

TRANSACTIONS  
OF THE  
AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

HELD AT PHILADELPHIA  
FOR PROMOTING USEFUL KNOWLEDGE

---

NEW SERIES—VOLUME 37, PART 3

---

KWAKIUTL GRAMMAR  
WITH A GLOSSARY OF THE SUFFIXES

FRANZ BOAS

Edited by  
HELENE BOAS YAMPOLSKY

With the collaboration of  
ZELLIG S. HARRIS

---

THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY  
INDEPENDENCE SQUARE  
PHILADELPHIA 6

1947

**COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS**

**Jacob R. Schramm, Chairman**

<b>William B. Dinsmoor</b>	<b>Ernest M. Patterson</b>
<b>Luther P. Eisenhart</b>	<b>Adolph H. Schultz</b>
<b>Henry C. Lancaster</b>	<b>Robert L. Schuyler</b>
<b>William E. Lingelbach</b>	<b>George G. Simpson</b>

**Hugh S. Taylor**

---

**Luther P. Eisenhart, Editor**

Lithoprinted in U.S.A.  
**EDWARDS BROTHERS, INC**  
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN  
1947

## PREFACE

This volume containing a detailed description and discussion of the grammar and the suffixes, of the language of the Kwakiutl Indians, together with a dictionary of stems to follow later represents the most extensive work of Franz Boas in this particular field. The Kwakiutl were his special Indians and over a period of almost sixty years his interest in them never failed. To his own regret the work had to be laid aside again and again to give place to more pressing immediate problems, only to be resumed when his conscience allowed him to turn to his "own work." During the last years of his life he devoted much more time to it. After his last trip to British Columbia he had an interpreter, Dan Crammer, the son-in-law of George Hunt, stay with him in his own home for several months, to help solve some of the problems that were bothering him.

I worked with my father during those last years. At the time of his death the manuscript had reached its final form but many details had still to be attended to and gaps

filled in. He was very anxious to have it ready for publication and worrying as to who would undertake the task of publishing it. The American Philosophical Society was in his mind.

Since his death I have attempted to fill in details and put the manuscript in order as he had planned. Naturally there are gaps and discrepancies that I have not been able to correct and questions that he himself had to leave unsolved but it will still stand as a monument of his life's interest in the Indians and their language.

It is particularly gratifying that the American Philosophical Society has undertaken its publication and I am grateful to the Society. I am thankful, too, to Dr. Harris for his suggestions and help. To Bertha Edel and Ruth Bryan I am equally thankful for their painstaking work in preparing the manuscript.

Helene Boas Yampolsky

## ABBREVIATIONS

- |                        |  |                                       |  |
|------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|--|
| M.                     | Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians. Rep. U.S. Nat. Mus. 1895.    | MS                                    | Manuscript Notes '93, '00, etc. Notes taken in the respective years. |
| III, V, X.             | Kwakiutl Texts: Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition. Vol. III, V, and X. Leyden | (Awik'!ēnox <sup>u</sup> )            | Rivers Inlet dialect   |
| C II, C III, C X, C 26 | Kwakiutl Tales. Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology.                             | (Hēīdza <sup>ε</sup> q <sup>u</sup> ) | Bella Bella dialect  |
| R.                     | 35th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology   | (Kos)                                 | Gōsg'imux <sup>u</sup> dialect                                       |
| BAV                    | Boas Anniversary Volume, New York 1906   | (Nak)                                 | Ŋaq'wax'da <sup>ε</sup> x <sup>u</sup> dialect                       |
|                        |  | (Gwas)                                | Gwas <sup>ε</sup> la dialect   |
|                        |  | (New)                                 | l!a!asiqwāla dialect   |
|                        |  |                                       | When no dialect is given the Kwag'uŋ dialect is understood.          |

CONTENTS

	Page		Page
Introduction . . . . .	205	Interrogative . . . . .	263
		Verbs . . . . .	266
Part I		Imperative . . . . .	266
PHONOLOGY . . . . .	207	Exhortative . . . . .	268
Vowels . . . . .	207	Optative . . . . .	269
Consonants . . . . .	207	Negative . . . . .	269
Phonetic position of <u>m</u> , <u>n</u> , <u>l</u> , <u>y</u> , <u>w</u> . . . . .	209	Conditional . . . . .	269
General phonetic character . . . . .	209	Passive . . . . .	270
Consonantic clusters . . . . .	210	Present participle . . . . .	270
Initial and terminal consonants . . . . .	211	Past passive participle . . . . .	271
Consonantic changes due to contact of consonants . . . . .	211	Verb aspects . . . . .	271
Relation between sounds . . . . .	212	Active verbs . . . . .	272
Relation between <u>y</u> and <u>e</u> , <u>w</u> and <u>o</u> . . . . .	212	Iteration . . . . .	273
Contraction of vowels . . . . .	213	Causality . . . . .	273
Progressive changes . . . . .	214	Purpose . . . . .	274
Regressive changes . . . . .	214	Subordination, temporal and causal . . . . .	274
Assimilation of consonants . . . . .	215	Nominal forms . . . . .	276
Sound symbolism . . . . .	215	Numerals . . . . .	276
Phonetic character of stems . . . . .	216	SYNTAX . . . . .	280
Accent . . . . .	218	Parts of speech . . . . .	280
MORPHOLOGY . . . . .	219	The simple sentence . . . . .	281
Types of reduplication and stem expansion . . . . .	219	Word order in sentences with coordinate verbs . . . . .	281
Suffixes . . . . .	224	Pronominal subject and object . . . . .	283
Influence of suffixes upon terminal consonant of stem . . . . .	226	Apposition . . . . .	283
Influence of suffixes upon inner form of stem. . . . .	232	Nominalized verbs . . . . .	283
Order of suffixes . . . . .	234	Attributes . . . . .	284
The semantic value of suffixes . . . . .	236	Instrumental and objective . . . . .	284
Auxiliary suffixes . . . . .	245	Passive . . . . .	286
Plural . . . . .	246	Locative suffixes . . . . .	286
Pronouns . . . . .	251	Coordination and subordination . . . . .	287
Rules of connection . . . . .	255	Tense and aspect . . . . .	288
Second person subject -o <u>l</u> . . . . .	257	Negative . . . . .	291
Close of sentence . . . . .	257	Plurality . . . . .	291
Independent personal pronouns . . . . .	257	Prepositions . . . . .	294
Vocalic and consonantic pronominal forms . . . . .	259	Vocative . . . . .	295
<u>da</u> . . . . .	259	Cannot . . . . .	295
Independent possessive pronouns . . . . .	259	Never . . . . .	295
Adjectives . . . . .	260	Before . . . . .	295
Paradigms . . . . .	260	APPENDIX . . . . .	295
		1. Notes on Newetee Dialect . . . . .	295
		2. Bella Bella . . . . .	296
		Part II	
		Glossary of the Suffixes . . . . .	301



## INTRODUCTION

The Kwakiutl inhabit the coasts of Queen Charlotte Sound, British Columbia. Their territory extends a little farther south to the Gulf of Georgia and west to the most northern part of the West Coast of Vancouver Island. There are slight dialectic differences in the language spoken by this group: a northern dialect spoken in the villages of the most northern part of Vancouver Island as far south as Newettee (Nahwittee) and in the most northern inlets of the mainland; a southern one spoken in the area from Fort Rupert south, and on the small islands at the entrance to Johnson Strait. This dialect, spoken by the Kwakiutl proper, the Nimkish, Tlawitsis, and Mamaleleqala has encroached considerably upon the other dialects and is the basis of the present grammar.

North of the Kwakiutl area, beginning at Rivers Inlet another dialect of the language is spoken which differs considerably from the Kwakiutl here discussed. The languages are not easily mutually intelligible, partly on account of differences in vocabulary, partly on account of differences in grammatical forms.

These languages and Nootka are generally combined under the term Wakashan, a term probably derived from a Kwakiutl chief's name Wakash, Real River, which is used in this form by the Nootka. Nootka is strongly divergent from Kwakiutl, but a considerable number of stems and formative elements are common to the two languages and regular phonetic shifts may be recognized.

Among the languages of this area Wakashan, Quileute and Salish show decided structural similarities. The general scope of meaning of the suffixes in the three languages is very much alike and unlike those found in any other American language known to me. Wakashan and Quileute do not use any prefixes. Independent words can be formed by attaching suffixes to very generalized stems that are alike in structure.

Before entering into a detailed discussion of grammar a few of the most striking features of the general structure of the language may be given. The phonetic system is characterized by a very labile system of vowels, a consonantic system abounding in a variety of k sounds, labialized, palatized and velar; great frequency of affricatives, including l affricatives (resembling tl in character) and their treatment as stops; the distinction of sonants, aspirate surds, and glottalized stops; frequency of glottal stops, semivocalic character of m, n, l, y and w; the occurrence of this group of sounds in glottalized form, even in initial position; the rigid exclusion of consonantic clusters in initial position.

The basis of the word is generally a cluster of sounds of the type consonant vowel consonant. The vowel may be long or short; when short a syllabic m, n or l may take its place so that we find types like consonant, syllabic m, n, or l, with or without following consonant. The initial consonant may be missing. There are also stems that seem to consist of a single consonant. Stems of the type consonant + vowel + consonant appear in two forms, as cvcc or cvcvc. They may be bisyllabic in origin. Words are formed from these elements which may be termed stems by means of suffixes. These are numerous and varied in meaning. They serve the function of expanding and specializing the meaning of the stem. They are phonetically firmly united with the stem. Others perform the function of defining the syntactic relations between parts of the sentence. Their phonetic attachment to the stem is not quite as strong as that of the former class.

