u>
<u>atives</u> (see 19.14.1.2).

   Mediumizing -m occurs in verbs that describe a <u>process or some weather phenomenon</u>,
in which case it means <u>it is Xing</u>: k'aym <u>it is snowing</u> (k'ay <u>snow</u>), tupm <u>it is bubbling</u>
(√tup <u>foam(y)</u>), 7icpqw'm <u>there is a blizzard blowing</u> (√pqw' <u>powder(y)</u>). These are
<u>statives</u> (see 19.14.1.2).

   Both as activizer and as mediumizer, -m occurs with a relatively small number of
roots and stems. Activizing -m reminds one of English verbs such as "to fish", "to
raft", "to host".

19.5.1.2   A number of transitives is rendered intransitive by the addition of -m. This
suffix then typically conveys <u>prolonged activities</u>, and it may <u>shift or specify</u> the
meaning of the base. Occasionally the -m extended form bears a <u>resultative-passive</u>
(i.e., reverse causative) relation to the bare stem.

   Prolonged activities are expressed by: mntskm <u>to be busy counting</u> (mntsk <u>to count</u>
<u>objects</u>), tl'alhm <u>to be busy drying food</u> (tl'alh <u>to dry food</u>), sxm <u>to be busy scraping</u>
<u>things</u> (sx <u>to scrape something</u>), q'pstm <u>to sample</u> (q'pst <u>to taste something</u>), etc.:
<u>performative base + -m → performative verb</u>.

   Semantic shift (narrowing) has taken place in: tsiixm <u>to be digging clams</u> (tsiix
<u>to dig something up</u>), suq'm <u>to take the bark off a tree</u> (suq' <u>to strip, skin</u>), musm <u>to</u>
<u>be spying</u> (mus <u>to touch or feel something</u>), tictiixwm <u>to drive poles for eulachon net</u>
(tiixw <u>to hit something with a hammer</u>), ksm <u>to pull in a net</u> (ks <u>to pull something</u>),
etc.: <u>performative base + -m → performative verb</u>.

   A resultative increment is observed in, e.g., plikm <u>to tip over, capsize</u> (plik <u>to</u>
<u>tip something over</u>), xupm <u>to sink (in mud)</u> (xup <u>to insert something</u>), scwm <u>to (be)</u>
<u>burn(ing)</u> (scw <u>to burn something</u>), qw'xwm <u>to be in motion</u> (qw'xw <u>to move something</u>).
Here: <u>performative base + -m → stative verb</u>.

19.5.1.3   After complex performative stems containing a lexical suffix or suffix string,
intransitivizing -m translates <u>reflexive</u> (cf. 20.2.5.2, 20.3.5.2): mukusm <u>to paint</u>

one's (-m) face (-us) red (mukw), sxaaxutsm to shave (sx) one's (-m) beard (-aaxuts),
ksaalhm to take off (ks) one's (-m) shoes (-aalh), tiq'anlhm to mend (tiq') one's
clothes (-anlh), 7akwnutsm to buy (7akwn-) one's food (-uts), ksiixwm to take off (ks)
one's hat (-iixw): performative base + -m → performative verb.

19.5.2 With a number of (mainly performative) intransitives -m is employed as a
transitivizer: putl'm to come (putl') to somebody, to visit somebody, talawsm to marry
somebody (talaws to get married), 7anaykm to want (7anayk) something, qaaxlam to drink
(qaaxla) something, 7acwsm to holler (7acws) at somebody, etc.

  After performative bases containing a somatic suffix or suffix string, transit-
ivizing -m is employed productively (cf. 20.2.6), and translates as to X something with
one's ...: tspakm to wipe something (tsp) with one's (-m) hand (-ak), 7itl'aalhm to
move (7itl') something with one's foot (-aalh), 7alhtmpaaxalitsm to have something be-
tween (7alhtmp) one's teeth (-aaxalits).

19.5.3 One transitive verb, viz. tay to hit, pound, is also found with transitivizing
-m, but then has a different (narrowed, specified) meaning: taym to pound cedarbark
in order to make it pliable.

19.5.4 Many of the numerous transitives and intransitives ending in m may have evolved
from complex forms (*-m). For the aspectual character of intransitivizing -m see below
(19.6.1).

19.6 The verbal suffix -a is used as an intransitivizer after unmarked (and as a rule
performative) transitive bases: mntcwa to dip up things (vs. mntcw id. something),
maliixwa to mix things (vs. maliixw id. something), etc. It is never found after marked
transitives, so that *-m-a, *-nic-a, *-ay-nic-a, *-n-a, *-amcw-a are non-existent, but
-amk (which is not exclusively transitivizing) can occasionally be combined with this
suffix: qtsamkit they will cast out the net vs. qtsamtsamkanaw they are casting out
nets.

19.6.1 With the exception of those verbs that describe some mental process ("to hate",
"to envy", "to consider", "to want", etc.), performatives are futural-conclusive (i.e.,
"non-present"): tl'apts I will go (tl'ap) or went, tcits I will cut it, I cut it (past
tense), but: nuscmtsinu I hate (nuscm) thee, 7anaykmicw+a t'ayc dost thou want (7anaykm)
this?, 7iclq'tits I am thinking (7iclq') about them.
  When -a is added to a transitive base, the aspect of the resultant complex verb
is always present-progressive: tcats I am cutting things (not "I will be cutting or I
cut things"). Intransitivizing -m has the same effect: mntskits I will count (mntsk)
them (objects) vs. mntskmts I am (busy) counting.
  From several transitives both -a and -m complexes are derived:

simplex	-a complex	-m complex
kits' to twist	kits'a id. itr.	kits'm to twist bark
q'up to expose to smoke	q'upa id. itr.	q'upm to emit smoke
xup to insert	xupa id. itr.	xupm to sink (in mud)
lhut' to smell	lhut'a id. itr.	lhut'm to sniff/inhale a smell
tsiix to dig up	tsiixa id. itr.	tsiixm to dig clams

19.7 The suffix -amk affects bases as follows:

        a. intransitive base + -amk → transitive verb

        b. transitive base + -amk → transitive verb

        c. intransitive base + -amk → intransitive verb

19.7.1 In the majority of cases, -amk serves to transitivize intransitive verbs.
Its meaning is then to have as a source for/means of Xing, to use for Xing, to X with
or about: xlhalhamk to crave food (xlhalh hungry), lhulhamk to hear news about somebody
(lhulhtu- to reveal news to somebody), tl'yukamk to talk (tl'yuk) about somebody,
smsmayamk to tell a story (smsma) about something or somebody, etc.

    I have termed this suffix "adjunct-incorporative", because there exist such pairs
as:

with 7alh+ or c+ adjunct		with -amk
1. smsmats c+ti+smsma	=	smsmayamkits ti+smsma
2. nuyamlhts 7alh+tc	=	nuyamlhamkits tc
3. 7aalats'iits 7alh+ti+qwaxw+tc	=	7aalats'amkiitits ti+qwaxw+tc
4. yayaatwiits 7alh+t'ayc	=	yayaatwamkiitits t'ayc

1. I am telling (smsma) a story (smsma), 2. I am singing (a song) (nuyamlh) about him,
3. I am telling something (7aalats'ii) about Raven (qwaxw), 4. I am happy (yayaatwii)
about this.

What appears as the adjunct after the -amk-less predicates, is the object after the
ones containing -amk.

19.7.1.1 -amk is sometimes translated as to cause somebody to (be) X after several
attempts: tulwamktsut "to finally cause oneself (-tsut) to succeed (tulu)" = to finally
manage, succeed, 7atsiwltamkim "she was finally caused to be pregnant (7atsiwlt)" =
after having dated her several times, somebody got her pregnant. Cf. 19.7.2.1.

19.7.2 Less often, transitivizing -amk can follow transitives: tcamkis ti+tq'lha he
uses a knife (tq'lha) for cutting (tc), qtsamkis ta+kw'putss+tx he cast out his net
(kw'puts) (qts to extend, transmit something to somebody), xapnamktsut "to cause one-
self (-tsut) to (be) pack(ed) (xapn-)" = to mount a horse, 7akwnamk to sell (fish)
(7akwa to buy something).

19.7.2.1 In a number of cases -amk adds the notion of <u>to X in addition to or in</u>
<u>connection with some other activity</u>: 7ulxamkis ta+lalaq'ata+tx <u>he stole (7ulx) the</u>
<u>frying pan (lalaq'ata) (while rummaging in the kitchen)</u>, tayamkis <u>he threw it (tay)</u>
<u>(a rock or insect) aside (while digging roots)</u>, 7upkamkits <u>I will (go to the post</u>
<u>office and) mail (7upk) it out</u>, mntcwamk <u>to dip something up (mntcw) (while cooking)</u>.
Cf. 19.7.1.1.

    There is often a connotation of <u>casualness</u> or <u>unnoticed-ness</u>: M.S. remarks that
7ulxis <u>he stole it</u> is said when the speaker has witnessed the event, while 7ulxamkis
<u>id.</u> is used when the speaker has failed to do so.

19.7.3 There are a few intransitives that contain -amk, viz. kwlamk <u>to pass gifts</u>
<u>around</u> (?cf. kwl <u>warm</u>), 7alhmutsamk <u>Mystery Dancer</u> (= /7alh⌐lhm-uts-amk/ "standing
(/7alh⌐lhm/) in a hole (-uts)"), wa+tl'apamk <u>a catch</u> (instead of *wa+tl'apamkim (see
17.3.1) – tl'apamk <u>to get or catch something</u>, tl'ap <u>to go</u>).

19.8 The transitivizer -n is virtually petrified. It appears mainly after base-final
t (with few exceptions = formative -t): tiixwalaaxtn <u>to fasten (tiixw) a rope (-alaaxt)</u>
<u>to a stake</u>, tsik'iixwalstn <u>to stab somebody (tsik') in the shoulder (-iixwalst)</u>,
kits'liktn <u>to twist something (kits')</u> (-likt <u>space, volume</u>). Here -n is, strictly
speaking, redundant.

    -n is also used to transitivize forms containing -alst <u>deprivative</u> (see 19.15).
The addition of -n is optional in skw'alaaxt(n) <u>to untie (skw') a rope (-alaaxt)</u>,
7imalht(n) <u>to tie up (√7im) a canoe (-alht)</u>, k'lht or k'lhtn <u>to prop up, brace something</u>.

    -n is not preceded by t in 7aq'sn <u>to hang, strangle somebody</u> (cf. q's <u>tight</u>),
and nu7ip'p'ikalhhn <u>to grab somebody (7ip') by the throat (nu-...-ikalhh)</u>.

19.9 The transitivizer -amcw conveys <u>autonomy, individuality: from/by (within) oneself</u>:
7alhnapamcwits <u>I know it instinctively</u> (vs. 7alhnapits <u>id. from perception or hearsay</u>),
7alhnapamcwaakmis <u>he (already) knows how to do (-aak) it (he did not have to learn it)</u>,
7ulamcwits 7ulh+ts wa+7its'amnii+ts <u>I give them the blankets (7its'amnii) that I have</u>
<u>manufactured myself ("out of my own stock")</u> (√7ul <u>to procure, produce</u>), 7acwlhamcw-
tsinu "I find you vague (7acwlh)" = <u>I hardly recognize you, you seem to have become</u>
<u>a stranger to me</u>.

19.9.1 Etymologically, -amcw (< *-a(-)məcw <u>individual</u>) is related to -mc <u>native, in-</u>
<u>habitant</u> (< *-məc(w)) (see 21.3).

19.10 There are six reflexive suffixes and suffix strings, which differ from each
other semantically and morphologically. They all accept intransitive pronominal suf-
fixation.

19.10.1 The suffix -tsut (-tsuut) is found after transitive (mostly performative) bases, and means to X oneself: paaxtsut to name (paax) oneself, p'stsut "to bend (p's) oneself" = to bend over, tuk'tsut to stretch (tuk') oneself, tkatsuut to shoot (tka) oneself, etc.

Only a handful of intransitives can be combined with -tsut: 7icp'iixmtsut to take a steam-bath (p'iixm to be steaming), sxwnatatsut to give oneself a nickname (sxwnata). Cf. 19.2.

19.10.2 The suffix string -m-i-tsut occurs after some, mainly stative, intransitives only. It contains -m- medium, which explains its meaning: to (be) X for/by/to oneself. Examples: numawaakmitsuti to be all alone (numawi) at work (-aak), slaxmitsut to have many (slax) relatives, nuscickmitsut to be sad, feel sorry for oneself (nu-...-ik mind, sc bad), kw'cwmitsut to watch out, be careful (√kw'cw is found exclusively in combination with -m-i-tsut), nuq'aýkmitsut to take pity on oneself (nu-...-ik mind, q'ay poor, pitiful), nutl'uk'ikmitsut to have a high (tl'uk') opinion (nu-...-ik) of oneself, to be conceited, arrogant, yalh7ayakmitsut to manage to do (-ak) something (√yalh7ay to have time or opportunity).

19.10.3 The petrified suffix -mut is found in two words (both of which are derived from performative transitives), viz. q'amut to put away, bury, attend a funeral (q'aw to bury, store something), and kulhkamut to pay a prostitute (kulh- pertaining to sex, kaw to deliver, serve). Although this suffix does not translate reflexive, it certainly is the same element as the one contained in -i-mut, -t-i-mut, and -n-i-mut (see 19.10. 4-6).

19.10.4 The complex suffix -i-mut is represented in a few words (derived from performatives) only: mnlhimut to (have a) rest (mnlh to stop, subside), nmpimut to go aboard (nmp to put something inside), nukw'ptimut to have one's fill of food (nu- stomach, kw'pt to saturate), 7iximut "to grind (7ix) oneself (against the riverbed)" = fish is spawning, 7alh7nimuttu- to give (7alh7n-) something to somebody.

19.10.5 The complex suffix -t-i-mut is related to -tu- as -n-i-mut is to -nic (cf. 19.3.1). Like -tu-, it is combined with intransitive bases only, and it translates as to purposely cause oneself to (be) X, to make oneself X: tupmaaktimut "to cause oneself to have frothing (tupm) hands (-aak)" = to apply soap to one's hands, p'iixlatimut (to cause oneself) to drift down the river (p'iixla), spuxamtimut "to cause oneself to become (-am) eagle down (spux)" = to change oneself into eagle down, lhmtimut to stand up (= lhm), nucstimut to keep quiet (nucs), 7ic7ixq'mtimut to wander around (7ixq'm to walk), 7umtimut = 7um to get off a boat, disembark.

-t-i-mut often conveys solitariness: by/for oneself, as in 7alhpstimut to eat (7alhps) by oneself, cap'timut to run away (cap') by oneself, to escape (alone), etc.

Nominal stems extended with -t-i-mut remain nominal, the suffix then being glossed

as pretending to be X, would-be X: mantimut stepfather (man father), stantimut step-mother (stan mother), staltmctimut would-be chief (staltmc), 7itsaatimut false teeth (7itsa).

A number of words containing -t-i-mut have become lexicalized: spuustimut weed, volunteer plant (s- nominalizer, pus to grow), lh(m)t'mtimut grasshopper (lht'm to pop out, emerge), qw'xwmtimut car (auto-mobile: qw'xwm to move, be in motion).

19.10.6 The suffix string -n-i-mut relates to -nic as -t-i-mut does to -tu- (cf. 19.3.1). Like -nic, it follows intransitive stative bases, and it is glossed as to accidentally or inadvertently cause oneself to (be) X, to get oneself to (be) X: tsik'aycnimut to get oneself stabbed (tsik'ayc), 7istsk'nimut to be lonesome, homesick ("to find oneself paining (√tsk' sharp, stinging) intensely (7is-)"), sak'amnimut to hurt oneself by accident (sak'am to get hurt, wounded), klhnimut to slip and fall (klh), q'uxlcnimut to get tired (q'uxlc), to exhaust oneself.

Occasionally, -n-i-mut means to consider oneself X, as in nulhnusiinimutlhts "I thought I was (-lh-ts) only (-ii) two (nulhnus)" = I thought there were only two of us, kmayalusnimutts I think I have a cold (kmayalus).

19.11 The reciprocal suffix complexes -t-macw and -n-macw are both followed by plural intransitive pronominal endings. The difference between them is one of consciousness, intention, or control vs. the lack of it. Etymologically, -macw may be related to -mc and -amcw (see 21.3, resp. 19.9.1).

19.11.1 -t-macw is affixed to transitive bases, and translates as to purposely/con-sciously X each other: nukumtmacw to desire (nukum) each other, nuscmtmacw to hate (nuscm) each other, k'ctmacw to see, look at (k'c) each other, waltmacw to leave (wal) each other, etc.

19.11.1.1 A number of intransitive bases take transitivizing -m before -t-macw: saticmtmacw to be each other's pals (satic), susqwimtmacw to be each other's siblings (susqwi), 7itl'yukmtmacw to have an argument (tl'yuk) with each other, kw'smtmacw to be engaged (kw's) to each other.

19.11.1.2 -t-macw often glosses as together, and with that meaning is also found after intransitive bases: stam7apsulhmtmacwaw they are co-residents (stam7apsulh), they live together, 7alhpstmacw to eat (7alhps) together, 7axtstmacw to lie down (7axts) together, yalctmacw "to become (-lc) good (ya) together" = to make up, make peace.

19.11.1.3 In exceptional cases -t-macw can be followed by sg pronominal endings. The action expressed by the base is then applied to "duplicate" body parts, or pertains to the trading of objects: 7alh7ip'aaktmacwts I am holding (7alh7ip') my hands (-aak) to-gether, 7ayamtmacwts c+a+qinxts+ts 7ula+qaytnu+ts I am trading (7ayam) my shoes (qinx)

for thy hats (qayt).

19.11.2   The suffix string -n-macw is added to intransitives (mostly stative ones). It means to accidentally X each other, or to consider, find each other (to be) X: sak'amn̩macw to hurt each other by accident (saka'm to get hurt), yanmacw "to consider each other good (ya)" = to like each other.

A simplex is often non-existent, and forms with -n-macw frequently occur beside ones ending in -nic (cf. 19.13, 19.13.1): ts'xanmacw "to consider each other to be true (ts'x-, ts'xa-)" = to believe each other (ts'xanic id. somebody), kannmacw to hurt each other accidentally (kannic id. somebody), 7anusqwinmacw to disbelieve each other (7anusqwinic id. somebody).

19.11.2.1   Like -t-macw, -n-macw occasionally translates as to X together: pakwnmacw "to catch up with each other" = to arrive somewhere at the same time, together (pakw-nic to catch up with somebody).

19.12   The suffix -tu-/-stu- to purposely cause somebody or something to (be) X is related to -nic (19.13) as -t- is to -n- in general (cf. 19.3.1). It is followed by the causative pronominal suffixes (see 14.4 ff.), and is added exclusively to intransitive bases. Examples: 7iixwtu- "to cause something to burn (7iixw)" = to burn something, 7ustcwtu- "to cause somebody to go in (7ustcw)" = to let somebody in, 7alhpstu- "to cause somebody to eat (7alhps)" = to let somebody eat, feed somebody, pustu- "to cause somebody to grow (pus)" = to raise, bring up a child, etc.

The allomorph -stu- is (a) found in pacpaaquustu- to scare somebody (√paaqu(u) to be afraid), (b) often preferred to -tu- after base-final t: nupapntstu- to boil something (nupapnt to be boiling), 7mtstu- "to cause somebody to sit (7mt)" = to seat somebody, offer a seat to somebody, lip'tsutstu- "to cause something to come back (lip'-tsut)" = to return something. For -t-, -tw-, -tcw, -txw see 14.4.1.1.

19.12.1   Transitive bases must be intransitivized before -tu- can be added: 7its'tatu- to make something squirt (7its't to squirt on something), nustq'atu- to have somebody patch something (nustq'), qulhatu- to have somebody write something (qulh).

-a-tu- complexes often translate benefactive (see also 14.4.5): q'lhkwatu- to fix something up (q'lhkw) for somebody, 7apswatu- to blow something (7apsu) away from somebody, etc.

In kstcwatu- to fix something for somebody, -a is inserted between the already causative kstcw (participial form of kstu- to fix something) and -tu-; this is certainly not a regular process (I have been unable to elicit more examples of this type), but that kstcw does have transitive properties appears from the derivation kstcwaynic to manage to (-aynic) fix something (-aynic is added exclusively to transitives, see 19.14.1). A case of lexicalization?

19.12.2 Two bases appear only with -tu-/-t-nm₁ (see 19.12.3) and -nic (see 19.13) or -n-macw, viz. √pun to find, receive a gift and sqw'-m- to start(le) (from sqw' to jump (up)): puntu-/puntnm to give something to somebody, puṁmacw to exchange gifts, sqw'mtu-/sqw'ṃnic to startle somebody.

19.12.3 The causative counterpart of intransitivizing -m is -t-nm₁. Beside forms with -tu- (followed by causative endings) we find ones with -t-nm₁ which accept intransitive suffixation. Cf. 19.13.2. Examples: pustnm to raise, bring up (pus to grow), tumstnm to breast-feed (tums breast), 7alhpstnm to feed (7alhps to eat), scuukstnm to defeat a team (scuukstu- id. causative-transitive), lhulhtnm to have or tell news (lhulhtu- to have news for somebody), 7alhqtsamktnm to have a net in the water (7alhqtsamk cast out (net)), etc.

Occasionally we find the allomorph -tnmc, which probably = -t-nm²mc (cf. 19.13.2, 19.17.2). In my notes, -tnmc is attested only in forms with a sg human internal object: kw'alhtnmc to raise, bring up (one child) (kw'alhtu- id. somebody), 7aalats'tnmc to tell on somebody (7aalats'iitu- to tell something to somebody), 7alhk'ilhtnmc to be waiting for somebody (7alhk'ilhtu- id. causative-transitive).

19.12.4 The causative-reciprocal suffix is -t-macw or -st-macw to cause each other to (be) X, or to X to/for each other (the first variant is phonetically identical to -t-macw to X each other): pacpaaquustmacw "to cause each other to be scared (paaxu, √paaqu(u))" = to (be) scare(d of) each other, 7alhk'ilhtmacw to wait for each other (7alhk'ilhtu- id. for somebody), 7aalats'tmacw to tell each other things (7aalats'iitu- to tell somebody something). Cf. 19.11.1.2, 19.11.2.

19.13 The causative suffix -nic to accidentally or unintentionally cause something or somebody to (be) X is affixed to (mostly stative) intransitive bases, and takes transitive pronominal endings. -nic relates to -tu- as does -n- to -t- in general (cf. 19.3.1). Examples: sqw'ṃnic to unintentionally startle somebody (sqw'-m- to startle), k'nṃnic to make somebody tremble (k'nm), sak'amnic to accidentally hurt somebody (sak'am to get hurt), kw'alcnic to happen to scorch something (kw'alc scorched), etc.

-nic can often be translated as to find or consider somebody or something to (be) X, as in: ts'xanic "to consider somebody to be true (ts'x-a-)" = to believe somebody, 7alh7atmanic to think somebody is dead (7alh7atma), 7alhinic to think somebody is there (7alhi to be somewhere), k'axwnic to think something is not (k'axw) the case, yanic "to find somebody good (ya)" = to like somebody.

In songs we find the older form -nuc: 7icaalasnuclhtits I have been looking for them = 7icaasniclhtits (√7icaa(la)s needed, wanting, missing). See further 19.13.3.

19.13.1 Some intransitives are found only in combination with -n- suffixes (cf. 19.11.2): ts'xanic to believe somebody, ts'xanmacw id. each other, pakwnic to catch up with somebody, pakwnṃacw id. with each other, nanic to forget something, nanimut to

mourn (√na past, forgotten), 7icaasnic to search for something, 7icaasnm id. intransitive, kannic to hurt somebody unintentionally, kannimut id. oneself.

19.13.2 The intransitive counterpart of -nic is the virtually petrified -nm₁ (cf. 19.12.3): 7acwsnm to hear (7acwsnic id. something), 7icaasnm to search (7icaasnic id. for something) (no further examples).

     In a few cases we find -nmc (? -nm⌢mc, cf. 19.12.3, 19.17.2): pakwnmc to catch up (pakwnic id. with somebody), 7alh7acwsnmc to hear (7alh7acwsnic id. something), wannmc to be late (for), miss out (on) (wañcw id. something).

19.13.3 There are some verbs that contain transitivizing -ncw. This suffix forms a doublet with -nic (both go back to *-nǝcw). The allomorph -ncw must originally have been a positional variant of -nic after base-final V or n; it has been recorded only in the following items: ts'xancw = ts'xanic to believe somebody, kañcw = kannic/kañic to worry about somebody who is taking a long time to show up ("to think (fear) somebody is hurt (√kan)"), wañcw to be late for, miss out on something (wannmc id. intransitive), *cwiñcw to perceive an omen (scwiñcw (bad) omen, cwinnṃacw to hear an ominous sound simultaneously with somebody else, cwinnimut to sense, have a presentiment that something is about to happen).

     The even rarer -nucw is occasionally used by M.S. as a free variant of -nic: wanucwtscw+7iks = wanictscw+7̂iks who (wa...+7iks) dost thou (-cw) think (-nucw/-nic) I (-ts-) am?

19.14 There are four suffixes and suffix strings that express lack of direct control, intention, or involvement. Thus, -ayc, -layc, -ay-layc (these are followed by intransitive pronominal suffixes), and -ay-nic (followed by transitive suffixes) convey one or more of the following notions:

1. potential, ability
2. final realization of previously attempted act
3. prior act culminating in completion or resultant state
4. continued act or state
5. state of being attributable to (external) circumstances

19.14.1 -ayc is employed after transitive performatives, and is then glossed as to have become Xed, to be in a Xed state: tcayc to be cut (up) (tc to cut something), qwlxwayc to be hired, contracted (qwlxw to hire, contract somebody), walayc to be left (behind) (wal to leave somebody), skw'ayc to be undone, loose (skw' to undo something), sxpayc to be tied (up) (sxp to tie something), tmpaaxalitsaycts there is something (stuck) between my teeth (-aaxalits) (tmp to insert something), etc.

     There are a few -ayc complexes that have no simplex beside them, e.g., sts'apayc to (have) surrender(ed)/submit(ted) oneself to somebody. That √sts'ap is intrinsically transitive appears from sts'apaynic to manage to submit somebody to oneself (-ay-nic

can only follow transitives, see 19.14.4).

19.14.1.1 Occasionally, -ayc has a circumstantial connotation, or one of completion (rather than passivity): numnlhatayc to happen to (have) fathom(ed) the depth of water (nu-) (mnlhat to measure something), xwlhaycaw they have brushed past (xwlh to increase, become more ..., come close(r)). Cf. 19.14.1.2, German "ich bin gekommen".

19.14.1.2 -ayc can also be combined with intransitive bases, and then means either to be in a Xing position or state or to be able, manage to X. The former gloss is found where the base describes a more or less passive state or an effortless or involuntary act (stative bases), whereas the latter translation is common with performative bases (which express actions that require at least some physical effort or intention): 7alhq'pstayc to be tasty (7alhq'pst tasted), 7mtaaxutsayc to be sitting (7mt) around a fire (-aaxuts), 7iixwayc to be burning (7iixw to burn); lhxwtayc to be able to go through (lhxwt), 7ustcwayc "to manage to come in (7ustcw)" = to get in, sqw'ikayc to be able to jump (sqw') over something (-ik top surface, elevation, obstacle).

After verbs of motion, -ayc means having Xed (cf. 19.14.1.1): tl'apayc to have, be gone (tl'ap to go), 7alhq'lumayc to have climbed, gone up (7alhq'lum to be climbing, going up).

In combination with nouns denoting body parts, -ayc is glossed as to be provided with, to have X: sucnayc to have hands (suca/sucn-), 7icnayc to have feet (7ica/7icn-), 7itsnayc to have teeth (7itsa/7itsn-).

Note, that -ayc to be able to X competes with -ay-layc id. (see 19.14.3).

19.14.2 The suffix -layc is found mainly after stative intransitives, and translates roughly as to have or find something or somebody X(ed), or as to find oneself (in) X (circumstances): 7iixwlayc to have burnt one's pot, pan, etc. (7iixw to burn), sclayc "to find oneself in bad (sc) circumstances" = to have bad luck, yalayc "to find oneself in good (ya) circumstances" = to have good luck. A physical disorder or inconvenience is described in: lhuk'layc to have an aversion (√lhuk') towards eating, nu7alatklayc "food has missed (7alatk) one's stomach (nu-)" = to (get) choke(d) on food, plclxslayc to be no longer able to speak (plc-lxs- to be unable to X any longer), kmalayc to be ill (kma to hurt, ache).

Only a few -layc complexes are derived from performative (in)transitive bases: tiixwlayc to guess right (in lahal) (tiixw to hit something with a hammer: "to hit the nail on the head"), tslhlayc to win a race, literally "to have broken (tslh) the string", lik'layc to have a full container (lik' to fill something), cap'laycts he has escaped (cap') from me.

19.14.3 The suffix string -a(y)-layc translates as to be able, manage to X, to finally X, to finish Xing after intransitive performatives, and as to accidentally or unin-

tentionally X after both transitive and intransitive stative bases: 7alh7alhtsimalayc
to be able, manage to speak (7alh7alhtsim), ksnmakaylayc to be able to work (ksnmak),
lhk'maylayc to be able to talk (lhk'm), 7alhpsaylayclh he has finished eating (7alhps);
nupq'talayc to fart (nupq't) accidentally, 7lq'aylayc to get an idea (7lq' to think
of something), lhut'aylayc to catch the smell of something (lhut' to smell something),
q'pstalayc to happen to taste something (q'pst).

The complex putl'a(y)layc to have a catch is lexicalized: putl' to come (cf.
19.14.4: putl'aynic).

19.14.4 The transitive counterpart of -ay-layc, viz. -ay-nic, is affixed to transit-
ives, and means to unintentionally cause something/somebody to be Xed, hence: to
accidentally X something/somebody (with statives), or to manage to or finally X some-
thing/somebody (with performative bases). Examples: musaynic to happen to feel some-
thing (mus), 7lq'aynic to happen to think of something (7lq'), q'pstaynic to acciden-
tally taste something (q'pst); 7apcwaynic to (finally) manage to lift something up
(7apcw), tsaaxnaynic to finally get rid of somebody (tsaaxa/tsaaxn- to chase somebody
out), sts'apaynic to manage to submit somebody to oneself (sts'apayc to submit/surren-
der oneself).

The complex putl'aynic to catch something (putl' to come) is the only example in
my notes of an intransitive followed by -ay-nic (but cf. 19.14.3: putl'a(y)layc).

19.15 -alst deprivative is found in a few words only: 7atṃnalst "to lose somebody to
death" = one's ... has died, as in: 7atṃnalstts c+ta+mnats+tx my son (mna) has died
(7atma/7atmn-). Further: 7ulxalstn to rob somebody of his possessions (7ulx to steal
something), knicalstn to eat somebody else's food (knic to eat something). For the
transitivizer -n see 19.8.

19.16 There are three inchoative suffixes, viz. -am, -anm, and -lc/-alc, which differ
from each other both formally and semantically. -(a)lc can be combined with both trans-
itive and intransitive bases (without altering (in)transitivity), whereas -am and -anm
occur in combination with intransitive bases exclusively, and are followed by intrans-
itive pronominal suffixes.

19.16.1 -am is affixed to nominal, adjectival, and stative intransitive verbal bases,
and translates as to (purposely) become X, to start Xing: staltmcam to become a chief
(staltmc), 7ixwam "to become far (7ixw)" = to go on a long journey, tqnkam "to become
under (tqnk)" = to go underneath something, 7apsulham "to start dwelling somewhere
(7apsulh)" = to settle somewhere, spuxamtimut "to cause oneself (-timut) to become
eagle down (spux)" = to change oneself into eagle down, kmalaycam to fall ill (kmalayc).

-am is also used in combination with numerals and numerical substitutes (see
26.2.6 and 26.2.8): maaskamnu+ks stl'apnu how often ("how many (maask...+ks) times")
didst thou go (tl'ap)?

We cannot exclude the possibility that -am is the "long" allomorph of -m medium (cf. 19.5.1.1, 19.16.2).

19.16.2 Like -am, the inchoative suffix -anm follows only intransitive bases. Its basic meaning is to become X gradually or with effort. Although it would be tempting to analyze this suffix as *-a-n-m (-n- expressing lack of control, see 19.3.1), we are not in a position to do so, since it would be difficult to explain the presence of *-a intransitivizer (19.6). It is, however, possible that -an- is the long allomorph of -n- (cf. 19.16.1), so that the (somewhat speculative) interpretation -an-m (-m being -m medium) could be considered legitimate. We can also compare -anm to -nm₂ (19.17.1.2), with which it shares a durative connotation.

19.16.2.1 When affixed to verbo-adjectival statives, -anm is glossed as to become increasingly Xer: scanm to get worse and worse, to wear out (sc bad), 7ilhmanm (the road) is or seems to be getting steeper all the time (7ilhm steep), qxyuanm to be or seem to be getting more useless (qxyu), 7alhyannm (reduplicated n) (rock) is projecting, overhanging, lit. "being there (7alhi) more and more", "more and more" referring to the vertical-upside down curvature described by the overhanging rock, which can be conceived as a process or motion (curving, changing direction). Compare, in this respect, expressions such as "this road leads to ...", "the line cuts through ...", "that circle runs around ...", etc., where verbs are employed that really convey a motion or process.

19.16.2.2 After nouns, -anm is translated as either to become X painstakingly or after many attempts or when X begins to come, the season of X, beginning of X, early X: staltmcanm to go through a lot of trouble or hard work in order to become chief (staltmc), 7an7aq'uliikwanm to do one's best to become, work hard on becoming a policeman (7an7aq'uliikw); t'lianm "when the t'li dog salmon starts coming up the river" = the dog salmon season, sputcanm the eulachon (sputc) season, sutkanmi early winter (sutk) (-i diminutive), 7a7amlhanmi "early summer (7amlh)" = spring.

19.16.2.3 When following a verbal base that describes a seasonal, routinely, or regularly performed activity, -anm means it is time for one to X, one must go Xing now: 7ilhtsayanmts it is (the) time (of the year) for me to (start) pick(ing) berries (7ilhtsay), 7alhpsanmts I must eat (7alhps) now.

19.16.2.4 The suffix string -anm-aak translates as hour or o'clock (-aak hand, pointer), and is found after numerals and some numerical substitutes (cf. 20.6.1): smawanmaak one (smaw) hour, maaskanmaak+7iks "how many (maask...+7iks) hours?" = what time is it?, ka+lip'tsutts 7alh+ti+ka+lhnusanmaak I will (ka+) return (lip'tsut) at two (lhnus) o'clock.

19.16.3 -lc has higher morphological valence than -am and -anm. It has in common with modifying suffixes (18.1) that it can be combined with both transitive and intransitive bases, and also that it does not affect (in)transitivity of the base it is attached to.

-lc is the semantic antipode of -lh (18.5), and conveys necessity or inevitability of changing: to become, grow, get X (after intransitive statives), to have to X, to be going to X soon (after performatives). Examples: paaxulc to get scared (paaxu), puuxlc to get mouldy (puux), t'qwmlc to rot, get rotten (t'qwm), nutskwlc "to become heavy (tskw) in the water (nu-)" = to (become water-logged and) sink; putl'lc to have to, to be going to come (putl') soon, tl'aplc to have to, to be going to go (tl'ap) soon, tsaaxalclhtits I have had to chase (tsaaxa) them out, etc.

The allomorph -alc occurs in 7acwsalc to learn (cf. 7acws to be audible, holler), t'qalc to paste, stick something (= t'q), ksalc to get married (cf. ks to pull something (away)), sxalc (rock-, snow-)slide (cf. sx to scrape something).

19.17 A number of suffixes express duration, intention, or involvement.

19.17.1 The habitual suffixes -t-nm₂ and -nm₂ are affixed to transitive-performative bases. The majority of the resulting complex verbs typically expresses communal-benefactive activities (often prolonged): to X with or for the benefit (entertainment) of other individuals (for "benefactive" cf. 14.4.5, 19.12.1), and often describe some household or other routinely performed act, occupation, profession, or a specific role in a competitive game or contest. Both -t-nm₂ and -nm₂ are followed by intransitive pronominal suffixes.

19.17.1.1 -t-nm₂ appears only in the following items: tslhtnm "to break (tslh) the string" = to (be the) win(ner in) a race, nukaliilhtnm ring-throwing (a game) (√kal to hit, touch something, nu-...-iilh ring), sp'alustnm to be splitting wood (-alus) (sp' to hit something with an object), 7alhlxwtnm newsreader (7alhlxw to read, look at something).

19.17.1.2 -nm₂ is more productive than -t-nm₂: mnts'aqw's nm to crush, squeeze berries (to extract the juice) (mnts'aqw's to squeeze berries), nik'aaxnm to be cutting (nik') hay (-aax), qat'iixwnm "to pull towards oneself (qat') plant tops (-iixw)" = to be picking elderberries, sp'lxsnm "to be hitting (sp') the end (-lxs)" = to hit the Morse key, wire a telegram, (use the) telephone, ts'xlhᶍlhnuulhnm "to be kicking (ts'xlhn) a ball (-uulh)" = to play soccer, k'tsaaxnm to be cutting down (k'ts) trees (-aax), tslhnm = tslhtnm (see 19.17.1.1), 7anutayaaknm "to throw (tay) something out of (7anu-) one's hand (-aak)" = to (be the) pitch(er) (in baseball), qulhuusnm "to take pictures (qulh) of faces (-uus)" = to (be a) photograph(er), nutsqwilhnm to be a rapist (nutsqwilh to rape, deflower), 7alht'umulhnm "always sucking (7alht'um) on bodies (-ulh)" = (to be a) leech.

19.17.2 The circumfix nu-s-X-mc contains nu- <u>inside</u> (see 23.6.2), s- <u>nominalizer</u> (23.9 ff.), and -mc <u>person, native</u> (21.3), but semantically these affixes have become fused. nus-X-mc forms stative intransitives from performative (a few stative) bases (mostly intransitive ones), and translates as <u>always Xing, preoccupied with Xing</u>: nusts'kmc "always fixing (ts'k) things" = <u>handy, adroit</u>, nuŝcalimc <u>always jealous (scali)</u>, nus7im̂c <u>preoccupied with having sexual intercourse (7im)</u>, nus7alhxmc <u>always quarreling (7alhx)</u>, nusnaaxwm̂c <u>always (indulging in) dancing (naaxwm)</u>, nuskwanatmc <u>always crying (kwanat)</u>.

Occasionally, only nus- is used (with the same meaning): nustl'yuk <u>always talking (tl'yuk)</u>, nusqw'lh <u>always laughing (qw'lh)</u>.