As in other languages that lack the defining verb "to be" (as in "it is a man") the distinction between noun and verb offers difficulties, because every noun may also be predicative.

Besides suffixing stem expansion is used as a morphological process. This consists of various types of reduplication, of lengthening of the stem vowel, and of other forms of expansion of the stem.

Syntactic relations are also expressed by the position of words.

While stems cannot readily be divided into a nominal and verbal class, the distinction between personal and possessive pronominal suffixes proves that the two classes are distinct. Nevertheless the noun derived from a verb retains its verbal character insofar as it may take an object or instrumental. The construction is similar to our compound nouns "the seal-singeing time," "the oil-box maker"; but the Kwakiutl can also say "the tying-together-place-it," "the steaming-receptacle-them," i.e., the receptacle for steaming them.

In active verbs there is no distinction between transitive and intransitive forms (like "to wash it" and "to be engaged in washing"). Static verbs are made transitive by means of suffixes.

A characteristic feature is the abundance of locative suffixes which express notions expressed by our prepositions and by locative adverbs. They contain also a long series of more special local concepts, like "in the house," "on the rocks," "in the water," and an exhaustive series of terms designating locally parts of the body, like "on the hand," "on the chest," "in the body."

Another class, used principally with numerals, classifies nouns according to form, as long, round, human etc.

A third class indicates time relations and a variety of aspects; past, present, and future; beginning, gradual, continued, repeated, etc.; also various types of passives.

A small group of suffixes expresses source and certainty of knowledge, such as "according to hearsay," "experienced in a dream," "evidently," "probably"; also "contrary to fact."

Nominal suffixes, p.e. actor, instrument, quality, place, time, are quite numerous. Many of these are formal and no English equivalent can be given.

Verbal suffixes, p.e. to make, to smell of, to travel by, to be ready to, to desire to, are also numerous.

Adjectives and adverbs, like large, small, somewhat, accidentally occur.

A number of suffixes correspond to our conjunctions: but, and so.

Still others express emotional attitudes, like surprise, wish, etc.

A few suffixes cannot be terminal, but must be followed by other suffixes. These express the plural, motion away and motion towards.

The idea of plurality is not clearly developed. Reduplication of a noun expresses rather the occurrence of an object here and there, or of different kinds of a particular object, than plurality. It is therefore rather a distributive than a true plural. It seems that this form is gradually assuming a purely plural significance. In many cases in which it is thus applied in my texts, the older generation criticises its use as inaccurate. Only in the case of human beings is reduplication applied both as a plural and a distributive. In the pronoun the idea of plurality is not developed. The combination of speaker and others must not be considered as a plurality; but the two possible combinations - of the speaker and others, including the person addressed, and of the speaker and others, excluding the person addressed - are distinguished as two separate forms, both of which seem to be derived from the form denoting the speaker (first person singular). The plurality of persons addressed and of persons spoken of is indicated by the addition of a suffix which probably originally meant "people." This, however, is not applied unless the sense requires an emphasis of the idea of plurality. It does not occur with inanimate nouns.

In the verb the idea of plurality is naturally closely associated with that of distribution; and for this reason we find, also in Kwakiutl, the idea of plurality fairly fre-

quently expressed by a kind of reduplication similar to that used for expressing the distributive of nouns. This form is applied regularly in the Bella Bella dialect, which has no other means of expressing pronominal plurality.

Related to the reduplicated nominal plural is also the reduplicated verbal stem which conveys purely the idea of distribution, of an action done now and then.

In the pronoun the three persons of speaker, person addressed, and person spoken of are each represented by formal elements.

The demonstrative is developed in strict correspondence with the personal pronoun; position near the speaker, near the person addressed, and near the person spoken of being distinguished. These locations are subdivided into two groups, according to visibility and invisibility. The distinction of proper names and common nouns, and that of definiteness and indefiniteness - similar to that expressed by our articles - is expressed by a differentiation of form of these demonstrative elements.

Whenever two verbs are coordinated the first verb takes the subject as suffix, the second takes the object.

The fundamental syntactic categories are predicate, subject, object, possessive (which is closely related to instrumentality), and finality (which is closely related to causality and conditionality). Subject, object, instrumental, and possession are expressed by suffixes that are attached to the preceding word, while finality, and the indirect object are derived from verbal stems with object. Verbal subordination is expressed by means of forms which are closely allied to these nominal cases.

The contents of the Kwakiutl sentence are characterized primarily by an exuberant development of locatization, both in nouns and in verbs. This is brought about partly by the use of local suffixes which define the exact place where an action is performed, without regard to the speaker; partly by the expression of location in relation to the speaker. Thus the sentence "My friend is sick" would require in Kwakiutl local definition, such as "My visible friend near me is sick in the house here." Furthermore, the psychological relation of the sentence to the state of mind of the speaker - or to the contents of preceding sentences - is expressed with great care. The chief formal characterization of the sentence is the close connection of its parts, which is due to the fewness of syntactic forms by means of which all possible relations are expressed, and to the subordination of the noun under the verb by means of particles which coalesce phonetically with the preceding word, while they determine the function of the following word.

Part I

PHONOLOGY

VOWELS

The vowels are

<u>ä</u> (ɛ)	<u>ɛy</u>	<u>ɛw</u>	<u>ä</u>	<u>â</u>	<u>ɛ</u>
<u>a</u>	<u>e, i</u>	<u>o, u</u>			
<u>ā</u>	<u>ē, ī</u>	<u>ō, ū</u>			

a is a clear, open a; e, i and o, u are each pair one phoneme. They are always diphthongized. The degree of diphthongization varies considerably individually and in various villages. In Newettee, in 1886, I heard commonly in accented syllables ai, in short syllables e<sup>i</sup> or i<sup>i</sup> according to the accompanying consonants. Front consonants, particularly palatalized and labialized consonants emphasize the i tinge, back consonants the e tinge. The same holds good for o, u. Front consonants emphasize the u tinge, back consonants the o. Diphthongization is heard more strongly in long vowels than in short ones. After velars the long vowels o, u tend to be almost âw. This tendency is still more pronounced in Bella Bella, where we find under the same conditions the diphthong au: xau'sa to sprinkle; gau'xwa to scoop up.

All vowels are strongly affected by the anticipation of following labialized consonants. a becomes almost â; for instance in äx<sup>u</sup>sō'le the phonetic impression is âx<sup>u</sup>so'le.

ä and â (o) are evidently secondary phonemes. In almost every case it can be shown that ä is derived from ea or ya, â from aw or wa (see p. 212).

Initial vowels are preceded and two vowels in succession separated by a weak glottal stop. Since these occur with absolute regularity and are purely mechanical, without grammatical function, they have been omitted in printing the texts (see, however, p. 208).

We have to distinguish between two fundamentally different quantities of vowels: long and very short. Accented long vowels are of longer duration than those unaccented, but the difference of length is not considerable. We have indicated the longest vowels by a macron. When two vowels appear in immediate contact and the first one is not accented it is very short, for instance: lä'•läe, but lä'e: lä'g'ää to arrive. Unaccented terminal vowels are weak, particularly when following a glottalized stop. In rapid speech they are sometimes whispered, for instance: mēnā'ts!<sup>e</sup> or mēnā'ts!<sup>e</sup> drum.

The short vowels are ä, ɛ, ɛy, ɛw.<sup>1</sup> ɛ must be considered a weakened vowel, in most, if not in all cases derived from ä. It is strongly influenced by surrounding consonants. All palatalized consonants give it the value of a weak, open i; all labialized consonants that of a weak, open u. Other consonants, particularly velars, give it an a timbre. Thus we hear g'i la' grizzly bear; xunō'k<sup>u</sup> child; gānē'm wife; älk<sup>u</sup> chief's attendant.<sup>2</sup>

Notwithstanding the close relations between ɛ and ä they must be distinguished because in certain forms of stem expansion ɛ changes significantly to ä.

In the Bella Bella dialect ɛ in unaccented position, after unvoiced stops,<sup>3</sup> after s, sometimes also after glottalized stops is lost; for instance: tgwā'nem (Kwak. bɛgwā'nem); pnē'g'a to warm back (Kwa. penē'g'a); tq!wa octopus, (Kwa. tɛq!wa'). k'pa to tuck in (Kwa. g'ɛpa'); k'zla' to be surprised; k<sup>u</sup>dēn golden eye duck (Kwa. gwedē'na); qqs eye (Kwa. gɛya'gɛs); snā'la whole (Kwa. sɛnā'la); sk'a to spear (Kwa. sɛk'a'); tsqa soil (Kwa. tɛq!wɛ's); lpa to unfold (Kwa. lɛpa'); t!gwen a type of canoe (Kwa. t!ɛgwɛ'n); ts!q!wɛls a hard, black kind of stone (Kwa. ts!ɛq!wɛ'ls); q!k'ato bite off (Kwa. q!ɛk'a'); t!pla to hold under arm (Kwa. l!ɛpa').

CONSONANTS

The system of consonants is characterized by the great abundance of palatals and velars of the k group, and by a large number of laterals. Affricatives behave throughout like stops and are, therefore in this grammar counted as stops.

On the following page is the system of consonants.

The sonant stops have a harder closure than the corresponding sounds in English or French. All surd stops are strongly aspirated. Since this aspiration is regular it has not been indicated by a separate symbol. The principal characteristic of the glottalized stops is a high pressure in the oral cavity which gives to the release great force and produces a break

<sup>1</sup>The w in wɛ, ɛw is pronounced with rather wide opening of the lips. For this reason the phonetic impression is often that of a short u.

<sup>2</sup>For ɛ as part of the symbols for syllabic m, n, l see p. 208.

<sup>3</sup>See below. Affricatives are included in stops.



Stops

	Sonant	Surd	Glottalized	Spirants	Nasals
Labials	<u>b</u>	<u>p</u>	<u>p!</u>	<u>w</u> , <u>ew</u>	<u>m</u> , <u>em</u>
Alveolar	<u>d</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>t!</u>	<u>s</u> , <u>y</u> , <u>ey</u>	
Affricative	<u>dz</u>	<u>ts</u>	<u>ts!</u>		
Anterior palatal	<u>g</u>	<u>k</u>	<u>k!</u>	<u>x</u>	<u>n</u> , <u>en</u>
Labialized midpalatal	<u>gu<sup>4</sup></u>	<u>ku<sup>4</sup></u>	<u>k!u<sup>4</sup></u>	<u>xu<sup>4</sup></u>	
Velar	<u>g</u>	<u>q</u>	<u>q!</u>	<u>x</u>	
Labialized velar	<u>gu<sup>4</sup></u>	<u>qu<sup>4</sup></u>	<u>q!u<sup>4</sup></u>	<u>xu<sup>4</sup></u>	
Lateral	<u>l</u>	<u>l</u>	<u>l!</u>	<u>l</u> , <u>el</u> , <u>xl</u>	
	<u>ε</u> , <u>h</u> , <u>h</u>				

between the glottalized consonant and the following sound. The pressure is weakest in ts!, strongest in k! and l!.

Most of the symbols require no explanation. l, l, l! are affricatives which correspond to dl, tl, tl! respectively; l is a voiceless l similar to l in plank. ε indicates the glottal stop. As stated before it occurs regularly before initial vowels and between vowels in immediate contact. x is a voiceless anterior palatal spirant, like German ch in "ich" when following i; in other positions a little further back. Glottalized ey, ew, em, en, el must be considered distinct phonemes. A laryngeal rough breath occurs in a few words and is indicated by the symbol h. h is sometimes a little rougher than a perfectly open breathing and may be derived in many cases from an older h. This is suggested by the great variability of h in the few cases in which it occurs.<sup>5</sup>

We have used the symbol ε also with syllabic m, n, l and em, en, el. These are syllabic when accented: laεmε'n (laεmn'); ts!εmx'εid (ts!m'x'εid); lεmxwa (lm xwa). It seemed desirable to use this device because in some cases the voicing begins before m, n, l; in others it follows. We have, for instance, lεgōεms strawberry plant, and t!εmxuεms gooseberry bush; εāle'nkwele to hold firmly in hand, and pε'snekwele to carry flounders.

Since ε occurs alone between unvoiced

<sup>4</sup>Before vowels gw, kw, k!w, xw, gw, qw, q!w, xw.

<sup>5</sup>For purpose of comparison I give here the corresponding symbols in the related Nootka Language, as used by Sapir and Swadesh. It seemed desirable to keep the published texts and grammar uniform. Therefore, and because the proposed changes are quite unnecessary, I did not change my spelling according to the suggestions of the "group of six Americanist linguists" as published in the *American Anthropologist* 36 (4), October-December 1934. Sapir and Swadesh also do not adhere to the system just referred to. Some of their innovations, like λ for l seem unnecessary. The use of c for ts, and of č for tc and š for c does not conform to earlier usage in American languages and might have been avoided. The use of the ʔ over the consonant instead of the awkward exclamation mark is preferable, but we preferred to keep our material comparable.

consonants, as in sεk'a', p!εl a', lεxa' it must be considered an independent phoneme.<sup>6</sup>

Syllabic and non-syllabic em, en, el are phonemically identical. As a matter of convenience in reading we have written εem, εen, εel. In syllabic forms the accent precedes the consonantic stricture and accompanies the glottal release. The contrast between the accented, syllabic and the unaccented forms is illustrated by laεmō and laεε'm (laεm') he did; lāε lāε and laεε'l (laεl') it is said; hē x'εidaεem and hē x'εidaεmε at once; k!wεmε'lx'εid and k!wεmε'la' to char.<sup>7</sup>

The stops appear in sonant, surd and glottalized form. The only sonants besides the stops are y, w and nasal and lateral spirants. The only spirants that occur in glottalized form are m, n, l, w, y. Every consonant, except sonant stops, s, x, xu, x, xu, h, h has its corresponding glottalized form. As a matter of fact pre-glottalized forms of s and some members of the x group appear, but these are due to secondary processes. In contradistinction to the glottalized spirants of Tlingit the glottalization of all the glottalized spirants does not extend beyond the very beginning of the sound so that they merge smoothly with the following

Kwakiutl	Nootka	Kwakiutl	Nootka
<u>b</u> , <u>p</u>	<u>p</u>	<u>q!w</u>	<u>q!w</u>
<u>p!</u>	<u>p</u>	<u>ε</u>	<u>?</u>
<u>d</u> , <u>t</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>xw</u>	<u>xw</u>
<u>t!</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>x</u>	<u>x</u>
( <u>g</u> , <u>k</u> )	<u>c</u> (etymological correspondence)		
<u>k!</u>	<u>č</u>	<u>xw</u>	<u>xw</u>
<u>gw</u> , <u>kw</u>	<u>k!w</u>	<u>x</u>	<u>x</u>
<u>k!w</u>	<u>k!w</u>	<u>xw</u>	<u>xw</u>
<u>g</u> , <u>q</u>	<u>q</u>	<u>em</u>	<u>m</u>
<u>q!</u>	<u>q</u>	<u>en</u>	<u>n</u>
<u>gw</u> , <u>qw</u>	<u>q!w</u>	<u>ew</u>	<u>w</u>
		<u>ey</u>	<u>y</u>

<sup>6</sup>The value of εm, εn, εl, ey, ew in stems of the type cem, cen, cel, cey, cew, cemc, cenC, celc will be discussed below.

<sup>7</sup>Sometimes a syllabic m or n follows a vowel. In these cases we do not write the glottal stop which differs in no way from the weak break between two consecutive vowels and does not belong to the m or n. Phonetically it is identical with the glottal stop of εm or εn following a vowel.

sound. An example of the glottalized spirants of Kwakiutl is go<sup>ε</sup>s' with decided accent on the εs (derived from qew-εs). Here the glottalization seems to extend over the beginning of the s. With following vowel it is go<sup>ε</sup>se', the glottal stop ending with the beginning of s.

Morphological traits of the language indicate that consonants should be divided into several groups:

1. Initial consonants
2. Voiceless consonants
3. Voiced and glottalized consonants
4. m, n, l, and y, w following ε. The

first group of these may also be defined as syllabic m, n, l; y and w do not appear in syllabic form because they are contracted with vowels and form e and o respectively (see p. 212).

1. Initial sounds may be any preglottalized vowel or any consonant: v, c

Other groups will be designated as follows:

<u>c</u>	voiceless consonant
<u>b</u>	voiced stop
<u>εc</u>	glottalized consonant, in some cases <u>εc</u> differentiated from <u>εm</u>
<u>m</u>	<u>m</u> , <u>n</u> , or <u>l</u>
<u>y</u>	<u>y</u> or <u>w</u>

Voiced and glottalized stops behave similarly in so far as they cannot be followed by a suffix without having an ε or a following, that is to say, the voicing respectively glottalization are continued as a vocalic vibration of the vocal cords after the consonantic closure. It will be shown later that the two groups behave in similar ways in many respects. The phonetic impression of the difference between voiced and glottalized stop is much weaker than that between the strongly aspirate voiceless stop and either the voiced or glottalized sound.

#### PHONETIC POSITION OF m, n, l, y, w

The phonetic position of m, n, l and y, w presents peculiar problems which will have to be discussed in relation to the morphological traits.

As initial sounds they are true consonants. In stems of the types cvm and cvmc, cvy and the hypothetical cvc their function is quite different.

From many points of view vm has to be considered as a long vowel, except only in those cases in which the stem cvm is followed by a suffix with initial vowel that does not induce any modification of the stem. The stems cvy do not bring out this point clearly because they contract and form ce or co respectively.

Examples of the use of m as consonant are: ts!εma' to point; βena' to fit, with accent on the second syllable, in the same way as stems of the type cvc: sepa' to throw a

long object; pi!εa' to fly; mex'a' to strike with fist. Stems of the type cvy become monosyllabic by contraction (see p. 216). Stems of the type cvc have under the same conditions the accent on the first syllable: mε'xa to sleep; to'sa to cut; qa'sa to walk.

Stems of the type cvmc behave always as though vm were a long vowel: dze'lxwa to run; εme'nsa to measure. Those of the hypothetical type cvc contract to cεc or cōc, so that they fall naturally into the class of cvc.