19.17.3 The desiderative affix complexes (nu-X)-ik and -al-us differ from each other in intensity; the former is glossed as <u>to (strongly) want to X</u>, and is related to nu-X-ik <u>(state of) mind</u>, whereas the latter means <u>to feel like Xing</u> (cf. -al-us <u>chest → heart</u>).

Both (nu-X)-ik and -al-us are followed by intransitive pronominal suffixes, and are used mainly with intransitive bases: nutl'apikts <u>I want to go (tl'ap)</u>, 7alh7alhtsimikts <u>I want to speak (7alh7alhtsim)</u>, 7anusuqw'ptamikts <u>I want to smoke (7anusuqw'ptam)</u>, 7alh7alhtsimalusts <u>I feel like speaking, would like to speak</u>, 7anusuqw'ptamalusnu+a <u>wouldst thou like to have a smoke?</u>

19.18 The suffix -lit <u>to say, make the sound of X</u> renders a small number of interjections and sound-imitative roots verbal, and may be related etymologically (*-l-it) to 7it- <u>to speak</u> (see 23.2): mamawlit <u>to mew, miaul</u>, ts'uts'uulit <u>to produce an alveolar click</u> (√ts'u <u>to suck</u>), qwaxwqwaxwlit <u>to caw, croak</u> (qwaxw <u>raven</u>), 7axwlit <u>to say no (7axw), to deny or refuse</u>, waylit <u>to say OK (way), to agree or give permission</u>.

20 LEXICAL SUFFIXES

20.1 A great number of suffixes have a semantically additive, rather than grammatically modifying, character. These are the lexical suffixes, most of which are translated into English as nouns. Of these, the <u>quantifiers</u> occur only after numerals and numerical substitutes; the <u>classifiers</u> and <u>metaphorical suffixes</u> generally follow transitive and intransitive verbs (including adjectives), and all remaining (<u>somatic</u> and <u>non--somatic</u>) lexical suffixes can be combined with (in)transitive verbs and nouns.

The lexical suffixes do as a rule not alter the morphological status of the base they are attached to, i.e., <u>noun + lexical suffix → noun</u> (the only exceptions to this rule are found in 20.2.3, c), and <u>verb + lexical suffix → verb</u>.

Many lexical suffixes are paired by independent forms (nouns) - they function to incorporate the semantic content of these nouns with that of the base they follow.

20.2 The somatic and botanic suffixes refer to resp. body parts and plant parts.
Of these, only a handful are parallelled by semantically identical (in most cases
etymologically unrelated) simple nouns, but many have complex nominal equivalents
beginning in 7as- (sometimes 7ass-) or skulh- (less often kulh-). Cf. 20.2.2, 20.3.

Like the non-somatic suffixes, somatic and botanic suffixes are either simple
or complex. The latter are formed by stringing together somatic-botanic and/or non-
-somatic and/or classifying suffixes.

In the lists that follow, each simple suffix is numbered (the numbering beginning
in 20.2.1 is continued in 20.3.1, 20.4.1, 20.4.1.1, 20.5.1, 20.6.1), and the complex
ones are described in terms of their constituents, e.g., -nalus-lxs-ak (31II-66-21)
"in between-point-hand" = between the fingers. The connective -al- (see 22.4) is
frequently found in complex somatic-botanic suffixes, and so is the formative -t (see
22.3); -layc tubercle, projection occurs exclusively in combination with other somatic
suffixes.

20.2.1 Here follow the most commonly used somatic-botanic suffixes. When a suffix
co-exists with a nominal equivalent, this is given in parentheses. For the suffixes
preceded by an asterisk see 20.2.2. Where the older (proto-Salish) form of a suffix
(+ noun) can be reconstructed, the etymon is also provided with an asterisk, and given
in parentheses.

1   -ps see -al-ps
2   -nnak excrement (mnk) (-ənak, *məna/ək)
3   -nk base, bottom: I. buttocks, small of back (skulhnk), II. root (sqitilhp),
     III. stem, base of tree (kulhnk), IV. tail (kats'an)
4   -nalus joint (skulhnalus) (*-l-anus, -l-anwəs)
4a   -nalus-aax (31II-22) crotch (7asnalusaax)
4b   -nalus-aqw's (31II-23I) bridge of nose (7as/skulhnalusaqw's)
4c   -nalus-lxs-alh (31II-66-19) between the toes (skulhnaluslxsalh)
4d   -nalus-lxs-ak (31II-66-21) between the fingers (skulhnaluslxsak)
5   -lxs nose (maaxsa) (-l-qs, *maqsən)
5a   nu-X-lxs-nk (66-3IV) tail (kats'an)
5b   nu-X-lxs-aliits (66-18I) tip of tongue
5c   -lxs-alh (66-19) toe (skulhlxsalh)
5d   -lxs-ak (66-21) finger (skulhlxsak)
6   -lits' exterior surface: I. skin (sk'stlits'), II. bark (st'winlits'), III. side
     (7aslits') (*-l-its'(a7))
6a   -lits'-alh (6III-19) (side of) calf of leg (skulhliitsalh)
6b   -lits'-ak (6III-21) back of hand
7   -lik body (exterior aspect) (*-l-ik(ən))
7a   -lik-t body, personality (cf. 34)
8   -apsm (side of) neck (skulhapsm) (cf. 13a) (*-a-ps-əm)

9   (nu-X)-ams <u>jaw, mandible</u> (cf. 35)

9a   nu-X-ams-aax (35-22/22a) <u>crotch</u>

10   (nu-X)-an: I. <u>temple</u> (7asan, nu7assan), II. <u>collarbone</u> (sqwlhan)

10a -an-alh (?67-19) <u>(lump of) ankle</u> (spulhanalh)

10b -an-ak (?67-21) <u>(lump of) wrist</u> (spulhanak)

10c nu-X-an-aax-apsm (?67-22c) <u>side of neck</u>

10d -an-ilh (?67-24I) <u>groin</u>

10e 7us-X-an-ulh-ik (?67-29k) <u>upper back</u>

10f 7us-X-an-ulh-iixw (?67-29pI) <u>(top of) head</u>

11   -anlh- <u>side or corner</u> (only in combination with other somatic suffixes) (cf. 36)

11a -anlh-layc <u>rib(s)</u> (tsk'lhp)

11b -anlh-ank (11-12II) <u>side of body</u> (skulhank)

11c (nu-X)-anlh-aax^{w}uts (11-?22j) <u>corner of mouth</u>

11e (nu-X)-anlh-iixw (11-26I) <u>side of head</u>

11f -anlh-ulh-aqw's (11-29j) <u>corner of eye</u>

12   -ank <u>vertical aspect of body</u>: I. <u>front of body</u> (7asank), II. <u>side of body</u> (skulhank)

12a nu-X-ank-al-us (12II-13eII) <u>(inside) side of chest</u>

12b -ank-iixw (12II-26I) <u>side of head</u>

12c -ank^{w}uts-alh (12II-27c) <u>side of lower leg</u> (skulhankutsalh)

12d -ank^{w}uts-liits-alh (12c-6III) <u>side of lower leg</u> (skulhankutsliitsalh)

12e -ank^{w}us (12II-28) <u>side of face</u> (skulhankus)

13   -al- <u>connective</u>

13a -al-ps <u>(sur)round(ed)</u> (cf. 8): <u>enveloped, covered, encased: inside mouth; covered, dressed (body)</u> (?cf. 7alhps <u>to eat</u>)

13b (nu-X)-al-ak-t (13-21) <u>armpit</u> (skulhalakt <u>glands in id.</u>)

13c -al-aax-t-layc (cf. 22b) <u>tongue</u> (tictsa): I. <u>speech</u> (slhk'msta), II. <u>under the tongue</u> (7asalaaxtlayc)

13d -al-aax-alh-t (cf. 22f) <u>hollow of knee</u> (7asalaaxalht)

13e -al-us (?) I. <u>meat, flesh</u> (sq'alh), II. <u>chest</u> (sqma) (possibly < *-anus/-anwəs, cf. 4)

13f nu-X-al-us-tcw-ilh (cf. 24) <u>inside of leg near groin</u> (7asalustcwilh) (for -tcw- cf. 7astcw <u>to be inside</u>, tc- (*tcw-) <u>location</u>)

13g nu-X-al-ulh-ak (13-?38dII-21) <u>line in hand</u>

14   (nu-X)-almc <u>breast, teat</u> (tums) (*-al-məc(w))

15   -als- <u>surface</u> (only with other somatic suffixes) (cf. 40) (?*-al-Øs)

15a nu-X-als-aaqws (15-23I) <u>visible part of eyeball</u>

15b -als-ik-an (15-25f) <u>ear</u> (tanksta): I. <u>back of ear</u> (kulhalsikan), II. (nu-...) <u>inner ear</u> (7asalsikan)

15c nu-X-als-iixw (15-26I) <u>palate</u> (7asalsiixw)

15d nu-X-als-uts (15-27) I. <u>inside mouth</u> (7asalsuts), II. <u>voice</u>

16   (nu-X)-alxi <u>back of head, neck</u> (7as/kulhalxi) (*-al-qi(n))

16a   -alxy-apsm (16-8) <u>back of neck</u> (7asalxyapsm)

17   (nu-X)-alits <u>tooth</u> (7itsa) (-al-yəns, *yəns-a)

18   -aliits (occasionally -aliicts) I. <u>tongue</u> (tictsa), II. <u>side of tongue</u> (kulh-aliits) (-al-əcwts, *təcwts-a)

19   -alh <u>foot, lower leg</u> (7ica)

19a   nu-X-aalh <u>footsole</u> (7assaalh)

20   nu-X-alhh <u>throat</u> (7uq'uuni)

21   -ak <u>hand</u> (suca) (*-ak(ən))

21a   nu-X-aak <u>palm of hand</u> (7assaak)

21b   -ak-t <u>branch</u> (slhip'nakt)

22   -aax (cf. 42aI) <u>(whole) leg</u>

22a   nu-X-aax (cf. 42aI) <u>rectum</u>

22b   nu-X-aax-layc (cf. 42aI) <u>bottom projection</u>: I. <u>chin</u> (7asaaqlayc), II. <u>heel</u> (7asaaqlayc)

22c   (nu-X)-aax-apsm (?42aI-8) <u>neck</u> (7asaaxapsm)

22d   -aax-ams (?42aI-9) <u>jaw, mandible</u> (7asaaxams)

22e   -aax-alh (42aI-19) <u>ankle</u> (skulhaaxalh)

22f   (nu-X)-aax-alits (42I-17) <u>tooth</u> (7itsa)

22g   -aax-ak (42aI-21) <u>wrist</u> (skulhaaxak)

22h   -aax-ilh (42I-24I) <u>pubic hair</u> (qw'na)

22i   -aax-ik-an (42aI-25f) <u>under/behind the ear</u>

22j   -aax^W-uts (42I-27) <u>beard, whiskers</u> (squputs)

*23   -aqw's (cf. 44I/II) I. <u>eye</u> (qluq's), II. <u>branch, limb</u> (slhip'nakt) (qluq's may continue *qlu-(a)qw's, cf. qlum (?*qɪu-m) <u>blister</u>) (?*-a7q^W-(u)s, cf. 42aII, 28)

23a   nu-X-aqw's-an-ilh (44I-10d) <u>region between leg and scrotum</u> (7asaqw'sanilh)

*24   (nu-X)-ilh I. <u>genitalia</u> (7asilh), II. <u>female private parts</u> (splilh) (cf. 45a)

24a   (nu-X)-iilh-uts (45a-27) <u>lips</u> (7assiilhuts)

25   (nu-X)-ik <u>back</u> (kulhulhik) (cf. 46) (*-ik(ən))

25a   nu-X-ik <u>mind</u> (slq') (cf. 46aI)

25b   nu-X-ik-lxs (46-6) I. <u>nose</u> (maaxsa), II. <u>nostrils</u> (7asiklxs)

25c   nu-X-ik-lxs-alh (46-5c) <u>tip of toe</u>

25d   nu-X-ik-lxs-ak (46-5d) <u>tip of finger</u>

25e   nu-X-ik-layc (cf. 46b) <u>penis</u> (cli)

25f   -ik-an (?46(aI)-10I) <u>ear</u> (tanksta)

25g   nu-X-ik-als (?46(aI)-?40aI) <u>inner ear</u>

25h   nu-X-ik-al-us (?46aI-13eII) <u>(inside) chest</u> (sqma)

25i   (nu-X)-ik-alh (46-19) <u>shin</u> (skulhikalh)

25j   nu-X-ik-alhh (46aI-20) <u>throat</u> (7uq'uuni)

25k   -ik-ak (46-21) <u>upper surface of hand</u> (skulhikak)

25l   (nu-X)-ik-ak (46-21) <u>upper arm</u> (7assikak)

25m   (nu-X)-ik-aqw's (46aII-23I) <u>center of eye, pupil</u>

25n   7us-X-ik-aax^W-uts (46-?22) <u>upper lip</u>

25o nu-X-ik-iixw (46(aII)-26I) <u>crown of head</u>

25p (nu-X)-ik-iixw-alits (46-74-17) <u>(upper) front teeth</u> (7asikiixwalits)

25q nu-X-ik^w-us (46(aII)-28) <u>forehead</u> (7as/skulhikus)

25r nu-X-ik^w-ulh-aqw's (46aII-29j) <u>center of eye, pupil</u> (7asikulhaqw's)

*26 -iixw <u>top of body or plant</u>: I. <u>head</u> (t'nxw) (7assiiqw <u>crown of head</u>), II. <u>hair</u>
     (mnlhkwa), III. <u>sprout, plant top</u> (7assiiqw) (*-i-7qw)

26a -iixw-nk (74-3) <u>hip(-bone)</u>

26b -iixw-layc (?74) <u>knee</u> (skw'yan)

26c -iixw-an (74-?) <u>head of penis</u> (skulhiixwan, tl'panta)

26d -iixw-als-t (74-40II) <u>shoulder</u> (skulhiixwalst)

26e -iixw-als-t-uts-ak (26d-27d) <u>elbow</u> (tl'akwani)

26f -iixw-alh (74-19) <u>tip of toe, toenail</u> (sq'atciixwalh <u>toenail</u>)

26g -iixw-ak (74-21) <u>fingertip, fingernail</u> (sq'atciixwak <u>fingernail</u>)

27 (nu-X)-uts <u>mouth</u> (tsutsa) (-uts(ən), *tsutsən)

27a -uuts-layc (27) <u>nipple</u> (skulhuutslayc)

27b (nu-X)-uuts-almc (27-14) <u>nipple</u>

27c -uts-alh (?75III-19) <u>lower leg</u> (7ica)

27d -uts-ak (?75III-21) <u>lower arm</u> (suca)

27e (nu-X)-uts-aax (?75-22a) <u>posterior, buttocks</u> (7asutsaaq)

*28 -us (cf. 48) <u>face</u> (musa)

28a -us-als (28-40) <u>cheek</u> (skwtsals)

28b -us-ilh (?28-24I) <u>private parts</u>

29   -ulh (cf. 51I) <u>body</u> (s7unkwtsta)

29a nu-X-ulh (cf. 51I) <u>belly, stomach</u> (kw'la)

29b nu-X-uulh-ṇnak (51I-2) <u>testicles</u> (maka) (-ənak(ən), *makən)

29c -uulh-lits' (51I-6(I)) <u>muscle</u>

29d (nu-X)-uulh-lits'-alh (29c-19/51I-6a) <u>calf of leg</u>

29e nu-X-uulh-an (?-10I) <u>(behind) temple, side of face (between eye and ear)</u> (7as/
     skulhuulhan <u>temple</u>)

29f nu-X-ulh-an-alh (51I-10a) <u>anklebone</u>

29g (nu-X)-ulh-ank (29a-12I) <u>belly, abdomen</u> (kw'la, 7atsiwa)

29h -ulh-als (51I-40(II)) <u>cheek</u> (skwtsals)

29i nu-X-ulh-aax (51I-22a) <u>posterior</u>

29j nu-X-ulh-aqw's (51I-23I) <u>eyeball, eye</u> (qluq's)

29k (nu-X)-ulh-ik (?51I/29-25) <u>(upper) back</u> (kulhulhik)

29l -ulh-ik-alh (29k-19) <u>top of foot</u>

29m nu-X-ulh-ik-alhh (51I-46aII-20) <u>throat</u> (7uq'uuni), <u>Adam's apple</u> (7asuulhikalhh)

29n -ulh-ik-ak (29k-21) I. <u>back of hand</u>, II. <u>upper arm</u>

29o -ulh-ik^w-us (?51I-25q/29k-28) <u>forehead</u> (7as/skulhikus)

29p -ulh-iixw (51I-26I/II) I. <u>head</u> (t'nxw), II. <u>hair</u> (mnlhkwa)

29q -ulh-iixw-layc (51I-26b) <u>knee</u> (skw'yan)

20.2.2 Various somatic-botanic suffixes are found only in combination with the prefix nu- inside (see 23.6.2). Usually, reference is then made to body parts that are normally not seen (under the skin, located in a cavity). Note, however, that nominal derivations (including those beginning in 7as(s)- and (s)kulh-) are as a rule not found with nu-. Many somatic suffixes occur both with and without nu-, e.g., -almc breast (exterior aspect) vs. nu-X-almc breast (under skin surface), -an temporal area of the face vs. nu-X-an temple (inside, bone).

Those suffixes that are preceded by an asterisk (2, 5, 17, 18, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29b) bear a striking resemblance to the corresponding nouns.

19, 20, 21, 24, 25, 27, 28, and 29 are also found with doubled V (cf. 5.3.4, d); the x (xw) in 5, 16, 22, and 26 alternates with q (qw) (cf. 9.5); in 6 and 23, VT' alternates with V:T (cf. 7.2).

The prefix 7us- top (10e and 10f) is discussed in 23.6.2.

20.2.3 A combination of noun and somatic-botanic suffix falls in one of the following categories:

(a) genitive complexes - these consist usually of an animate noun (animal, plant) followed by a somatic-botanic suffix. Such complexes translate as (a) X's Y: nanaak grizzly bear's (nan) paw, p'wîixw halibut's (p'wi) head, qaxṇnak rabbit (qax) pellets, ts'ayxnk fireweed (ts'ayx) root.

(b) locative complexes - many combinations of inanimate nouns (often referring to a body part) and somatic suffixes translate as (the) X that is in/on/around one's Y: squputs "hair (√squp) around mouth" = beard, moustache, spulhanalh lump (spulh) of ankle, stsapankiixw bone (tsap) on side of head, snuts'imnaax "intestine (ts'ima/ts'imn-) of anal region" = rectum, nustpalsaaqws (black) spot (stp) in eye.

(c) verbal complexes - these contain an inanimate noun, and describe a physical process or disorder. They have a verbal character, and are glossed as to have (a) X in/on one's Y: sxwatmlxsaliits to have a blister (sxwatm) on one's tongue, nusqwlhalhh to have a fishbone (sqwlh) (stuck) in one's throat, nuqlalcalsuts "to start (-lc) to have water (qla) in one's mouth" = one's mouth starts watering.

(d) metaphoric complexes - the few items belonging to this category contain a noun that metaphorically describes the body part denoted by the somatic suffix: (the) Y that looks like (a) X: snûats'ams "part of the jaw that looks like (that of) a dog (wats')" = eyeteeth, st'lsanilh "part of the groin that looks like cranberries (st'ls)" = glands in groin, nutictsnalsiixw "part of the palate that looks like a tongue (tictsa/tictsn-)" = uvula.

20.2.4 Stative intransitives combined with a somatic suffix are glossed as one's Y is X(ing): mamalhaalhi "one's feet are slow (√malh)" = to be slow in walking, nucwilmalsikan to have an itchy (cwilm) ear, t'kwlxs to have a nose-bleed (t'kw to

bleed), nukmaykiixw <u>to have a headache</u> (kma <u>to ache</u>), or <u>(one's) X Y</u>: smawlqsalh <u>one (smaw) toe</u>, tqnkams <u>lower (tqnk) jaw</u>, slhxalmc <u>left (slhx-) breast</u>, nmnmiklxs <u>both (nmnm-) nostrils</u>. Cf. 20.3.4, a.

20.2.4.1 Some animal names consist of an adjective and a somatic suffix, e.g., nu-tsatskwlqsnk "having a long (tsakw) tail" = <u>rat</u>, nutsakwaax "having a long rectum" = <u>wolf</u>.

20.2.5 Performative transitive verbs can also be combined with somatic suffixes. The resulting forms (which take transitive endings) mean <u>to X somebody's Y</u>: tcapsmtis "he cut (tc) their necks" = <u>he decapitated them</u>, nucmantss <u>he broke (cm) my collarbone</u>, nusp'aaqlayctx <u>hit (sp') him on the chin!</u>

20.2.5.1 Combinations of transitive verb and botanic suffix mean <u>to X (a plant's) Y</u>: tsiiqnk <u>to dig (tsiix/tsiig-) roots</u>, tslhiixw <u>to weed ("the tops of") plants</u> (tslh <u>to break off, snap something</u>). Such transitive complexes can be intransitivized by means of the suffix -a (see 19.6): tsiiqnka <u>to be busy digging roots</u>, tslhiixwa <u>to be busy weeding</u>.

20.2.5.2 Transitive complexes of the shape transitive base + somatic suffix can be intransitivized by adding reflexive -m (cf. 19.5.1.3, 20.3.5.2): sxaaxutsm <u>to shave (sx) one's beard</u>, mntsklqsakmts <u>I am counting (mntsk) my fingers</u>, tspliktmx <u>wipe (tsp) thy body!</u>

20.2.6 Transitive and intransitive performative verbs combined with a somatic suffix can be followed by transitivizing -m. Such complexes usually translate as <u>to X some-thing with one's Y</u> (cf. 19.5.2): tspakmis <u>he wiped (tsp) it with his hand</u>, 7itl'aalh-mtx <u>move (7itl') it with thy foot!</u>, tsayakm "to stop (√tsay) (doing something) with one's hands" = <u>to stop working on something</u>. If in the last example we interpret -ak as a metaphorically used somatic suffix, i.e., meaning <u>(pertaining to) work</u> (cf. 20.5.1), -m might be better rendered as <u>to X with regard to (one's/somebody's) Y</u>, as in 7itl'alhmtsx "move away from my path!" = <u>get out of my way!</u>

20.2.7 The petrified bases nm.nm- <u>both, double</u> and tipy-/tsipy-/sipy- <u>single, having one X</u> are found mainly in combination with somatic suffixes (like, equally petrified, 7as(s)- and (s)kulh-, they cannot be preceded by nu-, cf. 20.2.2): tsipyaaq <u>one-legged</u>, tipyulhaaqws <u>one-eyed</u>, nmnmak <u>both hands</u>, nmnmiklxs <u>both nostrils</u>, etc.

20.3 The non-somatic lexical suffixes have much in common with the somatic ones. They typically translate as nouns, and some of them co-exist with semantically iden-tical nouns (a few with locational verbs), many containing one of the petrified roots kulh- (rather than skulh-) and 7as(s)-. They can also be followed by reflexive -m (cf.

20.2.5.2, 20.3.5.2).

The non-somatic suffixes, too, are either <u>simple</u> or <u>complex</u>; the latter contain non-somatic and/or classifying suffixes (sometimes also a somatic suffix), and use can be made of the connective -al- and the formative -t (cf. 20.2).

In the list that follows, each simple suffix is numbered (the numbering continues the one ending in 20.2.1), and the complex suffixes are described in terms of their constituents: -ik-alh (46-69) "top surface-floor" = <u>ground surface</u>.

20.3.1 Here follows a list of non-somatic lexical suffixes. When a suffix has a nominal or verbal equivalent, this is given in parentheses.

30   -nk-aaq-alh (3-?22e) <u>hem of dress</u>

31   -nalus (cf. 4) I. <u>pieces</u>, II. <u>(being) between</u> (*-l-anus/-l-anwəs)

32   -lt <u>child, offspring</u> (mna)

33   -lst <u>rock(s)</u> (t'xt)

34   -lik-t (cf. 7a) <u>space, volume</u>

35   -ams (cf. 9) <u>trap, wedge</u>

36   -anlh <u>fabric, texture, cloth (*man-made item)</u> (cf. 11): I. <u>blanket</u> (7its'amnii), II. <u>clothing</u> (q'lhkwta), III. <u>structure, building</u> (sulh)

37   -ank- (= 12)

37a   -ank-aax-alh (12II-?, but cf. 30) <u>edge of roof</u> (kulhankaaxalh)

38   -al- (= 13)

38a   -al-aalh (?cf. 19) I. <u>line</u> (cf. 38dII), II. <u>base</u> (kulhalaalh <u>foot of mountain/ threshold</u>)

38b   -al-aax-t (?cf. 42I) I. <u>rope</u> (q'lscw), II. <u>parent</u> (7amatalaaxt)

38c   -al-us (cf. 13e) <u>energy, driving mechanism</u>: I. <u>fire, firewood</u> (niixw, kwmlh), II. <u>engine</u> (siqw'xwm), III. <u>all, everything</u> ("the works")

38d   -al-ulh I. <u>boat</u> (lhalas) (cf. 51II), II. <u>rope</u> (q'lscw) (cf. 38aI)

39   (nu-X)-altwa <u>sky, weather, season</u> (suncw)

40   -als <u>vertical surface</u>: I. <u>liquid container</u>, II. <u>hill or mountain side</u> (kulhalst)

40a   nu-X-als <u>(vertical) inner surface</u>: I. <u>(inside building:) wall, room, ceiling</u>, II. <u>(prepared) hide, clothing, pants</u>

41   -alh (cf. 19) I. <u>vehicle</u>, II. <u>food implement or container</u>, III. <u>coming from the sky, precipitation</u> (cf. 51)

41a   -alh-uts (?19-61B) <u>door(way)</u> (numutsta)

42   -aax I. <u>growth: bush, tree, wood, log, pole, boat</u>, II. <u>food (item)</u> (nu-X-aax <u>pot, pan</u>), III. <u>name</u> (skwatsta)

42a   (nu-X)-aax I. <u>behind, under: (lower) end, rear, back, stern, bottom, seat</u> (kulh-aax <u>back door</u>, 7asaaq <u>bottom of container</u>, 7assaax <u>mouth of river</u>, 7amataax <u>seat, chair</u>, paaxlhaax <u>to be at the stern</u>) (cf. 22b), II. <u>sun, day, lightning</u> (snx <u>sun</u>, suncw <u>day, sky</u>), III. <u>people, population, village</u> (7apsulh)

42b   -aaq-tn-aalh (cf. 19, 22) <u>pair(s) of shoes</u> (qinx) (-tn- <u>implement</u>)

42c   -aax-ik (?-46) <u>roof</u> (kulhik)

42d   -aax-ik-t (54-?46) <u>strip</u>

42e   -aax^{w}-uts I. <u>edge, (other) side, across (road or river)</u> (kulhaaxuts <u>roadside</u>, 7mtaaxuts <u>to sit at the riverbank</u>) (?-75III), II. <u>near or around fire; shot</u> (kulhaaxuts <u>to be near a fire</u>, 7mtaaxuts <u>to sit around a fire</u>) (?42aII-?75), III. <u>drink, smoke</u> (?42I-75I)

42f   -aax^{w}-uts-alh (42eI-19) <u>(located at) riverside</u> (tk'ilhaaxutsalh <u>to stand at this side of the river</u>)

42g   -aax^{w}-us (42aI-?48) <u>mouth of river</u> (7assaaxus)

42h   -aax^{w}-ulh (42I-?) <u>vegetation, growth; growing all over</u>

*43   (nu-X)-aaxla <u>liquid</u> (qla <u>water</u>)

44   (nu-X)-aqw's I. <u>hollow: socket, knot</u> (sxpa), <u>bed</u> (sxitsta) (cf. 23I), II. <u>wood (without nu-): fire, stove</u> (7asaqw's <u>fireplace</u>) (cf. 23II), III. <u>sand, soil, earth (without nu-)</u> (kulhulmc <u>earth, land, ground</u>), IV. <u>bottom</u> (7asaqw's <u>bottom of water</u>), V. <u>berries, juice, water</u> (sqaluts <u>berries</u>, qla <u>water</u>)

45   -ilh <u>relation, relative</u> (< <u>circle</u>, cf. 45a, √7il <u>to go around, in an arch</u>)

45a   nu-X-ilh (cf. 24II) <u>ring, hoop</u> (nuyalqiilh)

46   -ik (cf. 25) <u>elevated, (flat) top surface</u>

46a   nu-X-ik (cf. 25a) I. <u>hollow, inside container</u>, II. <u>middle, half, in two</u>

46b   (nu-X)-iik-layc (cf. 25e) <u>tube, tire</u> (taya)

46c   -ik-alh (46-69) <u>ground surface</u>

46d   nu-X-ik-aqw's (46aI-44I) <u>bed</u> (sxitsta)

46e   -ik^{w}-uuts (?-75III) <u>edge</u> (kulhikuuts) (cf. 42e)

46f   -ik^{w}-us (?) <u>part of house</u>

46g   -ik^{w}-uus (?-48) <u>(blade of) axe</u> (xits' <u>axe</u>)

47   nu-X-uts I. <u>flat layer</u>, II. <u>weather</u> (suncw)

47a   nu-X-uts-aax (?47I-42aI) <u>under floor or house</u> (7asutsaax <u>to be under the house</u>)

48   -us (cf. 28) <u>flat surface: sheet, blanket</u>

49   -ulmc <u>earth, ground, floor</u> (kulhulmc) (-ul-məc(w)) (suncw <u>world, earth</u> < *s-uncw ᴧ *s-nucw ᴧ *s-nəcw)

50   -uliits (occasionally -ulits') (cf. 6) I. <u>hole</u>, II. <u>clothing</u> (q'lhkwta) (*-ul-its'/ -ul-its'a7)

51   -ulh I. <u>round, bulky: ball</u> (yalquulh), <u>rock</u> (t'xt), <u>house</u> (sulh), <u>egg</u> (qp'a), II. <u>conveyance, vehicle</u> (cf. 41I), III. <u>liquid food (soup, stew, tea, juice)</u> (cf. 41II) (*-wəlh/-əwlh)

51a   -uulh-al-us (51I-38cI) <u>oven, stove</u> (stup)

51b   -ulh-ak (51I-21) <u>thrown ball</u>

51c   nu-X-ulh-aax-ank (?51I-?-?12I) <u>button</u>

52   -ulhla <u>appearance, nature, character, behavior</u>

20.3.2 Many non-somatic lexical suffixes are found co-occurring with the prefix nu-
inside (cf. 20.2.2, 23.6.2). The forms with nu- usually refer to an interior part or
aspect of a building or container. Most 7as(s)- and kulh- derivations are (like the
majority of nominals containing a lexical suffix, cf. 20.2.2), however, not found with
nu-. Some suffixes occur both with and without nu-, e.g., -aaxla liquid (not in cup
or bucket) vs. nu-X-aaxla liquid (in container), -aqw's wood (not (for) burning) vs.
nu-X-aqw's wood (inside a stove, burning), fire.

In 41, 45, 46, 47, 48, 51, and 52, the (first) vowel alternates with a doubled
one (cf. 5.3.4, d, and 20.2.2). The x of -aax (42) can be replaced by q (cf. 9.5,
20.2.2). The suffix -aqw's (44) has the allomorph -aaqws (cf. 7.2, 20.2.2).

20.3.3 Combinations of noun + non-somatic lexical suffix can be divided into several
categories, some of which are reminiscent of the ones discussed in 20.2.3:

(a) genitive complexes (cf. 20.2.3, a) - most productive with the suffix -ulh egg:
qwaxulh raven (gwaxw) egg, k'aqasulh crow (k'aqas) egg, kasmiŵlh golden eagle
(kasmiw) egg. Further: cnasuliits lady's (cnas) garment, dress.

(b) locative complexes (cf. 20.2.3, b) - these typically contain a noun that denotes
a location: tcatl'sikus "hind (√atl's) location (tc-) of a house" = back room.
The noun 7amat where something is (put), when combined with non-somatic suffixes,
often translates as functioning as: 7amataax "functioning as seat" = seat, chair,
7amatalaaxt "functioning as parent" = parent, 7amatalaalh "functioning as base" =
hole for (sail)pole.

(c) verbal complexes (cf. 20.2.3, c) - in my notes only one item fits this category,
viz. paaxlhaax to be at the stern (paaxlh).

(d) metaphoric complexes (cf. 20.2.3, d) - these contain a noun (denoting a substance)
that describes in a metaphorical way the object referred to by the suffix - (the)
Y that looks like X: maaxtsanlh "clay (maaxts)-like clothes" = grey clothes,
xawisaltwa "tin (xawis)-like sky" = grey sky, st'sals "salt (st's)-like liquid
container" = glass bottle, ts'ikwnals "clam (ts'ikwa/ts'ikwn-)-like liquid con-
tainer" = drinking cup.

(e) derivational complexes are nominal complexes of the shape noun + non-somatic suffix
that are glossed as a Y made out of (a) X (the noun denotes some, often organic,
material, or an animal): spikw'anlh "sheet made out of groundhog (spikw')" =
groundhog blanket, yakyanlh "sheet made out of mountain goat (yaki)" = mountain
goat blanket, stnaalh "food implement made of wood (stn)" = wooden spoon, xawisaalh
"food implement made of tin (xawis)" = metal spoon.

(f) descriptive complexes - in these, the first member (a noun denoting a growth or
substance) describes the exact nature of the object referred to by the suffix:
slawsals "steep surface with grass (slaws)" = grassy hillside, maaxtsaqw's "sand

with clay (maaxts)" = <u>claysand</u>, nustqwaqw's "water with mud (stqw)" = <u>muddy water</u>, sts'ixikalh "ground surface with gravel (sts'ix)" = <u>gravelbar</u>.

In addition, there are some transitive verbs that contain a noun denoting <u>food or seasoning</u>, and the suffix -aax (42II) <u>food</u>, e.g., sluq'aax <u>to add eulachon grease (sluq') to one's food</u>, st'saax <u>to add salt (st's) to one's food</u>.

20.3.4 Intransitive verbs combine with non-somatic lexical suffixes to form complex nominals and intransitive verbs, each of which falls in one of the following categories:

(a) <u>nominal-predicative complexes</u> - these translate as <u>(it is a) X Y</u>, and the base is always stative (adjectival, intransitive verbal): mukwanlh <u>(it is a) red (mukw) shirt</u>, kwmalulh <u>(it is a) thick (kwm) rope</u>, smawalh <u>(it is) one (smaw) cup or vehicle</u>, nutpîik <u>(it is the) next (√tpi) room</u>, xsalh "fat (xs) is the precipitation" = <u>(it is) raining heavily</u>, nusk'luts <u>(it is) cold (sk'l) weather</u>, sk(w)'-culh = /sk'c^wulh/ <u>(it is a) black (sk'c) rock</u>, scaltwa <u>(it is) bad (sc) weather</u>, nuscwaax <u>canoe is leaking (scw)</u>, nutupmik "pot is bubbling (tupm)" = <u>something is boiling rapidly</u>, tilcalaaxt "rope is getting stuck (tilc)" = <u>anchor has gotten hold</u>, nuq'saqw's <u>knot is tight (q's)</u>. Lexicalization has taken place in: pik'anlh "shiny (√pik') cloth" = <u>oilcloth, oilskin</u>, tsakwaalh "long (tsakw) food implement" = <u>butcher knife</u>, nup'iixmaax "steaming (p'iixm) (from the) rear" = <u>exhaust gasses</u>, nuniixwik "fire (niixw) inside" = <u>steamboat</u>, and an increment of possession (the pronominal suffix now relates to the possessor) is present in: p'iixlayalulhts <u>my boat is drifting (p'iixla) away from me</u>, scanmalulhts <u>my canoe is deteriorating (scanm)</u>, nutscwalsilh <u>it is dark (tscw) in our house</u>, nulhnuslt "one's children are two (nulhnus)" = <u>to have twins</u>.

(b) <u>relational complexes</u> are rendered as <u>to (be) X relative to (one's) Y</u> (the agent--possessor is always human): numawaluulhi <u>to be all alone (numawi) on one's boat</u>, nuklhmaaxuts <u>to cross (nuklhm) a road or river</u>, 7mtaaxuts <u>to sit (7mt) around a fire</u>, nulhnusaqw's "to be two (nulhnus) in bed" = <u>to be in bed together</u>.

20.3.5 Complex transitives can be formed by adding non-somatic lexical suffixes to performative transitive bases, which translate as <u>to X a/the Y</u>: puxalustx <u>poke (pux) the fire!</u>, numnlhatals <u>to measure (mnlhat) (the height of) a room</u>, wlaax <u>to pour (wl) a drink</u>, mntskalh <u>to count (mntsk) cans, spoons, etc.</u>, kawlst <u>to collect and pile up (kaw) rocks</u>.

Occasionally, the action expressed by the base is directed at an object other than the one referred to by the suffix - <u>to X something with/into a Y</u>: kawams <u>to wedge something</u> ("to brace (kaw) something with a wedge"), tpik "to spread (√tp) on a surface" = <u>to put (a hide) on a stretcher</u>, nu7iliilh "to arrange something into a circle" = <u>to coil (a rope)</u> (√7il <u>to (cause to) describe a circle</u>).

20.3.5.1 Complex performative transitives containing a <u>fractional</u> suffix mean <u>to X
something in(to) Y</u>: cm̦nalustx <u>break (cm) it in pieces!</u>, tcaaxikt <u>to cut (tc) something
into strips</u>, nutcik <u>to cut something in two, half</u>, nutslhik <u>to break (tslh) something
in two</u>.

20.3.5.2 Complex performative transitives of the type transitive base + non-somatic
lexical suffix can be intransitivized by adding reflexive -m (cf. 19.5.1.3, 20.2.5.2):
tiq'anlhm <u>to mend (tiq') one's clothes</u>, tsik'alusmts <u>I am poking (tsik') the ("my")
fire</u>, nut'cwalsm <u>to sweep (t'cw) one's house</u>, t'culmcm <u>to sweep the ("one's") floor</u>.

20.4 The classifying suffixes, which are derived formally from somatic and non-somatic
lexical suffixes, have an adjectival character. They are found in complex statives
and performatives preceding a relatum or adjunct, and describe some feature (shape,
texture, function) of the object denoted by the noun contained in that relatum or
adjunct: lhk'uulh wa+sulh+ts "big (lhkw')-bulky is the house (sulh)" = <u>the house is
big</u>, 7itkits'anlhtinits c+ti+7its'amniits+tc "I was sheet-washed (kits') via my blan-
ket (7its'amnii)" = <u>somebody washed my blanket</u>.

20.4.1 The most frequently used classifiers are listed below. The number in paren-
theses denotes the origin of the suffix, e.g., -anlh (36) <u>sheet-like</u> derives from the
non-somatic suffix 36 = <u>fabric, texture, cloth</u>.