In contrast to the accent behavior of the type cvmc stems of the type cvc\*c behave like cvc stems (to which class they probably belong, having an obsolete suffix c attached): kwax'a' to splash.

Stems of the type cvc\* when followed by a suffix beginning with a consonant have the accent on the second syllable, while those of the type cvm retain the accent on the first syllable, like those of the type cvc,

axts!ō'd to put into (stem ax-)

ts!ε mts!ōd to point into (stem ts!εm-), but ts!ε mts!ō'd to melt away inside (stem ts!ε m-)

The analogy of εm and a long vowel appears particularly when stems of the type cvc\* are reduplicated, taking the form cvc\*cvc\*. The stem syllable is shortened in the repeated stem. In corresponding reduplications of stems of the forms cvm and cvmc\* the shortening is brought about by dropping m, so that we have the reduplicated forms cvmcṽ and cvmc\*cvc\*.

Examples are:

xwā'xwā'εmut remains of fish cutting

(stem xwāL-)

εmε'lemεdzo white on surface (stem

εmεL-)

se'lseεmut what is left after drilling

(stem seL-)

ye'nyatεmut gnawings of a large animal

(stem ye nt-)

#### GENERAL PHONETIC CHARACTER

The general phonetic character of the language may be indicated by the frequency of various groups of sounds. A count has been made of the frequency of sounds, including 6,588 sounds in one table and 10,356 in another one, taken down from two different speakers, and 10,850 sounds in a speech delivered by a third speaker.

The following table gives a summary of these results in per cents of the total number of sounds. The three first columns present the use of the sounds by the three speakers; the last two columns the frequencies of initial sounds in the list of stems. The fourth, fifth, sixth, and last columns represent the frequencies of consonants, omitting the vowels.

Striking characteristics are the paucity of vowels of the o, u group and the great

	Consonants Only						Initial Sounds	
	I	II	III	I	II	III		
<u>Vowels</u>	43.5	44.7	41.3				7.8	
<u>a, ă, ɛ</u>	26.4	27.2	26.6				4.9	
<u>i, e</u>	13.1	11.5	8.9				1.1	
<u>o, u, we</u>	3.1	3.1	4.4				1.2	
<u>h, ă</u>	.9	2.9	1.4				.7	
<u>Consonants</u>								
labials ( <u>b, p, p', m, ɛm</u> )	4.5	4.6	4.9	8.0	8.7	8.4	9.0	9.8
<u>d, t, t!, n, ɛn</u>	10.3	6.7	7.7	18.2	12.1	13.2	10.9	11.8
<u>s, dz, ts, ts!</u>	7.3	7.7	9.0	12.9	13.9	15.5	14.1	15.3
anterior palatals	4.3	4.2	7.6	7.6	7.6	13.1	11.0	11.9
medial palatals	2.9	2.5	1.7	5.1	4.5	2.9	7.4	8.0
velars	8.2	8.2	7.3	14.5	14.8	12.9	11.7	12.7
labialized velars	1.3	1.9	1.4	1.6	3.4	1.5	8.8	9.5
lateral spirants	10.2	9.7	9.0	18.1	17.5	15.5	5.0	5.4
lateral affricatives	2.3	2.5	2.9	4.1	4.5	5.0	9.2	10.0
<u>y, w</u>	1.4	3.2	2.4	2.5	5.8	4.1		
<u>ɛy, ɛw</u>	1.1	1.2	1.1	1.9	2.2	1.9		
<u>h</u>	.7	.8	.9	1.2	1.4	1.5	6.3	6.8
voiced stops	9.1	6.9	9.2	16.1	12.5	15.8	15.0	16.3
unvoiced stops	8.7	6.6	7.5	15.4	11.9	12.9	17.5	19.0
glottalized stops	4.3	3.8	2.3	7.6	6.9	4.0	27.3	29.6
<u>ɛy, ɛw, ɛm, ɛn, ɛl</u>	6.8	5.3	3.9	12.0	9.6	6.6		
spirant palatals	5.4	5.9	5.9	9.6	10.7	10.1	5.0	5.4
glottal stop <sup>a</sup>	2.2	2.4	2.8	3.9	4.3	4.8		

<sup>a</sup>Excluding the glottal stop before initial vowels and between vowels.

preponderance of the a group. Among consonants the lateral spirants l, ɛl, ɰ and the t group are most frequent. Next follow the velars and the s group. The total number of glottalized consonants including the glottal stop is very great. Their combined number exceeds the frequency of any other group.

The distribution of initial sounds as obtained from the vocabulary, disregarding the frequency of the same words in speech differs markedly from the general frequency of sounds. Vowels which number about 43 per cent in connected speech occur initially only in 7.8 per cent. The a group by far outnumbers the others. Glottalized consonants are more than one-fourth, labialized velars one-fifth, of all initial sounds. The s group begins about 14 per cent of all words. Initial lateral spirants are rare as compared to their frequency in discourse.

#### CONSONANTIC CLUSTERS

Consonantic clusters are somewhat restricted. The following consonants cannot occur as first elements of a cluster:

1. y, w
2. The glottalized consonants, excepting ɛm, ɛn, ɛl.
3. dz, ts, (ts!)

4. d, t, (t!) do not precede a following d, t, t!, dz, ts, ts!, n, except when the flow of speech is interrupted and the form of the word shows that they are suppressed.

5. s does not precede s, dz, ts!

6. ɰ does not precede s

7. In rapid speech the k stops (g', k', g<sup>u</sup>, k<sup>u</sup>, g, q) and ɰ when followed by another consonant, are spirantized by many speakers.

Consonantic clusters may contain three or even four consonants provided the pairs of adjoining consonants form an admissible cluster. We find, for instance:

xsd, xst, x<sup>u</sup>st, x<sup>u</sup>st!  
mx's, mxs, mx'd, mɰw, mɰts  
nxs, nx's, nsl, nɰt, nɰb  
lxs, lxm, lsd, lsq!, lxɰ, lx<sup>u</sup>s, lx'd, lx'l  
ɰxl

and clusters of four consonants, like

mx'st, nx'st.

These clusters are preceded and followed by vowels. A few may be terminal. Those with initial m, n, l are frequently preceded by ɛ; they are syllabic.

• When y, w, n, m, l form clusters the second one is preceded by ɛ unless the first one is preceded by ɛ:

Without ɛ: gwe'myas place of ochre;  
de'nwiɰ to stand in a row in house; daɛle'mnuk<sup>u</sup>  
to have something to laugh at; g'ɛ'lnaxwa every

time he walks; mē'nlas place of getting over-satiated; dē'lēnak<sup>u</sup> it gets wet easily.

With ε: yā'nems his game; yā'nemmaxwa to obtain game sometimes; hō'lēl<sup>ε</sup>nakwēla to get a little gradually; hē'menaxa always; hā'ēl<sup>ε</sup>mq!<sup>ε</sup>s<sup>ε</sup>id to eat quickly.

#### INITIAL AND TERMINAL CONSONANTS

1. Initial clusters of consonants do not occur.

2. All sounds except y and w may occur in terminal position. The most frequent terminal clusters are those with first consonant m, n, or l, in most cases followed by voiceless spirants or by voiceless k stops. Other terminal clusters are xs and ʔts: x'ōms head; tēlk<sup>u</sup> soft; bā'gwens visitor; ām<sup>x</sup> blocked; wilk<sup>u</sup> cedar; t!ēns shelter; k'!ēlx' raw; hā'xa'xs to send; lēgwē'ʔts his fire in the house.

3. In terminal position sonant stops become voiceless: dēmā'x'ēid > dēmā'x'ēit to go out of sight; yēʔp!ē'g nd > yēʔp!ē'gent to tie to a pole; g'aēē mxol > g'aēē mxol behold, it is this. This change is consistent. Other stems, independent and subordinate, occur that end in voiceless stops, such as -g'it body; -wut fellow; mē'gwat seal. In those words in which the terminal is changed from sonant to surd we retain the symbol of the sonant, so that the fundamental form may not be obscured. In a case like this it is hardly necessary to write the surd and introduce an additional diacritical device to indicate that it is due to a change from a sonant. The only sonant that occurs in terminal position is g': lēla'xg'' to eat hemlock sap; lē'g'ag' to go into woods.

When a sonant which is found in terminal position is given a medial position owing to the addition of a suffix with initial consonant many individuals, in rapid speech, use the surd with diminished aspiration, while others retain the sonant. Thus we hear dō'x'ēwitxa g'ōk<sup>u</sup> and dō'x'ēwidaxa g'ōk<sup>u</sup>, the former in rapid, the latter in slower speech. When the sonant is retained there is always a strong continued voicing, here indicated by ε. The dε is decidedly syllabic. Stems ending in sonant stops and which do not occur without suffix always retain the sonant, e.g. gwēdεx'ēi'd to begin to untie, stem gwēd-. Under the same conditions voiced d before l merges with it in rapid speech. In slow speech it retains its voiced character and is separated from the affricatives by continued voicing. mēx'ēi't and mēx'ēi'dēl, he is going to strike, are examples. The voiceless t always merges with the following s and lateral stops: sē'nai < sē'nat-l future plan; mē'gwats < mē'gwat-s his seal.

4. When the consonant following the terminal sonant stop is not syllabic the sonant is invariably retained except when the sonant and the terminal may merge: dō'x widεg he saw him;

sεg'ē'k<sup>u</sup> speared; lē'gēm<sup>x</sup>'dēk' this former name.

In rapid speech the dεs may change to ts (see p. 210). mēx'ēi'dēs or mēx'ēi'ts he struck with it; lē'gadēs or lē'gats he had the name of. s before non-syllabic palatal and velar stops and spirants, and the stops ts, ts!, ʔ and ʔ! behave in the same way: dē'nā sεx C 26: 124.1; ʔā'ēwadεnlasek' she had this one for a husband III 97.20; xwē'x'ēitsek' he shakes with it (< xwē'x'ēid-sεk') III 57.40; ē'nā'ēnax'ēme'lēg he will answer him.

#### CONSONANTIC CHANGES DUE TO

##### CONTACT OF CONSONANTS

1. s + s > ts  
ax'ēā'tsεn < āx'ēā's-sεn place of my III 32.6  
qā'tseestala < qās-seεst-a-la to walk around III 32.6

2. t + s > ts  
mē'gwatsa < mē'gwat-sa

The change of terminal d of a syllable to t before following consonant in rapid speech has been described before. In these cases:

3. d + s > ts  
lē'tεmtso<sup>ε</sup> < lē'tεmd-so<sup>ε</sup> the cover is taken off his face III 109.23. In passive forms of this type the change is made almost regularly.

lēgats < lē'gad-s he had the name of

4. ʔ + s > ʔts  
k!wē'ʔtso<sup>ε</sup> < k!wēʔ-so<sup>ε</sup> to be feasted III 32.32  
lēgwi'ʔtsa g'ōk<sup>u</sup> < lēgwi'ʔ-sa g'ōk<sup>u</sup> the fire of the house

mā'ʔtsε m < mā'ʔ-sεm two round ones

5. Stops of the k group when preceding another consonant become spirants in the pronunciation of many speakers.

ē'nē'k'ē he said, ē'nē'x'so<sup>ε</sup> he was told  
nā'ē nak<sup>u</sup> he went home, nā'ēnax'ēi he will go home  
wī'x'ēste'nt < wīqu'ēste'nd to shove a long thing into the water.

6. The affricative ʔ also changes in rapid speech under these conditions to voiceless ʔ:

yēʔp!ē'gent < yēʔp!ē'gεnd

7. ts! has a marked tendency to transform preceding s and x' into ʔ.

The suffix -!a, ear, which requires reduplication with inserted s (see p. 239) changes s to ʔ before ts!:

ts!ā'ʔts!εmaqa ear ornament (ts!εm- to melt).

-x' in the suffix -x'ts!ana hand, changes to ʔ after the suffixes -ba end of a horizontal object and -eg'a back: ē'ō baʔts!ane<sup>ε</sup> branch of a (εo-ba -ʔts!an-ε<sup>ε</sup>); ē'ō wig'aʔts!ane<sup>ε</sup> backs of hands X 159.30.

In hē'ʔk'!oʔts!ane<sup>ε</sup> right (side) hand, the terminal t of the suffix -k'!ot may have been assimilated by the dropped x' of -x'ts!ana. Many speakers say hēʔk'!ots!ane<sup>ε</sup>, sometimes with slightly prolonged t due to the merging of -k'!ot-ts!ane<sup>ε</sup>.

8. Merging of  $\underline{x}$  >  $\underline{l}$  is very frequent with the suffixes  $g'_{\epsilon} \underline{x}$ - and  $g'_{\epsilon} \underline{\ddot{a}} \underline{x}$ -:  $\epsilon_{m\epsilon} l g'_{\epsilon} \underline{l} \epsilon$  to turn on water R177.53;  $pax'_{\epsilon} \underline{a} \underline{l} \epsilon$  to fall on water C II 340.28 Kos ( $paq-g'_{\epsilon} \underline{\ddot{a}} \underline{x}$  =  $\underline{l} \epsilon$ ).

## RELATION BETWEEN SOUNDS

1. Grammatical processes reveal a number of definite relationships between sounds. Certain suffixes sonantize, others glottalize the terminal consonant of the stem. The voiceless spirants have no sonantized and glottalized equivalents and the following correspondences are found:

Spirant	Glottalized <sup>8</sup>	Sonantized <sup>9</sup>
$\underline{s}$	$ts!$ or $\epsilon_{\underline{y}}$	$dz$ or $\underline{y}$
$\underline{x}$	$\epsilon_{\underline{n}}$	$\underline{n}$
$\underline{x}^u$ and $\underline{x}^l$	$\epsilon_{\underline{w}}$	$\underline{w}$
$\underline{x}$	$\underline{x}^{\epsilon}$	$\underline{x}$
$\underline{\chi}$	$\epsilon_{\underline{l}}$	$\underline{l}$
$\underline{l}$	$\epsilon_{\underline{l}}$	$\epsilon_{\underline{l}}$

Examples:  $mena'ts!e$  drum ( $mex'_{\epsilon}=ats!e$ );  $ma'me^{\epsilon}na$  to try to strike with fist ( $mex'_{\epsilon}-!a$ ). For other examples see glossary.

Voiced stops when glottalized or sonantized strengthen the terminal voicing so that it becomes  $\underline{a}$ :  $\epsilon_{\underline{w}} \underline{d}\underline{\ddot{a}}\underline{a}'\underline{b}\underline{o}$  it is cold underneath ( $\epsilon_{\underline{w}} \underline{d}=\underline{a}\underline{b}\underline{o}$ );  $ma'me^{\epsilon}ndzaa$  to try to make kindling wood ( $mendz-!a$ ). The voiced continuants  $\underline{m}$ ,  $\underline{n}$ ,  $\underline{l}$ ,  $\underline{y}$ ,  $\underline{w}$  become  $\epsilon_{\underline{m}}$ ,  $\epsilon_{\underline{n}}$ ,  $\epsilon_{\underline{l}}$ ,  $\epsilon_{\underline{y}}$ ,  $\epsilon_{\underline{w}}$  when sonantized or glottalized.

All glottalized consonants when glottalized or sonantized strengthen the terminal glottal release so that it becomes  $\underline{a}$ :  $xek'!aa's$  place of staying away ( $xek'!-as$ );  $xa'xak'!aa'$  to try to stay away ( $xek'!-!a$ )

2. Interconsonantic  $\underline{y}$  >  $\underline{e}$ . Preconsonantic or final  $\epsilon_{\underline{y}}$  >  $\underline{e}$ . Interconsonantic  $\underline{w}$  >  $\underline{o}$ . Preconsonantic or final  $\epsilon_{\underline{w}}$  >  $\underline{o}$ .

3. Many stems are of the type  $c\underline{v}m$ ,  $c\underline{v}n$ ,  $c\underline{v}l$  in which the short vowel is always phonemically to be identified with  $\underline{\epsilon}$ . The  $\underline{v}m$ ,  $\underline{v}n$ ,  $\underline{v}l$  function in these cases in many respects like long vowels. This group and stems with a long vowel in the first syllable have the accent on the first syllable, while all stems of the type  $c\underline{v}c^*$  in which  $c^*$  is not  $\underline{m}$ ,  $\underline{n}$ , or  $\underline{l}$  have the accent on the second syllable. However, the agreement is not consistent. The three consonants  $\underline{m}$ ,  $\underline{n}$ ,  $\underline{l}$ , to which may be added  $\underline{y}$  and  $\underline{w}$  as a related group, take an exceptional position in many ways. Thus  $\underline{y}$  and  $\underline{w}$  before consonants except  $\underline{m}$ ,  $\underline{n}$ ,  $\underline{l}$  become vowels (see next 221); in reduplication this group behaves differently from other consonants (see p. 221).

<sup>8</sup>Indicated by  $-!$  preceding the suffix.

<sup>9</sup>Indicated by  $=$  preceding the suffix.

RELATION BETWEEN  $\underline{y}$  AND  $\underline{e}$ ,  $\underline{w}$  AND  $\underline{o}$ 

Comparison with Bella Bella indicates that in many cases the consonantic forms are the original ones, but it is unlikely that every  $\underline{e}$  or  $\underline{o}$  goes back to a consonantic  $\underline{y}$  or  $\underline{w}$ .

1. In preconsonantic position (except when followed by syllabic  $\epsilon_{\underline{m}}$ ,  $\epsilon_{\underline{n}}$ ,  $\epsilon_{\underline{l}}$ )  $\underline{y}$  changes to  $\underline{e}$ ,  $\underline{w}$  to  $\underline{o}$ :  $t!_{\epsilon}l_{\epsilon}\underline{\ddot{e}}'dzo$  <  $t!_{\epsilon}l_{\epsilon}y=dzo$  <  $t!_{\epsilon}l_{\epsilon}s=dzo$  board on which fish are sliced R 225.4;  $de_{\epsilon}n_{\epsilon}'dzo$  <  $de_{\epsilon}ny=dzo$  <  $de_{\epsilon}ns=dzo$  flat cedar bark R 143.10;  $de_{\epsilon}'g_{\epsilon}m_{\epsilon}y$  <  $de_{\epsilon}y-g_{\epsilon}m=(a)y$  towel, lit. face wiper;  $p!_{\epsilon}k^u$  <  $p!_{\epsilon}y=k^u$  <  $p!_{\epsilon}s=k^u$  a potlatch given.