53 -al-us (38cI) <u>pertaining to fire</u>
54 -aax (42I) <u>long, stick-like</u>
55 -ulh (51I) <u>bulky, round</u>: I. <u>pertaining to house</u>, II. <u>pertaining to hat</u> (= <u>-uulh-
     -iiqw)</u>

20.4.1.1 Certain classifiers occur only in combination with <u>numerals and numerical
substitutes</u>, others with <u>verbs and adjectives</u> exclusively. Thus, some classifiers form
pairs, the members of which are mutually exclusive (A = numerals, B = verbs):

	A	B	
56	-aak (21)	-∅	<u>pertaining to gloves</u>
57	-iilh (45a)	-∅	<u>ring-like</u>
58	-lits' (6)	-anlh (36)	<u>sheet-like</u>
59	-∅	nu-X-alh (19)	<u>pertaining to road</u>
60	-alh (41I)	-uulh (51II)	<u>pertaining to vehicle</u>
61	-∅	nu-X-uts (27)	<u>pertaining to door</u>
62	-aax (42III)	-∅	<u>pertaining to name</u>
63	-∅	nu-X-aqw's (44I)	<u>pertaining to knot</u>
64	-alh (?)	-∅	<u>pertaining to bed</u>
65	-alh (41II)	-aalh(-uts) (41II(-27))	<u>pertaining to food implement</u>

20.4.2 Here follow examples of the use of classifiers (smaw/maw- <u>one</u>, 7asmus <u>three</u>,
mus <u>four</u>, ts'icw <u>five</u>, maask...+ks/7lks/7iks <u>how many?</u>, ya <u>good</u>):

(53) maaskalus+7iks wa+niixw <u>how many fires (niixw) (are there)?</u>, tsik'alusis wa+niixw
<u>he pokes (tsik') the fire</u>, yayalus wa+niixw <u>(it is) a good fire</u>;

(54) smawaax ti+stn <u>one stick/tree (stn)</u>, k'tsaaxis ti+stn+tc <u>he cuts (k'ts) the tree</u>,
tsakwaaq t'ayc ŝtns <u>this is a long (tsakw) stick</u>;

(55I) musulh wa+sulh <u>(there are) four houses (sulh)</u>, 7at'uulhits wa+sulh+ts <u>I paint
(7at') the house</u>;

(55II) musulh wa+qayt <u>(there are) four hats (qayt)</u>, maaskulh+7iks/maaskuulhiiqw+7iks
wa+qaytnu <u>how many hats hast thou got?</u>, piq'uulh wa+qayt+7ats <u>these hats are wide
(piq')</u>;

(56A) musaak wa+ts'up'akt <u>(there are) four pairs of gloves (ts'up'akt)</u>, maaskaak+7iks
wa+ts'up'aktuksnu <u>how many pairs of gloves hast thou got?</u>;

(57A) musiilh wa+yuyucw <u>(there are) four bracelets (yuyucw)</u>, maaskiilh+7iks wa+yuyucwnu
<u>how many bracelets hast thou got?</u>;

(58A) maasklits'ǂ7lks wa+7its'amniinu <u>how many blankets (7its'amnii) hast thou got?</u>;

(58B) 7itkits'anlhtinits c+ti+7its'amniits+tc <u>somebody washed (kits') my blanket</u>,
yayanlh ti+7its'amnii+tc <u>the blanket is good</u>;

(59B) 7icnukcalhclhit wa+mх́mnta+ts <u>they are chalking lines (7icnukcalhclh) on the road
(mх́mnta)</u>, nuyayaalh wa+mх́mnta+ts <u>the road is good</u>;

(60A) maaskalh+7iks wa+qw'xwmtimutnu <u>how many cars (qw'xwmtimut) hast thou got?</u>, maw-
alh ti+qw'xwmtimutts <u>I have one car</u>;

(60B) pik'uulh ti+qw'xwmtimut+tc <u>the car is shiny (√pik')</u>, quts'uulhis ti+qw'xwmtimuts
<u>he is washing (quts') his car</u>;

(61B) numyuuts ti+numutsta+tc <u>the door (numutsta) is wide (mi)</u>;

(62A) 7asmusaax+ts' wa+skwatstats+ts <u>I have three names (skwatsta) now</u>, maaskaax+7iks
wa+skwatstanu <u>how many names hast thou got?</u>;

(63B) nuq'saqw's ti+sxpa+tc <u>the knot (sxpa) is tight (q's)</u>;

(64A) maaskalh+7iks wa+sxitstanu <u>how many beds (sxitsta) hast thou got?</u>, tх̣mawalh ti+
sxitstats+tc <u>I have only (tm-) one bed</u>;

(65A) ts'icwalh wa+nu7am7amataaq <u>(there are) five dishes</u>, maaskalh+7iks wa+nu7am7amat-
aaqnu <u>how many dishes (nu7am7amataaq) hast thou got?</u>;

(65B) mukwaalh ti+nu7am7amataaq <u>(it is) a red (mukw) dish</u>, tsiqw'aalhutsm c+ti+nu7am-
7amataaqs+tc <u>he broke (tsiqw') his dish</u>.

20.5 From somatic suffixes are derived the metaphoric suffixes. These differ from the
classifiers discussed in 20.4 in that they do not merely describe a property of some
object referred to in a relatum or adjunct - they behave, both semantically and morpho-
logically, like the non-somatic suffixes (see 20.3).

20.5.1 In the list below, the most common metaphoric suffixes are listed. Each of them is followed by a number in parentheses that indicates the origin of the suffix, e.g., -ulh-iixw (29pI) <u>hat</u> is derived from the somatic suffix 29pI = ·<u>head</u>.

66   -lxs (5) <u>point, terminus</u>

67   nu-X-an (?10II) <u>corner</u>

67a   -an-uts (67-27) <u>sound coming from corner</u>

68   -ank^{w}-us (12e) <u>side of object</u>

69   -aalh (19) I. <u>road, floor</u> (usually with nu-), II. <u>shoes, walking</u>

70   -ak (21) I. <u>work</u>, II. <u>gloves</u>

71   -aax (22) <u>step</u>

71a   -aax-alh (22/42aII-19) I. <u>step</u>, II. <u>day's travel</u>

72   -aqw's (23I) I. <u>glasses, spectacles</u> (with nu-), II. <u>paint, color</u>

73   nu-X-ik-alhh (25j) <u>food</u>

74   -iixw (26I) <u>top, hat, lid, lock</u>

75   -uts (27) <u>oral, orifice</u>: I. <u>speech (what is said), food (what is eaten)</u>, II. <u>door, shore</u>, III. <u>edge, rim of knife</u>, IV. <u>water: tide, channel, river</u> (IV is possibly derived from II)

75a   -uts-ak (27d) <u>cuff of sleeve</u>

76   -ulh-iixw (29pI) <u>hat</u>

77   nu-X-ulh-aqw's (29j) <u>glasses, spectacles</u>

20.5.2 Here follow examples of the use of metaphoric suffixes, which occur mainly with verbal and adjectival bases (but also with a few nouns):

(66) nutxlxs <u>to sharpen (tx) the point of something</u>, sp'lxsnm "to hit (sp') the end" = <u>to hit the Morse key, wire a telegram, use the telephone</u>;

(67) 7as(s)an <u>corner</u>, nuniixwanayc <u>to have a fire (niixw) in the corner</u>;

(67a) 7asanuts <u>(there is a) sound coming from the corner</u>;

(68) tpyankus <u>other side (√tpi) of a hill</u>, kulhankus <u>hillside</u>;

(69I) numyaalh <u>wide (mi) road</u>, nust'cwmaalhta <u>floormat</u> (st'cwm <u>mat</u>, -ta <u>implement</u>);

(69II) mamalhaalhi <u>slow (mamalh-) walker</u>, tsixaalh <u>new (tsix) shoes</u>;

(70I) maslancwak <u>to work for one year (maslancw)</u>, numawaakmitsutii <u>to work all by oneself</u> (numawii <u>alone</u>);

(70II) ts'xwaak <u>white (ts'xw) gloves</u>, mntskaak <u>to count (mntsk) gloves</u>;

(71) tsyaaxm <u>to take a step</u> (√tsi <u>to move or pass forward</u>);

(71aI) matl'apaaxalh <u>to take one step</u> (matl'ap <u>once</u>);

(71aII) smawaaxalh <u>one (smaw) day's travel</u>, lhnusaaxalh <u>two (lhnus) days' travel</u> (see also 20.6.1);

(72I) nutsiqw'aqw's <u>to break (tsiqw') somebody's glasses</u>;

(72II) pcaqw's <u>having a nice (√pc) color</u>, maliixwaqw's <u>to mix (maliixw) paint</u>;

(73) 7anumnlhatikalhhm "to measure (mnlhat) one's eating/food" = <u>to eat with moderation</u>;

(74) tctl'uk'iixw <u>top of something</u> (tl'uk' <u>high</u>), nu7mtiixwayc <u>to sit (7mt) on top of</u>

something, tayamkiixwm to throw (tayamk) one's hat away, mukwiixw red (mukw) lid,
skw'iixw to unlock something (skw' to undo something);

(75I) malhuts slow (malh-) eater, numilcuts to start talking more and more (milc to
open up), tcutsta "food-cutter" = tableknife (tc to cut something, -ta implement),
7alhnaputstsant they know (7alhnap) what I said;

(75II) statputs steep (√stap) shore, 7ilhmuuts = statputs (7ilhm steep, erect), kulhuuts
beach, shore, nuqwyuts to open (qwi) a door, nuq'ilhutsa to scratch (q'ilh) at a door;

(75III) q'puts dull, blunt (√q'p) knife, k'apatuts sharp (√k'apat) knife;

(75IV) snupapntuuts water bubbles (nupapnt to boil, bubble), 7uspik'uuts shining
(√pik') water surface (7us-), mntcutsta dipping (mntcw) cup (-ta implement), sts'ix-
uts sandbar in sea (sts'ix sand, gravel), numilcuts channel opens up (milc);

(75a) stq'utsak to sew (stq'), put on a (new) cuff;

(76) pik'ulhiiqw "shiny (√pik') hat" = oilskin hat, southwester, tayamkulhiixw to throw
(tayamk) somebody's hat away, ksulhiiqwm to take off (ks) one's hat;

(77) nutspulhplhaqw'sm to wipe (tsp) one's glasses (for the reduplication ...pulh.plh...
see 24).

20.6 The quantifying suffixes are used only in combination with numerals and numerical
substitutes to form terms used in measuring length, duration, and frequency.

20.6.1 The quantifiers are:

78 -t'q spans (cf. √t'q to spread out): mat'q one span, lhwaast'q two spans

79 -lhq' ...fold (cf. lhq' to slap, slice): malhq' "one-fold" = single, lhwaalhq'
    twofold, double, 7asmuslhq' threefold, triple

80 -lxs multiple of twenty ("all digits", cf. 5): mawlxs twenty, lhwaaslxs forty,
    muslxs eighty, ts'icwlxs hundred

81 -tl'ap times (cf. tl'ap to go): matl'ap one time, once, lhwaalhtl'ap two times,
    twice, ts'icwtl'ap five times

82 -lacw/-lancw/-slancw years (see 23.7): malacw (one) year, lhwaaslancw two years,
    mawlxslancwam to be twenty years of age

83 -k'mt days (i.e., periods of 24 hours, cf. k'matk to stay somewhere for the
    night): lhwaask'mt(am) to be somewhere for two days, musk'mt four days

84 -kw'p fathoms (?cf. √kw'p right, straight): makw'p one fathom, lhwaaskw'p two
    fathoms

85 -anm-aak hours, ... o'clock (cf. 19.16.2.4): smawanmaak one hour, 7alh+ti+ka+
    lhnusanmaak at two o'clock

86 -ilh months ("(monthly) cycle", cf. 45a): musilh four months, 7asmusilh (to be
    somewhere/do something for) three months

86a -ilh-alh ... months' travel (86-69II): 7ismawilhalh one month's travel, 7ilhnus-
    ilhalh two months' travel (for 7i- see 23.5, 23.8)

87 -aax-alh ... days' travel (22/42aII-19): see 20.5.2, 71aII

21 NOMINALIZING SUFFIXES

21.1 In contrast with the modifying and lexical suffixes, the vast majority of which usually do not affect the morphological status of the base they are attached to, some suffixes are strictly nominalizing. Three of them change verbs into nouns (one of these can also be added to a few nominal and adjectival bases), one is found in combination with adjectives, and four are added to nouns.

21.2 The suffixes that form nouns from verbs are:

-ta/-sta <u>implement, tool, that which is used for Xing, Xer</u> - this morpheme is added productively to transitive performatives: sxta <u>scraper, plane</u> (sx <u>to scrape something</u>), lalaq'ata <u>frying pan</u> (lalaq'a <u>to fry something</u>), tcutsta "food cutter" = <u>tableknife</u> (tc <u>to cut something</u>, -uts <u>food</u>), nicta <u>saw</u> (nic <u>to saw something</u>), 7at'aaksta <u>paint brush</u> (7at' <u>to paint something</u>, -aak <u>work, manual activity</u>).

A few -(s)ta derivations are formed from intransitive verbal, adjectival, and nominal bases:

A.   intransitive verb + -(s)ta = THAT WHICH ENABLES ONE TO X
B.   adjective + -(s)ta = (BEING) A COMMUNITY'S X
C1.   noun denoting person(s) + -(s)ta/-aax-ta = SOMEBODY'S OWN X
C2a.   noun denoting animal + -(s)ta = SOMETHING USED TO CATCH X
C2b.   nu- + noun denoting plant/food + -(s)ta = WHERE X GROWS OR IS KEPT

Examples: A - ksnṃakta "that which enables one to work (ksnṃak)" = <u>job, work</u>, lhmta "that which enables (the house) to stand (lhm)" = <u>corner post</u>, 7acwsalcta "that which enables one to learn (7acwsalc)" = <u>study center, school</u>; B - lhⅩkw'lcta "a community's old (people) (lhⅩkw'lc)" = <u>village elders</u>; C1 - staltmcta <u>one's own chief (staltmc)</u>, cnasaaxta "one's own female (cnas) relatives" = <u>one's female cousins</u>, 7imlkaaxta "one's own male (7imlk) relatives" = <u>one's male cousins</u> (-aax <u>people</u>, see 20.3.1, 42aIII); C2a - paysta <u>flounder (pays) hook</u>, kⅩklta <u>herring (kⅩkl) seine</u>; C2b - nukusita <u>potato (kusi) bed</u>, nuskip'ta <u>carrot (skip') bed</u>, nusaplinta <u>flower (saplin) sack</u>, nuknumta <u>dried fish (knum) box</u>.

Before modifying and lexical suffixes beginning in V, -(s)ta usually becomes -(s)tn- (cf. 9.3): tcuucwtstni <u>small (-i) tableknife (tcutsta)</u>, 7asnictnak <u>to use, apply (7as-) a saw (nicta)</u> (-ak <u>manual activity</u>).

-ma/-ama <u>implement, tool, that which is used for Xing, Xer</u> is in complementary distribution with, but slightly less productive than, -(s)ta, and is found after transitive performatives exclusively: tiixwama <u>sledgehammer</u> (tiixw <u>to hit something with a hammer, drive a pole</u>), tl'alhama <u>clothesline</u> (tl'alh <u>to dry something</u>), sk'ma <u>comb</u> (sk' <u>to comb, rake something</u>), lhts'ma <u>belt</u> (lhts' <u>to press something down</u>).

The final a is usually replaced by n before modifying and lexical suffixes with initial V (cf. preceding item, 9.3.): smk'ṃni <u>small (-i) comb (sk'ma)</u>, 7its'amnii <u>small (-ii) blanket (7its'ama)</u>.

-a7inixw <u>hunter</u> - this improductive suffix occurs in two words (derived from adjec-
tives): yaya7inixw "good (ya) hunter" = <u>one who always has good luck in hunting</u>,
sca7inixw "bad (sc) hunter" = <u>one who always has bad luck in hunting</u>.

-likw/-liikw <u>performer of action, Xer</u> forms nouns from transitive performatives:
tatiixwlikw <u>witch-crafter</u> (tatiixw <u>to cast a spell on somebody</u>), nusxlikw <u>raider</u>
(nusx <u>to raid a village</u>), qalikw <u>ill-wisher</u> (qa <u>to wish somebody ill luck</u>), 7alhxapa-
liikw "packer" = <u>horse</u> (7alhxapa <u>to be packing something</u>), 7an7aq'uliikw "one who
locks up people" = <u>policeman</u> (7an7aq'u <u>to imprison, lock somebody up</u>).

21.3 The nominalizing suffixes that are combined mainly with nominal bases are:

-lhp/-alhp <u>tree, plant</u> - this suffix is often found after nouns denoting an <u>edible or
otherwise useful part of a tree or plant (root, bark, fruit)</u>: 7icp'iclhp <u>crabapple
(p'c) tree</u>, plhtkɲknlhp <u>bitter cherry tree</u> (plhtkn <u>bark of id.</u>), sat'lalhp <u>hemlock
tree</u> (st'ala <u>hemlock bark</u>). The less frequent -alhp occurs in: 7aq'miixalhp <u>cotton-
wood tree</u> (cf. q'amiix <u>a geographical name</u>), smamatstnalhp (= smamatstnak) <u>fir cone</u>
(matsta <u>dried salmon roe, nuts</u>, mats <u>to spread things on top of something</u>), and possi-
bly also in t'at'kanalhp <u>yellow pond lily</u> (? √t'akan).
For the application of reduplication and metathesis in suffixal derivations see 24.1,
resp. 24.6.

-lhp refers to <u>function/use</u> in: stamlhp+7lks wa+taya+7ats <u>what are these tires (taya)
used for?</u> (stam+ks <u>what?</u>), qmxmtalhp wa+taya+7ats <u>these tires are used for shock-
breakers (qmxmta)</u>, stamlhp+7lks wa+sulh+7ats <u>what kind of building (sulh) is this?</u>

-mc <u>inhabitant, native of X</u> follows <u>place names</u> and some <u>adjectives</u>: talyumc <u>Tallio
(talyu) native</u>, 7atl'smc <u>Chilcotin Indian</u> (√7atl's <u>behind, Interior</u>), nuxalkmc <u>Bella
Coola (nuxalk) native</u>, 7lqw'lasmc <u>Bella Bella native</u> (qw'las <u>strange, foreign</u>).
Etymologically, cf. 19.9.1.

-mts <u>one's (collective) relatives</u> follows a few nouns denoting <u>close relatives</u>:
stantanmts "one's mothers of mothers (stan)" = <u>all one's female ancestors on the
mother's side (mother + maternal grandmother + maternal grandmother's mother, etc.)</u>,
slh7imtsmts <u>all one's grandchildren (slh7imts)</u>, wa+susqwimtsts <u>all my younger siblings
(susqwi)</u>. Cf. 22.3: -alimtsk.

-tam <u>the time, season, month of X</u>: kap'aytam <u>month of the humpback salmon (kap'ay)</u>,
samlhtam <u>sockeye salmon (samlh) season</u>, waystam <u>coho salmon (ways) season</u>, 7amlhtam
<u>spring salmon (7amlh) season</u>, nukalikutstam <u>lunchtime, (to have) lunch (nukalikuts)</u>.

22 FORMATIVE SUFFIXES

22.1 A few suffixal elements appear to be devoid of both meaning and grammatical
content - these are the formative suffixes.

22.2 The formative suffixes -tswa, -ana/-ani, -qs/-aqs/-ayqs, -la/-ila, and -aakas
are found mainly in <u>personal and geographical names</u>:

ximtswa <u>a woman's name</u> (xim <u>dawn, light</u>), qwaatswa <u>a woman's name</u> (?.qwaa-), q'umtswa
<u>a personal name</u> (q'um <u>high, noble</u>), snxana <u>a personal name</u> (snx <u>sun</u>), suncwana <u>a</u>
<u>woman's name</u> (suncw <u>sky, world, universe</u>), ximximana <u>a personal name</u> (xim <u>dawn, light</u>),
siqwiixwlilcana <u>a personal name</u> (cf. qwli <u>green, yellow</u>), 7anutl'qmiixwana <u>a personal</u>
<u>name</u> ("protruding (√tl'q) above all mountains"), 7anuximana <u>a woman's name</u> (xim <u>dawn,</u>
<u>light</u>), qw'litqana <u>a personal name</u> (qw'litq <u>seagull</u>), sq'uxlikwana <u>a personal name</u>
(q'ux <u>to call, invite somebody</u>), mutana <u>a man's name</u> (? mut-), nacwtana <u>a man's name</u>
(? nacwt-), sicmana <u>a woman's name</u> (?cf. sic <u>blood</u>, or cm <u>to break something</u>), tl'i-
tsaplilhana <u>a personal name</u> (? tl'itsaplilh-), pakwani <u>a geographical name</u> (cf. spa-
kwank <u>ray, skate</u>), nutciictskwani <u>Necleetsconnay River</u> (7itskw <u>far, further away</u>),
nutscwani <u>a geographical name</u> (tscw <u>dark</u>), ts'sani <u>a man's name</u> ("Deaf George", cf.
ts's <u>noisy</u>), slts'lani <u>a man's name</u> (cf. √sts'l <u>rough, thorny</u>), 7ats'alhani <u>a geo-</u>
<u>graphical name</u> (ts'alh <u>rockweed</u>), lalamani <u>a personal name</u> (lalam <u>to pole a boat</u>
<u>upriver</u>), t'uqwtaqs <u>a geographical name</u> (? t'uqwt-), 7anuxawaqs <u>a personal name</u> (?cf.
xawis <u>tin</u>, xawxawaalis <u>a geographical name</u>), qamaatslaqs <u>a man's name</u> (? qamaatsl-),
lhalyaqs <u>a woman's name</u> (lhalya <u>copper</u>), tl'aqwmayqs <u>a personal name</u> (?cf. tl'axw
<u>hard</u>), ts'umqlaqs <u>a woman's name</u> (? ts'umql-), ta7wisilaqs <u>a woman's name</u> (? ta7wisil-),
putsla <u>Mesachie Nose (a geographical name)</u> (cf. putsut <u>to rise, increase</u>), piisla
<u>name of a stream</u> (? piis-), kwaasla <u>Smith Inlet</u> (? kwaas-), q'umaanakwla <u>a chief's</u>
<u>name</u> (q'um <u>high, noble</u>), tsuusila <u>a geographical name</u> (? tsuus-), tswaakilakw <u>a man's</u>
<u>name</u> (? tsw(-)aak-), snxakila <u>a woman's name</u> (snx <u>sun</u>), sistulhila <u>a man's name</u> (?
sist(-)ulh-), syutakila <u>a man's name</u> (syut <u>supernatural being</u>), suncwakila <u>a woman's</u>
<u>name</u> (suncw <u>sky, world, universe</u>), nuakila <u>a man's name</u> (? nu(-)ak-), qamxamila <u>a</u>
<u>personal name</u> (? qam-xam-), kwaaxila <u>a man's name</u> (? kwaax-), kw'ixlakilakw <u>a man's</u>
<u>name</u> (? kw'ixl(-)ak-), tayaqwila <u>a man's name</u> (? tayaqw-), tl'aqwakila <u>a woman's name</u>
(cf. tl'axw <u>hard</u>), wismkilakw <u>a woman's name</u> (? wismk-), yaxasila <u>a personal name</u>
(?cf. /yaqas-uulh/ Kimsquit word for <u>ball</u>), tmcwaakas <u>a personal name</u> (tmcw <u>river</u>),
tsakwaakas <u>a personal name</u> (tsakw <u>long</u>), 7alhkw'ntamaakas = 7alhkw'ntam <u>the supreme</u>
<u>deity</u> (7alhkw'nta <u>to instruct, design, designate</u>).

22.2.1 At least some of the suffixes shown above are borrowings (from Wakashan)
(-aqs, for instance, is reminiscent of the Heiltsuk suffix meaning <u>woman</u>), as are many
of the, to date unidentified, roots contained in the names.
    A small number of intransitives (not names) contain some of the suffixes treated
in 22.2. Most of these are obviously petrified forms; a few others are borrowed items.
Petrifactions are:

xwiitsana <u>playful, "full of beans"</u> (cf. xwism <u>to play, kid around</u>), lhmk'mani <u>weasel</u>
(*lhk'a/əm-, cf. Cowichan sƛćɛm <u>id.</u>), q'awlhtaqs <u>helldiver</u> (? q'awlht-), mukwila
"secreting red (mukw) urine" = <u>adolescent boy</u>, 7mtl'msila <u>(having a) nightmare</u> (cf.

stl'ms <u>love charm</u>, tl'msta <u>person</u>), qw'aykila <u>small red cod</u> (?cf. √qw'ay <u>ash</u>), 7ixws-
ila <u>to miss out on a meal</u> (?cf. 7ixw <u>far</u>), quqani <u>type of bird</u> (?cf. qwaxw <u>raven</u>, or
qux <u>to cover something</u>).

Borrowed (from Wakashan) are: tl'upana <u>cormorant</u>, tl'akwani <u>elbow</u>, k'ucani <u>small clam</u>.

22.3 In addition to the above formatives, there are some improductive formative
suffixes. These are:

-kw: statikw <u>a man's name</u> (/s-ta.ti-kw/: tay <u>hypocoristic term for young boys</u>), tsk'-
alhkw <u>devil's club</u> (√tsk' <u>pointed, sharp, stinging</u>), -ila-kw (see 22.2), tsnkw- <u>self</u>
(tsnlh- <u>id.</u>), ts'xlhmkw <u>drowned</u> (ts'xlhm <u>to drown, fall overboard</u>).

-t: piq'iikt <u>wide</u> (piq' <u>id.</u>, -iik-t = -lik-t <u>space, volume</u>), numiit <u>(to) wide(n),
open up</u> (mi <u>wide</u>), 7alh+ti+suncwt <u>today</u> (suncwt <u>day</u>, suncw <u>sky, world, universe</u>),
7alh+ti+sntl't <u>tonight</u> (sntl'(t) <u>night</u>), kult <u>to borrow</u> (√kul <u>id.</u>), lhuq'alht <u>inner
bark of cedar</u> (lhuq' <u>to strip off, skin</u>), tl'aqw't <u>Douglas fir bark</u> (tl'actl'aqw'lhp
<u>Douglas fir</u>).
This suffix is also found in several lexical suffix complexes (20.2, 20.3).

-alimtsk (? -al-imtsk, -ali-mts-k): paaxalimtsk <u>to give out names</u> (paax <u>to name some-
body</u>), 7us7usxlhalimtsk <u>braggart</u> (7usxlh <u>to show (off with) something</u>), napalimtsk <u>to
distribute food</u> (nap <u>to bestow, present</u>), 7iinalimtsk = napalimtsk (7iina <u>to give food
to somebody</u>), lhuts'alimtsk <u>to undress, bare, uncover somebody</u> (lhuts' <u>to undress some-
body</u>).
In these examples, -alimtsk is affixed to transitive bases, and would seem to add a
notion of <u>totality: all the way, all over, around, distributed</u>. If this interpretation
is correct, we may here be dealing with a verbal (aspectual) suffix rather than with
a mere formative. Compare also -mts (21.3). The same suffix is probably present in
slalimtskak <u>fir cone</u> (cf. sl <u>to slice something</u>, -ak <u>hand, branch</u>).

-altswa (? -al-tswa, cf. 22.2): spuuxaltswa <u>grey blueberry</u> (puux <u>mouldy</u>), niixwaltswa
<u>a personal name</u>: "fire (niixw) brought to earth". Possibly related to -altwa <u>sky,
weather</u>.

-alcw (? -al-cw): yumalcw <u>sour-tasting</u> (cf. yum <u>shy</u>), muqw'alcw <u>having a bland taste</u>
(muqw' <u>lacking color or taste</u>), musalcw <u>to feel around for fish using a long stick</u>
(mus <u>to feel, touch something</u>), syup'alcw <u>point of land</u> (? yup'-).
Originally, this suffix must have been of a lexical nature: <u>*sticking out, stretching
(towards), reach(ing), touch, sensation, taste</u> - compare tictsa/-alii(c)ts (*təcwtsa/
-al-ə(7)cwts) <u>tongue</u> (where -ts(-) may be -Øts = -uts <u>mouth</u>).

-ul is found only in sxitl'ul <u>skinny (xitl') person</u>. ?cf. -ulh, -ul- (20.3.1).

-ali (? -al-i): scali <u>jealous</u> (sc <u>bad</u>).

-alas (? -al-as): nuxalkalas <u>name of a beach</u> (nuxalk <u>Bella Coola</u>).

-xin (possibly from *-(7)qin <u>head, protruding</u>): sts'uuxin "grey (ts'u) matter" = <u>brains</u>, suq'uuxin <u>tadpole</u> (cf. √suqw' <u>lump, hump</u>), puuxin <u>name of a cape</u> (?cf. pux <u>to poke</u>).

22.4 Special mention must be made of the connective suffix -al-, which is found in several lexical suffix complexes (see 20.2, 20.3). The allomorph -l- survives in a handful of lexical suffixes, viz. -lxs (*-l-qs) <u>nose</u>, -lits' (*-l-its'(a7)) <u>skin, exterior surface</u>, -lik (*-l-ik(ǝn)) <u>body</u>, -lancw (*-l-anǝcw) <u>year</u>.

23 PREFIXES

23.1 The Bella Coola prefixes are divided into five categories, to wit: (a) <u>verbalizers</u>, (b) <u>somatic prefixes</u>, (c) <u>grammatical prefixes</u>, (d) <u>aspectual prefixes</u>, and (e) <u>spatial prefixes</u>.

23.2 Verbalizers are prefixed to intransitive stems, in combination with which they form intransitive (a few transitive) verbs:

1 tcalh- (see 23.6.1: 36)

2 tculh- (see 23.6.1: 38)

3 tam-₁ <u>to make, construct</u>: tamsulh <u>to build a house (sulh)</u>, tamt'ksnimta <u>to make a bow (t'ksnimta)</u>, tamts'la <u>to make a basket (ts'la)</u>. A few tam- complexes take transitive pronominal endings: 7alhtamstl'cw "to make somebody behave well (√stl'cw)" = <u>to give somebody sound advice</u>, tamqnk <u>to ridicule somebody</u> (qnk <u>low</u>), tamstaltmc <u>to appoint somebody as chief (staltmc)</u>. In combination with the benefactive suffix -tu- (cf. 14.4.5, 19.12.1): tam-X-tu- means <u>to make a X for somebody</u>: tamyayaxiitum <u>somebody made him a toy (yayaxii)</u>, tamsulhtuminu <u>I will build a house (sulh) for thee</u>.

4 tic- <u>to catch</u> - this prefix precedes <u>numerals and numerical substitutes</u>: tick'acw <u>he caught nothing (k'acw) at all</u>, ticslax <u>he caught many (slax)</u>, ticmawlxsts c+a+ smlhk <u>I caught twenty (mawlxs) fish (smlhk)</u>, tictsaatsiinaw <u>they caught only a few (tsaatsii)</u>.

5 tutu- <u>to prepare, work on something</u> - this prefix is added to nouns that refer to <u>useful items (food, bark, clothing)</u>: tutusluq' <u>to prepare eulachon oil (sluq')</u>, tutust'ala <u>to prepare hemlock bark (st'ala)</u>, tutuspux <u>to work on eagle down (i.e., to fix it for a certain dance)</u> (spux <u>feathers, down</u>).

6 sti- <u>to have a physical asymmetry</u>: stikits'ank <u>lopsided</u> (kits' <u>twisted</u>), sti7atmnus <u>to be paralyzed (7atmn-) at one side</u>, stistnaaq <u>to have one wooden (stn) leg</u>, stispulhankiiqw <u>having a lump (spulh) on one side of the head</u>, stiktl'aatl'qii <u>having one leg shorter (ktl'ii) than the other</u>.

7 kalh-₁, kas- <u>to gather, collect, pursue, hunt</u> - found before nouns that denote <u>animals, plants, and other useful items</u>: kalhnⱥnmk' <u>to hunt animals (nⱥnmk')</u>,

kalhmaaxts to collect clay (maaxts), kalhqax or kasqax to hunt rabbits (qax).
? *ka-clh-, cf. item 9, 28.2.1. See 23.8.

8 k'ilh- to have not, lack - only with nouns: k'ilhmnta to have nowhere to go,
wander around aimlessly (mnta going, route), k'ilhman to be father (man)-less,
k'ilhcnas "to be wife (cnas)-less" = to be a widower or bachelor, k'ilh7itsa to
be tooth (7itsa)-less, have no teeth. See 23.8.

9 clh- to have, possess - found before nouns exclusively: clh7atsi to have a boat
(7atsi), clhmnalc to have a baby (mna).

10 kulh-₁ to have much (before nouns), to be very (before adjectives): kulhk'ay
"it has much snow (k'ay)" = there is much snow, kulhtaala to have much money
(taala), be rich, kulhya "to be very good (ya)" = to be (really) clean.
See 23.8.

11 7as- to have, contain, use - exclusively in combination with nouns: 7asluta to
have, use a crowbar (luta), 7asnutumuts to have a spear (nutumuts) with oneself,
7ast'nxwaw tu+spanya+txw the smoked fish (spanya) (still) had the heads (t'nxw)
on them, 7as7anulhts'aliitstut "they cause the food (-aliits) to contain Indian
cheese (7anulhts')" = they have their food (prepared) with Indian cheese.
When the nominal base denotes an implement, the suffix -ak hand, manual (activ-
ity) is usually added: 7asxits'ak to use an axe (xits'), 7asnictnak to use a
saw (nicta/nictn-). Cf. item 18.

12 7asi- to consider the taste of something X is found only in: 7asisc "to consider
bad (sc) the taste of something" = to dislike the taste (of a certain food),
7asiya to like the taste (of a certain food) (ya good). Cf. item 20.

13 7anus- to be deprived of, to have lost (cf. 7anu- out of, s- nominalizer) - found
mainly before nouns: 7anuscnas to have lost one's wife (cnas), be a widower,
7anuŝtan to have lost one's mother (stan), 7anusman to have lost one's father
(man), 7anusya to have run out of good(s) (ya), to be without food, to look
hungry.

14 7it-₁ to speak the language of occurs before nouns referring to ethnic origin:
7itnuxalkmc to speak (the language of the) Bella Coola (nuxalk) (Indians: -mc),
7itq'umsciwa "to speak the language of the whiteman (q'umsciwa)" = to speak
English, 7it7atl'smc to speak Chilcotin (7atl'smc).

15 7it-₂ to wear - found in combination with nouns denoting items of clothing:
7itkuut to wear a coat (kuut). Together with -am to become: 7it-X-am means to
dress, put on, as in: 7itnupam to put on a shirt (nup), 7itsk'canlham to dress
in black (sk'c) (-anlh clothing). 7it-₂ is also found before some transitive
bases: 7ittsq' to rip (tsq') one's coat, pants, etc., 7itkits'anlh to wash (kits')
somebody's clothes (-anlh), 7itlhulhts'uulh naked (lhuts' to strip, -uulh body).
The original meaning of this prefix must have been top (cf. item 18) (hence:
cover(ing), clothing) - in combination with the somatic suffix -aaq leg it sig-
nifies the thigh: 7itkmayaaq one's thigh hurts (kma).

16 7is- _to gather, take (in), consume_ - only before nouns denoting _flora or food_
items: 7iskwmlh _to gather firewood (kwmlh)_, 7is7uk'uk' _to gather skunk cabbage_
(7uk'uk') leaves, 7istii _to drink tea (tii)_. 7is- is often found in combination
with nouns of the shape s-X-lhh _something that has been Xed_ (cf. 18.5.3,
23.9.1.1, b): 7islalaq'alhh _to eat something fried_ (lalaq'a _to fry something_),
7is7alh7ikwlhh _to eat something barbecued_ (7alh7ikw _to barbecue something_).

17 7us-₁ _to crave_ - this prefix is found in only two words, where it is accompanied
by the suffix -ayc _to be in a X state_: 7usknumayc "to crave smoke-dried fish
(knum)" = _to be hungry_, 7usqlayayc "to crave water (qla)" = _to be thirsty_.

18 7us-₂ _to don, put on_ always co-occurs with -am _to become_, and is placed before
nouns denoting _items of clothing_: 7uskuutam _to put on a coat (kuut)_, 7usits'm-
aalham _to put on mocassins (sits'maalh)_, 7usqinxam _to put on shoes (qinx)_.
Possibly related to 7us-₄ (23.6.2, item 49). Compare items 11 and 15.

19 7un-₁ _to be fond of_ is found before _(in)transitive verbs_ and _nouns denoting_
consumable items: 7un7usxlh _to be fond of, always showing off_ (7usxlh _to show_
(off with) something), 7unqaaxlamc _fond of, always drinking (qaaxla)_ (for -mc
see 19.17.2), 7unsxtl'ik _fond of fishbones (sxtl'ik)_, 7unlam _fond of rum (lam)_,
7unsnanik _fond of gum (snanik)_.

20 7unus(i)- _to go somewhere in order to X_ (? 7un.7us(i)-, cf. item 17) - only
before _intransitive verbs_, and always combined with -m _medium_: 7unusitalawsmtus
he made her go (there) in order for her to get married (talaws), 7unusinaaxwmlh
we are going (there) to have a dance (naaxwm), wika+ks Ø+ka+7umatalhilh ska+
7unus7alhpsmlh "where shall we go in order to eat (7alhps)?" = _where shall we_
go for lunch?, 7axw 7unus7ayk'mts _I will not (7axw) (go there and) stay long_
(7ayk' _to be somewhere a long time_).

23.3 The somatic prefixes occur in conjunction with verbal (a few adjectival) bases.
They are:

21 nu-₁ _stomach_: nukma _to have a stomach ache (kma)_, nukw'pt _to be full from eating_
(kw'pt _to satiate, saturate_).

22 kulh-₂ _penis_: kulhtscwi _to have an average-sized penis_ (tscwi _enough, normal,_
average), kulhtsaakw _to have a long (tsaakw) penis_. In one word we encounter the
allomorph kus-, viz. kus7m _to have an erection_ (√7m _erect_).

23 7us-₃ _buttocks_ - always in combination with -aax _rear/leg_: 7uskmayaax _one's_
buttocks ache (kma), 7usp'aax _to spank somebody_ (sp' _to hit somebody_), 7usxp'aax
buttocks (√sxp' _divide in half, two_). Probably identical to 7us-₄ (see 23.6.2:
49).

24 7un-₂ _waist, middle_: 7uncwpts _my pants are coming down_ (√cwp _to drop_), 7unsp'im
he got hit (sp') in the small of the back, 7unqw'smts _the water comes up to my_
waist (qw'sm _to flood_).