On the other hand  $g_{\epsilon}w_{\epsilon}g_{\epsilon}w_{\epsilon}'m_{\epsilon}y_{\epsilon}m$  <  $g_{\epsilon}w_{\epsilon}m_{\epsilon}-!_{\epsilon}m$  real ochre R 624.14

$l_{\epsilon}m_{\epsilon}o'_{\epsilon}s$  <  $l_{\epsilon}mw-!s$  <  $l_{\epsilon}mx^u-!s$  dry on ground;  $s_{\epsilon}o'_{\epsilon}z_{\epsilon}a$  <  $s_{\epsilon}ew_{\epsilon}z_{\epsilon}a$  (see  $s_{\epsilon}ew_{\epsilon}l_{\epsilon}k^u$  <  $s_{\epsilon}ew_{\epsilon}l_{\epsilon}k^u$ ) to be twilled;  $\epsilon_{\epsilon}n_{\epsilon}o'_{\epsilon}x^{\epsilon}wid$  <  $\epsilon_{\epsilon}new-x^{\epsilon}id$  to feign a motion;  $\epsilon_{\epsilon}o'_{\epsilon}be^{\epsilon}$  <  $\epsilon_{\epsilon}aw-be^{\epsilon}$  point.

Also:  $t!_{\epsilon}ew_{\epsilon}'k^u$  <  $t!_{\epsilon}ewy=k^u$  <  $t!_{\epsilon}ews=k^u$  <  $t!_{\epsilon}os=k^u$  cut;  $new_{\epsilon}l_{\epsilon}'z$  <  $newy=iz$  <  $news=iz$  <  $nos=iz$  house myth.

2. When preceded by a long vowel, and followed by a consonant (except  $\underline{m}$ ,  $\underline{n}$ ,  $\underline{l}$ )  $\underline{y}$  and  $\underline{w}$ , generally originating from transformed  $\underline{s}$  and  $\underline{x}^u$ , undergo the following transformation:

$\underline{ay}$  >  $\underline{\ddot{a}}$        $\underline{ey}$  (not found)       $\underline{oy}$  >  $\underline{ew}$   
 $\underline{aw}$  >  $\underline{\ddot{a}}$        $\underline{ew}$  >  $\underline{eyo}$        $\underline{ow}$  >  $\underline{o}$

$q_{\epsilon}'_{\epsilon}nakw_{\epsilon}la$  <  $q_{\epsilon}y-^{\epsilon}nakw_{\epsilon}la$  <  $q_{\epsilon}s-^{\epsilon}nakw_{\epsilon}la$  to walk along;  $t!_{\epsilon}x^{\epsilon}id$  <  $t!_{\epsilon}ay-x^{\epsilon}id$  to be out of sight by hiding;  $gw_{\epsilon}z$  <  $gwas=z$  chapped.

$l_{\epsilon}a'dzod$  <  $law=dzod$  <  $l_{\epsilon}ax^u=dzod$  person stands on flat;  $kw_{\epsilon}'s$  <  $kwaw-!s$  <  $kwax^u-!s$  hole in ground.

$p!_{\epsilon}y_{\epsilon}o'z$  <  $p!_{\epsilon}w=z$  <  $p!_{\epsilon}x^u=z$  felt;  $g_{\epsilon}y_{\epsilon}o'z$  <  $g_{\epsilon}w=z$  <  $g_{\epsilon}x^u=z$  hung up;  $de_{\epsilon}y_{\epsilon}o'z$  <  $de_{\epsilon}w=dzo$  <  $de_{\epsilon}x^u=dzo$  cedarbark mat;  $\epsilon_{\epsilon}ay_{\epsilon}o'z$  <  $\epsilon_{\epsilon}ew=z$  <  $\epsilon_{\epsilon}ax^u=z$  <  $\epsilon_{\epsilon}ax^u=z$  desired.

Irregular is  $\epsilon_{\epsilon}a_{\epsilon}l_{\epsilon}o'dze_{\epsilon}we^{\epsilon}$  <  $\epsilon_{\epsilon}a_{\epsilon}l_{\epsilon}w=dzo=e^{\epsilon}$  <  $\epsilon_{\epsilon}a_{\epsilon}l_{\epsilon}o'x^{\epsilon}=dzo=e^{\epsilon}$  sea hunter on flat (i.e. in sky, Orion)

$t!_{\epsilon}ew_{\epsilon}'k^u$  <  $t!_{\epsilon}ewy=k^u$  <  $t!_{\epsilon}os=k^u$  cut;  
 $ts!_{\epsilon}ew_{\epsilon}'k^u$  <  $ts!_{\epsilon}ewy=k^u$  <  $ts!_{\epsilon}os=k^u$  (roots) dug up  
 $ts!_{\epsilon}o'dzo$  <  $ts!_{\epsilon}ow=dzo$  <  $ts!_{\epsilon}ox^u=dzo$  wash-board

Quite isolated is  $\epsilon_{\epsilon}o_{\epsilon}da'q$  <  $\epsilon_{\epsilon}wed-!q$  cold inside

3. Terminal  $\underline{ew}$  changes to  $\underline{o}$ , also when followed by a glottal stop (or vice versa in case the terminal sound should be by origin vocalic):  $b_{\epsilon}k'_{\epsilon}o'$  to borrow a canoe,  $b_{\epsilon}k'_{\epsilon}ew_{\epsilon}'n$  I---;  $l_{\epsilon}o_{\epsilon}$  and,  $l_{\epsilon}ew_{\epsilon}'$  and the;  $\epsilon_{\epsilon}n_{\epsilon}'x^{\epsilon}so^{\epsilon}$  he was told,  $\epsilon_{\epsilon}n_{\epsilon}'x^{\epsilon}se^{\epsilon}wen$  I was told

4. Terminal  $\underline{y}$  changes to  $\underline{e}$ :  $n_{\epsilon}a'nax_{\epsilon}me^{\epsilon}$  to answer,  $n_{\epsilon}a'nax_{\epsilon}me^{\epsilon}yen$  I---

5.  $\underline{ey}$  and  $\underline{ew}$  before syllabic  $\underline{m}$ ,  $\underline{n}$ ,  $\underline{l}$  do not change:  $ts_{\epsilon}ey_{\epsilon}'n$  I draw water;  $g_{\epsilon}y_{\epsilon}ns_{\epsilon}la$  to be under water a long time;  $ts_{\epsilon}ey_{\epsilon}'lg_{\epsilon}'s$  water carrier;  $b_{\epsilon}we'nl_{\epsilon}as$  I leave him;  $y_{\epsilon}ewe'nx$  windy season.

6. Before all other consonants ey becomes ē, ew becomes ō: dē'x'ēid < dēy-x'id to wipe; q!ē'neṃ < q!ēy-neṃ many; k'!ēk<sup>u</sup> < k'!ēy=k<sup>u</sup> carved; yō'x'ēwid < yew-x'ēid wind blows; p!ō'k!wēn < p!ēw-k'!ēn with white spots on body; ēō'beē < ēāw-beē point.

7. Preceding a, ey contracts with it to ā, ew to ā: tsā < tsey-a to draw water; ē'nā'za < ēney-a to string up (fish, etc.) ē'a'lā < ēā'ley-a to search.

When, for other reasons the e of ey is expanded to a the contraction does not occur: tsā'ēyas < tsey=as place of drawing water; dā'yaxstend < dēy=axstend to wipe mouth.

ēā'xa < ēāw-axa right down; yā'la < yew-ala wind; pā'la < pēw-ala hungry; ts!ā < ts!ēw-a to give.

8. Preceding ē, ey and ew behave irregularly. When unaccented they often remain unchanged.

tsēyē'k I draw water (tsey-); ā'leye he searches (ēā'ley-).

yē'wī'l < yew=ī'l wind blows into; ē'mē'wī's < ēmew=is pile on beach.

In other cases unaccented ey changes to ā, ew to āw.

wā'ī'z < wey-īl to fail to reach floor; g'āi'z < g'ey=īl to be on floor; gāō's < g'ey=is to be a long time on beach; gwāē'xst < gwey-ēxst to desire thus; q!ēq!āē'qēza < q!ēq!ēy-ēqēla to have much to think about.

q!awī's < q!ēw=is puddle on beach; ēā'wī'nagwis country; ēā'wī'z by itself in house; g'ī'gāmēye < g'ī'gāmey-ēē chief.

When accented ey is sometimes contracted with e to form ā, ew with e to form ā: k'!ā'ēstend < k'!ēy=eēstend to carve around something; ē'nā'g'ēē < ēney=eg'ēē strung on back; gwā'sta < gwey < eēsta to turn that way.

sāeneē < sēy!eneē the putting up of a roof, retains the ē of -!ēnē. bek'ā'ek' to loan canoe (bek'ēw-); k!wadzā'ēye < k!wa-dzēw-ēē to sit on flat thing.

When for other reasons ey or ew are expanded to āy or āw these contractions do not occur: gā'yī'ēlāla for a long time here and there, now and then.

9. Preceding o both ey and ew remain unchanged.

weyō'l < wey-ōl to fail to obtain; gēyō'z long ago.

ē'newō'x he feigns an action; ē'nē'x'sē'wōx<sup>u</sup> he is told.

10. A number of suffixes have forms with initial ēwe or ō. These are:

-ot, -ēwet fellow                      -ol, -ēwel past

and the negating:

-oqo, -ēweqā out from among      -q among  
-oltā, -ēwēltā out of canoe      ---  
-olt!ā, -ēwēlt!ā out of woods      ---

-osdes, -ēwesdes up the beach      < ēsta=es (?)  
-osta, -ēwēsta out of water      -ēsta in water  
-olt!ā, -ēwēlt!ā out of inside      -ts!ā inside

All stems ending in m, n, l, y and vowels take -o, with accent on o in cvc stems. Otherwise the main stress seems to be on the first syllable:

kwēlo't to lie down with (kwēl-); gēyō'z long ago C II 60.20 (gēy-); hāno'zts!od to take a vessel out of (han-); ē'wī'ēlozt!ā all out of woods III 27.12; 42.34; (ēwī'ēl-); lā'qā to go out of hole C II 432.31 (la-); ts!ēmō'qa to point out of hole (ts!ēm-); ts!ē'moga to melt in a hole (ts!ē'm-); mē'ēlo'sdesēla to go up from beach with light (mē'ēl-).

Exceptional is ō'xlosdes to carry on back up from beach X 163.17.

Stems ending in stops and fricatives take -ēwe: ō'mpēwēz past father; ā'sēwēz your past father III 142.16, 20 (ās-) qā'sēwet walking fellow (qas-); l!ēp'ēwēzts!ā to climb out of (l!ēp-); dēx'ēwēzts!ā'zīz to jump out of woods (dēx<sup>u</sup>-); āx'wēsta'la to take out of water R 657.34; t!ē'p'wēsta to step out of water; ax'ēwego'd to take out of hole C II 40.28 (also ax'ēaqod); q!ō'z'ēwēqā water wells up--- (also q!ō'z'ēqā); dā'sdesa to take up from beach (da-). x'ēlx'i'toiz the late x'ēlx'it; si'widoz the late Si'wid.

q!ap!ē'x'ēidot C III 348.10; k'!olot!oiz dead porpoise (k'!olot!-) ya'x'k'!oiz!āla to hop on one foot out of woods (ya'x'k'!ā); ba'bēbak!wot R 1014.58 fellow warrior; lā'xwēlap!ōt beloved friend III 267.37.

Irregular are ē'tēwēdes again up the beach; mō'gwat'wēz past seal.

There are irregularities in respect to k', k<sup>u</sup>, q, l, the tendency being to replace these with spirants followed by -ēwe. Usage is individually and locally quite irregular: dēx'ēwē't fellow men CX 179.6; III 50.23 (bek<sup>u</sup>-); g'x'ēwē't fellow wife (gēk<sup>u</sup>-); g'ī'xwēt fellow chiefs C 26:102.1 (g'iq-); ts!ēdā'x'wēz late woman (ts!ēdā'q); kwe'k'wēz and also kwe'x'wēz late eagle (kwēk<sup>u</sup>); ē'yē'lk'wēz'tod or ē'yēlx'wēz'tod to carry out of canoe (ē'yēlk<sup>u</sup>-); ts!ēx'wēzts!ā to throw out (ts!ēq-); lēx'wēz't!ēwak<sup>u</sup> hollow inside CX 277.12 (lēq-); k'!ō'z'ēwet fishing fellow (k'!ā-).

#### CONTRACTION OF VOWELS

No general rules can be given in regard to contraction of vowels because these depend upon morphological conditions under which vowels come into contact. We have, for instance, lā'g'āās place of arrival, with three uncontracted vowels a in succession; on the other hand the suffix a is contracted with a terminal a and forms ā: ēō'ēmā-a > ēō'ēmā that chief-tainness; with terminal o it forms ā: lā'wayo-a

> l̄ā'wayā that salmon weir. Monosyllabic words ending in a contract with following e and form ā: l̄ā'īlā < la-i<sup>e</sup>lā, to go about; with following o they form ā: l̄ā'sdes < la-osdes to go up from beach.

The contractions of y and w, respectively ey and ew have been discussed in the previous section.

#### PROGRESSIVE CHANGES

All k sounds following o, u are palatalized.

l̄ā'wayugwila < l̄ā'wayu-g'ila to make a salmon-weir

ō'gwiwe<sup>e</sup> < o-g'iw-e<sup>e</sup> forehead

ō'kwāx'e<sup>e</sup> < o-k'āx'-e<sup>e</sup> knee

ō'k'welge<sup>e</sup> < o-k'!elq=e<sup>e</sup> front of body

bō'x'wid < bo-x'ēid to leave

ē mā'xwēlayugwa < ē māx<sup>u</sup>-la-ayu-ga (a name)

yū'xwa < yū-xa to say "yu"

ts!ō'gwe<sup>e</sup> < ts!ew-q=e<sup>e</sup> given among

other things

The labialization occurs also when the k sound is followed by another consonant:

yū'x<sup>u</sup>sā < yu-x'sā it is entirely this

ō'x<sup>u</sup>siwe<sup>e</sup> < o-x'siw-e<sup>e</sup> mouth of river

ō'x<sup>u</sup>lā < o-xlā head part

bō'x<sup>u</sup>le<sup>e</sup> < bō-xle to leave a miserable person, in a miserable condition.

A labialized k sound does not affect a following k sound:

yō'k'weg'āx̄ < yōk<sup>u</sup>-!k'!ēg'āx̄ noise of wind

mēgwēg'ī't!id < mēg<sup>u</sup>-g'it-x'ēid to put things on body.

We find however also:

dā'dox<sup>u</sup>kwinala < dā'dox<sup>u</sup>-k'in-a-la to see accidentally.

We have recorded as equally admissible g'ō'x<sup>u</sup>g'ēn and g'ō'x<sup>u</sup>gwēn, g'ō'x<sup>u</sup>g'āēn and g'ō'x<sup>u</sup>gwāēn.

Although the labialization under all the conditions described in this chapter occurs fairly regularly, cases occur both in slow and rapid speech in which it is omitted.<sup>10</sup>

While the rule just described is founded entirely on the phonetic influence of one sound upon the following one, we have also a class of phonetic changes which are not mechanical, but due to grammatical causes, and which, for this reason, cannot be brought under

<sup>10</sup>The labialization of k sounds after o and u is a widely spread phenomenon on the Pacific coast. In Chinook when a u vowel precedes a k sound and the latter is either followed by a vowel or is a prefix, it must be labialized or followed by a vowel of the u group (HAIL I, 569). In Tlingit k sounds preceded by o or u change the following i and e to o and u (ibid. p. 165). A similar type of labialization of k after a, o, and u occurs in Kutenai (IJAL IV, p. 9).

general phonetic rules.

Where a word ending in a consonant, not m, n, or l, is followed by a suffix beginning with another consonant the initial consonant of the suffix is often elided although the combination may be admissible according to the general phonetic laws. Thus the compound of the stem gas- to walk and the suffix -x'ēid to begin would result in the phonetically admissible combination qā'sx'ēid which we find in the word ēwā'lasx'ā lynx. Nevertheless, the resulting form is qā'sēid. The elision of the initial sound of the suffix is, therefore, not entirely due to phonetic causes. It is quite likely that the suffixes in question are compounds of two suffixes, the first of them being dropped.

Another progressive change which is not entirely due to phonetic causes is the transformation of ā into wā after n and vowels, which occurs in two suffixes: t!ō'p-ā to step off, sōp-āla to chop off; but lā'-wā to be off (the right line), dā'-wā to fail to hold.--k'at-āla a long thing stationary on water, mēx-ā'la canoe adrift on water; but hān-wāla hollow thing is on water, g'ī-wāla it is on water.

#### REGRESSIVE CHANGES

There is only one purely mechanical regressive change. The labialized palatals g<sup>u</sup>, k<sup>u</sup>, x<sup>u</sup> preceding an o, u become anterior palatals; g<sup>u</sup>, q<sup>u</sup>, x<sup>u</sup> under the same conditions lose their labialization. From the stem q!ak<sup>u</sup>- is formed q!ā'k'o; ēmēk<sup>u</sup>- a round thing is somewhere, forms ēmēk'ā'la island (round thing on water); pēx<sup>u</sup>- to float, pēx'ā'la to float on water. From the stem kwak<sup>u</sup>- is formed the tribal name Kwā'g'u (Bella Bella Kwagō'x̄).

k'ō'go<sup>e</sup>yo broken in middle (k'ōq<sup>u</sup>); q!ō'qostā<sup>e</sup>na-kwēla tide stops running up (q!ōq<sup>u</sup>); lēlqō'x'ewid to put fire together R 198.3 (lēq<sup>u</sup>); lē'xod to pull out long thing R 77.67 (lēx<sup>u</sup>).

The labialized suffix -k<sup>u</sup> has the same effect:

qēg'ē'k<sup>u</sup> fitted together (qēk<sup>u</sup>-)

lē'ngēk<sup>u</sup> broken up (fish) R 400.19;

ēmalō'gēk<sup>u</sup> chewed (ēmalō'q<sup>u</sup>-) R 144.28; l!ā'gēk<sup>u</sup>

made red (l!ā'q<sup>u</sup>-); lō<sup>e</sup>xēkwē<sup>e</sup>la rocky place

(lōx<sup>u</sup>-) C 26:27.47.

ā and a before mc\* and before terminal m.