23.4 The grammatical prefixes are:

25 s- connector-nominalizer (see 23.9).

26 si- paraphraser (see 23.10).

27 nu-₂ human - found in combination with numerals and numerical substitutes: numusaw they are four (mus), nut'xulhilh there are six (t'xulh) of us, numaaskaw+ks how many (maask...+ks) are they?, nuslaxaw they are many (slax).

28 lh- dualis, X and somebody else - found before proper names and the determinative 7na (the) one: wicanaw txw ta+lhHank it was Hank and somebody else, lhxila xila and somebody else, ta+lh7na (that) one and somebody else.

23.5 The aspectual prefixes precede finite verbs (predicates). They are:

29 tm- just, only - usually found in combination with -lh perfect tense: tmlimlhaw they (have) just dropped down (lim), tmkw'atsalhis he just shook (kw'atsa) it, tmsmawlhulh ti+napts+tc I have only one dollar, one (smaw) dollar (-ulh) is all I have (nap what one has), tmstnlh it was just a stick (stn).

30 tam-₂ cumulative, iterative: tamsxṃ́xmpit they kept tying (sxp, sxṃ́xmp) it. Usually, this element is preceded by 7alh- stative-progressive (see below: 33): 7alhtamtl'alhaakas c+a+slaq'k+7ats he continually puts the fillets (slaq'k) on the bars to dry (tl'alhaaka), 7alhtam7iiklhlcalhii he kept coming closer and closer (7iiklhlcalhii).

31 sm- already, right away, from the very beginning: smq'awamsim it was tied (q'awams) right away, smyalcs he got better (yalc) right away, sm7alh7atma ta+snu-7usqas "her born one (snu7usqa) was already dead (7alh7atma)" = she delivered a still-born baby, smnusak'ayaaxtimutlhts right away I went out again (nusak'a-yaaxtimut), smṇṃṇṃuuts "obstructed (nm.nm-) in one's mouth (-uuts) since birth" = (born) mute.

32 k'am- the same: k'am7ayliwanaw stalawsaw "they were doing (7ay) more or less (-liwa) the same (thing) that (s-) they got married (talaws)" = they got married at the same occasion, k'amtsaylhtuts ta+tl'aplhtuts 7ulh+7inu 7in t'ayc "I caused the total (tsay) of what I gave (tl'ap-tu-) to thee (7inu) and (7in) him (t'ayc) to be the same" = I gave the same amount to thee and him.

33 7alh- stative-progressive - this prefix precedes both transitive and intransitive (usually performative) uninflected verbs. Before such bases, 7alh- means Xed, Xing, the result of (one's) Xing: 7alhqulh something written, writing, document, book, letter, etc. (qulh to write, print something), 7alhtsq' torn (tsq' to tear something), 7alhp'sm bent (p's to bend something, p'sm to bend), 7alhtalaws married (talaws to get married). These, and all other complexes of the same type, accept intransitive inflection.
Before predicates (inflected verbs), 7alh- conveys progressivity - to be Xing: 7alh7ayutsmtim somebody was telling (7ayutsm) them to ..., 7alhpik'm sparks are flying around (√pik' to shine, glitter, spark), 7alhp'uyaax (tree) lies fallen

(p'uyaax). When reduplicated: 7alh.7alh- conveys prolonged progressivity: 7alh7alh7awlhim somebody kept following (7awlh) him.

Before nu- and s-, 7alh- is reduced to 7a-: 7anutsiixlh "dug (tsiix) inside" = hole dug in the ground, 7anutplq' inside out (nutplq' to turn something inside out), 7asak'am hurt, wounded (sak'am to get hurt), 7ask'iixwm he keeps combing his hair (sk'iixwm). See also 23.8.

34 7ic- distributive (all over ...), intensive (prolonged): 7ic7akwkwa to be shopping (7akwa to buy), 7icliikw'iitis he keeps rolling (li(i)kw') it from one end to the other, back and forth, 7icp'iixlanaw they are floating (p'iixla) around.

Occasionally, we find the allomorph 7is-: 7ismusilhalh to be travelling (-alh) for four (mus) (whole) months (-ilh), 7iscsiilh to ... for a whole (√cs) month (-iilh), 7istsk'nimut "to find oneself (-nimut) paining intensely" = to be lonesome, homesick (√tsk' to sting). See further 23.8.

23.6   There are two types of spatial prefixes: those that precede locative bases, and those that are combined with non-locative bases.

23.6.1 Spatials occurring with locative bases are:

35 tc- area: where ... is located (in combination with -lh(h): origin – where ... comes from): tctl'uk'ams upper (tl'uk') jaw (-ams), tcatl'saax back (√atl's) wall of house (-aax), wa+tcamatlhh place (7amat) where one has come from, tcats'-aaxlh south-east wind (7ats'aaxlhmc Tallio people), tcalsqalh west wind (cf. 7asqa to be outside, located in the west).

In a few words the allomorph t- is encountered: taqw'lh downstream area (cf. 7uqw' to go downriver), tqwntl' hither (cf. Sechelt qʷəx̣ to come this way), tk'ilh- near, at this side (√k'ilh/7ik'1h/7iiklh near).

36 tcalh-X-lhh-alh coming from (-lhh coming from, -alh motion): tcalh- is historically complex, and represents a fusion of tc- and the preposition 7alh+. Examples: tcalhkulhulhiklhhalhtus 7alh+ta+stup+tx "he caused it to move from behind the back (kulhulhik) of the stove (stup)" = he took it from behind the stove, tcalhts'aamaslhhalh he came from Victoria (ts'aamas).

37 tcu- towards an area (originally a compound prefix, i.e., tc- + 7u-; see item 42): k'ilhtcumat "to have nowhere to go (7umat)" = to be lost, wander, tcutl'uk'-alh to go (-alh) up (tl'uk'), tculsqa to go out to the west (cf. 7asqa outside, located in the west, 7usqa to go out), tculatl's to go to the Interior (√atl's), tculi hither, this way, tcula thither, that way.

38 tculh- going to a place (fused tc- and 7ulh+ towards) – this prefix, which combines with place names, forms intransitive verbs; in combination with +ts (→ -ts), it forms an adverb: tculhts'aamasts I am going to Victoria (ts'aamas), tculhnukits'nu+a art thou going to Hagensborg (nukits')?, 7ayalhx tculhts go (7ayalh) to them!

39 tx- <u>geographical area, ethnos</u>: txaqw'lh <u>people from the north, Port Simpson</u>
(cf. taqw'lh <u>downstream area</u>), txaxaalh <u>people from Alert Bay</u> (cf. 7aaxlh <u>up-</u>
<u>stream area</u>).

40 txu- <u>towards geographical area</u> (from *tx$\underline{\text{--}}^{W}$(7)u-): txulxlh <u>to go upriver</u> (cf.
7aaxlh <u>upriver area</u>), txuq' <u>to go downriver</u> (cf. taqw'lh <u>downriver area</u>, 7uqw'
<u>to go downriver</u>).

41 7a- <u>location</u>: 7astcw <u>to be inside</u>, 7asqa <u>to be outside</u>, 7alh+ <u>at</u>, taqw'lh
<u>downstream area</u>, 7amat <u>place where something is located</u>, 7astam+ks <u>where is it?</u>,
7asutsaax <u>(being) underneath the house</u>, 7asaqw's <u>riverbed</u> (these examples pair
the first eight items treated under 7u-).

42 7u- <u>direction</u>: 7ustcw <u>to go inside</u>, 7usqa <u>to go outside</u>, 7ulh+ <u>towards</u>, 7uqw'
<u>to go downriver</u> (= txuq'), 7umat <u>place something is taken to</u>, 7ustam+ks <u>where</u>
<u>is he going?</u>, 7usutsaaxam <u>to go underneath the house</u>, 7usaqw'sam <u>to dive to the</u>
<u>bottom of the river</u> (these examples pair the ones listed under the preceding
item), 7ulxlh <u>to go upriver</u> (7aaxlh <u>upriver area</u>), 7utl'uk' <u>upwards</u> (tl'uk' <u>up,</u>
<u>upper, high</u>), 7uuxnk <u>downwards</u> (qnk <u>low</u>).

The forms with infixal -l- (tca<u>l</u>sqalh, tcu<u>l</u>sqa, tcu<u>l</u>atl's, tcu<u>l</u>i, tcu<u>l</u>a, 7u<u>l</u>xlh,
txu<u>l</u>xlh) represent reduced (fused) ...la+ phrases (cf. items 36 and 38, and sections
15.1 and 16.3): /tc-al-sqa-lh/, /tc$\underline{\text{--}}^{W}$ul-sqa/, /tc$\underline{\text{--}}^{W}$ul-atl's/, /tc$\underline{\text{--}}^{W}$ul-i/, /tc$\underline{\text{--}}^{W}$ul-a/,
/7ul-xlh/, /tx$\underline{\text{--}}^{W}$ul-xlh/, from √sqa <u>outside</u>, √atl's <u>Interior, back</u>, √i <u>close</u>, √a <u>re-</u>
<u>mote</u>, √xlh <u>upriver</u>. For i <u>: a = close : remote</u> see 15.1 (ti+ vs. ta+) and 15.4.1.1
(-i(-) vs. -a-).

23.6.2 The spatials preceding non-locative bases are:

43 stam- <u>together with</u> (?cf. tam-₂): ti+stamksnm̦akts <u>the one I work (ksnm̦ak) with</u>,
ti+stampusanu <u>the one you grew up (pus, pusa-) with</u>, stam7apsulhmtmacwaw <u>they</u>
<u>live (7apsulh) close together, they are co-villagers</u>, tsi+stamnumusam <u>the fourth</u>
<u>(numusam) woman he lived with</u>, wa+stamtl'mstas <u>the people (tl'msta) he lives</u>
<u>with</u>, wa+stam7apsulhts <u>my fellow-villagers (7apsulh), neighbors</u>.
Occasionally, the shorter allomorph sta- is used: sta7apsulh = stam7apsulh.

44 nu-₃ <u>inside</u>: nuk'c "to look (k'c) inside something" = <u>to in-spect (a net)</u>,
nulik'us "to turn somebody's (likw') face (-us) inside" = <u>to turn somebody</u>
<u>around</u>. This prefix is used frequently in combination with lexical suffixes
(see 20.2.2, 20.3.2). In addition, many <u>place names</u> contain this prefix, either
with or without additional s-, (s)nu- meaning <u>the place of ..., where there is/</u>
<u>are ...</u>: numamis "the place of blackflies (mamis)" = <u>Tallio Cannery</u>, nusats'm
"the place of big springsalmon (sats'm)" = <u>Noosatsum Mountain</u>, nusqala "the
place of red huckleberries (sqala)" = <u>a river</u>, nuk'lat "the place of steelhead
(k'lat)" = <u>a bay</u>, snut'li "the place of dog salmon (t'li)" = <u>an old village</u>,
snuqw'litq "the place of seagulls (qw'litq)" = <u>a point of land</u>, snuqaax "the
place of salmonberries (qaax)" = <u>an old village</u>.

45 nu-ʉ (in the) water: nup'tsiixw to submerge somebody('s head: -iixw) in the water
(p'ts to hold somebody underwater), nutl'lh "dry (tl'lh) water" = shallow water,
nusxwaxwa mud (sxwaxwa) pool, nusic bloody water (sic blood).
Reduplicated in: nunusputc wa+7anuxum+ts the river (7anuxum) is teeming with
eulachon (sputc).

46 kalh-₂ under, down(wards): 7alhkalhk'ctsut "to look (k'c) under oneself (-tsut)"
= to look down from a height, kalhst'cwmta "mat (st'cwmta) that is placed under
(oneself)" = mattress.

47 7anu- having no fixed location: through, via, (all) over, throughout, across,
(coming) out of (*7a-nu- "moving (through, around, out of) inside", cf. 23.5:
33) - found before verbs: 7anuxum "streaming (√xum) through" = stream, river,
7anu7ists'kwalh to sprinkle (7ists'kw) a liquid (-alh) on ("all over") somebody,
7anusts'mlcaax "mouth of river (-aax) scatters (sts'mlc)" = riverdelta, 7anu-
tqwmik to hang (tqwm) draped over (-ik) something, 7anupipk'miik sparks come
out of chimney (-iik) (pik'm to spark(le)), 7anutsxmiklxs one's nose (-iklxs)
is dripping (tsxm).

48 7inic- to be beside, additional, extra, (one) more: wa+7inic7alhhii "the extra-
-being ones" (7alhi to be there) = those who are still here, 7inicmawalh one
(√maw) more bottle (-alh), 7inictl'mstanaw+lhu Ø+ka+putl' there will still (+lhu)
be more people (tl'msta) coming (putl'), 7inicknicim+malhu Ø+7alhi maybe (+ma)
there is (7alhi) still (+lhu) some (more) food (knicim) left.
Possibly from *7inʔ7ic- "extended, extensive", cf. 23.5: 34.

49 7us-ʉ top, (horizontal) surface - before verbal bases: 7usputl' to come (putl')
to the surface, 7alh7uspliik flat roof (-iik) (√pl thin, flat).
In combination with -uuts water: 7us-X-uuts means surface of liquid: 7uspik'uuts
water (surface) is reflecting the sunlight (√pik' to sparkle, glitter), 7usmn-
tacuuts to skim off (mntcw/mntacw-) the surface of a liquid, 7uspulhmuuts (there
is) foam on the surface of the water (pulhm to foam, bubble).

23.7 Some prefixes occur only in combination with a suffix. These elements (circum-
fixes) are:

50 ka-X-s next, following in time forms adverbs from nouns denoting time of the
year/month/week/day: ka7a7amlhanmiis next spring (7a7amlhanmii), kamalacws next
year (malacw), kanukaliks at noon (nukalik) (said in the morning), kaynucs
tomorrow (-ynuc- = 7inacw morning), ka7ntl's coming night (7ntl').
The above forms go back to ka+ clauses (see 28.2.1.2.1); for -s see 14.2.3; for
the etymology of -ynuc- see below (item 52).

51 kanus-X-m having a X smell or taste derives verbs (adjectives) from a number of
stative intransitives (mainly adjectives, but also a few nouns): kanusyam to
have a good (ya) taste, be sweet, kanuslhuk'm to have a horrible (√lhuk') smell
or taste, kanusxawism to have a metallic taste (xawis tin), kanuŝmlhkm to have

a fishy smell or taste (smlhk <u>fish</u>), kanuŝcm <u>to have a bad (sc) taste or smell,</u>
<u>to stink</u>. The shorter allomorph nus-X-m occurs in nusyamutsmits "it is sweet to
my mouth (-uts)" = <u>I like (eating/drinking) it</u>.
kanus- may go back to *ka-nu-s-: cf. kalh-₁ (23.2: 7) (for the dropping of lh
before nu- see 23.5: 33 and 23.8), nu-₁ (23.3: 21), s- (23.9.1 ff.); -m may be
-m <u>medium</u> (19.5.1 ff.).

52 (7alh+)tu-X-a <u>last, previous</u> - like ka-X-s, this circumfix forms <u>adverbs</u> from
<u>nouns denoting temporal concepts</u>: tunica <u>yesterday</u>, tumaynuca <u>the day before</u>
<u>yesterday</u>, tumalacwa <u>last year</u>.
The bound forms -nic- and -ynuc- are related etymologically to 7inacw <u>morning</u>,
7alh+taynacw <u>this (past) morning</u>, and likely also to suncw <u>day</u> and -lancw <u>year</u>:
7inacw/-ynacw < *(-)yənacw, -ynuc- < *-yənəcw, -nic- < *-nəcw-, suncw < *s-uncw
(? ∿ s-nu/əcw), -lancw < *-l-anəcw (*√nəcw would appear to mean <u>period, cycle</u>).
The element -ma- in tumalacwa and tumaynuca is the bound form of smaw/√maw <u>one</u>;
tu- goes back to tu+ <u>plural article</u>.
The forms without 7alh+ are used as sentence-equivalents (e.g., when answering
the question 7ala+pacw <u>when was it again?</u>), whereas the ones with 7alh+ are used
as adverbs (adverbial adjuncts) (see 29.2).
tu-X-a can also be combined with wiclhh+ <u>away from</u> (see 16.4.4): <u>since last ...</u>,
as in wiclhh+tumaynuca <u>since the day before yesterday</u>, wiclhh+tumalacwa <u>since</u>
<u>last year</u>.

23.8 The prefixes kalh-₁, k'ilh-, kulh-, and 7alh- drop their final lh before bases
beginning in s: kasmlhk <u>to ("pursue") fish (smlhk)</u>, kascwpanilh <u>to hunt deer (scwpa-</u>
<u>nilh)</u>, k'islq' "lacking mind (slq')" = <u>stupid, senseless</u>, k'ismaw "minus one (smaw)"
= <u>nine</u>, kustpuusps <u>to have lots of freckles (stp) on one's face (-uus)</u>, 7alhkusuq'
<u>circumcised</u> (suq' <u>to skin</u>), 7aslhulakaycts <u>I have a sliver (slhul) in my hand (-ak)</u>,
7ascwmalus <u>to have indigestion, heartburn</u> (scwm <u>to burn</u>, -alus <u>chest</u>), kustlh "to
have much strength (stlh)" = <u>to be very strong</u>, kuskw'alhla "to have much friendli-
ness (skw'alhla)" = <u>to be very friendly, polite</u>.
The prefix 7ic- loses its final c before base-initial lh and s: 7ilhnusilhalh
<u>to travel (-alh) for two (lhnus) months (-ilh)</u>, 7ismawilhalh <u>to travel for one (smaw)</u>
<u>month</u>. Before bases with an initial postvelar, 7ic- is preferably assimilated to
7ix-: 7ixq'm <u>to walk</u> (q'm <u>to step</u>), 7ixqlm <u>to swim</u> (the root √qlm, which does not
occur without this prefix, may be related to qla <u>water</u>), but in careful speech one
also hears |ʔixʸq̓əm| and |ʔixʸqˣ̓ləm|, or variants with intermediate (purely velar)
value: |ʔe̯xq̓əm|, |ʔe̯xqˣ̓ləm|.

23.9 The most prominent Bella Coola prefix is s- <u>connector-nominalizer</u>.

23.9.1 As a nominalizer, s- derives nouns from verbs.

23.9.1.1 From intransitives (including a few nouns) nouns can be derived by means of s-:

(a) (that which characterizes something/somebody as) being X, Xness - with adjectival bases: stskw weight (tskw heavy), stl'uk' height (tl'uk' high), sxlhalhh hunger (xlhalhh hungry), s7ixw distance (7ixw far), st's salt (t's salty), skmalayc illness (kmalayc ill), sntl' "darkness" = night (7ntl' dark, obscure). Nominalized personal names are glossed as the name X, and take plural deixis: wa+sPeter the name Peter, paaxits c+a+sJohn I will name (paax) him John, 7alh-paaxtut c+a+sJesus they call (7alhpaaxtu-) him Jesus. Cf. 16.4.3, d.

(b) that which one Xes, the object/result/product of (one's) Xing - with verbal (mostly performative) bases: sqwilatslh "having been crushed" = juice, wine (qwilats to crush berries), saaxqalh "having been peed" = urine (7aaxqa to pee, urinate), slhxwta spittle, saliva (lhxwta to spit), skwanat mourning song (kwanat to cry, mourn), spus "growth" = leaf (pus to grow), satl'a canoe (7atl'a to build a canoe), s7aalats'ii story (7aalats'ii to tell a story), squts'a laundry (quts'a to wash, do the laundry). Cf. 23.9.1.3.

(c) something that Xes (with stative verbs), that which is (like) X (with nominal and adjectival bases): sps north-east blizzard (√ps to hiss), stp freckle, birthmark (√tp spot(ted)), s7il7ilayc rainbow (√7il to be arc-shaped, describe a curve), squnalxsalh "thumb (quna) toe (-lxsalh)" = big toe, snuts'imnaax rectum (ts'ima/ts'imn- guts, intestines, nu-X-aax anus, rectum), stl'imnalaaxt Achilles' tendon (tl'ima/tl'imn- tendon, -alaaxt heel), sxumaqw's "streaming (√xum) from the eyes (-aqw's)" = tears, stlhutsak biceps (tlh strong, -utsak circumference of arm), scwputs drop-off (√cwp to drop, go down, -uts shore), sk'inwas cloud (7ik'nuas fog), s7inacw morning (= 7inacw), sts'usm dusk, early evening (= ts'usm), sts'icts'ikmlhp "dirty (ts'ikm) plant (-lhp)" = lamb's quarters, s7us-qalits' "skin (-lits') coming out (7usqa)" = smallpox, sp'iix steam (p'iixm to steam), sq'up smoke (q'upm to smoke), spqw'lh fine snow, blizzard (√pqw' fine, powdery), stuplh foam (tupm to bubble, froth, foam), stwin gravepole (twinm to emerge, become visible, show up), stsx drop, dripping (tsxm to drip), spik' spark (√pik' to spark(le)).

(d) that which is used for Xing - intransitive verbs must take s- before -(s)ta implement can be added (but cf. 21.2): sats'ista fishing rod (7ats'i to fish with a rod), s7mtsta chair (7mt to assume a sitting position), sk'cta "looking (k'c) implement" = telescope, stsitumlcta sleeping pill (tsitumlc to get sleepy), slhk'msta language (lhk'm to speak). Likewise, -ma can be added to intransitive verbs only in combination with s-: s7ip'ama handle (7ip'a to grab).

(e) child(ren) of X: snulhnusltlh twins (nulhnuslt (mother) having twins), s7icuulhh illegitimate child (7iculh (mother) having an illegitimate child), su7lqliwalhh = s7icuulhh (7u7lqliwa to be crazy, mischievous, fool around). Note the presence of -lh (which may be reduced -lhh coming from).

23.9.1.1.1 From some transitive verbs s- derivations are formed, which translate as <u>that which one Xes (something/somebody with)</u>: sq'lhkw <u>tools</u> (q'lhkw <u>to fix up something</u>), snknic <u>food</u> (knic <u>to eat something</u>), sulicts <u>provisions for trip</u> (7ulic <u>to choose something</u>, -ts = -uts <u>food</u>), slq' <u>mind, brains</u> (7alhlq'/7iclq' <u>to think of something/somebody</u>), slhiixwnic <u>treasure(d)</u> (lhiixwnic <u>to treasure something</u>), s7itqu <u>(a) tow</u> (7itqu <u>to tow something</u>), skits' <u>laundry</u> (kits' <u>to wash something</u>). Cf. 23.9.1.3.

23.9.1.2 Finite verbs can be nominalized, and then mean <u>one's Xing</u>: wiclhh+tu+s-7akwatits+txw "since my buying (7akwa) it" = <u>since (the time that) I bought it</u>, 7ula+ska+lip'aycs "until his future coming back (lip'ayc)" = <u>until (the time that) he will return</u>. Note, that such nominalizations are treated as plurals (see also 15.5.1, 23.9.1.4); for ska+ see 23.9.2.2, 28.2.1.2.1.

23.9.1.3 From c+ syntagms <u>adjunct-centered nominal forms</u> are derived (cf. 23.9.1.1, b and 23.9.1.1.1), in which case the adjunct is replaced by s- (before the finite verb): ti+stl'yukts+tc <u>the one I am talking about</u> (tl'yukts c+tc <u>I am talking about him</u>), ti+s7alhps <u>food</u> (7alhps c+tc <u>he is eating it</u>), p'wi ti+sputl'aylaycaw <u>it is a halibut (p'wi) that they caught (putl'aylayc)</u> (putl'aylaycaw c+ti+p'wi <u>they caught a halibut</u>), ti+snapis tsi+cnas+tsc <u>what he gave to (nap) the woman (cnas)</u> (napis tsi+cnas+tsc c+tc <u>he gave it to the woman</u>), wic 7ats wa+s7alhpstum qwaxw <u>this (7ats) is (wic) what Raven (qwaxw) was fed (7alhpstu-)</u> (7alhpstum qwaxw c+7ats <u>Raven was given this to eat</u>).

23.9.1.4 Bella Coola employs several constructions where s- has a function intermediate between nominalizer and connector:

<div style="margin-left:2em">

(a) ta+s-...-lh-Π s-...-Π   <u>... as/while ...</u>

(b) ...-lh-Π ta+s-...-lh-Π   <u>... as/while ...</u>

(c) ...-Π wa+s-...-Π   <u>... and ...</u>

(d) ...-Π ti+s-...(-Π)   <u>... at ...ing</u>

</div>

The use of the articles (cf. 15.5.1, 23.9.1.2) is aberrant in that the "nominalized" verb is, syntactically, neither relatum nor part of an adjunct. It rather behaves like an adverb, predicative adjunct (see 23.9.2.1.3, 29.2), or apposition. Examples:

(a) ta+s7alhpslhts s7uq'xtinits <u>while I was eating (7alhps), somebody called (7uq'x) me</u>

ta+sk'acwlhts slip'tsutaw <u>while I was gone (k'acw), they came back (lip'tsut)</u>

(b) tl'yutslhilh ta+s7alhpslhilh "we were fast (tl'yuts) while eating (7alhps)" = <u>we ate fast</u>

7ip'aaklhits ta+s7iluslhtss <u>I grabbed (7ip') his hand (-aak) as he went past (7ilus) me</u>

(c) 7as7ulhqnaks 7ulh+ti+qla+t'ayc wa+s7asqup'tnaka+kw <u>she took her pail (7as7ulhqn-</u>
<u>ak) to the water (qla), and they were sounding the drums (7asqup'tnak)</u>
ksnm̦akts wa+s7alhpsts+tuu <u>I am working (ksnmak) and eating (7alhps) too (+tuu)</u>

(d) 7acwsants ti+s7itnuxalkmc <u>I am an expert (7acwsan) at speaking Bella Coola</u>
<u>(7itnuxalkmc)</u>
ya ti+s7alhukwala <u>he is good (ya) as an Indian doctor (7alhukwala)</u>
yayaakts ti+snicits wa+sts'laaxlh <u>I am adroit (yayaak) at sawing (nic) lumber</u>
<u>(sts'laaxlh)</u>

23.9.2 Used as a connector, s- means <u>(it is) (the fact) that</u>, and is found in com-
plex sentences, where it connects the predicate (+ relatum/relata and/or adjunct(s))
with a second clause (subordination). No deixis accompanies such s- derivations.

23.9.2.1 There are several predicative types that can be followed by s- extensions.

23.9.2.1.1 <u>Interrogative (+ks and other) predicates</u> (cf. 25.5): 7alatsicw∓7iks s7axw
putl'nu <u>why (7alatsicw∓7iks) art thou not (7axw) coming (putl')?</u>, pacw+lituts' ska+
k'ctmacwilh <u>when (pacw+li...) will we see (k'c) each other (-tmacw) again (+tuts')?</u>,
maaskulh+7iks s7alhkultts 7alh+7inu <u>how much (maaskulh+7iks) do I owe (7alhkult)</u>
<u>thee (7inu)?</u>, maaskanmaak+7iks ska+sts'usmutsilh <u>at what time (maaskanmaak+7iks) shall</u>
<u>we have supper (sts'usmuts)?</u>, stam+ks wa+7anaykmicw ska+qaaxlamicw <u>what is it (stam+</u>
<u>ks) that thou wantest (7anaykm) to drink (qaaxlam)?</u>, wika+ks wa+7amatnu s7apsulhnu
<u>where is it (wika+ks) (the place: 7amat) that thou livest (7apsulh), where dost thou</u>
<u>live?</u>

23.9.2.1.2 <u>wic ...</u> (cf. 25.3.2): wic txw ŝcliktmtss <u>that is (wic) when (txw) he</u>
<u>got mad (scliktm) at me</u>, wic+7its'ik sklhs ti+snx+t'ayc <u>that is when (wic) the sun</u>
<u>(snx) sets (klh)</u>, wic+kw 7ats s7axw 7alh7alhtsimaylaycs <u>that is why (wic+kw 7ats)</u>
<u>he can (-aylayc) not (7axw) speak (7alh7alhtsim)</u>, wics ts wa+7inacwaw s7mtaw <u>it is</u>
<u>(wics ts) (in) the ("their") morning(s) (7inacw) that they get up (7mt)</u>.

23.9.2.1.3 <u>Temporal predicates and predicative adjuncts</u> (cf. 29.2): s7aymit sks-
nm̦akaw <u>they always (s7aymit) work (ksnmak)</u>, kamalacws ska+lip'tsutts <u>next year (ka-</u>
<u>malacws) I will come back (lip'tsut)</u>, 7ala+waycii scwpakmis <u>finally (7ala+waycii)</u>
<u>he let go of (cwpakm) him</u>, 7ala+7ayk'+kw sqwlxulhtsutaw wa+cnasuks+ts ska+tl'apaw
<u>long ago (7ala+7ayk'+kw) the women (cnas) would get together (qwlxulhtsut) in order</u>
<u>to go (tl'ap)</u>, kanukaliks ska+7axw ka+k'cnu 7uuxnk <u>in the afternoon (kanukaliks),</u>
<u>do not (7axw) look (k'c) down (7uuxnk)!</u>

23.9.2.1.4 <u>Verba sentiendi et declarandi</u>: 7alhnapit s7inus ti+ka+tl'ap <u>they know</u>
<u>(7alhnap) that it is thee (7inu) who will go (tl'ap)</u>, k'cim+ts' stsics 7ilh <u>now (+ts')</u>

they saw (k'c) that it was (tsic) her (7ilh), 7anaykts ska+tl'apts I want (7anayk)
to go (tl'ap), 7ayutsaw+ts' ska+tl'ilh ska+7ustcwilh now (+ts') they told (7ayuts)
us to hurry (tl'i) and go in (7ustcw), 7alhut'ilh skanuŝmlhkms we smell (7alhut')
that it is ("has the smell of": kanus-X-m) fish (smlhk), 7acwsnicis+kw7its'ik t'ax
ti+numutsta+t'ayc sxwiq'miis "and (+kw7its'ik) he (t'ax) heard (7acwsnic) this door
(numutsta) as it creaked (xwiq'mii)" = and he heard the door creak.

I have also the following examples (involving 7ayutsm to say ... about some-
thing, to call something ...): ta+7ayutsmim stamsawanaaxkwim "the one they say is
something made into (tam-X-im) a raft (sawanaaxkw)" = the one they call "raft",
wa+7ayutsmit snuknumtanaw "the ones they say are dried fish boxes (nuknumta)" =
the ones they call "dried fish boxes". These constructions are also reminiscent of
the nominalizations discussed in 23.9.1.1, a.

The syntagm (7axw) ya(s) ti+slq'ts "my mind (slq') is (not (7axw)) good (ya)"
= I am (un)happy behaves like a verbum sentiendi: 7axw yas ti+slq'ts s7alh7ayaqw'ss
"I am unhappy that it is so (7alh7ay) colored (-aqw's)" = I do not like the color
of it.

Further: ka+mnlhatits+ma s7alh7ays ti+stsactsakwalhs maybe (+ma) I will measure
(mnlhat) ("how is": 7alh7ay) his height (stsactsakwalh), 7alhkaltcwmit+7its'ik s7axw
ka+nupapnttut and so (+7its'ik) they take care (7alhkaltcwm) not (7axw) to allow
(-tu-) it to boil (nupapnt).

23.9.2.1.5 Subordination (co-referential): tl'iliwas s7mts "he was quick (tl'iliwa)
as he got up (7mt)" = he got up quickly, 7alhkw'ntnuutstit sqaaxlatutit "they showed
(7alhkw'ntnuuts) them as they caused (-tu-) them to drink (qaaxla)" = they showed
them how to drink (hard liquor), qaaxlanaw⧣7its'ik s7alhkw'ntnuutsayclhhaw and so
(+7its'ik) they drank as they had been shown to, yanu stl'mstanu "thou art good (ya)
as (thou art) a person (tl'msta)" = thou art a good person, yalhkayc t'ayc sxss this
(t'ayc) is too fat (xs) (yalhkayc to be overly ...), 7ixq'maw skstimutaw "they walk
(7ixq'm) as they work (kstimut)" = they work while walking, 7usutsaaxamtut sts'xlhnit
wa+qinxlhaw 7alh+ti+sxitstanaw+tc "they cause it to be under (7usutsaaxamtu-) as
they kick (ts'xlhn) their shoes (qinx) relative to their bed (sxitsta)" = they kick
their shoes under their bed, ka+nukwlliitsts ska+cuk'mts "I will be in hot water
(nukwlliits) as I will bathe (cuk'm)" = I will take a hot bath.

23.9.2.1.6 Subordination (non-co-referential): tculh7ayliktaw ska+7alhinaw s7axw
ka+walits wa+sulh+7ats as long as (tculh7aylikt) they are around (7alhi), I will
not (7axw) leave (wal) the house (sulh), 7ustcwaw 7ula+sulhaw sklhs ti+snx+t'ayc
they go into (7ustcw) their house (sulh) when the sun (snx) sets (klh), wic⧣7its'ik
sklhs ti+snx+t'ayc slht'ṁtim wa+kulhkwlhulmc+7ats it is (wic) when the sun sets that
it rises (lht'm) for (-m) the ghosts (kulhkwlhulmc), suncws+kuks 7alh+lhmilh slht'ms
ti+snx+t'ayc but (+kuks) it is daytime (suncw) for us (lhmilh) when the sun rises,
q's+ts' ŝatl'suutsmtim "now (+ts') it was complete (q's) as they were overwhelmed

(-tim) by (-m) the tide (satl'suuts)" = <u>now they were completely overwhelmed by the</u>
<u>tide</u>.

23.9.2.1.7 There is an interesting construction that involves s-, a finite verb
(or verbally used noun), and the pl non-demonstrative close deictic +ts. Such syn-
tagms are used both co-referentially and non-co-referentially. We will label them
<u>appositive phrases</u> - these are reminiscent of the Latin ablativus absolutus, and
translate as <u>it/we/there etc. being ..., ...</u> or as <u>while/after ..., ...</u>: t'awsulmc
+ts' s7alhwlaalhh+ts "it having rained (7alhwla(a)lh), the ground (-ulmc) is now
(+ts') damp (t'aws)" = <u>after the rain the ground is damp</u>, 7unk𝑋kllhhiln sDutchmenlh
+ts "(we) being Dutchmen, we indulge in eating (7un-) herring (k𝑋kl)" = <u>we Dutchmen</u>
<u>are fond of herring</u>, nuts'ixalh scnasuksilh+ts "(we) being women (cnas), we are re-
fining (nuts'ixa)" = <u>we women do the refining</u>, qwsmts+tuu stm7alh7alhtsimlhts+alu+ts
"while I am trying to (+alu) to speak (7alh7alhtsim) only (tm-X-lh), I even (+tuu)
sweat (qwsm)" = <u>even (just) talking makes me sweat</u>, 7alh7aynaw+tuu c+lhmilh stl'm-
stanalusilh+ts "we being mortals (tl'mstanalus), they are just (+tuu) like (7alh-
7ay) us (lhmilh)" = <u>they are just like us mortals</u>.

23.9.2.2 From the examples given in 23.9.2.1 ff. we learnt that s- can be separated
from a finite verb by 7axw <u>not</u> and ka+ <u>future</u>: s7axw ... <u>that I/you etc. do not ...</u>,
ska+... <u>that I/you etc. will ...</u> When both 7axw and ka+ are employed in the same
syntagm, the choice between s7axw ka+... and ska+7axw ka+... is one of free variation:
s7axw ka+ksnṃakts = ska+7axw ka+ksnṃakts <u>(the fact) that I will not work (ksnmak)</u>.

    That s- actually connects complete sentences (rather than just finite verbs)
appears from constructions such as: 7ala+patsalh s7usmntacwaycaw 7ats <u>s</u>7alh+lhmilh
s7alh7ayakilh c+7ats s7iixwsulhulhtnmlh "(it is) before (7ala+patsalh s-) they skim
the grease (7usmntacwayc) <u>that</u> with/among us (7alh+lhmilh) we are manually active
(7alh7ayak) presently (c+7ats) as we start building a fire (7iixwsulhulhtnm)" =
<u>right away, before they skim the grease, we all get involved in building a fire</u>.
Here, s- is placed before a predicative adjunct: 7alh+lhmilh <u>(it is) among us</u>.
Cf. 29.2.

23.10 Like s-, the grammatical prefix si- <u>paraphraser</u> performs several functions.
It
    (a) replaces the preposition 7alh+ in <u>adjunct-centered forms</u>;
    (b) introduces <u>subordinate clauses</u>, but differs from connecting s-
        in that it <u>usually has an increment</u> of <u>origin (cause, reason,</u>
        <u>incentive) or result (end, goal, purpose)</u>;
    (c) forms <u>nominalizations</u>.

23.10.1 Sentences containing a 7alh+ syntagm can be paraphrased (with a shift of
emphasis) by ones involving si-, which comes before the finite verb:

7alh+ syntagm	si- syntagm
k'cis 7alh+ti+7alhqulhuus	7alhqulhuus ti+sik'cis
he saw (k'c) it in a picture	it was a picture that he saw it in
ninitsts 7alh+ts	wic ts wa+sininitsts
I survive (ninits) on it	it is what keeps me alive
7mts 7alh+txw	wic txw si7mts
he got up (7mt) then	that is when he got up
ksnṃakts 7alh+tc	tic tc ti+siksnṃakts
I work (ksnmak) for him	he is the one I work for
7alhpsts 7alh+ti+kⱡkl	kⱡkl ti+si7alhpsts
I am eating (7alhps) a herring	it is a herring I am eating

23.10.2 Sentences embedded with si- occur after interrogative and other predicates.

23.10.2.1 X+ks siY is glossed as whX is it that one Yes?: 7alatsicwnu+ks sikwanatnu why (7alatsicw...+ks) art thou crying (kwanat)?, 7alatsicw⁺7iks si7axw xwisms 7alh+ lhmilh why does he not (7axw) play (xwism) with us (7alh+lhmilh)?, wika+ks sitl'ap- amkicw where (wika+ks) didst thou get (tl'apamk) it? In these examples, si- can be replaced freely by s- (cf. 23.9.2.1.1).

23.10.2.2 Following other predicates, si- means (that is) the reason why, therefore: 7ixq'nlhalcaw+ts' 7alh+tsc sitcapsmit they got fed up (7ixq'nlhalc) with her (7alh+ tsc) now (+ts'), so they decapitated (tcapsm) her, yalhkayciits snusuqw'pstamts si- 7axxutts "I overdo (yalhkaycii) my smoking (nusuqw'pstam) is why I cough (7axxut)" = I cough, because I smoke too much.

ka+si- translates as so that, in order that: ka+silhxwtaycs in order that he may (-ayc) go through (lhxwt), ka+si7axw ka+pakwnicim so that he will not (7axw), lest he will be caught up with (pakwnic).

7ula+si- is rendered as it is for that reason or purpose: 7ula+si7alh7aytulh stskw'maakilh "it is for that reason/purpose that we cause (-tu-) it to be that way (7alh7ay) as we pull the fishbones out (tskw'maak)" = that is why we pull the fish- bones out of it.

23.10.3 si- can also nominalize verbs and adjectives.

23.10.3.1 Nominalizing si- + finite verb means what makes one X, for what (reason) one Xes/is X: 7alhnapits wa+sitl'aps ti+7imlk+tc I know (7alhnap) why the man (7imlk) is going (tl'ap), 7alhnapip+ma wa+siyas you must (+ma) know what he is good (ya) for.

23.10.3.2 A number of lexicalized nouns contain si-: sixwisak "what one plays
(√xwis) with manually (-ak)" = toy, si7axtsuliits "what one wears (-uliits) for
lying down (7axts)" = night gown, pajamas, siscwmtnṃak "what one uses manually (-ak)
to cause (-tnm) something to burn (scwm)" = kindling, siqw'xwm "what makes (a ve-
hicle) move (qw'xwm)" = motor, engine, sinuklhm "where people go across (klhm)" =
Canoe Crossing, sinaaxwmiixw "what one wears on one's head (-iixw) when dancing
(naaxwm)" = dancer's headdress, sisikyumaaxalits (i.e., si.si-) "teeth (-aaxalits)
used for chewing (kyu-m-)" = molars. And in nouns referring to times of the year:
si7aqw'm "when the herrings are spawning (7aqw'm)" = March, sixulim "when the canoes
are launched (xul)" = name of a month, si7ist'lilhh "when people eat (7is-) dog
salmon (t'li)" = September-October, si7mt "when the sun sits (7mt) (still)" = sol-
stice (summer: June, winter: December), siqalxm "root-digging (qalxm) time" =
spring or autumn.

24 REDUPLICATION AND METATHESIS

24.1 Reduplication serves to form a variety of derivations:

> I. diminutives
> II. collectives
> III. continuatives
> IV. suffixal derivations
> V. semantic mutations
> VI. lexicalized forms

When reduplication is employed to derive diminutives, the suffix -i (-ii, -y, -yi:
see 18.3) is added. Continuative forms often describe a habit, profession, or game.

24.2 With regard to the shape of reduplicated words, seven different types are dis-
tinguished:

> a. $C_1VC_2C_1C_2$ (12313)
> b. $C_1V_1C_2C_1V_1C_2$ (123123)
> c. V_1CV_1 (212)
> d. $V_1C_2C_1V_1C_2$ (23123)
> e. $C_1V_1C_1V_1$ (1212)
> f. C_1VC_1 (121)
> g. C_1C_1 (11)

Beside these formations, a few unique types occur: tsitstsipii small bird, macnxsni
diminutive of maaxsa nose.

24.3 The process of reduplication may be accompanied by morpho-phonemic changes.
These are:

1. V-lengthening (cf. 5.3.4)

2. shortening of doubled V

3. (post)velar occlusive reduplicated by homorganic fricative or c (cf. 9.5)
   (post)velar fricative reduplicated by c (cf. 9.5)

4. postvelar fricative replaced by homorganic occlusive (cf. 9.5)

5. unrounded (post)velar alternating with rounded one (cf. 9.4.1)

6. insertion of nasal or V (usually i) (cf. 9.2)

7. a replaced by n (cf. 9.3)

8. deletion of a (cf. 9.2.1)

24.4 In this section an enumeration is given of all existing type-combinations. Lower case letters refer to the reduplicative type (24.2), Roman numerals indicate the semantic function (24.1), and Arabic numerals denote the morpho-phonemic changes involved. For the sake of clarity, in each example a period is inserted before the second phoneme represented by the number 1 (see the parenthetic formulae in 24.2).

a-I: qwtulh.tlhi diminutive of qwtulh <u>cradle basket</u>, kwpalh.plhi diminutive of kwpalh <u>liver</u>, t'qus.qwsi "little thing sticking (t'q) to the face (-us)" = <u>gnat</u>;

a-I-1: qaax.qxi diminutive of qax <u>rabbit</u>, squulh.qwlhi diminutive of squlh <u>bee, wasp</u>, 7alhquulh.qwlhi diminutive of 7alhqulh <u>book</u>;

a-III: 7anupus.psm <u>to float around</u> (pusm <u>to float</u>);

a-IV: 7alhqulh.qwlhanlh <u>gay, variegated dress (-anlh)</u> (7alhqulh <u>printed</u>);

a-V: kulh.kwlhulmc "earth (kulhulmc) <bound>" = <u>earthbound spirit, ghost</u>, 7asts'alh-.ts'lh <u>heavy rainfall</u> (7asts'alh <u>waterfall</u>).

NOTE: 1 = T^p, 2 = a/i/u, 3 = T^f

b-I-1/3: yac.yaakî diminutive of yaki <u>mountain goat</u>, stl'actl'aaxti diminutive of stl'axt <u>caribou</u>;

b-II: stan.tanmts <u>all one's female ancestors on the mother's side</u> (stan <u>mother</u>), suc.suca <u>both hands</u> (suca <u>hand</u>);

b-III: stsuc.tsucm <u>salmon is jumping repeatedly</u> (stsucm <u>id. once</u>), cul.culm <u>to start a fire with a firedrill (culta)</u>;

b-III-3: lhuc.lhuukliwa <u>(always acting) mean</u> (√lhuuk <u>repulsive</u>), nic.niq'xm <u>to have cramps</u> (?cf. niq'x <u>otter</u>), pac.paaxu <u>always afraid, coward(ly)</u> (paaxu <u>to fear</u>);

b-IV: mil.milicwlhp <u>plant of the milicw (bear berry)</u>, tskwalh.kwalh <u>to walk heavily</u> (tskw <u>heavy</u>, -alh <u>feet, walking</u>);

b-IV-1: qulh.quulhta <u>pen(cil)</u> (qulh <u>to write</u>);

b-IV-3: tsac.tsakwalh <u>tall person</u> (tsakw <u>long</u>, -alh <u>legs</u>), tl'ac.tl'aqw'lhp <u>Douglas fir</u> (tl'aqw't <u>Douglas fir bark</u>), sts'ic.ts'icwtalhp <u>horsetail (plant)</u> (ts'icwta

stems of id.);

b-V: xwal.xwalc <u>solder</u> (xwalc <u>to melt</u>);

b-V-3: tic.tiixwm <u>to drive poles for eulachon net</u> (tiixw <u>to hit something with a hammer</u>), sic.siiqw <u>airplane</u> (+ change 6: sqw' <u>to fly</u>);

b-VI: mus.mus <u>cow</u>, saw.sawa <u>pillow, cushion</u>, win.wints <u>sandpiper</u>, wilh.wilh <u>mica</u>;

b-VI-3: tic.tik' <u>piece of wood used for kindling</u>, mucw.mukwt <u>bluegrouse</u>, mic.mik'lh <u>star</u>.

NOTE: 1 = C, 2 = a/i/u, 3 = K/R/T^{f}

c-I: 7n.k'ntsi diminutive of k'nts <u>sperm whale</u>, 7i.t'iclhalay diminutive of t'iclhala <u>robin</u>, 7u.p'wii diminutive of p'wi <u>halibut</u>;

c-II: si.kw'yan <u>both knees (skw'yan)</u>;

c-III-6: sun.p'uulhnm <u>to play baseball</u> (sp' <u>to hit</u>, -uulh <u>ball</u>);

c-IV: sl.t'lslhp <u>plant of the st'ls (highbush cranberry)</u>, 7m.k'mlqsakta <u>fingerring</u> (k'm <u>to bite, grasp tightly, enclose</u>, -lqsak <u>finger</u>), 7l.k'laylhp <u>western birch</u> (k'lay <u>bark of id.</u>), 7i.tl'yukmtmacw <u>to argue</u> (tl'yuk <u>to talk</u>);

c-VI: lhm.k'mani <u>weasel</u>, 7l.q'llis <u>giant kelp with herring spawn on it</u>, 7u.q'uuni <u>throat</u>.

NOTE: 1 = T', 2 = V/Ṙ (however, some 2123 reduplications do not contain a glottalized occlusive: 7m.tm <u>sea urchin</u>, sn.knic <u>food</u> (knic <u>to eat something</u>), 7l.plii <u>thin (√pl)</u>, su.puslhp <u>young willow tree</u> (pus <u>to grow</u>), 7u.sukw'lt <u>blackcap berry</u> (?cf. √suk' ∿ √sukw' <u>to (be) blow(ing), wind)</u>).

d-I: 7us.ts'usmi <u>dusk, early evening</u> (ts'usm <u>evening</u>);

d-III-3: 7ic.t'iixlhalam (= t'ic.t'iixlhalam) <u>to hop on one leg</u>;

d-III-6: 7is.kw'ismtmacw <u>(animals) trying to copulate</u> (kw's <u>engaged to marry</u>), 7is.-ts'iis <u>to make noise with tools</u> (ts's <u>noisy</u>);

d-IV-3: 7ic.p'iixtsut <u>to take a steambath</u> (p'iixm <u>steaming</u>);

d-IV-6: 7ic.p'iclhp <u>crabapple (p'c) tree</u>;

d-VI: 7us.p'us <u>lungs</u>, 7aw.k'awalh <u>blind</u>.

NOTE: 1 = T', 2 = i/u, 3 = T^{f}/Ṙ

e-I: su.sumii diminutive of sum <u>trousers</u>, qlhm.lhmii diminutive of qlhm <u>black cod</u>, stn.tnii diminutive of stn <u>tree</u>;

e-I-1: tsa.tsaalhii diminutive of tsalh <u>lake</u>, tq'lhaa.lhay diminutive of tq'lha <u>knife</u>, 7imȲ.mllkii <u>boy</u> (7imlk <u>man</u>);

e-I-8: stȲ.tlkw'i diminutive of stlkw'a <u>jellyfish</u>;

e-II: pl.plak <u>both arms (-ak) missing (√pl)</u>, p'lha.lha <u>to blink both eyes</u> (p'lha <u>to wink, blink one eye</u>), mx́.mnts <u>children</u> (cf. mna <u>child</u>);

e-III: ku.kulhk'ma <u>to have the hiccups</u> (kulh- <u>many</u>, k'ma <u>stuck (in the throat)</u>), sm.sma <u>to tell a story, myth</u> (sma <u>story, myth</u>);

e-III-6: pum.puus (+ change 1) <u>to keep growing (pus)</u>, k'in.k'islhup'stalc "to lose (k'i-X-lc) one's breath (slhup'sta)" = <u>to have trouble breathing</u>, sun.supt <u>to whistle continually</u> (supt <u>to whistle</u>);

e-IV: scwx́.cwmaltwa <u>lightning</u> (scwm <u>to burn</u>, -altwa <u>sky</u>), lhx́.lhliiqwta "tool (-ta) used for cutting (lhl) hair (-iiqw)" = <u>scissors, shears</u>;

e-IV-6: scwt'un.t'us <u>deadfall</u> (cwt' <u>to let go, drop</u>, -us <u>flat surface</u>), t'cun.culmcta "tool (-ta) used for sweeping (t'cw) the floor (-ulmc)" = <u>broom</u>, tspum.puusta "something used for (-ta) wiping (tsp) one's face (-uus)" = <u>face towel, face cloth</u>;

e-V-6: pan.patsalh <u>to be the first, leader</u> (patsalh <u>to go first, ahead</u>), man.maat'qa (+ change 1) "always measuring spans (mat'qa)" = <u>inch worm</u>;

e-VI: tu.tup <u>trout</u> (√tup <u>spotted</u>), nx́.nmk' <u>mammal, animal</u>, ya.yax <u>small horn used in certain dances</u>, xaxaq' <u>goose</u>;

e-VI-1: ya.yaatwii <u>happy</u>, ya.yaasii <u>cute, nice-looking</u>, qulu.luuxu (? qul.uluuxu) <u>strawberry</u>.

NOTE: 1 = C, 2 = V/R̈

f-I: ya.yntsii diminutive of yants <u>driftwood</u>, sxa.xnii diminutive of sxan <u>sweetheart</u>;

f-I-1: spuu.ptci diminutive of sputc <u>eulachon</u>, taa.tkwsi diminutive of takws <u>willow grouse</u>, tl'ii.tl'xini diminutive of tl'ixin <u>sealion</u>, wa.wiisi diminutive of ways <u>coho salmon</u>, k'a.k'puutsi diminutive of k'aputs <u>suckerfish</u>, tpii.pqwii (+ change 4) diminutive of tpiixw <u>lid, cover</u>;

f-I-1/7: ts'ii.ts'kwni diminutive of ts'ikwa <u>clam</u>, t'uu.t'kwni (+ change 5) diminutive of t'uka <u>mink</u>;

f-II: skwtsa.tsls <u>both cheeks (skwtsals)</u>;

f-III: 7anupi.pk'miik <u>sparks come out of (7anu-) the chimney (-iik)</u> (pik'm <u>to spark</u>);

f-IV: nutsa.tskwlqsnk "long (tsakw) tail (nu-X-lqsnk)" = <u>rat</u>, nusi.sciik <u>blood (sic) vessel (nu-X-iik)</u>, 7anuksaa.sktmacw <u>to play at tug-of-war</u> (ks <u>to pull</u>, -aak <u>hand(s)</u>);

f-IV-1: xuu.xwtsliwa <u>supple</u> (xuts <u>to soak, make pliable</u>), sxp'ii.p'k <u>spine (= sxp'ik)</u> (√sxp' <u>dividing in half</u>, -i(i)k <u>back</u>);

f-IV-2: pa.pqtsut (+ change 4) <u>to name (paax) oneself</u>;

f-VI: ku.kwpi <u>grandfather</u>, cwaa.cwcwii <u>light of weight</u> (possibly cwaa.cw.cwii: 12113), tsa.tstawlhp <u>cedar tree</u>, t'a.t'kanalhp <u>yellow pond lily</u>.

NOTE: 1 = C, 2 = a/i/u

<u>g-I-1</u>: 7aats.tsayi (+ change 8) diminutive of 7atsaya <u>fox</u>;

<u>g-III</u>: 7ic7akw.kwa <u>to be shopping</u> (7akwa <u>to buy</u>), 7icwap.pattsut <u>to turn, look around constantly</u> (wapat <u>to turn something around</u>), 7is.sut <u>to travel a long way by canoe</u> (7isut <u>to paddle, travel by canoe</u>);

<u>g-IV</u>: 7atl'.tl'anulȟp <u>plant of the 7atl'anulh (gooseberry)</u>, 7uq'.q'allhp <u>plant of the 7uq'al (cinquefoil roots)</u>, 7aqw'.qw'alxyayc <u>one's hair (-alxi) gets entangled (√7aqw') in something</u>, ha7m̥.muks plural of ha7m <u>pigeon</u>;

<u>g-VI</u>: yal.lak <u>sleepy</u>, yal.li <u>good swimmer</u>, sis.si <u>uncle</u>, 7ax.xa <u>yuck!</u>, 7ax.xut <u>to cough</u>, 7uy.yu <u>a man's name</u>.

<u>NOTE: the reduplicated consonant follows, and precedes, a syllabic peak</u>

24.5 The formal and combinatorial aspects of reduplication are given separate treatment below.

24.5.1 A striking characteristic of many reduplicative formations is that reduplication takes place across morpheme boundaries (the reduplicated syllable may invade the root): /t'q$_{-}^{w}$us.qws-i/ "little (-i) thing sticking to (t'q) the face (-us)" = <u>gnat</u>, /sun.p'-uulh-nm/ "to play at (-nm) hitting (sp') a ball (-uulh)" = <u>to play baseball</u>, /s-cwt'-un.t'-us/ <u>deadfall</u> (s- <u>nominalizer</u>, cwt' <u>to let go, drop</u>, -us <u>flat surface</u>), /t'cw-un.cw-ulmc-ta/ "tool (-ta) used for sweeping (t'cw) the floor (-ulmc)" = <u>broom</u>.

24.5.2 From the list contained in section 24.4 we can see that not all semantic classes are covered by all possible formations. At the same time, the morphonological changes are not associated with all reduplicative types. The following matrix illustrates the state of affairs:

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
a	+		+	+	+		+							
b	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+			+		
c	+	+	+	+		+						+		
d	+		+	+		+			+			+		
e	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					+		+
f	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+		+	
g	+		+	+		+	+							+

·Also, from the shape of the base alone one cannot infer which reduplicative process will be operative, since: <u>CV/R... (e) includes CV... (f)</u>, <u>CV/R... (e) includes T'V/R... (c)</u>, <u>CV... (f) overlaps T'V/R... (c)</u>, <u>CV... (f) includes CVT^{f}/K/R (b)</u>, <u>T'V/R... (c) includes T'VT^{f}/R (d)</u>, <u>T^{p}VT^{f} (a) overlaps T'VT^{f}/R (d)</u>, <u>CVT^{f}/K/R (b) includes T'VT^{f}/R (d)</u>, <u>CVT^{f}/K/R (b) includes T^{p}VT^{f} (a)</u>.

Consequently, the predictability of the reduplicative types is virtually obscured, and all recorded reduplications must be registered in the lexicon.

24.6 The process of metathesis is not very common, and is limited mainly to affixal derivations: √k'apat sharp vs. /7ak'pat-uts-lhp/ spruce tree, q'amiix a geographical name vs. /7aq'miix-alhp/ cottonwood tree, sqw'alm edible male fern root vs. /sa(a)qw'lm-i/ diminutive form of id., st'ala hemlock bark vs. /sat'la-lhp/ hemlock tree, q'ay black hawthorn berry vs. /7aq'i-lhp/ bush of id., skupik rosebud vs. /sukwpik-lhp/ rose plant/tree, √k'ilh near, close vs. /si-7ik'lh/ mate, spouse, √q'um high, noble vs. /7uqw'm-ik/ a geographical name, 7alh7ay to be active, do something vs. /7alha7i-timut-i/ to cause oneself to id., tsaxwm to wade vs. /s-atsxw-an/ name of a creek ("ford"), k'uplc to sneak up, stalk vs. /7ic^wukw'plc/ id., √kal right, exact vs. /7alh-akl-ii/ to be right, correct, q'ay kind of basket vs. /7aq'i-i/ diminutive form of id., skw'anik's black twinberry vs. /sakw'nik's-lhp/ plant of id., √q'al twisting, spiralling vs. /7alh-aaq'l^alikw-lhp/ creeping juniper, /sp'-alus-tnm/ to chop wood vs. sap'lusm id.

     Some metathetical pairs are in complementary distribution, i.e., certain affixes occur with the ...CV... allomorph, others with the ...VC... allomorph: ts'u-m-/ 7uts'-m- to suck, p'alu-/7ap'lu- hollow(ed). There is free variation between, e.g., 7alhkwilm and 7alhiikwlm shy, wild, /la.lam/ and /7alm-Øk/ (-Øk = -ik) to pole a canoe up the river. Semantic shift has taken place in: 7uq'x to invite somebody (vs. q'ux to call somebody), 7aq'u to imprison somebody (vs. q'aw to store, put away something).

     From the examples given above it appears that metathesis is associated most frequently with words containing a T'V (∿ VT') or 7V (∿ V7) sequence.

25 SUBSTITUTES

25.1 The term "substitutes" covers a number of grammatical categories.

25.2 First of all, there are the pronouns:

	sg	pl
1	7nts I, me	lhmilh we, us
2	7inu thou, thee	lhup you

These can be used predicatively, as relatum, and as member of an adjunct: 7nts ti+ staltmc I am the chief (staltmc), 7inu tsi+cnasts thou art my wife (cnas), kamalh+ 7ntss ti+ka+smlhk if (kamalh+) I were a fish (smlhk), snaax ti+snaax 7inu "a slave (snaax) is a slave is thee" = how inferior thou art!, lhk'mts 7ulh+lhup I am speaking (lhk'm) to you, ka+7alhinu+a 7alh+lhmilh wilt thou stay (7alhi) with us?

The difference between predicative pronouns and intransitive pronominal suffixes is one of emphasis: staltmcts I am (a) chief vs. 7nts ti+staltmc I (and nobody else) am (the) chief.

The third person sg/pl is expressed by independently used deictics (see 15.4, 25.3).

When lhmilh and lhup are used predicatively, they take the pl ending -anaw (unless the predicate nominative is sg: see 25.4.4): lhmilhanaw wa+staltmc we are chiefs (staltmc), lhupanaw wa+7amatalaaxtts you are my parents (7amatalaaxt). Cf. 25.3.

25.2.1 Strictly speaking, the pronouns are intransitive stative verbs - to be me/ thee/us/you:

>   (a) in embedded and negative sentences (see 14.2.3.2), 7nts and 7inu
>   (occasionally lhmilh and lhup as well) take the ending -s;
>
>   (b) they can be nominalized with s-;
>
>   (c) they allow limited non-personal suffixation.

Examples: a - 7axw 7inus ta+mnats "it is not (7axw) thee (who is) my son (mna)" = thou art not my son, 7alhnaptsant s7ntss ti+7acwsan "they know (7alhnap) (about) me that it is me who is an expert (7acwsan)" = they know that I am the expert, 7alh-naptsinu s7inus ti+suuxis "I know (about) thee that it is thee who is his younger brother (suuxi)" = I know that thou art his younger brother; b - 7alh+ti+s7inus+tc on thy own, 7ulh+ti+slhups+tc on your own, 7ulh+ti+slhmilhs+tc for ourselves (note the deviant use of -s!); c - 7nts+7lks ta+wa "be me beyond my knowledge (+7lks) a somebody (ta+wa)" = who am I?, 7inututs ti+ka+7alhps "I will cause (-tu-) it to be thee who will be the one to eat (7alhps)" = I will let thee (alone) eat.

Four complex verbs are derived from the pronouns. These have the structure pronoun + -ak act + -mitsut for/to/by self, and mean to do something in spite of oneself; to get in trouble for doing something wrong or mischievous. Each of them takes the one intransitive pronominal suffix that corresponds in person and number with the pronominal base: 7ntsakmitsutts, 7inwakmitsutnu, lhmilhakmitsutilh, lhup-akmitsutap I etc. got in trouble for what I etc. did.

For the copular use of the pronouns see 25.4.4.

25.3 Three elements serve to introduce one or more persons or objects (other than the speaker(s) or addressee(s)). These, the identifiers, are:

	sg	pl
female	tsic	
		wic
non-female	tic	

The identifiers, too, are of a verbal nature (cf. 25.2.1): to be identical to, the same as. Like the pronouns, they can be used predicatively, with the difference that a "double subject" may follow (see further 25.4.3): tic t'ayc ti+mants this (t'ayc) is my father (man), tsic tsi+suuxinu lha+kslhtcw it is thy younger sister (suuxi) who has done (kstu-) it, wic 7ats wa+nupts these (7ats) are my shirts (nup). In informal speech, the identifiers are often omitted: t'ayc ti+mants, tsi+suuxinu lha+kslhtcw, 7ats wa+nupts; the sentence-initial nominal elements then function as predicates.

The identifiers can be segmented as /tsi-c/, /ti-c/, /wi-c/ (cf. 15.4.1.1, 16.4.4, 16.5, 25.5.2).

When used with reference to people, predicative wic takes the pl ending -anaw (cf. 25.2): wicanaw wa+7imlkuks+ts wa+stl'yukts it is the men (7imlk) I am talking (tl'yuk) about.

25.3.1 The verbal nature of the identifiers is evidenced further by their compatibility with a number of suffixes (cf. 25.2.1) and post-predicative enclitics (see 28.3.1 ff.): 7axw tics t'ayc ti+7anaykmits it is not (7axw) this one (t'ayc) that I want (7anaykm), ticlc+ma t'ayc ti+ka+7ip'ilh maybe (+ma) it will be (-lc) this one that we will seize (7ip'), tic‡7lks t'ayc ti+wa "is beyond my knowledge (+7lks) this one a somebody (ti+wa)" = who is this?, wicanaw+ks 7ats wa+watstutim "are beyond my knowledge (+ks) these ones (7ats) who are called (-tu-tim) some name (wats-)" = what are the names of these people?

tic, tsic, and wic can also be used nominally: the (very) same one(s): ti+tic+tc the (very) same one (man/object), tsi+tsic+tsc the (very) same one (woman), wa+wic+ts the (very) same ones.

25.3.2 wic often refers to an event or reason: wic txw s-... that is when ..., wic ts si-... that is why ... (cf. 23.9.2.1.2, 23.10.2.2). Compare, in this respect, the use of plural articles and deictics (15.5.1).

Subordinating wic s-... means "it is (due to) the fact that ..., the reason being ..." = because: 7axw ka+putl'ts wic skmalaycts I will not (7axw) come (putl') because I am ill (kmalayc). wic s-... can be separated from a finite verb by 7axw not and ka+ future (cf. 23.9.2.2): wic s7axw yayaatwiinaw because they are not happy (yayaatwii), wic ska+7alhinaw 7ala+7ats because they will be (7alhi) here (7ala+7ats), wic s(ka+)7axw ka+7alhpsaw because they will not eat (7alhps).

25.4 Both pronouns and identifiers can be followed by the imperative causative suffix -txw, which then translates as let it be ...! (optative use: 14.4.4): 7ntstxw let it be me!, 7ntstxw ti+ka+staltmc let me be chief (staltmc)!, tictxw tc ti+ka+staltmc let him be chief!, wicanawtxw 7ats Ø+ka+staltmc let these people be chiefs!

wictxw ts s- means let it be then that ...!: wictxw ts ska+tayanu (let it be)

then (that) thou pitchest (taya)!

25.4.1 The modifying suffix -lh <u>belonging to</u> can be affixed to the pronouns and
identifiers (and is followed by -anaw when reference is made to <u>humans</u>): 7ntslh
t'ayc <u>this is mine</u>, ticlh tc 7ats <u>these are his (things)</u>, 7axw 7ntslhanaw wa+mⱥmnts
+7ats <u>these are not (7axw) my children (mⱥmnts)</u>.

Substitutes extended with -lh can take the suffix -txw (-taxw with pl address-
ee): 7inulhtxw t'ayc <u>let this be thine!</u>, lhuplhtaxw 7ats <u>let these (things) be
yours!</u>, wiclhanawtxw ts 7ats <u>let these (things) be theirs!</u>

25.4.2 The suffix -nic <u>to think, consider</u> can follow the above substitutes (in-
cluding the ones extended with -lh): 7inunicits ta+Frank <u>I thought thou wert Frank</u>,
lhmilhnictits Ø+ka+7ayaklh <u>I thought we would be pitching (taya)</u>, tsicnicits ts'ayc
tsi+ka+cnasts <u>I think she (here) will be my wife (cnas)</u>, lhuplhnicits t'ayc <u>I think
this is yours</u>, wiclhniclhtits ts t'ayc <u>I thought this was theirs</u>.

25.4.3 As we observed earlier (25.3), the identifiers differ from the pronouns in
that they can be followed by two relata. When pronominal suffixation is applied,
the suffix (i.e., intransitive subject, possessor, or transitive object) corresponds
in number with the first relatum. The relation between the members of such double
relata is as follows:

	"to be"	"subject"	"predicate nominative"
1	tic	t'ayc	ti+mants
2	tsic	Mary	lha+kslhtcw
3	wicanaw	wa+7imlkuks+ts	wa+stl'yukts
4	tictxw	tc	ti+ka+staltmc
	"to belong"	"possessor"	"possessed"
5	ticlh	tc	7ats
6	wiclhanawtxw	ts	7ats
7	wiclhniclhtits	ts	t'ayc
8	tsiclhtxw	tsc	ti+7alhqulh+tc

1. <u>this (t'ayc) is my father (man)</u>, 2. <u>(it is) Mary (who) has done it (ks-tu-)</u>,
3. <u>it is the men (7imlk) I am talking (tl'yuk) about</u>, 4. <u>let him (tc) be chief
(staltmc)!</u>, 5. <u>these things (7ats) are his (tc)</u>, 6. <u>let these things (7ats) be
theirs (ts)!</u>, 7. <u>I thought this (t'ayc) was theirs (ts)</u>, 8. <u>let the book (7alhqulh)
be hers (tsc)!</u>

25.4.4 The pronouns and identifiers are used as copular verbs and predicate nom-
inatives in syntagms such as kamalh+A-Ⅱ B <u>if (kamalh+) I/you/etc. (A) were you/me/
etc. (B)</u>. kamalh+A-Ⅱ is the predicate, and B functions as the predicate nominative.

-Π is -anaw after wic, and after lhmilh and lhup if B is pl; -Π = -s in all other cases. Thus, we find:

kamalh+7ntss 7inu/ti+tic+tc	if I were thee/him
kamalh+7ntss lhup/wa+wic+ts	if I were you/them
kamalh+7inus 7nts/ti+tic+tc	if thou wert me/him
kamalh+7inus lhmilh/wa+wic+ts	if thou wert us/them
kamalh+tics tc 7nts/7inu/ti+tic+tc	if he were me/thee/him
kamalh+tics tc lhmilh/lhup/wa+wic+ts	if he were us/you/them
kamalh+lhmilhs 7inu/ti+tic+tc	if we were thee/him
kamalh+lhmilhanaw lhup/wa+wic+ts	if we were you/them
kamalh+lhups 7nts/ti+tic+tc	if you were me/him
kamalh+lhupanaw lhmilh/wa+wic+ts	if you were us/them
kamalh+wicanaw ts 7nts/7inu/ti+tic+tc	if they were me/thee/him
kamalh+wicanaw ts lhmilh/lhup/wa+wic+ts	if they were us/you/them

Strictly speaking, the Bella Coola predicate here translates into English as the subject, and vice versa. Completion of the above sentences proves that the English translations are correct: kamalh+7ntss 7inu s7axw ka+7ayts if I were thee, I would not act thus, kamalh+7inus 7nts ska+7aynu+a if thou wert me, wouldst thou act thus?

25.5 The third group of substitutes is formed by the interrogatives. These are characterized by the enclitic +7i/lks (after T, R, and occasionally V) or +ks (after R and V only) (see 28.3.18.5) wh...? They are: stam+ks what is it?, wa+ks who is it?, ka+ks which is it?, 7inut+7iks what did he say?, wa(1)tstu...+ks what is ... name?, maask+7iks how much is it?, 7astam+ks where is it?, 7ustam+ks where is he going?, pacw‡7iks when is it?, 7alatsicw‡7iks how/why is it?/what is he doing?, 7alh7alatsicw‡7iks how is he doing?, kanmc‡7iks what is his nationality?, walh‡7iks whose is it?, wikalhh‡7iks where is he (coming) from?

25.5.1 The interrogatives are used predicatively, and most of them are combined with intransitive pronominal suffixes: wanu+ks who art thou?, 7astamnaw+ks where are they?, 7ustamap+7lks where are you going?, kanmcnu+ks what is thy nationality, what tribe dost thou belong to?, stamnaw+ks 7ats ŝmlhkaw what kind of fish (smlhk) are these?, 7alatsicwlhts+7lks what have I done?, 7alh7alatsicwnu+ks how art thou doing?

25.5.1.1 Interrogatives can be combined also with verbal and other non-pronominal suffixes: stamnicicw‡7iks what dost thou think (-nic) it is?, 7alh7alatsicwaqw's-uulh+7iks ti+sicsiiqw+tc what color (-aqw's) does the airplane (sicsiiqw) have? (-uulh vehicle), 7alh7alatsicwakmtum+7lks ska+7alhliclics ti+nalhm+tc in which way

is the ling cod (nalhm) going to be cooked (7alhliclic)? (-ak work → product →
prepared food), 7alh7alatsicwliwanu+ks how art thou feeling? (-liwa semblative),
7inutnictscw‡7iks what dost thou think (-nic) I said?

25.5.2 ka+ks which (one) is it? is usually preceded by one of the prefixal articles
ti- non-female, tsi- female, wi- plural (cf. 16.4.4, 25.3), especially in the case
of humans: tika+ks ti+7ayaklh which one (man) has done it (7ayak)?, tsika+ks tsi+
ka+tl'ap which one (woman) will be going (tl'ap)?, wikanaw+ks 7alh+ts wa+7ayaklh
which (ones of these: 7alh+ts) people have done· it?

  wika+ks often refers to location: where is it?, as in: wika+ks Ø+7amatilh
"which is our location (7amat)?" = where are we?, wika+ks wa+7umatlhtumulhcw where
hast thou taken us? (7umat where something is taken to). Cf. 15.5.1, d.

25.5.3 +ks (+7lks, +7iks) is dropped before additional enclitics, and is then re-
placed by +(7)l-, +li-, or +(7)i- (see 28.3.18.5.1).

25.5.4 wa+ks who is it? and wika+ks where is it? are also found with infixal -l-
(connective?): walnaw+isuuks who are they then?, wal+7lmits' who might he be now?,
wikal+ks where is it? Likewise, waltstu...+ks (with passive causative inflection)
what is ... name? contains -l-, which may be left out: waltstumt+7iks = watstumt+7iks
what is thy name? (the element wa- is the same as wa- in wa+ks; -ts = -uts mouth,
speech → name).

25.5.5 Most of the verbal bases contained in the interrogatives can be used as
indefinite substitutes. These occur without the interrogative signal: ti+stam some-
thing, ti+wa somebody, 7ala+pacw some time, 7ala+wika(l) somewhere, 7ala+ka+maaskaax
for a number of days (-aax), 7ik'axw 7in7inuts he did not (7ik'axw) say anything.
Such unmarked interrogatives are also used as questions when one is not quite sure
about the information given previously: would you mind telling me again wh... it
was?: tika which one did you say it was?, 7ala+pacw when was it again?, 7ala+wika
where was it now?, etc.
  After verba sentiendi et declarandi, too, unmarked interrogatives are employed.
These are preceded by s- (cf. 23.9.2.1.4): kastsayulhtsant swa(l)ts they asked (kas-
tsayulh) me who I was, 7alhnapilh stikas ti+ya ti+7imlk we know (7alhnap) which (is
the) one (who) is a good (ya) man (7imlk), 7iclq'tx ŝtams ti+7alhip'its+t'ayc guess
(7iclq') what (this is that) I am holding (7alhip')!, 7axw 7lq'aynicits smaasklancws
ti+tl'msta+tc "I can (-aynic) not (7axw) guess (7lq') how many years (-lancw) the
person (tl'msta) is" = I cannot guess the man's age. Such s- extensions are sometimes
combined with the pl article wa+: kastsayulhtsant wa+swats "they asked (kastsayulh)
me about my being who" = they asked me who I was, kastsayulhtsant wa+ŝtams wa+sks-
nṃakts they asked me what kind of work (sksnmak) I was doing.

Predicatively used indefinites also occur in combination with -s <u>it is</u> (-(n)aw <u>they</u> <u>are</u>) and +tsk <u>I wonder wh...</u>: tikas+tsk ti+ka+ya 7ala+7ats <u>I wonder which one of</u> <u>these (7ala+7ats) will be good (ya)</u>, maaskanmaaks+tsk ska+ts'ktilh <u>I wonder at what</u> <u>time we will arrive (ts'kt)</u>, was+tsk ti+ka+tl'ap <u>I wonder who (sg) will go (tl'ap)</u>, wanaw+tsk Ø+ka+tl'ap <u>I wonder who (pl) will go</u>.

25.5.6 +ks/+7iks/+7lks predicates can be followed by a s- clause (see 23.9.2.1.1).

25.6 There is one <u>determinative</u>, viz. 7na <u>(the) one</u>, which is usually found with an article or deictic: tsic 7na tsi+7umatilh <u>she is the one we are going to (7umat)</u>, lha+7na "the female one" = <u>she</u>, ta+7na "the non-female one" = <u>he</u>, ta+lh7na "the non- -female one and somebody else" = <u>them two</u>, tc 7na <u>he</u>, tsc 7na <u>she</u>, tic ta+7na t'aw+tc ta+xala <u>it is the one over there (t'aw+tc) who is Xala</u>.

25.7 The root meaning <u>(one)self</u>, viz. √tsn, occurs only in combination with either -lh (? <u>belonging to</u>) (in adjuncts and a few affixal derivations) or the formative suffix -kw (in suffixal derivations): kw'cusis ti+7alh7alhtsim+tc 7ulh+tsnlh <u>he looked</u> <u>(k'c) the one who was talking (7alh7alhtsim) to himself in the face (-us)</u>, kulhulhik- tus ti+7alhqulh+tc 7alh+tsnlh s7alhip'is "he caused it to be behind his back (kulh- ulhiktu-) the book (7alhqulh) to himself as (s-) he held it (7alhip')" = <u>he was hold-</u> <u>ing the book behind his (own) back</u>, 7alh+ti+stsnlhs+tc <u>on his own, by himself</u> (cf. 25.2.1), tsnlhliwa <u>self-centered, introverted, not paying attention, clumsy</u>, tsnkw- akmitsut <u>to do something all by oneself</u> (cf. 25.2.1).

25.8 qw'las <u>other, different</u> is an <u>adjective</u>: ti+qw'las ti+tq'lha <u>another knife</u> <u>(tq'lha)</u>.

25.9 From 7ay <u>to manifest oneself: to be thus, to do something</u> is derived 7ay s7ayII "be as ... be" = <u>any</u>. When this compound verb is inflected, only the second member receives pronominal suffixation, and the first member can be followed by an enclitic or deictic: 7ay txw s7aynaw <u>they were all kinds/sorts</u>, 7ay+ma s7ays+tsk wa+7amats+tsk "whatever (+tsk) his whereabouts (7amat), they might (+ma) be any" = <u>he might be any-</u> <u>where</u>, 7ay s7ays wa+yanicits "they are all kinds that I like (yanic)" = <u>I like any-</u> <u>thing</u>, 7ay s7aynaw 7ala+smlhk+ts wa+yanictits "they are all kinds among the fish (smlhk) that I like" = <u>I like any fish</u>.

26 NUMERALS AND NUMERICAL SUBSTITUTES

26.1 The cardinal numerals are stative intransitive verbs. They can be employed predicatively as well as attributively. As regards the numerical substitutes, some are used predicatively only, some as attributes, and some in both functions.

26.2 The cardinal numbers with less than three vocalic peaks are pronounced with dragged V (the second one in those with two peaks). They are:

|sma:w|	smaw	<u>one</u>
|łno̧:s|	lhnus	<u>two</u>
|ʔäsmo̧:s|	7asmus	<u>three</u>
|mo̧:s|	mus	<u>four</u>
|t'�saȩ:xᵂ|	ts'icw	<u>five</u>
|t'xᵂo̧:ł|	t'xulh	<u>six</u>
|no̧s(ʔ)äłkˣʸłəm|	nus(7)alhklhm	<u>seven</u>
|k̓ʸełno̧:s|	k'ilhnus	<u>eight</u>
|k̓ʸesma:w|	k'ismaw	<u>nine</u>
|t'ˢkˣʸlä:kˣʸtʰ|	ts'klakt	<u>ten</u>

smaw contains s- <u>nominalizer</u> and √maw <u>one</u>; for the etymology of lhnus see 26.2.2; 7asmus means <u>being next to</u> ("having": 7as-) <u>four</u> (mus); mus is a substrative term with cognates in many Salish, Wakash, and a few other Northwest Coast languages; ts'icw may be related to √ts'i <u>to close</u> and suca (? *s-(7)əcwa, cf. Squamish ʔə́xᵂaʔ-t <u>give to, hand to</u>) <u>hand</u>; t'xulh goes back to *t'əx- (cf. Sechelt t'əxə́m <u>id.</u>) (-ulh <u>round items</u>); nus(7)alhklhm may contain klhm <u>to go across</u>; k'ilhnus and k'ismaw are literally <u>(ten) minus two (lhnus)</u>, resp. <u>(ten) minus one (smaw)</u> (k'i(lh)- <u>lacking, without</u>); ts'klakt may be /ts'k-l-ak-t/: ts'k <u>to fix up, finish something</u>, -l- <u>connective</u>, -ak <u>hand(s)</u>, -t <u>formative</u>.

26.2.1 The prefix nu- <u>human</u> is added to the cardinal numbers when <u>people</u> are counted (smaw then drops s-, and becomes numaw): numusaw <u>there are four of them</u>, nut'xulhilh <u>there are six of us</u>. From numaw the diminutive numawii <u>to be alone, all by oneself</u> is derived.

26.2.2 smaw and lhnus have bound allomorphs before quantifying suffixes (see 20.6.1), viz. √ma(w) and √lhwaas (√lhwaalh before lh and tl') resp.: maslancw <u>one year (-slancw)</u>, makw'p <u>one fathom (-kw'p)</u>, lhwaask'mt <u>two days (-k'mt)</u>, lhwaaslxs "two twenties (-lxs)" = <u>forty</u>, mawlxs <u>twenty</u>. Note: lhnus < *lh-(7)ənəws, lhwaas- < *lh-(7ən)-was (cf. lh- <u>dualis</u>, Squamish ʔán̓ʔus <u>two</u>, Lillooet ʔán̓was <u>two</u>).

26.2.3 Examples of the use of cardinal numbers: smawlits' ti+nupts "one is my shirt (nup)" = <u>I have one shirt</u>, 7alhk'ctits wa+nulhnus wa+tl'msta <u>I see (7alhk'c) two persons (tl'msta)</u>.

26.2.4 The numbers between 10 and 20 are formed as follows:

ts'klakt putl's ti+smaw	<u>eleven</u>
ts'klakt putl's a+lhnus	<u>twelve</u>
ts'klakt putl's a+7asmus	<u>thirteen</u>

ts'klakt putl's a+mus	fourteen
ts'klakt putl's a+ts'icw	fifteen
ts'klakt putl's a+t'xulh	sixteen
ts'klakt putl's a+nus7alhklhm	seventeen
ts'klakt putl's a+k'ilĥnus	eighteen
ts'klakt putl's a+k'ismaw	nineteen

Literally: ten plus ("comes") one, ten plus two, etc. (cf. 29.3.2). When humans are
counted (cf. 26.2.1), the prefix nu- is required in the first numerical term, but
is optional in the latter one (and putl'aw is used instead of putl's): nuts'klaktaw
putl'aw a+(nu)lhnus there are twelve of them.

26.2.5 Multiples of 20 are shaped with -lxs (cf. 20.6.1):

mawlxs	twenty
lhwaaslxs	forty
7asmuslxs	sixty
muslxs	eighty
ts'icwlxs	hundred

Literally: one set of digits, two sets of digits, etc.
Thirty, fifty, seventy, and ninety are expressed as follows: mawlxs putl's a+ts'klakt
"twenty plus ten", lhwaaslxs putl's a+ts'klakt "forty plus ten", 7asmuslxs putl's a+
ts'klakt "sixty plus ten", muslxs putl's a+ts'klakt "eighty plus ten". In the same
vein: 7asmuslxs putl's a+ts'klakt putl's a+ts'icw "sixty plus ten plus five" = seventy
five, ts'icwlxs putl's a+mawlxs putl's ti+smaw "hundred plus twenty plus one" = one
hundred and twenty one, etc.

   M.S. also uses compounds for the multiples of ten: 7asmusts'klakt "three tens" =
thirty, musts'klakt "four tens" = forty, ts'icwts'klakt "five tens" = fifty, etc.
For the general simplification and abandonment of the Bella Coola counting system,
see 26.2.9.

26.2.6 The multiples of hundred are:

lhnusam ts'icwlxs	two hundred
7asmusam ts'icwlxs	three hundred
musam ts'icwlxs	four hundred
ts'icwam ts'icwlxs	five hundred
t'xulham ts'icwlxs	six hundred
nus7alhklhmam ts'icwlxs	seven hundred
k'ilĥnusam ts'icwlxs	eight hundred
k'ismawam ts'icwlxs	nine hundred
ts'klaktam ts'icwlxs	thousand

Literally: two, three etc. times hundred (cf. 19.16.1, 26.2.8).

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26.2.7 When a lexical suffix is employed, it is as a rule repeated after all numbers that are connected by putl's, but not after the ones ending in -am: muslxsulh putl's a+7asmusulh eighty three dollars, mawlxslits' putl's a+ts'klaktlits' wa+7its'amnii thirty blankets (7its'amnii), but: ts'icwam ts'icwlxsulh five hundred dollars, t'xulh-am ts'icwlxslits' wa+7its'amnii six hundred blankets.

26.2.8 The suffix -am (cf. 19.16.1, 26.2.6) also serves to form ordinal numbers: tic tc ta+stamnulhnusamlhaw ta+k'clhtits he is the second one that I have seen them with (literally: "(of) the ones that I have seen (ta+k'clhtits), the second one that has been (-lh) in their (-aw) company (stam-) is (tic) him (tc)"), tsi+stamnumusam+tsc the fourth (woman) he was with (stam-), 7asmusammalhaw+ts' wa+qw'xwmtimutts "my cars (qw'xwmtimut) number three now (+ts')" = this is my third car, patsalham to be first (patsalh to go ahead), 7aluuxam to be last (7aluux to go behind).

26.2.9 The use of the Bella Coola numerals is now in a state of decline. There is an increasing tendency to replace them with the corresponding English terms, especially in expressions referring to time of the day: 7alh+ti+ka+TWO O'CLOCK = 7alh+ti+ka+lhnusanmaak at two o'clock, kaFOUR O'CLOCKs ska+lip'tsutts = kamusanmaaks ska+lip'tsutts at four o'clock I will come back (lip'tsut).

Other temporal expressions involving the use of English terms are: ka+k'ctsinu+tuts' kaDECEMBERs I will see (k'c) thee again (+tuts') in December, kaMONDAYs ska+lip'tsutaw on Monday they will come back, ka+putl'ts+ma kaNEXT WEEKs maybe (+ma) I will come (putl') next week, etc.

26.3 In addition to the cardinal and ordinal numbers, Bella Coola has numerical substitutes. For maask+7iks how much/many? see 25.5.

26.3.1 slax numerous, much, many - this element may (like the numerals) be pronounced with a dragged vowel: |slä:χ|, and also requires the prefix nu- with reference to humans (dragging is then usually omitted): slax wa+smlhk (there are) many fish (smlhk), nuslaxaw they are numerous. slax, being an adjective, can be used attributively as well: 7alhk'ctits wa+slax wa+yaki I see (7alhk'c) many mountain goats (yaki).

26.3.2 7acwlh some is used most frequently as relatum: 7alhk'yuktits wa+7acwlh+7ats I know (7alhk'yuk) some of them, ka+putl'a+ma wa+7acwlh+ts maybe some (people) will come (putl'), nusuqw'pstamaw+a wa+7acwlh 7alh+lhup do some of you smoke (nusuqw'pstam)?

26.3.3 tscwi enough is used predicatively: 7axw tscwis it is not (7axw) enough, tscwinaw+ts' there are enough of them now (+ts').

26.3.4 tsaatsii few, (a) little (bit) can be used both predicatively: tsaatsiinaw they are few, and as adjunct-member: 7alhpsx c+a+tsaatsii eat (7alhps) a little!

26.3.5 tsay <u>all</u> - found both as predicate and as attribute: tsaynaw stl'apaw <u>they</u> <u>are all going (tl'ap)</u>, wa+tsay wa+nɥínmk' <u>all animals</u>.

26.3.6 √cs <u>whole, all</u> usually occurs with the suffix -uuts (? <u>all around < round <</u> <u>orifice</u>), and is used predicatively and attributively: csuutsaw ska+putl'aw <u>they will</u> <u>all come (putl')</u>, csuutsilh s7alhilh 7ala+7ats <u>we are all staying (7alhi) here (7ala+</u> <u>7ats)</u>, wa+csuuts wa+qwanilh <u>all (the) spoons</u>.
    Preceding <u>verbs of motion</u>, csaalh (-aalh <u>feet, walking, motion</u>) is often used instead of csuuts: csaalhaw s7ixq'maw <u>they are all walking (7ixq'm)</u>. And with -iilh <u>month</u>: 7iscsiilh <u>to do something for a whole month</u>.

26.3.7 kp <u>each, every</u> is used predicatively: kplhaw+atu sputl'lhaw <u>have they all,</u> <u>has each of them come (putl')?</u>, and as a verbal base in: kputstutanx <u>give each of</u> <u>them something to eat (-uts)!</u>, 7alhkpiixwaw skmalaycaw <u>they are all ill (kmalayc)</u> (-iixw <u>heads → individuals</u>).
    When used attributively, kp usually takes the prefix 7alh-: 7ala+7alhkp wa+suncw <u>every day (suncw)</u>.

26.3.8 The verb k'acw <u>to be away, absent</u> (as in k'acwlhts <u>I have been away</u>) is also used as a base meaning <u>nothing, zero</u>: tick'acw <u>he caught (tic-) nothing</u>, nuk'acwiik <u>there is nothing in the container (nu-X-iik)</u>.

26.3.9 tsa.tsas-lhq'- <u>so many</u> (for -lhq' <u>...fold</u> see 20.6.1) is used predicatively: tsatsaslhq'lits' wa+7its'amnii <u>(there are) so many blankets (7its'amnii)</u>.

27 NEGATION

27.1 Negation is expressed by 7axw <u>no(t)</u>. This element can be used (1) <u>pre-predi-</u> <u>catively</u>, (2) <u>attributively</u>, (3) <u>predicatively</u>, and (4) as an <u>interjection</u>.

27.2 Pre-predicatively, 7axw is translated as <u>(do(es)) not, will not, etc.</u> It comes directly before the predicate, as in 7axw tl'apaw <u>they are not going (tl'ap)</u>. The proclitic ka+ <u>irrealis, future</u> is placed between 7axw and the predicate: 7axw ka+ putl'ts <u>I will not come (putl')</u> (but ka+7axw ka+... is also found, see 23.9.2.2).

27.2.1 Negative commands are formed by extending 7axw with one of the imperative causative endings -txw (addressing one person) and -taxw (more than one addressee), these complexes being followed by an indicative form, and translating as <u>do not ...!</u>: 7axwtxw tl'apnu <u>do not go (tl'ap)!</u>, 7axwtaxw knicip <u>do not eat (knic) it, folks!</u>

27.3 Used as an attribute, 7axw occurs in constructions that translate as <u>the one(s)</u> <u>who do(es) not X</u> (cf. 15.5.4.2): ti+7axw+t'ayc ksnṃak <u>this one who is not working</u>

(ksnṃak), wa+7axw+7ats kstcw these (ones) who have not done it (kstcw).

27.4 Predicatively, 7axw is used as a verb meaning there is no ... (in combination with ka+): 7axw ti+ka+lhalas 7ala+7ats there is no boat (lhalas) here (7ala+7ats), 7axw+aku ti+ka+qla is there no water (qla) then (+ku)?

From 7axw, complex verbs can be derived: 7axwlit to say (-lit) no, to deny or refuse, 7axwnic to think (-nic) something is not the case (as in 7axwnicits ska+ tl'apnu I do not think that thou wilt go (tl'ap)).

27.5 As an interjection, 7axw means no (see 29.4).

27.6 (Pre-)predicative and interjectional 7axw can be replaced by the more emphatic k'axw and 7ik'axw: (7i)k'axw ka+lip'tsutilh we definitely will not come back (lip'- tsut), (7i)k'axw no, definitely not.

27.7 Nothing and nobody are rendered in Bella Coola by negating nominal forms: 7axw ti+ka+tl'ap "there is no one who will go (tl'ap)" = nobody will be going, 7axw ti+ka+ k'cits "there is no somebody/something that I see (k'c)" = I see nobody/nothing, and by negating ti+ka+wa anybody and ti+ka+stam anything: 7axw ka+putl's ti+ka+wa nobody will come (putl'), 7axw 7alhk'cits ti+ka+stam I see (7alhk'c) nothing.

Never is a common gloss in negative sentences containing a continuative verbal form: 7axw 7is7iŝlaaxs "he does not eat (7is-) much (slax) habitually (reduplication)" = he never eats much, or when +kw'/+mas always follows 7axw: 7ax+kw' 7ixq'maw they never walk (7ixq'm), 7axw+mas naaxwms he never dances (naaxwm)!

27.8 Before enclitics with initial kw or kw' we find the allomorphs 7ax, k'ax, and 7ik'ax (loss of rounding - see 28.3.23).

28 CLITICS

28.1 There are in Bella Coola morphemes that are, formally, intermediate between free forms and affixes (cf. 15.5.4). Orthographically, such elements are connected with the sentence part they form a close unit with by "+": these are the clitics.

28.2 First of all, there are the proclitics.

28.2.1 ka+ hypothetical, irrealis, future is employed both in nominal syntagms and pre-verbally.

28.2.1.1 In nominal syntagms, ka+ is inserted between a close article and a noun/ substitute, and then translates either as some (indeterminate) or as future, intended, X-to-be (determinate): 7anaykts 7ala+ka+qla I want (7anayk) some water (qla), ka+

tl'aps ti+ka+wa <u>somebody will go (tl'ap)</u>, tsi+ka+cnasts <u>my future wife (cnas), my</u> <u>wife-to-be</u>, tic t'ayc ti+ka+7ip'ilh <u>this is (tic) the one we will take (7ip')</u>.

In <u>negative</u> and <u>interrogative</u> sentences, ka+ means <u>any</u>: 7axw ti+ka+sulhts "there is not any house (sulh) of mine" = <u>I have no house (at all)</u>, 7alhi+a 7ala+7awcwa Ø+ka+tsaatsaws <u>is there (7alhi) a ("any") church (tsaatsaws) here (7ala+7awcwa)?</u>

28.2.1.2 Pre-verbally used ka+ comes directly before finite verbal forms.

28.2.1.2.1 ka+ suggests <u>intention (future action)</u> when preceding the predicate: ka+tl'apts <u>I intend to, will go (tl'ap)</u>, ka+k'ctsinu+matuts' "maybe (+ma) I will see (k'c) thee again (+tuts')" = <u>see you around!</u>, 7anaykts ska+tl'apts "I want (7anayk) that (s-) I will go (tl'ap)" = <u>I want to go</u>.

ka+ in combination with -lh <u>perfect tense</u> translates as <u>would</u>: ka+tl'aplhts <u>I</u> <u>would go</u>, and with -lhh <u>pluperfect</u> as <u>would have ...ed</u>: ka+tl'aplhhts <u>I would have</u> <u>gone</u> (cf. 18.5.3).

28.2.1.2.2 In subordinate clauses, ka+ is glossed as <u>if</u> or <u>whether</u>.

28.2.1.2.2.1 ka+ in subordinate sentences following a predicate that does not contain a verbum sentiendi or declarandi means <u>if</u>: 7akwatx ka+yas <u>buy (7akwa) it if it is</u> <u>good (ya)!</u>, 7inictsaatsii+ts' wa+tii+ts ka+7alh7istiialusnu <u>there is a little (tsaa-</u> <u>tsii) more (7inic-) tea (tii) left, if thou wantest to (-alus) drink (7is-) some</u>, 7iŝlaxlhts+alu ka+7axw ka+scliwalhts <u>I would eat (7is-) much (slax), if (only) I were</u> <u>not feeling sick (scliwa)</u>.

28.2.1.2.2.2 After predicates that contain a verbum sentiendi or declarandi, ka+ means <u>if/whether</u>: 7ik'axw 7alhnapits ka+tics ta+Art <u>I do not know (7alhnap) if/whether</u> <u>he is Art</u>, k'yuktx ka+nuxalkmcs "identify (k'yuk) him whether he is a Bella Coola (nuxalk) native (-mc)!" = <u>go find out if he is a Bella Coola native!</u>

When the predicate is followed by more than one ka+ clause, ka+...-Π ka+...-Π (ka+...-Π, ·etc.) is glossed as <u>whether ..., or ... (, or ..., etc.)</u>: 7axw 7alhnapits ka+tsaatstiis ka+lhkw'lcs+tuu <u>I do not know (7alhnap) whether he is young (tsaatstii)</u> <u>or old (lhkw'lc)</u>. Often, especially after <u>imperatives</u>, the first ka+ is replaced by 7ika+: mnlhattx 7ika+qiqtiis+tuu ka+7axw+tuu ka+lhkw's <u>measure (mnlhat) it (and find</u> <u>out) if it is small (qiqtii) or big (lhkw')!</u>, kastsayulhtx 7ika+7lqw'lasmcs ka+nuxalk-mcs+tuu <u>ask (kastsayulh) him if he is a Bella Bella native (7lqw'lasmc) or a Bella</u> <u>Coola native (nuxalkmc)!</u>, q'psttx 7ika+t'ss+tuu ka+kanusyams+tuu <u>taste (q'pst) it</u> <u>(and see) if it is salty (t's) or sweet (kanusyam)!</u> Note the use of +tuu <u>heavy em-</u> <u>phasis, exactness</u>.

Following predicates having a negative or dubitative-hypothetical connotation, ka+ is compulsory after s- connector, but is not rendered in English: qwinictits ska+ 7alhinaw <u>I deny (qwinic) ("about them") that they are around (7alhi)</u>, nunanicikmis

+ts' t'ayc ska+7atmas t'ayc he forgot (nunanicikm) that he was dead (7atma), nutsut-
ikts ska+kmalaycts I think (nutsutik) I am ill (kmalayc).

28.2.1.2.3 In coordinate constructions, ka+...-Π ka+...-Π is glossed as if ...,
then ...: ka+tl'apnu 7ulh+t'axw ka+kmalaycamnu if thou wilt go (tl'ap) there (7ulh+
t'axw), (then) thou wilt fall ill (kmalaycam).

    In interrogative sentences, ka+...-Π+a ka+...-Π+atuu will ..., or will ...?:
ka+ksnm̩akts+a ka+tsitumlcts+atuu shall I work (ksnmak), or shall I go to sleep (tsi-
tumlc)?

28.2.2 kamalh+ if, should ... be the case precedes predicates only, and is placed
before 7axw in the case of negation: kamalh+tl'aps t'ayc ka+7alhits 7ala+7ats if he
will go (tl'ap), I will stay (7alhi) here (7ala+7ats), kamalh+7axw tl'aps t'ayc ka+
tl'apts+ma if he will not go, maybe (+ma) I will, kamalh+7ntss ti+ka+smlhk if I were
a fish (smlhk).

28.2.3 wastu+ and so is found before predicates: wastu+7alh7ay+tuya and so he is
really (+tu) like that (7alh7ay), eh (+ya)?

28.3 Considerably more numerous than the proclitics are the enclitics. These differ
from suffixes not only in their grammatical behavior, but also in that the majority
of them begins in a C (when this C = 7, it glottalizes preceding Ṫ).

28.3.1 +ma maybe, possibly, probably, likely occurs after predicates and 7axw:
wicana+ma t'axw it must have been them (t'axw), ka+tl'apilh+ma maybe we will go (tl'ap),
7axw+ma kmalaycs I do not think he is ill (kmalayc), ka+7alhwlalhmtinilh+ma it looks
like we are going to have (-m-tinilh) rain (7alhwlalh).

28.3.2 +mas always, forever (said naggingly, when finding fault or complaining) is
found after predicates and 7axw: naaxwma+mas they are forever dancing (naaxwm)!,
7axw+mas 7ic7akwkwas (but) he never does the shopping (7ic7akwkwa)!

28.3.3 +tu emphasis: really, indeed - after predicates and 7axw: 7axw+tu yas it is
really no(t) good (ya), 7alh7ay+atu is it indeed so (7alh7ay)?, tics+tu tc that really
is the one, that IS the one!

28.3.4 +tuu heavy emphasis, exactness: just, even, too, exactly (Russian "i") -
after predicates and 7axw: 7alh7aynaw+tuu c+lhmilh they are just like (7alh7ay) us
(lhmilh), 7axw+tuu 7alh7ays it is not like that at all!, 7ays+tuu s7icaasnms even he,
too, was searching (7icaasnm).
    This enclitic can also be inserted between nouns and enclitical deictics: ta+
tl'msta+tuu+tx the very (same) person (tl'msta).

28.3.5 +tsk(i) <u>wh...ever, it would appear that, somehow, I guess/figure that, I</u>
<u>wonder if</u> - after indefinite-interrogative predicates and relata: was+tututsk ti+ka+
tl'ap <u>somebody (I wonder who) will go (tl'ap)</u>, 7axw 7alhnapits wa+ts'ktanap+tsk <u>I do</u>
<u>not know (7alhnap) what(ever it is that) you are doing (ts'kta)</u>, maasklhaw+tsk wa+nan
<u>I wonder how many grizzly bears (nan) there have been</u>, ta+mants+tsk(i) <u>the one I</u>
<u>figure must be my father (man)</u>.

28.3.6 +ts'(n) <u>now, already</u> - after predicates and 7axw: tscwi+ts' <u>it is enough (ts-</u>
<u>cwi) now</u>, lhwaask'mtam+ts' <u>it has been two days (lhwaask'mt) now/already</u>. Note, how
in these examples (affirmative sentences) the allomorph +ts' is given preference
over +ts'n.

    In negative and interrogative sentences this enclitic translates as <u>yet</u> (+ts'n
is then found with the same frequency as +ts'): 7inica7iilh+ats'n <u>are we almost there</u>
<u>(7inica7ii) yet?</u>, 7inacutslhnu+ats' <u>hast thou had breakfast (7inacuts) yet?</u>, 7axw
+ts'(n) takans <u>he has not arrived (takan) yet</u>.

    M.S. comments that there is a third allomorph, viz. +ts'i. This variant was for-
merly used in the Kimsquit dialect, and as such is now considered obsolete. It is
still found in some enclitic strings (see 28.3.19.1.2, 28.3.21).

28.3.7 +ts'akw <u>if only, I wish that</u> - after predicates (that are then usually pre-
ceded by ka+): ka+putl'nu+ts'akw <u>I wish thou wouldst come (putl')!</u>, ka+kulhtaalats
+ts'akw <u>if only I were rich (kulhtaala)!</u>

    +aluts'akw/+alhuts'akw (i.e., +al(h)u combined with +ts'akw, cf. 28.3.13) means
<u>I wish that ... had happened</u>: yupalhtscw+aluts'akw <u>thou shouldst have let me pass</u>
<u>(yupalh)!</u>, 7alhinu+alhuts'akw 7alh+tunica <u>thou shouldst have been there (7alhi) yes-</u>
<u>terday (7alh+tunica)!</u>

28.3.8 +su <u>surprise!</u> - after predicates: 7nts+su <u>(surprise, surprise,) it is me!</u>,
tic+su t'ayc ti+staltmc <u>(you might not have expected it, but) he is a chief (staltmc)!</u>

28.3.9 +lu <u>still, yet</u> (often pronounced with a <u>dragged</u> or <u>doubled</u> u: +lu = |lo̧, lo̧:|,
+luu = |lȃ:ʷ, lo̧ʔ|) - after predicates and 7axw: ksnṃakilh+lu <u>we are still working</u>
<u>(ksnṃak)</u>, 7axw+lu 7alhpsts <u>I am not eating (7alhps) yet</u>. Cf. 28.3.13, 28.3.14.

    After predicates ending in a <u>sonant or a</u>, we find the allomorphs +lhu(u) and
+lhlu(u) (cf. 28.3.13): 7alhpsaw+lhu <u>they are still eating</u>, ksnṃaknu+alh(l)u <u>art thou</u>
<u>still working?</u>

28.3.10 +kw <u>quotative: reportedly, somebody told me</u> - after predicates and 7axw (→
7ax): 7ax+kw yas <u>they say he is no good (ya)</u>, kmalayc+kw <u>I have been told he is ill</u>
<u>(kmalayc)</u>. Cf. 27.8, 28.3.23.

28.3.11 +ku <u>attenuative: ..., sir/madam, ... then? (often with an increment of mild</u>
<u>surprise: "though"</u>) - after predicates and 7axw (→ 7ax): 7axw+aku yas ska+tl'apnu
<u>(but) would it not be right (ya) then for thee to go (tl'ap)?</u>, 7alh7ay+aku <u>is it so</u>
<u>(7alh7ay) then?</u>, 7ax+ku <u>I do not think so, sir/madam</u>. Cf. 27.8, 28.3.23.

28.3.12 +kw'/+k'u <u>repeatedly, habitually</u> - after predicates and 7axw (→ 7ax): 7ax+kw'
s7inacutsilh "we normally do not eat breakfast (s7inacuts)" = <u>we never have break-</u>
<u>fast</u>, tl'apa+kw' <u>they kept going (tl'ap)</u>, 7ax+k'u 7ixq'maw "they repeatedly do not
walk (7ixq'm)" = <u>they never walk</u>. Cf. 27.8, 28.2.23.

28.3.13 +alu <u>unreal: supposedly, almost, trying to</u> (cf. 28.3.9, 28.3.14) - found
after predicates, 7axw, and relata: lhmilhh+alu t'ayc <u>this is supposed to be ours</u>
<u>(lhmilhh)</u>, 7akwalhits+alu <u>I almost bought (7akwa) it</u>, wic+kwalu 7awcwa <u>they say it is</u>
<u>supposed to be this place (7awcwa)</u>, putl'a+kwalukw' <u>somebody said they kept trying to</u>
<u>come (putl')</u>, lhtnmts+alu <u>I tried to go up (lhtnm)</u>, wa+mimntsts+alu+7ats <u>my children</u>
<u>(mimnts) (who are not recognized as such by the other members of my community)</u>.
    After words ending in a <u>sonant or a</u> (cf. 28.3.9) we find the allomorphs +alhu
(after u#, w#, i#, y#) and <u>Y</u>alhu (after a#, VRⁿ#, Rⁿ): tl'apaw+alhu <u>they tried to go</u>
<u>(tl'ap)</u>, putl'nu+ayalhu <u>didst thou try to come (putl')?</u>, plikm+yalhu <u>he almost cap-</u>
<u>sized (plikm)</u>.

28.3.14 +alhtu (⁺̌alhtu) is used post-predicatively in questions and statements of a
hypothetical nature, and means <u>coming close to the completion or realization of some</u>
<u>action, gradually actualizing one's Xing, still trying to X, to X at some time in the</u>
<u>near future</u>: 7alhk'cicw+ayalhtu <u>art thou beginning to see (7alhk'c) it now?</u>, q'lumaw+a
+yalhtu <u>are they still trying to climb (q'lum)?</u>, ka+tl'apnu+alhtukw' <u>if thou wilt be</u>
<u>going (tl'ap) some time soon</u>.
    This enclitic is probably a fusion, i.e., of +alh- reduced form of +al(h)u <u>unreal</u>,
and +tu <u>emphasis</u> (28.3.13, 28.3.3).

28.3.15 +ya <u>intimacy, confidentiality: eh, right?</u> is found at the <u>end of a sentence</u>:
ya ti+suncw+ya <u>it is a nice (ya) day (suncw), eh?</u>, yayaatwiinu+ya <u>thou art happy (ya-</u>
<u>yaatwii), right?</u>

28.3.16 +7it... occurs only in combination with other enclitics (including ...k, see
28.3.19.2), and is possibly identical with the imperative marker +7it (28.3.20.1) -
it seems to have a slightly <u>coercive</u> connotation: <u>listen, ...</u> or <u>well, ...</u>
    Unless elided, the initial 7 glottalizes a directly preceding plain occlusive
(cf. 7.2.1, 8.1); when deleted after R and VR, syllabicity (4 ff.) and phonetic open-
ing-lengthening (5.3.2) are maintained. This holds true for all enclitics beginning in
7 (see also 30.2).

Examples: waltstum+litkw' wa+7um7umatakap+7ats squlhqulhanap (well,) what is the name (waltstum+l...) of this place ("towards which": 7umat) you always write (qulh-qulha) to?, kmalaycam+7itk'uk (well,) he fell (-am) ill (kmalayc) again, qwalsam-timut+kw7italuts'ik (well,) and now he almost did make himself (-am-timut) into hem-lock needles (qwals), it is said, tsutsut+kw7itk (well,) and this is what he report-edly said (tsutsut).

28.3.17 +a ($\overset{y}{+}$a after a#/V$\dot{R}^n$#/R^n#) changes statements into questions, and follows the predicate or 7axw: 7alhi+a 7ala+7ats is (7alhi) he here (7ala+7ats)?, tic+a t'ayc ti+mannu is this thy father (man)?, tl'a+ya t'ayc is this a black bear (tl'a)?, 7axw+aku 7alh7ays is it not so (7alh7ay) then?, nusxl+ya is he smart (nusxl)?

28.3.18 A number of clitic strings (cf. 28.3.21) contain +ks. This element means beyond my control, I cannot help it (hence also helplessness, puzzlement, see further 28.3.18.5).

28.3.18.1 +kuks (cf. 28.3.11) all of a sudden, through unforeseen circumstances, un-expectedly, on the contrary - after predicates and 7axw (+ 7ax): 7ax+kuks no(, I hate to disappoint you), on the contrary, 7alhits+kuks 7ala+7ats I guess I will have no choice but to stay (7alhi) here (7ala+7ats).

28.3.18.2 +luks (cf. 28.3.9) all along, as expected, inevitably (resignation) - after predicates: 7ay+maluks that must (+ma) have been the case (7ay) all along then, I guess that is so then.

28.3.18.3 +suks/+suuks (cf. 28.3.8) ... then!(?) (conveying impatience) - after imper-atives and interrogatives: k'ct+nasuks look (k'c) at him then!, walh+lisuuks who are we (walh+li...) then!?

28.3.18.4 +tuks (cf. 28.3.3) wh... exactly? is found after interrogatives: stam+7l-tuks wa+kstut what (stam+7l...) exactly are they doing (kstu-)?, 7alh7alatsicwakm-tum+7ltuks how (7alh7alatsicw+7l...) exactly is it prepared? (-ak work + product).

28.3.18.5 +ks/+7iks/+7lks puzzlement, beyond my knowledge, wh...? occurs after inter-rogative bases, which are treated in 25.5. This enclitic may be preceded by other en-clitics (see 28.3.18.3, 28.3.18.4, 28.3.21). For the distribution of the allomorphs see 25.5.

28.3.18.5.1 +ks (+7iks/+7lks) is dropped (resp. clipped) before additional enclitics (cf. 25.5.3), and is then replaced by (reduced to) +(7)i-, +(7)l-, or +li-: walnaw +7lmits' who might they be now?, statmlhp+litkw' (well,) what is it usually used for?,

wal+7ḷmits' <u>who might he be now?</u>, stam+7ltuks <u>what exactly is it?</u>, wa+7ḷma <u>who might</u> <u>he be?</u>, wal+lisuuks <u>who is he then!?</u>, stam+lits' <u>what is it now?</u>, pacw+lituts' ska+ k'ctmacwilh <u>when will we see (k'c) each other (-tmacw) again?</u>, walts+7isuuks <u>who</u> <u>am I then!?</u>, wanaw+its' <u>who are they now?</u>

28.3.19 A number of post-predicative clitic strings begin in +7i- or +7it- (cf. 28.3.16), and end in -k. The latter element has a slightly <u>contrastive</u> function. For the distribution of +7i- and +7it- see 28.3.24.

28.3.19.1 +7i...k

28.3.19.1.1 +7ituk <u>and/but</u> (cf. 28.3.3): tipyaaqts+7ituk 7alh+ti+t'xt+tc <u>and/but with</u> <u>my other (tipy-) leg (-aaq) I will be (standing) on the rock (t'xt)</u>.

28.3.19.1.2 +7its'ik <u>subsequently, next, and, therefore</u> (cf. 28.3.6): q'uxlcts, yal- lakts+7its'ik <u>I am tired (q'uxlc), and (so) I am sleepy (yallak)</u>, k'anawilhts+7its'ik <u>and I will be at the bow (k'anawilh)</u>.

28.3.19.1.3 +7iluk <u>at first, initially, until now, and still (as before)</u> (cf. 28.3.9, 28.3.20.4): nutsutikts+7iluk sPetertum, Thomtum+maku tc <u>(at) first I thought (nutsutik)</u> <u>that his name was (-tum) Peter, but it looks like (+ma) his name is Thom after all</u> <u>(+ku)</u>, sk'lcts+7iluk <u>I am still cold (sk'lc)</u>!
       +7iluk is in free variation with +7ilhuuk: tl'apts+7ilhuuk 7ula+stuu+7ats 7ala+ ka+patsalh ska+tl'apilh <u>I will (have to) go (tl'ap) to the store (stuu) first, before</u> <u>(7ala+ka+patsalh ska+) we go</u>.

28.3.19.2 +7it...k

28.3.19.2.1 +7itk <u>(well,) and</u>: tsutsut+kw7itk <u>(well,) and that is what he reportedly</u> <u>said (tsutsut)</u>.

28.3.19.2.2 +7itk'uk (cf. 28.3.12) <u>(well,) and ... as expected/again</u> (+k'u <u>repeatedly</u> <u>→ predictably → for the umpteenth time → again</u>): 7unts'mtaaqlh, kmalaycam‡7itk'uk <u>he ate too many (7un-) smoked eulachons (ts'mtaaq), and so, as expected, he fell ill</u> <u>(kmalaycam)</u>, ksnṃakilh, 7alhps+7itk'uk <u>we are working (ksnmak), but he, of course,</u> <u>is eating (7alhps) again</u>.

28.3.19.2.3 +7italuuk (cf. 28.3.13) <u>(well,) and ... did not quite (but was trying to)</u> <u>...</u>: pumputl'mim+kw7italuuk c+ti+scak <u>(well,) and the witch-doctor (scak) reportedly</u> <u>kept (reduplication) trying to come (putl') to (-m) him</u>.

28.3.20 Some enclitics are used as <u>imperative markers</u>. Four of these begin in +7i-
(cf. 28.3.16, 28.3.19), and all of them are applied as follows:

1. bare intransitive (+ -(n)aw) + imperative marker
2. transitive imperative minus imperative suffix (+ -(n)aw) + imperative marker
3. causative forms: a. -txw + imperative marker
                    b. -axw + imperative marker, or -axw → -aw + imperative marker
                    c. imperative minus -x (+ -(n)aw) + imperative marker

28.3.20.1 +7it (cf. 28.3.16) <u>well, ...!</u>: tsayuts+7it <u>well, shut up!</u>, k'cts+7it <u>well,</u>
<u>look at me!</u>, k'ctan+7it <u>well, look at them!</u>, 7alhpstuman+7it <u>well, feed me, folks!</u>,
7alhpstumulh+7it <u>well, feed us!</u>, 7axwtxw‡7it 7aytucw <u>well, don't do it!</u>

     The pl equivalent of +7it is -(n)aw‡7it (besides -axw‡7it in causative forms):
tsayutsaw‡7it <u>well, shut up, folks!</u>, 7alhk'ctaw‡7it <u>well, be looking at him, folks!</u>,
7alhpstumannaw‡7it <u>well, feed me, folks!</u>, 7alhpstutannaw‡7it <u>well, feed them, folks!</u>,
7axwtaw‡7it/7axwtaxw‡7it 7aytup <u>well, don't do it, folks!</u>

     Note, how 7 is avoided after xw and w; this is the case with all imperative en-
clitics with initial +7i-.

28.3.20.2 +7isu (cf. 28.3.8) <u>... again/some more!</u>: quts'usm+7isu <u>wash thy face again!</u>,
k'ctulh+7isu <u>look at us again!</u>, qaaxla+7isu <u>drink some more, have another drink!</u>,
7axwtxw‡7isu 7aytucw <u>don't do it again!</u>

     With a pl addressee, -(n)aw‡7isu (besides causative -axw‡7isu) is used: k'ctsaw
‡7isu <u>look at me again, folks!</u>, q'uxtannaw‡7isu <u>call them again, folks!</u>, 7alhpstumulh-
aw‡7isu/7alhpstumulhaxw‡7isu <u>feed us again, folks!</u>, 7mtaw‡7isu <u>sit down again, folks!</u>,
qaaxlatutannaw‡7isu <u>give them some more to drink, folks!</u>

     In the exclamation way+nisu <u>repeat it!</u> (pl: waynaw+nisu), +nisu must be a contrac-
tion of +na and +7isu, i.e., *+na‡7isu → *+niisu → +nisu (cf. 28.3.20.5 and 5.3.3).
We also find way‡7isu and waynaw‡7isu (with the same meaning). Cf. 28.3.20.3.

28.3.20.3 +7ilhu (cf. 28.3.9) (the u is often dragged) <u>... for a while/first!</u> (i.e.,
<u>before you do anything else</u>): 7mt+7ilhu <u>sit down first/for a while!</u>, tct+7ilhu <u>cut it</u>
<u>first!</u>, 7alhpstum+7ilhu <u>feed me first!</u>, qaaxlatutan+7ilhu <u>give them something to drink</u>
<u>first!</u>, 7axwtxw‡7ilhu 7aytucw <u>don't do it for a while/yet!</u>

     When two or more persons are addressed, we find -(n)aw‡7ilhu and -axw‡7ilhu (the
latter with causative forms only): tsayutsaw‡7ilhu <u>shut up for a while, folks!</u>, k'c-
tulhaw‡7ilhu <u>look at us first, folks!</u>, 7axwtaw‡7ilhu/7axwtaxw‡7ilhu 7aytup <u>don't do</u>
<u>it for a while/yet, folks!</u>, qaaxlatutannaw‡7ilhu <u>give them something to drink first,</u>
<u>folks!</u>

     The exclamation way <u>well, okay!</u> (cf. 28.3.20.2, 29.4) can be combined with +7ilhu
and -naw‡7ilhu: way‡7ilhu <u>wait a while, hang on!</u>, waynaw‡7ilhu <u>id. folks!</u>

28.3.20.4 +7ilhuukax (*+7ilhuuk-a-x, cf. 28.3.19.1.3 and 28.3.22.2) is used by M.S. as a free variant of +7ilhu: yupalhts+7ilhuukax let me pass first!, and with more than one addressee: yupalhtsaw‡7ilhuukax id. folks!

28.3.20.5 +na may be compared to na please, there you are!: tsayuts+na shut up!, tct+na cut it!, 7alh7alh7awlhts+na keep following me!, 7alhitxw+na wa+papa pass (7a-lhi-tu-) the pepper (papa)!

        The pl equivalent is -(n)aw+na (besides causative -axw+na): tsayutsaw+na shut up, folks!, tctaw+na cut it, folks!, 7alh7alh7awlhtsaw+na keep following me, folks!, 7axw-taw+na/7axwtaxw+na 7aytup don't do it, folks!

28.3.20.6 +nas (pl -(n)aw+nas) is of rare occurrence. It may be a more emphatic variant of +na, and possibly continues older *+na+su (→ +na+sØ) (cf. 28.3.8). Examples: k'ct+nas look at him!, k'ctaw+nas id. folks!

28.3.21 In the foregoing sections we observed how enclitics can form strings, and thus become fused. Here follow a few more examples of such coalitions: +suts' "unexpectedly + now" = again (suddenly, unexpectedly), +tuts' "indeed + now" = again (as anticipated), stam+alwiks what (stam...+iks) is it supposed to (+alw-) be?, stam+kw7lks what do they say (+kw) it is?, qwalsam+kw7italututs'ik and (7it...k) now (-ts'i-) he indeed (+tu) almost (+alu) became (-am) hemlock needles (qwals), it is said (+kw), 7ayutsmim+kw-k'uyats'n reportedly (+kw) he was then (+ts'n) told (7ayutsm) several times (+k'u) (to ...), you know (+ya), etc. See further 28.3.24.

28.3.22 Some enclitics are paired by one or more allomorphs. The occurrence of some of these is syntactically determined, others are the result of fusion.

28.3.22.1 A number of enclitics are extended with a after imperatives: q'uxtx+asuts' call him again! (cf. 28.3.21), 7itskwix+ats' get out of my way now! (cf. 28.3.6), q'uxtx+atuu ta+Art invite Art too! (cf. 28.3.4).

28.3.22.2 +7i...k and +7it...k vary with +7i...ka and +7it...ka. The latter variants are preferred over the first ones in the surrounding wic‡ ts/txw it is them/then: wic‡7its'ika ts and so it is them, wic‡7ituka txw and it was then.
        In the few remaining instances, -ka possibly contains +a question marker (albeit in a rather unusual position: see 28.3.24): yanu+mits'ika syayaxmutsmicw ?"(and) art thou perhaps (+m-, see 28.3.22.3) good (ya) (enough) to deceive (yayaxmutsm) him?" = I hope thou art only deceiving him!, stam+7itka well, what about it?, so what?

28.3.22.3 +ma has two positional variants, viz. +m-, which occurs before +(7)i...k (28.3.19), and +mi-, which is found after +7l... interrogative marker (28.3.18.5.1): wal+7lmits' t'ayc who might this be now?, stam+7lmits' what might it be now?, yanu

+mits'ik ska+tl'apnu "(and) maybe thou art good (ya) that thou wilt go (tl'ap)" = <u>it</u> <u>may be best for thee to go</u>. See further 28.3.24.

28.3.22.4 A few enclitics have allomorphs with initial s (? < +sØ = +su <u>surprise</u>), which occur mainly in <u>interrogative</u> sentences: xlhalhnu+asts'n <u>art thou still ("now")</u> <u>hungry (xlhalh)?</u>, ka+lip'tsutnu+asts' <u>wilt thou still be coming back (lip'tsut)?</u>, smqlanu+astu <u>art thou really thirsty (smqla)?</u>, pacw+lists' ska+7alhinu+suts' 7ala+7aw- cwa <u>when (pacw+li...) wilt thou be (7alhi) here (7ala+7awcwa) again (+suts')?</u>

A somewhat negative implication may be present in: wayclhaw+sts' wa+tl'msta+7ats <u>these people (tl'msta) are still newcomers (wayclh)</u>, +kw7ists'ik = +kw7its'ik, +mists'ik = +mits'ik.

28.3.23 Before enclitics beginning in kw, kw', or m (28.3.1, 28.3.2, 28.3.10, 28.3.11, 28.3.12, 28.3.18.1), the pl pronominal suffixes -(n)aw and -anaw (14.2, 25.2, 25.3) are reduced to -(n)a and -ana resp.; 7axw, k'axw, and 7ik'axw <u>not</u> become 7ax, k'ax, and 7ik'ax before enclitics with initial kw or kw' (cf. 27.8).

28.3.24 In 28.3.21 we discussed the appearance of enclitic strings. The order in which the clitics are arranged in such clusters is not random. Each member of such a string is assigned its place in accordance with the following hierarchy:

    A: +a/$\frac{y}{+}$a <u>question marker</u>, +kw <u>quotative</u>
    B: +(7)l- <u>interrogative marker$_1$</u>
    C: +ma/+m- <u>maybe</u>
    D: +7i(t)- <u>coercive</u>
    E: +al(h)u/$\frac{y}{+}$al(h)u/+alhtu/$\frac{y}{+}$alhtu <u>unreal</u>
    F: +(7)i- <u>interrogative marker$_2$</u>
    G: +(s)tu <u>emphasis</u>, +su <u>surprise</u>
    H: +lu(u)/+lhu(u)/+lhlu(u) <u>still, yet</u>
    I: +kw'/+k'u <u>repeatedly</u>
    J: +ya <u>confidential</u>, +ku <u>attenuative</u>
    K: +(s)ts'(n)/-(s)ts'i- <u>now</u>
    L: -k(a) <u>contrastive</u>, +ks <u>interrogative marker$_3$</u>,
        +tsk(i) <u>wh...ever</u>, +ts'akw <u>optative</u>
    M: +tuu <u>exactness</u>

From the enumeration following below it will become evident that (a) +7i...k and +7it- ...k are in complementary distribution, i.e., +7i- combines with G, H, and K only, whereas +7it- is found with E and I exclusively; (b) the interrogative marker +li- (see 28.3.18.5.1) is complex, its members (+l- and +(7)i-) having different hierarchical values (viz. B, resp. F); (c) +mi- (28.3.22.3) consists of +m- (C) and +(7)i- (D). Note further, that the conditions under which -l- → -lh- (see 28.3.9, 28.3.13) are not necessarily operative in enclitic strings.

Of all possible enclitic sequences, the following combinations occur with a fair degree of frequency:

+amatu (A-C-G), +ayalhu (A-E), +ayalhtu (A-E), +astu (A-G), +atu (A-G), +alh(l)u (A-H), +aku (A-J), +ats'(n) (A-K), +asts'(n) (A-K), +atuu (A-M), +kw7lks (A-B-L), +kw7italu- tuts'ik (A-D-E-G-K-L), +kw7italuluuk (A-D-E-H-L), +kw7italuts'ik (A-D-E-K-L), +kw7it- aluuk (A-D-E-L), +kw7itk'uk (A-D-I-L), +kw7itk (A-D-L), +kw7ituts'ik (A-D-G-K-L), +kw7ituk (A-D-G-L), +kw7isuluts'ik (A-D-G-H-K-L), +kw7iluts'ik (A-D-H-K-L), +kw7ilu(u)k (A-D-H-L), +kw7ilhuuk (A-D-H-L), +kw7i(s)ts'ik (A-D-K-L), +kwma (A-C), +kwmayalhuts' (A-C-E-K), +kwmasuku (A-C-G-J), +kwmatuya (A-C-G-J), +kwmaku (A-C-J), +kwmakuts' (A- -C-J-K), +kwmats' (A-C-K), +kwalu (A-E), +kwalutukw' (A-E-G-I), +kwalututs' (A-E-G-K), +kwalulukw' (A-E-H-I), +kwalukw'/-k'u (A-E-I), +kwaluts' (A-E-K), +kwalutuu (A-E-M), +kwtu (A-G), +kwtutuku (A-G.G-J), +kwtuya (A-G-J), +kwtuts'(n) (A-G-K), +kwsu (A-G), +kwsuts' (A-G-K), +kwlu(u) (A-H), +kwlukw' (A-H-I), +kwlukuks (A-H-J-L), +kwlukukstuu (A-H-J-L-M), +kwluts' (A-H-K), +kwluks (A-H-L), +kwkw'/-k'u (A-I), +kwk'uyats'n (A-I- -J-K), +kwts'(n) (A-K), +kwtuu (A-M), +kwts'tuu (A-K-M), +litkw' (B-D-I), +7lma (B-C), +7lmits' (B-C-F-K), +lituts' (B-F-G-K), +7isuks (F-G-L), +lisuuks (B-F-G-L), +7ltuks (B-G-L), +lists' (B-F-K), +lits' (B-F-K), +its' (F-K), +(7)iks (F-L), +(7)lks (B-L), +7italututs'ik (D-E-G-K-L), +7italuuk (D-E-L), +7itk'uk (D-I-L), +7itka (D-L), +7ituk (D-G-L), +7ituktuu (D-G-L-M), +(7)iluts'ik (D-H-K-L), +(7)iluk (D-H-L), +7ilhuuk (D- -H-L), +(7)its'ik (D-K-L), +matu (C-G), +matuts' (C-G-K), +maluts' (C-H-K), +mats'(n) (C-K), +maluks (C-H-L), +maku (C-J), +mak'u (C-I), +masuks (C-G-L), +matuu (C-M), +ma- lhu (C-H), +mits'ik (C-D-K-L), +mits'ika (C-D-K-L), +mists'ik (C-D-K-L), +mituk (C-D- -G-L), +miluk (C-D-H-L), +mats'akw (C-L), +matski (C-L), +al(h)uts'akw (E-L), +alwiks (E-F-L), +alulukw' (E-H-I), +alhutsk (E-L), +alhtukw' (E-I), +tututsk (G.G-L), +tuts'/ -ts'n (G-K), +tutuu (G-M), +tuks (G-L), +suks (G-L), +suts'(n) (G-K), +sutsk (G-L), +lu(u)ts'(n) (H-K), +lutsk (H-L), +luks (H-L), +kuks (J-L), +ts'ntsk(i) (K-L), +ts'tuu (K-M)

In terms of immediate constituents, the majority of these clusters regularly appear in clauses having the structure

(PREDICATE (ENCLITIC STRING))

In several cases, the enclitic string can itself be divided into IC's, e.g., +matuts' = (+ma(+tu(+ts'))), +kwmatuya = ((+kw(+ma(+tu)))+ya), and the like.

In addition, enclitic sequences may be characteristic of clauses with an IC struc- ture that differs from the one formulated above. As a result, we occasionally encounter seemingly irregular complexes such as +ts'tu ("K-G"), +lutu ("H-G"), +makw ("C-A"). In such cases, however, the clause structure is

((PREDICATE (ENCLITIC₁)) ENCLITIC₂)

(Example: 7alh7ay+ts'tu it IS already so vs. 7alh7ay+tuts' it is so again. The difference in IC structure is: ((7alh7ay(+ts'))+tu) vs. (7alh7ay(+tu(+ts'))). 7alh7ay to be so)

28.4 A number of clitics that have not been discussed in the foregoing sections are treated in 15 (deixis) and 16 (prepositions).

29 PARTICLES

29.1 There are some remaining elements that we shall label particles. This category comprises: (1) adverbs, (2) conjunctions, and (3) interjections.

29.2 In 23.7 and 23.9.2.1.3 we studied the use of temporal predicates and predicative adjuncts. The majority of these can also be placed after relata and adjuncts, and then behave like adverbial particles (see 29.2.2, 29.2.2.1): ka+lip'tsutts kamalacws I will return (lip'tsut) next year (kamalacws), cwpakmis 7ala+waycii he finally (7ala+waycii) let go of (cwpakm) him, qwlxulhtsutaw 7ala+7ayk' they got together (qwlxulhtsut) a long time ago (7ala+7ayk'), etc.

  The difference between temporal predicates and predicative adjuncts on the one hand, and adverbs on the other is that the former imply more emphasis than the latter: kamalacws ska+lip'tsutts (it is) next year (that) I will return vs. ka+lip'tsutts kamalacws I will return next year, 7alh+ti+suncwt sksnmakaw (it is) today (that) they are working (ksnmak) vs. ksnmakaw 7alh+ti+suncwt they are working today, etc.

29.2.1 There is, morphologically as well as syntactically, a difference between s7aym-i-always (predicative use) and s7aymis id. (adverbial use). The former is inflected transitively (the "object" always being 3sg), whereas the latter is no longer understood as /s7aym-i-s/, and has become a true particle. Examples: s7aymit sksnmakaw vs. ksnmakaw s7aymis they are always working (ksnmak), s7aymicw+a sxlhalhnu vs. xlhalhnu+a s7aymis art thou always hungry (xlhalh)? (note again, that predicatively used s7aym-i- is more emphasized than adverbial s7aymis)

29.2.2 A few adverbs denoting a direction appear only as adverbial particles. These are: 7uuxnk down(wards) (cf. qnk low), 7utl'uk' up(wards) (cf. tl'uk' high), tqwntl' hither, this way, tculi this way, here, tcula that way, there, txwnayaax across the river. Examples: tl'apaw 7uuxnk they went (tl'ap) down, k'cx 7utl'uk' look (k'c) up!, putl'x tqwntl' come (putl') here!, 7ixq'maw tcula they walked (7ixq'm) that way, tayamktx txwnayaax throw (tayamk) it across the river! Cf. 23.6.1.

29.2.2.1 Some verbs of motion can also be used as adverbs, e.g., 7usqanaw = tl'apaw 7usqa they went (tl'ap) out, 7ustcwaw = tl'apaw 7ustcw they went in, 7ulxlhaw = tl'apaw 7ulxlh they went upriver, tculatl'saw = tl'apaw tculatl's they went to the Interior. Cf. 23.6.1.

29.3 There are two conjunctions, viz. 7n/7in and and putl's plus.

29.3.1 7n/7in _and_ connects _relata_: 7inu 7(i)n 7nts _thou and I_, 7ixq'maw ti+mants+tc
7n tsi+stants+tsc _my father (man) and mother (stan) are walking (7ixq'm)_.

29.3.2 putl's (sometimes putl'aw) _plus_ connects cardinal numbers (see 26.2.4), and
derives from putl' _to come_. It means _and also_ in, e.g., sxtl'ikm+tuu ŝlaq'kms putl's
wa+sk'stlits'+7ats _he is even (+tuu) preparing (-m) the fish backbones (sxtl'ik), the
salmon fillets (slaq'k), and also the skin (sk'stlits')_.

29.4 Interjections are characterized by their syntactic independence, i.e., they are
used in isolation:

1 way/wii _well!, okay!, now then!_ - this word can also precede imperative and adhor-
   tative verbal forms: way 7ustcwnu _come in (7ustcw) then!_, way nuyamlhilh _come on,
   let's sing (nuyamlh)!_

2 yaw _hi!, hello!_ - often followed by a vocative: yaw smatamc _hello, (my) friend!_,
   yaw staltamc _hello, chief!_ Cf. 29.4.1.

3 tst/hatst or tsst/hatsst - used to attract somebody's attention: _pst!_

4 7aw _yes_ - said in answer to a question.

5 wisxw _yes indeed!, yes sirree!_ - often pronounced with dragged i, this word is em-
   ployed when one enthusiastically answers somebody's question.

6 7axw _no_ - used to negate something that somebody else states or asks. See also 27.6
   and 28.3.23.

7 na _there you are!_ - said when offering something to somebody.

8 huyp _a dance-cry_.

9 7anana, 7ananay -`an exclamation expressing _pain, shock, or surprise: ouch!, oh my!_
   With infixal -anaats- (18.6): 7ananaatsanay renders _extreme pain, shock, or surprise_.

10 stutwniitscw _(I) thank thee!_ - literally "thy begging (tutwa/tutwn-) me" (s- _nomin-
    alizer_, -ii _diminutive_). There are also the following forms: stutwniitulhcw _we thank
    thee!_, stutwniitsap _I thank you!_, stutwniitulhp _we thank you!_

11 7axxa - expressing _disgust: yuck!_

12 kwma+7it _goodbye!, be good!, to your health!_ - with more than one addressee, kwma-
    naw‡7it is used. √kwma (? _to say goodbye_) occurs further in 7ax+ku kwmanu = kwma+7it,
    and 7ax+ku kwmanap = kwmanaw‡7it.

29.4.1 Some nouns have a vocative form besides. These forms are characterized by
(a) _insertion of a_, (b) _V-lengthening_, (c) _addition of w_, or (d) _insertion of y_.
Examples: a - smatamc _friend (smatmc)!_, staltamc _chief (staltmc)!_, sksay _in-law (sksi)!_,
satayc _pal (satic)!_; b/c - taataw _God!_ (tata _daddy_); d - kw'liways _brother-in-law (kw'-
liwas)!_

An element -aw is often placed after pl imperative suffixes and enclitics, when one yells a command: nitstumanxaw save (nitstu-) me!!, help!!, nuk'ciktaxwaw look (k'c) into the box (nu-X-ik)!!, tl'alhinaw‡7itaw come on (tl'alhi), folks!!

PART III - A BELLA COOLA TEXT

30 INTRODUCTION

30.1 The text presented in 31 was volunteered by M.S. in the summer of 1975. In this recording, M.S. describes in finesse the roles of Bella Coola men and women in ob-taining and preparing food fish, and more in particular the process of smoke-drying salmon.

30.2 In the text, telescoping is marked (see 5.2.1, 6.2). Elision of 7 (see 8.2) is also indicated by "^" (^7/$\hat{7}$ = $\emptyset$). When, as a result of 7-deletion, two V's come in con-tact, they usually become fused (see 5.3.3). Syllabicity (4 ff.) and phonetic opening--lengthening (5.3.2) are maintained when 7 is dropped: wa+7ulhqn‡7ats = |wä$^{?}$o̧łqə̧nät^{S}| these buckets, quts'usm‡7it = |q^{w}o̧t^{S}o̧sə̧mȩt^{h}| wash thy face!, 7uqw'aw^7ala+tmcw‡7ats = |$^{?}$o̧q^{w}a:wälätəmx^{w}ät^{S}| they are drifting down the river, 7alhtam$\hat{7}$apcw = |$^{?}$ä⁺ta:mäpx^{w}| to repeatedly lift something. Cf. 28.3.16.

Occlusives bordering on 7 are, unless elision takes place, phonetically glottal-ized (cf. 7.2.1, 8.1, 28.3.16) - acoustically, there is no difference between $\dot{\text{T}}$7, T'7, and T'.

Dragging of u |o̧:| is indicated throughout: +lu: yet, still, lhnu:s two, etc. (cf. 1.8, 26.2, 28.3.9).

30.3 Each sentential unit is numbered. The small Arabic numbers (sometimes followed by a letter, which, in turn, may be followed by a Roman number) placed directly under the text-lines refer to the morphemes each word or syntagm is composed of, and corres-pond with the number(-letter) codes found in 32. Example: nacliwatulh = 21-22-23 = "ready-causative suffix-we...it" = we get it ready. A free translation follows the Bella Coola text.

31 THE TEXT

1 way 7ayuutstimutts^ska+7aalats'iits 7alh+ti+s7alh7ayakilh 7ala+smlhk‡7ats^skstutilh
   1   2-3a-4-5   6aI-7a+8-5   10+11+6b-12-2-13a-14 15+16+17   6aI-18-19
   spanyatilh
   6aI-20-19

2 nacliwatulh+lu: ti+kw'puts+t'ayc ka+si7ayakaw tc ska+7uqw'aw^7ala+tmcw‡7ats
   21-22-23+24   11+25+26   7b+2-13a-28 29 6aI-7a+30-28 15+31+17

3 kawtim 7ulxlh 7ula+7aaxlh⁺7ats
     32-33 34   35+36+17

4 7uqw'aw+ts' 7ala+tmcw⁺7ats
     30-28+37   15+31+17

5 qtsamtsamkanaw+ts' a+nulhnu:s⁺7ats 7alh+ti+mawalh ti+lhalas+t'ayc
     38/39/40-28+37   41+42+17   10+11+43   11+44+26

6 ticslaxaw^7ala+matl'ap
     45-46-28 15+47

7 tictsaatsiinaw+tu^7ala+matl'ap
     45-48-28+49   15+47

8 tick'acwaw+tu^7ala+matl'ap
     45-50-28+49 15+47

9 kamalh+slax⁺7its'ik wa+tl'apamk skwntim+tuts' c+ti+qw'xwmtimut+t'ayc 7in ti+lhalas
     51+46+52   41+53   6aII-54-33+55 56+11+57+26   58 11+44

    +t'ayc 7in a+kw'puts+7ats
    +26   58 41+25+17

10 7alhkwnim^7ula+tcatl'saaxs a+sulhs ti+tl'msta+t'ayc wa⁺7alh+lhmilh wa⁺7anayk ska+
     12-54-59 35+60-61   41+62-61 11+63+26   41+10+64   41+65   6aIV-7a+

    kstcwacwkutsmaw
    66-28 (3b)

11 stslitilh+ts' 7ala+tcatl'saax⁺7ats 7ula+nuscuukstalhh⁺7ats
     67-19+37   15+60+17   35+68-69+17

12 7axw ka+wics+tuu wa+lhalhlaasii⁺7ats^ska+7umattulh ska+stslitilh a+smlhk+7ats
     70   7c+71-61+72 41+44/9+17   6aIII-7d+73/22-23 6aI-7a+67-19 41+16+17

13 xim smak'matklits'tutilh 7ats
     74 6aII-75/22-19   76

14 tl'apakilh+ts' scnasuksilh+ts ska+7asyalh
     77-14+37   6aV-78-79-14+6aV 6aI-7a+80-14

15 7alhtam͡apcwaktulhs tsi+numaw+ts'ayc
     81-82-13b-83   84+85+86

16 7alhtamtl'alhaakas+tuu c+a+slaq'k+7ats
     81-87-13b-40-61+72   56+41+88+17

17 7asyas+ts' tsi+numaw+ts'ayc
     80-61+37   84+85+86

18 7alh7aytulh+7iluts'ik c+ts^sqw'alanaw^7ala+matl'ap+ts
     109/12-2-22-23+89   56+129 6aII-91-28 15+47+90

19 7axw+tuu qw'alayakmtilh 7ala+matl'ap+ts
     70+72   91-92-13b-93-19 15+47+90

20 7ascwalhtutilh+ts' 7ats sts'usms+ts
     94-95-96-22-19+37 76   6aV-97-61+6aV

21 nulikw'aakilh+tuts' a+slaq'k+7ats 7ala+7inacw⁺7ats
     98-99-13b-100+55   41+88+17   15+101+17

22 kstimutilh+tuts' ska+7asyalh ska+qw'alatutilh 7ika⧧7axw ka+tsayakmtilh
    18-14+55   6aI-7a+80-14 6aI-7a+91-22-19 7c+70   7c+102-19

23 nutl'lhlcllxsaks a+slaq'k+7ats
    103-104-61   41+88+17

24 tl'apakmilh+tuts' ska+tskw'maakilh
    77-100+55   6aI-7a+105-100

25 kamalh⧧7axw 7aytulh snusqwlhalhhs ti+tl'msta^7ala+sqwlh⧧7ats 7ala+slaq'k+7ats
    51+70   2-22-23 6aII-106-107-61 11+63   15+107+17   15+88+17

    7ula+si7alh7aytulh stskw'maakilh
    108-109-23   6aI-105-100

26 7axw⧧7ituk 7alh7ayakaw a⧧7acwlh+7ats
    70+110   12-2-13a-28 41+111+17

27 7axw tskw'maakit
    70   105-112

28 wicanaw⧧7its'ik wa+qiqipii⧧7ats a⧧7alhlq'tilh si7alh7aytulh stskw'maakilh s7acwlhilh
    71-28+52   41+113+17   41+114-19   27-109-23   6aI-105-100   6aV-111-14

    +ts
    +6aV

29 kamalh+nupats'llxsaycs+ts' 7ats^s7alh7ays+ts' c+a+cwpalusm̥liwatilh+ts
    51+103-115-116-61+37   76   6aI-12-2-61+37 56+41+117-19+90

30 wayc sniixwtulh+lukuks s7aym̥liwatis 7ula+stl'lhlcaw
    118 6aII-119-22-23+120 121˙   122-104-28

31 tl'lhlcaw
    104-28

32 7ustcwtutilh
    123-22-19

33 tcalustutilh ska+nmptilh 7ula+nusk'liik+ts' a+7amats a+knicilh+ts'n⧧7ats
    124-19   6aI-7a+125-19 35+126+37   41+127-61 41+128-100+37+17

34 7alh7ays+ts'n ts
    12-2-61+37   129

35 tl'lhlctum+kuks 7ala+7ayk' sts'xmaycaw stl'lhlctutit s7aytut 7ula+7amatakaw sq'awtit
    104-22-130+131 15+132   6aII-133-28 6aI-104-22-134 6aI-2-22-135 35+127-13b-28 6aI-136-
                                                                                    -134
    a+7ayutsmit snuknumtanaw
    41+137-112 6aIV-138-28

36 wic^7ats a+snknicilh wiclhh+a+7ayk' wa+knum⧧7ats
    71 76   41+139-14   140+41+132   41+138+17

37 sxtl'ikm+tuu ti+numaw+tc ŝlaq'kms
    141-142+72   11+85+143   6aI-88-142-61

38 putl's a+sk'stlits'+7ats 7alh+ts
    144   41+145+17   146

39 7ay s7ays Ø+7umatakmilh
    147-61   41+73/13b-93-100

40 nukw'lhiiktilh+7ituk^∅‡7acwlh‡7ats
    148-149-19+110   41+111+17

41 kamalh+t'lilh‡7its'ik s7axw nukw'lhiikilh
    51+150-69+52   6aII-70 148-149-100

42 tmtcaluslhtutilh sq'awtilh 7ula+nusk'liik+7ats
    151-124-19   6aI-136-19 35+126+17

43 7ay s7ays ti+7umatakmilh ti+snknicilh ti+sliixw+t'ayc
    147-61   11+73-100   11+139-14   11+152+26

44 st'saaxilh+tuu a+7acwlh‡7ats snukw'lhiikalh+ts
    153-100+72   41+111+17   6aV-148-149-40-14+6aV

45 st'saaxilh
    153-100

46 smaws+tuu ti+7amlhh+t'ayc sq'silh ŝt'saaxilh
    154-61+72 11+155-69+26 6aII-156-14 6aI-153-100

47 7axw numuŝ^ska+7ip'tilh ∅+ka+qw'las ka+smlhk 7alh+ti+7amlhh+t'ayc wa+s7axw ts'xmaycŝ
    70   157-61 6aII-7d+158-19 41+7e+159 7e+16   10+11+155-69+26   160+70   133-61

    ska+tmslaxtulh+tu^7ats
    6aII-7d+151-48-22-23+49 76

48 7alhmnlhatilh
    12-161-100

49 nuscmamktilh+tu^7ats 7ala+sutk‡7ats ... xlhalhamkilh
    162-100+49   76 15+163+17   164-100

50 cwplxs t'ax 7ala+smlhk+7ats ... 7ala+knum‡7ats
    165   166 15+16+17   15+138+17

Translation:

1 Well, I will try to describe how we work on the fish, how we prepare them, (and)
   how we smoke them.
2 First, we get the net ready so that they can use it when they will be drifting down
   the river.
3 They (i.e., the men) are given a ride to the upriver area.
4 Then they go drifting down the river.
5 They keep casting out the net, these two (men) on this one boat.
6 Sometimes they catch a lot.
7 Sometimes they catch only a little bit.
8 Sometimes they catch nothing at all.
9 Well, when their catch is plentiful, somebody picks them up again in a car, and also
   collects the boat and the nets.
10 It (i.e., the fish) is taken to the back of somebody's ("this person's") house,
   whoever among us are willing to fix their own foodstuff.
11 We now put the fish in water, at the back of the house, in old tubs;
12 that is, if we do not use the dinghies to soak the fish in.

13 We leave them in there overnight.

14 Now we women start cutting them up.

15 One (of us) keeps putting them up (in the smokehouse).

16 She keeps taking the fillets (to the smokehouse) to dry.

17 And somebody else ("this one") is cutting them up.

18 Well, sometimes we keep doing this until they are all done.

19 But sometimes we cannot finish them all.

20 Now, when the evening comes, we build a fire (in the smokehouse).

21 We turn the fillets again in the morning.

22 And, again, we keep working, we will be cutting until they are all done, even if we cannot finish them all.

23 The tips of the fillets get dry (after a while).

24 That is when we start pulling the bones out.

25 If we don't do this, one ("a person") will get fishbones stuck in his throat ("from the fillets"), that is why we fix it that way, we pull the bones out.

26 But some people don't do this.

27 They don't pull the bones out.

28 You see, it's the children we are thinking of, the reason some of us pull the bones out of the fish.

29 When they (i.e., the fillets) are on the sticks now, we seem to sort of leave them like that.

30 And all the while we keep the fire going, on and on, until they have dried.

31 They are drying.

32 We take them in.

33 We cut them up, and put them in the freezer (which is) where we keep our food now.

34 That is the way it is nowadays.

35 But in the olden days, they would be dried, they would dry them thoroughly, and take them to this spot; they would store them in what they called "nuknumta".

36 This smoked fish has been our food for a long time.

37 Some people ("one") even dry the backbones and the fillets,

38 and also the skin with them.

39 We fix it (i.e., the fish) in all sorts of ways.

40 Some people can it.

41 But when it is dog salmon, we do not can it.

42 We just cut them up, and put them in the freezer.

43 We fix our food in many ways, (take) the fish stew (for instance).

44 When canning fish, we salt some of it too.

45 We salt it.

46 Actually, it is only the springsalmon that we salt thoroughly.

47 Not often do we take any other fish beside springsalmon (i.e., for canning), and, really, we do not just make lots of it.

48 We make a limited amount.

49 We do crave this (i.e., fish) in winter ... we are hungry for it.

50 That is all about the fish ... about the smoked fish.

32 GLOSSARY

In the list following, the numbers preceding the entries correspond with the ones found under the text-lines in 31. The numbers in parentheses indicate the place of occurrence of each entry (i.e., the relevant text-line(s)), and the numbers between virgules have reference to pertinent sections in the grammar.

1 way well /29.4/ (1)

2 7ay to manifest oneself; be thus: 7alh7ay id. progressively (29,34), (7alh)7ayak to be manually active (1,2,26), 7aytu- to cause something to be thus (25,35) cf. items 12,13a,22,65,109

3 -u(u)ts a. speech /20.5.1/ (1), b. food /20.5.1/ (10)

4 -timut causative reflexive suffix /19.10.5/ (1) cf. items 18,57

5 -ts 1sg intransitive-possessive /14.2/ (1)

6 s- a. embedder: I. co-referential /23.9.2.1.5/ (1,2,12,14,22,24,25,28,29,33,35,37, 42,46), II. non-co-referential /23.9.2.1.6/ (9,13,18,25,30,35,41,46,47), III. wic ... /23.9.2.1.2/ (12), IV. after verba sentiendi et declarandi /23.9.2.1.4/ (10,35), V. appositive use /23.9.2.1.7/ (14,20,28,44); b. nominalizer /23.9.1.2/ (1) cf. items 122,139

7 ka+ unrealized /28.2.1/: a. future /28.2.1.2.1/ (1,2,10,12,14,22,24,33), b. ka+si- in order that /23.10.2.2/ (2), c. (7i)ka+ (even) if /28.2.1.2.2.1/ (12,22), d. after negative predicate (untranslated) /28.2.1.2.2.2/ (12,47), e. nominal use: any /28.2.1.1/ (47)

8 7aalats'ii to tell, report (1)

9 -i/-ii/-y/-yi diminutive /18.3/ (12) cf. item 113

10 7alh+ preposition: static-centripetal /16.4.1/ (1,5,10,38,47)

11 ti+ non-female article /15.1/ (1,2,5,9,10,25,37,43,46,47)

12 7alh- aspectual prefix: stative-progressive /23.5/ (1,10,18,26,29,48)

13 -a(a)k manual, hand /20.2.1/: a. work /20.5.1/ (1,2,26), b. finished product (15, 16,19,21,35,39)

14 -(i)lh 1pl intransitive-possessive /14.2/ (1,14,22,28,36,43,44,46)

15 7ala+ fusion of 7alh+ and a+ /16.3/ (1,2,4,6,7,8,11,18,19,21,25,35,49,50) cf. items 10,35,41

16 smlhk fish, salmon (1,12,47,50)

17 +7ats pl deictic /15.4.1.1/ (1,2,3,4,5,9,11,12,16,21,23,25,26,28,33,36,38,40,42,44, 49,50)

18 kstu- to fix something (1); kstimut to (start) work(ing) (22) cf. items 4,22

19 -tilh <u>transitive ending: we ... them</u> /14.3.1/, <u>causative ending: we ... them</u>
/14.4.1/ (1,11,12,13,19,20,22,28,29,32,33,40,42,47)

20 panya <u>to smoke fish</u> (transitive-intransitive verb) (1)

21 nacliwa <u>ready</u> (2)
< *na(y)c-liwa, cf. √(7)nayc <u>complaisant</u>, -liwa <u>semblative</u> /18.4/

22 -tu- <u>causative suffix</u> /14.4, 19.12/ (2,12,13,18,20,22,25,30,32,35,47)

23 -Ølh <u>causative ending: we ... it/him/her</u> /14.4.1/ (2,12,18,25,28,30,47)

24 +lu: <u>still, (as) yet → first</u> /28.3.9/ (2)

25 kw'puts <u>fishing net</u> (2,9)
? /kw'p-uts/, cf. √kw'p <u>straight</u>, -uts <u>orifice → mesh, net</u> /20.5.1/

26 +t'ayc <u>non-female deictic</u> /15.4.1.1/ (2,5,9,10,43,46,47)

27 si- <u>paraphraser</u> /23.10.2.2/ (28)

28 -(n)aw /14.2/, -anaw /25.3/ <u>3pl intransitive-possessive</u> (2,4,5,6,7,8,10,18,26,28,
30,31,35)

29 tc <u>non-female pronoun</u> /15.4/ (2)
<u>cf. item 143</u>

30 7uqw' <u>to drift downriver</u> (2,4)

31 tmcw <u>river</u> (2,4)

32 kaw <u>to bring, deliver</u> (3)

33 -tim <u>3pl passive ending (transitive-causative)</u> /14.3.3, 14.4.3/ (3,9)

34 7ulxlh <u>(towards the) upriver (area)</u> /29.2.2.1/ (3)

35 7ula+ <u>fusion of 7ulh+ and a+</u> /16.3/ (3,10,11,33,35,42)
<u>cf. items 15,41</u>

36 7aaxlh <u>upstream area</u> (3)

37 +ts'(n) <u>now, then</u> /28.3.6/ (+ts': 4,5,11,14,17,20,29,33, +ts'n: 33,34)

38 /qts-am.ts-amk/ <u>to cast out net(s)</u>: < qtsamk <u>to cast out a net</u>: qts <u>to extend,</u>
-amk <u>adjunct-incorporative</u> (see item 39) (5)
The reduplication expresses a <u>repeated action</u> /24.1/

39 -amk <u>adjunct-incorporative</u> /19.7 ff./ (5)

40 -a <u>intransitivizer</u> /19.6/ (5,16,44)

41 wa+/a+/Ø+ <u>pl article</u> /15.1, 15.5.3/ (wa+: 9,10,12,28,36, a+: 5,9,10,12,16,21,23,
26,28,29,33,36,38,44, Ø+: 39,47)

42 nulhnu:s <u>two persons</u> /26.2.1/ (5)
<u>cf. item 85</u>

43 mawalh <u>one boat</u> /20.4.1.1, 26.2.2/ (5)
<u>cf. item 154</u>

44 lhalas <u>boat</u> (5,9); /lha.lhlaas-ii/ <u>dinghy</u> (12)
<u>cf. item 9</u>

45 tic- <u>to catch</u> /23.2/ (6,7,8)

46 slax <u>much, many</u> /26.3.1/ (6,9,47)

47 7ala+matl'ap(+ts) <u>once, some time, sometimes</u>, from 7ala+ and matl'ap <u>one time</u>
/26.2.2, 20.6.1/ (6,7,8,18,19)
<u>cf. item 15</u>

48 tsaatsii _few_ /26.3.4/ (7)

49 +tu _really, indeed_ /28.3.3/ (7,8,47,49)

50 k'acw _nothing_ /26.3.8/ (8)

51 kamalh+ _if, when_ /28.2.2/ (9,25,29,41)

52 +7its'ik _and, subsequently_ /28.3.19.1.2/ (9,28,41)

53 wa+tl'apamk _a catch_ /17.3.1/ (9), from tl'apamk _to catch something_ (cf. tl'ap _to go_)
    cf. item 39

54 kwn _to take, bring something/somebody_ (9,10)

55 +tuts' _again_ /28.3.21, 28.3.24/ (9,21,22,24)

56 c+ _preposition: static-centrifugal_ /16.4.3/ (9,16,18,29)

57 qw'xwmtimut _car_, from qw'xwm _to be moving_ (qw'xw _to move something_, -m _medium_),
    and -timut _causative reflexive_: _auto-mobile_ (9)
    cf. items 4,142

58 7in _and_ /29.3.1/ (9)

59 -im _3sg passive_ /14.3.3/ (10)

60 tcatl'saax _back of house_: tc- _area_, √atl's _behind_, -aax _rear_ /23.6.1, 20.3.1/
    (10,11)

61 -s _3sg intransitive-possessive_ /14.2.3.1-3/ (10,12,16,17,20,23,25,29,33,34,37,39,
    43,46,47)

62 sulh _house_ (10)

63 tl'msta _person_ (10,25)

64 lhmilh _we, us_ /25.2/ (10)

65 7anayk _to want_ (10), from *7a-nu⌐7ay⌐ik, cf. item 2 and /20.2.1/

66 kstcwacwkutsm _to fix up one's food_ (10), from kstu- _to fix (up) something_ /14.4.1.1/,
    -ak _work, product_, -uts _food, eating_, -m _medium_; the reduplication is the result of
    suffixal derivation /24.1/
    cf. items 18,13a,3b,142
    In unit #10, the syntagm wa�alh+lhmilh wa�457anayk ska+kstcwacwkutsmaw presents a
    case of anacolouthon

67 stsli _to keep caught fish in water_ (11,12)

68 nuscuuksta _bath tub_ (11), from nu- _inside_ /23.6.2/, s- _nominalizer_ /23.9.1.1/,
    cuk'/√cuuk _to bathe somebody_, and -sta _implement_ /21.2/

69 -lh, -lhh _ex-, dead_ /18.5.3/ (-lh: 41,46,47, -lhh: 11)

70 7axw _not_ /27.2/ (12,19,22,25,26,27,41,47)

71 wic _identifier: it is ..._ /25.3/ (12,28,36)

72 +tuu _exactness_ /28.3.4/ (12,16,19,37,44,46)

73 7umattu- "where one causes something to go" = _where one puts something_ (12)
    cf. items 22,127, and /23.6.1/
    7umatakm _where one takes the result of one's work_ (39,43)
    cf. items 13b,93

74 xim <u>dawn, morning</u> (13), from √xi <u>light, bright</u>, and -m <u>medium</u>
  <u>cf. item 142</u>

75 mak'matklits'tu- "to cause something to be somewhere overnight" = <u>to leave something</u>
  <u>somewhere overnight</u> (13), from √ma <u>one</u>, -k'matk = -k'mt <u>period of 24 hours</u>, -lits'
  <u>skin → (flat) body</u>, -tu- <u>causative</u> /26.2.2, 20.6.1, 20.2.1, 19.12/

76 7ats <u>pl pronoun</u> /15.4/ (13,20,29,36,47,49)
  <u>cf. item 17</u>

77 tl'apak(m) <u>to start (on something)</u> (14,24), from tl'ap <u>to go, start</u>, -ak <u>manually</u>
  <u>active</u>
  <u>cf. items 13a,93</u>

78 cnas <u>woman</u> (14)

79 -uks <u>plural</u> /18.2/ (14)

80 7asya <u>to butcher, cut up fish</u> (14,17,22)

81 7alhtam- <u>iterative</u> /23.5/ (15,16)
  <u>cf. item 12</u>

82 7apcw <u>to lift something up</u> (15): 7alhtam7apcwaktulhs translates literally as "she
  continually lifts (→ picks up) our work"

83 -tulhs <u>transitive ending: (s)he ... us</u> /14.3.1/ (15)

84 tsi+ <u>female article</u> /15.1/ (15,17)

85 numaw <u>one person</u> /26.2.1/ (15,17,37)
  <u>cf. items 42,43</u>

86 +ts'ayc <u>female deictic</u> /15.4.1.1/ (15,17)

87 tl'alh <u>to dry something</u> (16)

88 slaq'k <u>salmon fillets</u> (16,21,23,25,37)

89 +7iluts'ik <u>and ... all the while</u> /28.3.21, 28.3.24/ (18)

90 +ts <u>plural deictic</u> /15.4.1.1/ (18,19,29)
  <u>cf. item 129</u>

91 qw'ala <u>all gone, finished</u> (18); qw'alayakm <u>to finish them all</u> (19), qw'alatu- (22)
  = qw'alayakm
  <u>cf. items 13b,22,92,93</u>

92 $\overset{y}{-}$ <u>junctural y</u> /6.1.3/ (19)

93 -m <u>transitivizer</u> /19.5.2/ (39)
  <u>cf. items 73,77,102</u>

94 7a- <u>allomorph of 7alh- before base-initial s</u> /23.5, 23.8/ (20)
  <u>cf. item 12</u>

95 scw <u>to burn something</u>: 7ascw <u>burnt</u> (20)

96 -alh <u>pertaining to food</u> /20.3.1/ (20)

97 ts'usm <u>evening, dusk</u> (20)

98 nu- <u>inside</u> /23.6.2/ (21)

99 likw' <u>to roll, turn something over</u> (21)

100 -ilh <u>transitive ending: we ... it/him/her</u> /14.3.1/ (21,24,25,28,33,39,41,43,44,45,
  46,48,49)

101 7inacw <u>morning</u> (21)

102 tsayakm <u>to (be) finish(ed) (with) something</u> (22), from √tsay <u>to stop</u>
     <u>cf. items 13a,93</u>

103 nu-X-llxs <u>Xed on sticks</u> /20.3.5/ (29)
     nu-X-llxs-ak <u>the tips of the fillets < tips of finished product</u> (23)
     <u>cf. item 13b, and /20.5.1/</u>

104 tl'lh <u>dry</u>: tl'lhlc <u>to (become) dry</u> (23,30,31,35) /19.16.3/

105 tskw'maak <u>to remove the bones from the fish</u> (24,25,27,28), from tskw'm <u>to pull</u>
     <u>something out</u>, -aak <u>finished product</u>
     <u>cf. item 13b</u>

106 nu-X-alhh <u>throat</u>: nusqwlhalhh <u>to have a fishbone (sqwlh) stuck in one's throat</u>
     /20.2.1, 20.2.3/ (25)

107 sqwlh <u>fishbone</u> (25)

108 7ula+si- <u>for that end/purpose, that is why</u> /23.10.2.2/ (25)
     <u>cf. items 27,35</u>

109 7alh7aytu- <u>to cause something to be thus</u> (18,25,28)
     <u>cf. items 2,12,22</u>

110 +7ituk <u>and, but</u> /28.3.19.1.1/ (26,40)

111 7acwlh <u>some</u> /26.3.2/ (26,28,40,44)

112 -it <u>transitive ending: they ... it/him/her</u> /14.3.1/ (27,35)

113 qiqipii <u>small children</u> (28), i.e., /qi.qip-ii/ /24.1/

114 7alhlq' <u>to think of somebody</u> (28), from 7lq' <u>id. perfective</u>
     <u>cf. item 12</u>

115 pats' <u>to pierce something</u> (29)

116 -ayc <u>passive</u> /19.14.1/ (29)

117 cwpalusṃliwa <u>to leave something the way it is "as it were"</u> (29), from √cwp <u>to (be)</u>
     <u>drop(ped), left</u>, -alus <u>as a whole</u> /20.3.1, 20.3.5.1/, -m <u>transitivizer</u> /19.5.2/,
     -liwa <u>semblative /18.4/: sort of, as it were</u>

118 wayc <u>new, recent</u>: wayc s-... <u>just then/now ...</u> (30)

119 niixw <u>(to be) fire, to burn</u> (30)

120 +lukuks <u>all the while - compulsorily</u> /28.3.21, 28.3.24/ (30)

121 s7aymis <u>always</u> /29.2.1/: s7aymḷiwatis <u>always, as it were</u> (-liwa <u>semblative</u> /18.4/)
     (30)

122 7ula+s- <u>until</u> /23.9.1.2/ (30)
     <u>cf. items 6b,35</u>

123 7ustcw <u>to go inside</u> (32)

124 tcalustu- <u>to cut something up (33,42)</u>, from tc <u>to cut something</u>, -alus <u>in pieces</u>
     /20.3.5.1/, -tu- <u>causative</u> /14.4, 19.12/
     At first sight, this would seem to be an irregular formation, since as a rule -tu-
     is affixed only to <u>intransitive</u> bases (we might have expected *7alhtcalustu- "to
     cause something to be cut up"), but tcalus could also mean <u>being cut</u> /17.3.1, 19.2/

125 nmp <u>to insert something, put something inside</u> (33)

126 nusk'liik <u>fridge, freezer</u> (33,42), from sk'l <u>cold</u>, nu-X-iik <u>container</u>
cf. item 148

127 7amat <u>where something is located</u> (33,35) /23.6.1/
cf. item 73

128 knic <u>to eat something</u>: a+knicilh "what we eat" = <u>our food</u> /17.2.1/ (33)
cf. item 139

129 ts <u>pl pronoun</u> /15.4/ (18,34)
cf. item 90

130 -m <u>3sg passive causative</u> /14.4.3/ (35)

131 +kuks <u>but, on the contrary</u> /28.3.18.1/ (35)

132 7ayk' <u>old, long ago</u>: 7ala+7ayk' <u>a long time ago</u> (35), wiclhh+a+7ayk' <u>since long</u>
<u>ago</u> (36)
cf. items 15,140

133 ts'xmayc <u>to really or thoroughly ...</u> (35,47), from √ts'x <u>true, real</u>, -m <u>medium</u>
/19.5.1.1 ff./, -ayc <u>to be</u> /19.14.1.2/

134 -tit <u>transitive and causative ending: they ... them</u> /14.3.1, 14.4.1/ (35)

135 -Øt <u>causative ending: they ... it/him/her</u> /14.4.1/ (35)

136 q'aw <u>to store something (away)</u> (35,42)

137 7ayutsm <u>to say something about something</u> (35), from 7ay <u>to be thus, act so</u>, -uts
<u>mouth, speech</u>, -m <u>transitivizer</u>: 7ayutsmit snuknumtanaw translates literally as
"they say (about them) that they are nuknumta", hence: <u>they call them nuknumta</u>
/23.9.2.1.4/
cf. items 2,3a,93

138 knum <u>smoke-dried fish</u> (36,50); nuknumta <u>box in which knum is stored</u> (35), from
knum and nu-X-ta <u>where X is kept</u> /21.2/

139 snknic <u>food</u> (36,43), from s- <u>nominalizer</u>, and knic <u>to eat something</u>; the redupli-
cation is due to affixation /23.9.1.1.1, 24.1/
cf. items 6b,128

140 wiclhh+ <u>preposition: dynamic-centrifugal</u> /16.4.4/ (36)
cf. item 132

141 sxtl'ik <u>fish backbone</u>: sxtl'ikm <u>to prepare id.</u> (37)
cf. item 142

142 -m <u>medium</u> /19.5.1 ff./ (37)

143 +tc <u>non-female deictic</u> /15.4.1.1/ (37)
cf. item 29

144 putl's <u>plus, and also</u> /29.3.2/ (38)

145 sk'stlits' <u>skin</u> (38) - for -lits' see /20.2.1/; the element sk'st- remains uniden-
tified (a connection with sk'st <u>charcoal</u> does not seem likely)

146 7alh+ts <u>with them (i.e., the backbone and the fillets)</u> (38)
cf. items 10,129

147 7ay s7ay <u>any</u> /25.9/ (39,43)

148 nu-X-iik <u>container</u> /20.3.1/ (40,41,44)

    <u>cf. items 126,149</u>

149 kw'lh <u>to fill up, put something in a container</u>: nukw'lhiik <u>to put fish in a con-</u>
<u>tainer, to can or jar fish</u> (40,41,44)

    <u>cf. item 148, and /20.3.5/</u>

150 t'li <u>dog salmon</u> (41)

151 tm-(X-lh) <u>just, only</u> /23.5/ (42,47)

152 sliixw <u>fish stew</u> (43), possibly from sl <u>to slice something</u> and -iixw <u>(fish)head</u>
/20.2.1/

153 st'saax <u>to put salt in food(stuff)</u> (44,45,46), from st's <u>salt</u> (< t's <u>salty</u>, s-
<u>nominalizer</u> /23.9.1.1/), and -aax <u>food</u> /20.3.3/

154 smaw <u>one, alone</u> /26.2/ (46)

    <u>cf. items 43,85</u>

155 7amlh <u>springsalmon</u> (46,47)

156 q's <u>to seriously or thoroughly ...</u> (46) (?cf. q's <u>tight</u>)

157 numus <u>(it is) often</u> (47)

158 7ip' <u>to grab, seize, take something</u> (47)

159 qw'las <u>other, different</u> /25.8/ (47)

160 wa+s- <u>and</u> /23.9.1.4/ (47)

161 mnlhat <u>to measure something, to be moderate with, take a limited amount of</u> (48)

162 nuscmamk <u>to crave a certain food</u> (49), from nu- <u>stomach</u> /23.3/, scm <u>to be (-m) bad</u>
<u>(sc)</u>, -amk <u>adjunct-incorporative</u>

    <u>cf. items 39,142</u>

163 sutk <u>winter</u> (49)

164 xlhalhamk <u>to crave, hunger for something</u> (49), from xlhalh <u>hungry</u>, -amk <u>adjunct-</u>
<u>-incorporative</u> /19.7 ff./

165 cwplxs <u>the end of a story</u> (50), from √cwp <u>to (be) drop(ped), left</u>, -lxs <u>terminus,</u>
<u>end</u> /20.5.1/

    <u>cf. item 117</u>

166 t'ax <u>non-female pronoun</u> /15.4/ (50)

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Longhouse Iroquois of Southern Ontario: the Thanksgiving Address, the
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1975

No. 21 BELLA COOLA CEREMONY AND ART.
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The aim of this study is to lend ethnological importance to a collection
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The Sixth Algonquian Conference was held in Ottawa, October 4-6, 1974. It
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The seventeen papers on Northern Athapaskan research in ethnology,
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No. 28 PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND CONGRESS, CANADIAN ETHNOLOGY SOCIETY,
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These Proceedings are of the Second Annual Conference of the Canadian
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Narrative obtained from the Eastern Cree Indians of James Bay, Quebec, are
considered in their various functions within the Cree culture. The author
privileges an inductive approach for this study.

No. 31   CONTRIBUTIONS TO CANADIAN ETHNOLOGY, 1975. Edited by
         David Brez Carlisle. 359 p., 127 plates. $6.95

This volume contains 7 papers on ethnological subjects. Four of them are
on material culture (Day, Damas, Arima and Hunt), one on rituals
(Stearns), one on general ethnography (Smith), one on ethnohistory
(Gillespie) and one on cultural change (Rogers and Tobobondung).

No. 32   ESKIMO MUSIC BY REGION: A Comparative Circumpolar Study.
O.P.   Thomas F. Johnston. 222 p., 38 plates, 9 musical transcriptions.
         $2.75

Study of Alaskan Eskimo music, as part of a distinct western musical
complex, compared with Eskimo music in Central and Eastern Canada and
Greenland.

The following papers are being distributed gratis by the Chief, Canadian Ethnology Service, National Museum of Man:

Les dossiers suivants sont distribués gratuitement par le Chef du Service canadien d'Ethnologie, Musée national de l'Homme:

No. 33 LA CULTURE MATERIELLE DES INDIENS DU QUEBEC: Une étude de raquettes,
O.P.   mocassins et toboggans. Carole Lévesque.
         156 p., 47 figures, 28 planches.

Cette étude sur la fabrication et la décoration des raquettes, des mocassins et des toboggans dans les communautés indiennes du Québec concerne à la fois des objets produits au 19^e siècle et d'autres produits actuellement. Elle s'inscrit dans une approche récente de la culture matérielle où la production est étudiée en fonction des repports sociaux à l'intérieur desquels elle s'insère.

1977

No. 34 A PRACTICAL WRITING SYSTEM AND SHORT DICTIONARY OF KWAKW'ALA
O.P.   (KWAKIUTL). David McC. Grubb. 251 p., 1 plate.

The purpose of this work is to present a phonemically accurate, practical spelling system of Kwakw'ala, the language of the Kwagulh (Kwakiutl) people. The first section deals with the use of the practical orthography while the second section is a two-way, cross-indexed dictionary: English - Kwakw'ala.

No. 35 THE INDIVIDUAL IN NORTHERN DENE THOUGHT AND COMMUNICATION: A Study in
O.P.   Sharing and Diversity. Jane Christian and Peter M. Gardner.
         419 p.

The volume reports some of the preliminary findings of a collaborative study of thought and communication among members of one Mackenzie drainage Dene community. Subprojects, on aspects of communication and learning, on shared and diverse classifications and processes having to do with trapping, fishing, and exploitation of moose, are reported.

No. 36 SHAMATTAWA: The Structure of Social Relations in a Northern Algonkian
O.P.   Band . David H. Turner and Paul Wertman. 124 p., 12 plates,
         8 figures.

This study aims to test a theory of North Algonkian social organization developed through a structural analysis of Australian hunter-gatherer societies and a critical reading of Northern Algonkian literature.

No. 37   SOME GRAMMATICAL ASPECTS OF LABRADOR INUTTUT (ESKIMO):
O.P.   A Survey of the Inflectional Paradigms of Nouns and Verbs. Lawrence
          R. Smith. 98 p., 59 tables.

This grammatical sketch surveys the nominal and verbal paradigms of the
dialect in current usage among the Labrador Inuit of the Atlantic Coast.

1978

No. 38   SWAN PEOPLE: A Study of the Dunne-za Prophet Dance.
O.P.   Robin Ridington. 132 p., 20 plates.

The prophet dance, a complex of beliefs and practices among northwestern
native people, is studied from the myths and oratories collected among the
Dunne-za or Beaver Indians of the upper Peace River.

No. 39   NEIGHBORS AND INTRUDERS: An Ethnohistorical Exploration of the
O.P.   Indians of Hudson's River. Edited by Laurence M. Hauptman and
          Jack Campisi. 285 p., 29 plates, 3 figures.

Utilizing new archaeological, ethnohistorical and linguistic perspectives,
the present volume is aimed as a starting point for future
inter-disciplinary research in the field of study of the Indians of the
Hudson River.

No. 40   PAPERS FROM THE FOURTH ANNUAL CONGRESS, 1977. CANADIAN ETHNOLOGY
O.P.   SOCIETY. Edited by Richard J. Preston. 431 p., 15 tables,
          14 figures, 3 maps.

This volume contains selected papers presented at the Fourth Annual
Congress of the Canadian Ethnology Society in Halifax, February 23-27,
1977. It includes papers on subjects such as maritime ethnology, Micmac
research, folklore, friendship, property and ownership, wage labour
migration, and the concept of stranger.

No. 41   THE EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATION ON ESKIMO MUSIC OF CUMBERLAND PENINSULA.
O.P.   Maija M. Lutz. 167 p., 5 maps, 2 tables, vinyl record.

The purposes of this study are as follows: to examine the types of music
which are performed and listened to in Pangnirtung today, to discuss the
cultural context of the music, to place present-day music in a historical
perspective, and finally to formulate reasons and justifications for
changes that have taken place in music.

No. 42 A PRACTICAL DICTIONARY OF THE COAST TSIMSHIAN LANGUAGE.
        John Asher Dunn. 155.

   This Tsimshian/English dictionary of more than 2250 entries gives to
   researchers practical transcription, morphological information, English
   glosses and phonetic transcription, showing the local variants.

No. 43 CONTEXTUAL STUDIES OF MATERIAL CULTURE. Edited by
O.P.   David W. Zimmerly. 58 p., 29 figures.

   This collection of five papers surveys the general field of material
   culture studies and includes specific recent contextual studies of North
   American Indian and Eskimo material culture.

No. 44 ALGONQUIN DIALECT RELATIONSHIPS IN NORTHWESTERN QUEBEC.
O.P.   Roger Gilstrap. 70 p., 4 illustrations.

   This report examines dialect relationships (lexicon, phonology and
   grammar) which exists between the five Algonquin communities of Amos, Lac
   Simon, Winneway, Maniwaki and Rapid Lake of northwestern Quebec.

No. 45 A SURVEY OF THE DERIVATIONAL POSTBASES OF LABRADOR INUTTUT (ESKIMO).
O.P.   Lawrence R. Smith. 128 p.

   The core of this work is a dictionary of derivational postbases in current
   usage by the Inuit of the Labrador Coast. Each entry includes the Inuttut
   form in phonemic orthography, morphophonemic specifications, a semantic
   characterization in English, notes on idiosyncratic properties and
   examples of use. An introduction to Labrador Inuttut word-formation is
   also provided.

                               1979

No. 46 ESKIMO ECONOMICS: An Aspect of Culture Change at Rankin Inlet.
O.P. William Hugh Jansen II. 162 p., 11 illustrations.

   This report is an investigation into the development of four distinct
   economic strategies by the Eskimos of Rankin Inlet, Northwest Territories:
   ecomonic specialization; economic generalization; entrepreneurship; and,
   dependence upon social assistance.

No. 47 INUIT ADOPTION. Lee Guemple. 131 p.
O.P.
   This study offers a description and analysis of the social and cultural
   aspects of traditional and contemporary adoptive practices among the
   Inuit.

No. 48   SOLSTICE-ALIGNED BOULDER   CONFIGURATIONS IN SASKATCHEWAN.
O.P.   Alice B. Kehoe and Thomas F. Kehoe.   73 p., 8 plates, 15 figures.

Eleven Saskatchewan prehistoric boulder configurations are investigated to
determine whether their rock cairns and lines are likely to have been
aligned to astronomical phenomena.

No. 49   CASE AND CONTENT IN INUKTITUT (ESKIMO).
O.P.   Ivan Kalmàr.   159 p., 1 map.

The author investigates the use of the three simple sentence types with
both subject and object in the Inuktitut language.

No. 50   CONTRIBUTIONS TO CANADIAN LINGUISTICS.   Eric P. Hamp, Robert Howren,
O.P.   Quindel King, Brenda M. Lowrey and Richard Walker.
          118 p., 7 tables, 1 figure.

This volume contains five papers on linguistic subjects: three are on the
Athapaskan languages of Dogrib (Howren 1968), Central Carrier (Walker
1966), and Chilcotin (King 1968); one on Blackfoot (Lowrey 1964); and, one
on Algonquin (Hamp 1974).

No. 51   CONTES INDIENS DE LA BASSE COTE NORD DU SAINT LAURENT.
O.P.   Rémi Savard.   99 p.

Ce volume contient quatorze contes montagnais provenant de François
Bellefleur de La Romaine et de Pierre Peters de Saint-Augustin sur la
Basse Côte Nord du Saint Laurent.   Ils ont été recueillis de 1970 à 1975.

No. 52   THE CONTEXT OF THE INFORMANT NARRATIVE PERFORMANCE:
O.P.   From Sociolinguistics to Ethnolinguistics at Fort Chipewyan, Alberta.
          Ronald Scollon.   80 p., 1 map.

The author demonstrates how narrative structure at Fort Chipewyan, Alberta
is highly sensitive to the situation of the narrative performance.

No. 53   HOOPER BAY KAYAK CONSTRUCTION.   David W. Zimmerly.
O.P.   118 p., 84 figures, 89 photographs, 1 map, 5 blueprints.

This illustrated monograph details the construction process of a 4.6 m
(15') Bering Sea-type kayak made in the Yupik Eskimo-speaking community of
Hooper Bay, Alaska in October and November of 1976.   Instructions and
full-size blueprints for the construction of a working reproduction of
this kayak are included.

No. 54   SUFFIXES OF THE ESKIMO DIALECTS OF CUMBERLAND PENINSULA AND NORTH
O.P.   BAFFIN ISLAND. Kenn Harper. 123 p.

This paper analyzes the derivational suffixes of the two closely related
Eskimo dialects of Cumberland Peninsula and North Baffin Island. The
suffixes are presented in a dictionary format and all variants of a suffix
are listed in alphabetical sequence.

No. 55   A REFERENCE GRAMMAR FOR THE COAST TSIMSHIAN LANGUAGE.
         John Asher Dunn. 91 p.

This is a non-technical introduction to the phonology, morphology, and
syntax of Coast Tsimshian as spoken in Metlakatla, Alaska, Port Simpson,
Kitkatla, Hartley Bay, and Prince Rupert, British Columbia. It contains
sections on pronunciation, sound changes, word formation (morphology),
syntax, basic sentence types and their grammatical relationships and
provides an explanation of the practical orthography currently in use.

No. 56   ASPECTS OF INUIT VALUE SOCIALIZATION.
O.P.   Jean L. Briggs. 63 p.

This volume takes a serious look at "play" in Inuit society by arguing
that "play" contains processes essential to the creation, maintenance and
internalization of the central values of Inuit society.

No. 57   ATHAPASKAN WOMEN: Lives and Legends. Julie Cruikshank. 202 p.
O.P.
         This volume contains excerpts illustrating the changing themes in
Athapaskan culture which were taken from individual booklets previously
prepared by the author on the family and personal history and legends of
seven Athapaskan women living in the Yukon Territory.

No. 58   CHIPEWYAN MARRIAGE. Henry S. Sharp. 108 p., 17 figures.
O.P.
         This volume investigates the operation of the kinship system of the
Mission Chipewyan. It examines the utilization of kinship terms, and
conflict inherent in this group of Caribou-Eater Chipewyan and an analysis
of marriage and the role of affines is included.

No. 59   EIGHT INUIT MYTHS/INUIT UNIPKAAQTUAT PINGASUNIARVINILIT. Transcribed
O.P.   and translated by Alex. Spalding. 102 p.

Eight Nassilingmiut (Central Arctic Inuit) myths are given a roughly
morphemic translation as well as a literary translation into English with
preface and glossary included.

No. 60   INUIT SONGS FROM ESKIMO POINT ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᐃᒻ ᑎᐳᖕᒋ ᐊᖕᖕᔪᑦ ᐊᕓ ᐊᔪᑎᐳᑦ
         Ramon Pelinski, Luke Suluk, Lucy Amarook. 122 p., 12 illustrations,
         vinyl record.

This volume contains forty-one Inuit songs of the traditional genres of
the ajajait, animal songs and children's game songs collected in Eskimo
Point, N.W.T. in 1977. All songs appear in Inuktitut with English
translations and are accompanied by the musical notation.

                                  1980

No. 61   THE KYUQUOT WAY: A Study of a West Coast (Nootkan) Community.
O.P.   Susan M. Kenyon. 193 p., 8 figures, 9 tables.

This is an account of a modern West Coast (Nootkan) Indian community in
historical perspective. Contemporary settlement patterns, house styles,
economic occupations, social organization, political developments and
ceremonial activities and the evolution of these forms are discussed.

No. 62   PAPERS FROM THE FIFTH ANNUAL CONGRESS, 1978.
O.P.   CANADIAN ETHNOLOGY SOCIETY. Edited by Joan Ryan. 150 p., 4 figures.

This volume contains abstracts and selected papers presented at the Fifth
Annual Congress of the Canadian Ethnology Society in London,
February 23-26, 1978.

No. 63   THE HARE INDIANS AND THEIR WORLD. Hiroko Sue Hara.
O.P.   314 p., 5 maps, 55 figures, 15 plates, 25 tables.

This paper describes the life of the Hare Indians of the Fort Good Hope
area, in the Mackenzie River basin of the Northwest and Yukon Territories
in an historical perspective.

No. 64   CANOE CONSTRUCTION IN A CREE CULTURE TRADITION.
O.P.   J. Garth Taylor. 112 p., 2 maps, 9 figures, 52 plates.

This study examines Eastern Cree canoe construction from a variety of
anthropological and historical perspectives. The fully detailed and
illustrated technical aspects of canoe construction are combined with a
description of the social and economic factors, the canoe builder's view
of these activities through myth and song and a discussion of the
continuity and change in all aspects of traditional canoe construction.

No. 65   ALGONQUIN ETHNOBOTANY: An Interpretation of Aboriginal Adaptation in
O.P.   Southwestern Quebec. Meredith Jean Black. 226 p., 15 tables,
         4 maps.

This monograph compiles ethnobotanical data reported and published for all
Algonkian speaking groups in eastern North America with ethnobotanical
data from field studies with Algonquin bands in the Ottawa River drainage
and Cree bands in the St. Maurice drainage in an attempt to resolve some
ecological and historical problems in western Quebec.

No. 66   THE INUIT LANGUAGE IN SOUTHERN LABRADOR FROM 1694 TO 1785/
         LA LANGUE INUIT AU SUD DU LABRADOR DE 1694 A 1785.
         Louis-Jacques Dorais. 56 p., 1 map/1 carte.

This monograph consists of word and affix-lists, as well as grammatical
observations, concerning the language of the Southern Labrador Inuit from
1694 to 1785. They were collected from written texts of this period and
show that the language of these 18th century Inuit is almost identical
with that of their contemporaries in the Eastern Canadian Arctic.

Ce travail présente sous forme de listes de mots et d'affixes ainsi que de
remarques grammaticales les données linguistiques continues dans les
textes d'époque protant sur les Inuits du Labrador méridional, de 1694 à
1785. Il nous permet de constater que la langue inuit de 18^e siècle
était, à peu de choses près, semblable à celle qui est parlée aujourd'hui
dans l'Arctique oriental canadien.

No. 67   THE TRAPPERS OF PATUANAK: Toward a Spatial Ecology of Modern
O.P.   Hunters. Robert Jarvenpa. 272 p., 22 tables, 9 figures, 6 maps,
         40 plates.

This study develops an analytical framework that treats special arrange-
ments of human populations as a fundamental form of ecological adaptation
for subarctic Indian societies. The geographical mobility of commercial
fur trappers and fishermen from the English River Chipewyan community of
Patuanak, Saskatchewan is employed as a variable for explaining the
organization of economic subsistence cycles and ongoing processes of
settlement system change.

No. 68   NORTH WAKASHAN COMPARATIVE ROOT LIST.
         Neville J. Lincoln and John C. Rath. 426 p., 1 map.

This book contains a listing of approximately 2650 roots from the various
North Wakashan languages, namely Heiltsuk (Bella Bella and Klemtu),
Oowekyala (Rivers Inlet), Haisla (Kitimat) and Kwakwala (Alert Bay, Port
Hardy, etc.). Each root is illustrated with lexical words from the
language where it is represented, cognate words being brought together
under a single entry and cross-referenced to each other as they occur at
different points in the alphabetical order. The root list is preceded by
concise phonologies of each language and an exposition of the techniques
used to isolate roots in North Wakashan.

No. 69   PERSISTENT CEREMONIALISM: The Plains Cree and Saulteaux.
O.P.   Koozma J. Tarasoff. 247 p., 5 diagrams, 92 plates.

This monograph contains transcripts of taped interviews, participant
observations and sketches and photographs collected in the mid-1960s on
the Rain Dance and Sweat Bath Feast of the Plains Cree and Saulteaux. It
illustrates how the social group (the ritual elders in particular)
contribute to the identity, stability and survival of the native culture.

<u>1981</u>

No. 70   ANALYSE LINGUISTIQUE ET ETHNOCENTRISME: Essai sur la Structure du Mot
          en Inuktitut. Ronald Lowe. 126 p.

L'analyse que propose la présente étude de la structure du mot inuit, dans
le cadre de la psychomécanique du langage, remet en cause la vision
nettement indo-européenne du langage à laquelle conduisent la plupart des
modèles, anciens et récents, de la linguistique.

No. 71   THE IDENTITY OF THE SAINT FRANCIS INDIANS: Gordon M. Day. 157 p.,
O.P.   2 maps, 4 figures.

This study attempts to identify the contempory language and culture of the
Saint Francis Indians by tracing their origins in the written record,
genealogies, oral tradition and in language. The purpose is to assign the
linguistics and ethnographic data obtained from the Saint Francis Indians
in the twentieth century to the tribes known at the time of white contact
in the seventeenth century.

No. 72   CHANGING ECONOMIC ROLES FOR MICMAC MEN AND WOMEN: An Ethnohistorical
O.P.   Analysis. Ellice B. Gonzalez. 157 p., 7 maps, 8 figures, 12 tables.

This study examines the alteration and adaptation of Micmac male and
female roles in Nova Scotia over a period of four hundred years in the
context of the broader changes which their society experienced as it
interacted with the dominant European culture.

No. 73   THREE STORIES IN ONEIDA. Edited by Karin Michelson. Told and
          translated by Georgina Nicholas. 77 p.

Three stories in Oneida, a Northern Iroquoian language, and an
introduction, also in Oneida, are given with an interlinear translation
and a morpheme-by-morpheme analysis.

No. 74 WINDOW ON THE PAST: The Photographic Ethnohistory of the Northern and
O.P.   Kaigani Haida. Margaret B. Blackman. 236 p., 20 figures,
        15 tables, 30 plates.

This is a study of Northern and Kaigani Haida ethnohistory as viewed
through a visual medium. The author attempts to demonstrate the utility
and significance of early photographs by detailing several approaches to
the analysis of over 200 photographs of late 19th century Northern and
Kaigani Haida villages and people.

No. 75 A PRACTICAL HEILTSUK-ENGLISH DICTIONARY with a Gramatical
        Introduction, Volumes I and II. John Rath. 768 p.

This dictionary contains approximately 9500 Heiltsuk entries which, in
selected cases, feature grammatical derivates and/or examples of usage in
addition to their English glosses. The Heiltsuk practical orthography is
used and a grammatical introduction is included relating the orthography
to the phonetics and the phonemics of the language and outlining the
essentials of morphology and syntax.

No. 76 SOURCES FOR THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF NORTHEASTERN NORTH AMERICA TO 1611.
        David B. Quinn. 93 p.

This guide attempts to enumerate the printed and manuscript sources for
northeastern North American ethnography from the earliest discoveries by
Europeans down to the time of the effective establishment of European
settlements in the area and also to indicate briefly the content of these
sources and the features of the Amerindian societies which they record.

No. 77 CLYDE INUIT ADAPTION AND ECOLOGY: The Organization of Subsistence.
        George W. Wenzel. 179 p., 17 tables, 31 figures.

This monograph examines the position of Inuit kinship and its associated
behavioral concomitants as they effect the patterning of Inuit ecological
relations. It demonstrates the role such features, functioning as one
component within the cultural ecological system, play in organizing and
maintaining the observed pattern of man-land interactions.

No. 78 PAPERS FROM THE SIXTH ANNUAL CONGRESS, 1979. CANADIAN ETHNOLOGY
O.P.   SOCIETY. Edited by Marie-Françoise Guédon and D.G. Hatt. 265 p.

This volume contains a selection of symposia, papers, and abstracts of
papers presented at the Sixth Annual Congress of the Canadian Ethnology
Society in 1979, and reflects something of the variety of perspectives and
approaches current in Canadian anthropology at the present time.

No. 79 MUSICAL TRADITIONS OF THE LABRADOR COAST INUIT. Maija M. Lutz.
        89 p., 2 maps, 1 table.

This study examines both the indigenous and borrowed musical traditions of
the Labrador Inuit with emphasis on the impact of the Moravian
missionaries on Inuit performance since 1771. Comparisons are made
between the current Inuit musical situations of Nain, Labrador and
Pangnirtung, N.W.T.

No. 80 NORTH-WEST RIVER (SHESHĀTSHĪT) MONTAGNAIS: A Grammatical Sketch.
        Sandra Clarke. 185 p.

This work outlines the grammatical categories and inflections, both
nominal and verbal, of the Montagnais dialect of North-West River,
Labrador. The phonological system of the dialect is briefly sketched and,
although the present work does not treat the derivational aspects of
Montagnais morphology, certain very common derivational forms are
included. A survey of the chief sentence types of the North-West River
Montagnais is provided.

No. 81 MOOSE-DEER ISLAND HOUSE PEOPLE: A History of the Native People of
        Fort Resolution. David M. Smith. 202 p., 1 table, 3 figures,
        10 maps.

This work is a history of the native people of Fort Resolution, Northwest
Territories from the beginning of the fur trade on Great Slave Lake in
1786 to 1972. Aboriginal culture provides a base for the historic changes
discussed.

No. 82 MUSIC OF THE NETSILIK ESKIMO: A Study of Stability and Change,
        Volumes I and II. Beverly Cavanagh. 570 p., 16 figures, 10 plates,
        1 vinyl record.

This study defines the traditional styles and genres of Netsilik Inuit
music and examines the extent of change which this music has undergone
especially as a result of contact with European and North American music.
Volume two consists of song transcriptions and commentaries.

No. 83 BELLA COOLA INDIAN MUSIC: A Study of the Interaction between
        Northwest Coast Indian Musical Structures and their Functional
        Context. Anton F. Kolstee. 247 p.

This paper describes the ethnographic context and analyses the structural
characteristics of Bella Coola songs. Seventy-three original transcrip-
tions which encompass a broad spectrum of Bella Coola ceremonial and
non-ceremonial repertoires are included.

No. 84 OOWEKEENO ORAL TRADITIONS: As Told by the Late Chief Simon Walkus Sr. Transcribed and translated by Evelyn Walkus Windsor. Edited by Susanne Hilton and John Rath. 223 p., 2 maps.

This work contains fifteen texts in the Oowekyala Wakashan language with interlinear English translations from Rivers Inlet, British Columbia. General remarks on the author's language and culture are given in a brief introduction to the texts.

No. 85 ABENAKI BASKETRY. Gaby Pelletier. 136 p., 4 figures, 134 plates.

This report explores the reasons for the diminishing influence of splint basketry on the economy and way of life of the St. Francis Abenaki at Odanak, Quebec in the last century.

No. 86 THE MUSICAL LIFE OF THE BLOOD INDIANS. Robert Witmer. 185 p.

This study is an analytical description of the musical life of the Blood Indians of south-western Alberta. An historical investigation is provided in addition to a musical ethnography of the current situation.

No. 87 THE STOLEN WOMAN: Female Journeys in Tagish and Tutchone Narratives. Julie Cruikshank. 131 p.

This paper attempts to develop a framework for analysing Tagish and Tutchone narratives told by women in the central and southern Yukon Territory.

1983

No. 88 AN ETHNOHISTORIC STUDY OF EASTERN JAMES BAY CREE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, 1700-1850. Toby Morantz. 199 p., 6 tables, 4 maps.

In seeking to examine the accommodation by this Northern Algonquian people to the fur trade, this study first outlines the historical development and ecological setting and then looks at the question of social change from the perspectives of economic adaptations, group structure, leadership and territorial organization.

No. 89   CONSCIOUSNESS AND INQUIRY: Ethnology and Canadian Realities. Frank
  E   Manning, Editor. 365 p.

The papers in this volume were prepared for *Consciousness and Inquiry*, a conference jointly sponsored by the National Museum of Man and the Canadian Ethnology Society, and held in London, Ontario in 1981. The papers focus on interests and concerns which characterize contemporary Canadian ethnology.

No. 89   CONSCIENCE ET ENQUÊTE: L'ethnologie des réalitiés canadiennes.
    F   Marc-Adélard Tremblay, rédacteur. 407 p.

L'ensemble des articles qui apparaissent ici furent préparés pour le
colloque *Conscience et enquête*, tenu à London, Ontario en 1981 sous le
patronage conjoint du Musée national de l'Homme et de la Société
canadienne d'ethnologie. Ils sont conçus pour refléter les intérêts et
les préoccupations qui caractérisent l'ethnologie canadienne
d'aujourd'hui.

No. 90   AN OJIBWA LEXICON. G.L. Piggott and A. Grafstein, editors.   377 p.

The Ojibwa Lexicon provides data on the geographical distribution and
historical development of a variety of Ojibwa dialects. As many features
of Ojibwa words are indicated by their endings, a reverse version, sorted
right-to-left, is included.

No. 91   MICMAC LEXICON. Albert D. DeBlois and Alphonse Metallic. 392 p.

This lexicon, derived from texts and anecdotes collected over the past
twenty-five years from Micmac speakers in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick
and Québec, consists of nearly 5500 Micmac entries with English equivalents.
An English keyword index is included.

No. 92   THE BELLA COOLA LANGUAGE. H. F. Nater. 170 p.

This volume presents a description of Bella Coola phonology, morphonology,
morphology and syntax.