When a stem of the form cām or ca<sup>e</sup>m is followed by another consonant, the ā is shortened and becomes ā̄: g'ā'la first; g'ē'ldzagem what is first uttered; g'ē'lg'a<sup>e</sup>lis first in world; ēnā'la day, ēnē'ldze<sup>e</sup> south; ēwā'na to change, ēwē'nx'ēid to begin to change; ēwā'ēla to stop, ēwē'ēnā'kwēla to stop gradually; l!ā'la to spout (whale), l!ē'ē'lnakwēla to go along spouting.

There are very few words of the type cām and ca<sup>e</sup>m; lām post, is often pronounced lēm. Verbs ending in ā like mēx'ā', to strike with fist, with terminal -n change ā to ē: mēx'ē'n

I strike; la to go, lɛn I go<sup>11</sup>; n̄n ceremonial term for grizzly bear, n̄nsgɛm bearskin blanket.

Other long vowels are not affected except insofar as they are related to ɛy and ɛw as discussed in p. 209. gō<sup>s</sup>la, gō<sup>s</sup>lx<sup>s</sup>id to push sideways with hand or instrument; q!ō<sup>s</sup>maʒa rich, q!ē<sup>s</sup>q!omx<sup>s</sup>lɛn wealth R 1319.12; x<sup>s</sup>ōms head of land animal.

The suffix -ɛla takes the form -ala after all stems ending in voiced or glottalized consonants (see p. 229).

k!<sup>s</sup>ō<sup>s</sup>tɛla salmon; mɛx<sup>s</sup>ɛla<sup>s</sup> to drum  
pɛnā<sup>s</sup>la to pour into, āxewā<sup>s</sup>la to have on forehead; lā<sup>s</sup>labɛndala to go from end to end; n̄nxs<sup>s</sup>ā<sup>s</sup>la to take kettle off from fire; lā<sup>s</sup>lāap!<sup>s</sup>ā<sup>s</sup>la to stand behind neck; dō<sup>s</sup>gwɛt!<sup>s</sup>ā<sup>s</sup>la to look seaward.

Also when the ɛ carries the accent: āxlā<sup>s</sup>la to put on fire; hē<sup>s</sup>stā<sup>s</sup>la straight into water.

#### ASSIMILATION OF CONSONANTS

There is a marked tendency to reverse the positions of n and l when these are in close contact. When the attention of the speaker is called to the metathesis, he will recognize it, perhaps correct himself once, only to repeat the metathesis later on. Examples are g<sup>s</sup>ā<sup>s</sup>g<sup>s</sup>ɛlnɛm for g<sup>s</sup>ā<sup>s</sup>g<sup>s</sup>ɛnlɛm little child (g<sup>s</sup>ɛnl<sup>s</sup>-); g<sup>s</sup>ɛ<sup>s</sup>lnɛk<sup>s</sup>ɛ<sup>s</sup>la for g<sup>s</sup>ɛ<sup>s</sup>nlɛk<sup>s</sup>ɛ<sup>s</sup>la to ask a child to follow (g<sup>s</sup>ɛnl<sup>s</sup>=ek<sup>s</sup>-ɛla) M 712.2 (poetry); g<sup>s</sup>ɛ<sup>s</sup>nliɔ for g<sup>s</sup>ɛ<sup>s</sup>lniɔ (g<sup>s</sup>ɛlx<sup>s</sup>=iɔ) leaky on floor; mɛ<sup>s</sup>ɔned (name of a man) for mɛ<sup>s</sup>nled having fat food (mɛ<sup>s</sup>nɔ-); Kos, in Kwa contracted to mɛ<sup>s</sup>led; dɛ<sup>s</sup>nlak<sup>s</sup> for dɛ<sup>s</sup>lnak<sup>s</sup> getting damp easily for dɛl<sup>s</sup>nak<sup>s</sup> (dɛlx<sup>s</sup>-).

There is also a tendency to assimilate l to an n of the following syllable: nā<sup>s</sup>ɛnak<sup>u</sup> from lā<sup>s</sup>ɛnak<sup>u</sup> (BB) to go home; lā<sup>s</sup>ɛnenox<sup>u</sup> < lā<sup>s</sup>ɛlenox<sup>u</sup> C II 322.6.

The sequence -sx<sup>s</sup> is also subject to metathesis: gax<sup>s</sup>sa for gā<sup>s</sup>sx<sup>s</sup>a to carry with fingers. In other words of the same type this transposition has not been found: kwɛsx<sup>s</sup>a<sup>s</sup> to splash. Compare also Kwa -x<sup>s</sup>ts!ana, BB -sk<sup>s</sup>!ana which represents the same type of metathesis.

#### SOUND SYMBOLISM

There is no extended, living sound symbolism such as is found in Chinook and in Sahaptin dialects, but a fair number of examples have been found which indicate that there is in some cases a feeling for relationship of mean-

ing corresponding to a relation of sounds. The most striking cases are those of glottalized and unglottalized consonants.

pɛkwa<sup>s</sup> gulls gather and dive for herrings  
p!<sup>s</sup>ɛkwa<sup>s</sup> fish gather

tɛ<sup>s</sup>msa<sup>s</sup>, tɛ<sup>s</sup>msɛla<sup>s</sup> to vibrate  
t!<sup>s</sup>ɛ<sup>s</sup>msa<sup>s</sup> to beat time with baton

tɛ<sup>s</sup>k<sup>s</sup>a<sup>s</sup> to flip, bounce  
tɛ<sup>s</sup>k<sup>s</sup>!<sup>s</sup>a<sup>s</sup> springy

dzɛta<sup>s</sup> to pull apart with hands  
ts!<sup>s</sup>ɛta<sup>s</sup> a board cracks

tō<sup>s</sup>pa to put specks on  
t!<sup>s</sup>ō<sup>s</sup>pa flea bites

k<sup>s</sup>ɛpa<sup>s</sup> to embrace  
k!<sup>s</sup>ɛpa<sup>s</sup> to take with tongs

k<sup>s</sup>ɛsa<sup>s</sup> to motion sideways, also motions in gambling

k!<sup>s</sup>ɛsa<sup>s</sup> to slacken

k<sup>s</sup>ɛ<sup>s</sup>xa<sup>s</sup> to scrape  
(k<sup>s</sup>ō<sup>s</sup>xwa<sup>s</sup> to scrape hemlock bark, to scrape for cockles)  
k!<sup>s</sup>ɛ<sup>s</sup>xa<sup>s</sup> to scrape a hide

kwɛk<sup>s</sup>a<sup>s</sup> to burst (like berries)  
(kwɛqa<sup>s</sup> wood splits)  
k!<sup>s</sup>wɛk<sup>s</sup>a<sup>s</sup> to squeak (like loose joints)

k<sup>s</sup>ɛ<sup>s</sup>m<sup>s</sup>ya<sup>s</sup> ends of circle meet  
k!<sup>s</sup>ɛ<sup>s</sup>m<sup>s</sup>ya<sup>s</sup> to lock in, ends of bent box meet

qɛ<sup>s</sup>mkwa<sup>s</sup> to clap together  
q!<sup>s</sup>ɛ<sup>s</sup>mkwa<sup>s</sup> to bite brittle things

qwā<sup>s</sup>qa<sup>s</sup> to split open in butchering  
q!<sup>s</sup>wā<sup>s</sup>qa<sup>s</sup> to split belly lengthwise

qwɛpa<sup>s</sup> to daub, powder  
q!<sup>s</sup>wɛpa<sup>s</sup> to scatter small things

qɛ<sup>s</sup>lsa<sup>s</sup> to smear, paint  
q!<sup>s</sup>ɛ<sup>s</sup>lsa<sup>s</sup> to be oily (anchor is dragging)

tɛ<sup>s</sup>sa<sup>s</sup> rough  
ts!<sup>s</sup>ɛ<sup>s</sup>sa<sup>s</sup> to tangle up, roast clams

k<sup>s</sup>ɛ<sup>s</sup>mta<sup>s</sup> to strip off, clean berries  
k!<sup>s</sup>ɛ<sup>s</sup>mta<sup>s</sup>, qɛ<sup>s</sup>mta<sup>s</sup> to notch with knife

qɛ<sup>s</sup>sa<sup>s</sup> to coil up  
q!<sup>s</sup>ɛ<sup>s</sup>sa<sup>s</sup> to fit in a notch, to eat meat

<sup>11</sup> See under pronouns.



## PHONETIC CHARACTER OF STEMS

The majority of stems are monosyllabic. The initial sound is a single consonant or a preglottalized vowel. As mentioned before, consonantic clusters do not occur in initial position. Monosyllabic stems are of the types cvc, c̄vcc, c̄vc, c̄vcc. The first consonant may be absent, but this group does not constitute a separate class. A limited number of stems of the type cv are found. Some of these are reducible to a single consonant, others belong to the types c̄vy or c̄vw.

Stems of the types c̄vc and c̄vc may have any one of the consonants in either position. In by far the majority of cases the terminal consonant is voiceless. Only 18 stems with terminal voiced consonants and only 37 with terminal glottalized consonant occur in our lists.

All classes of stems of the type c̄vcc contain stems which under certain conditions have a vowel appearing between the two terminal consonants, most frequently when the two consonants would be terminal, or followed by the suffix -a or -ela (see p. 223).

In most stems of the type c̄vcc the consonant following the vowel is m, n, or l. The vowel is so weak that we might as well consider the m, n, and l as syllabic, so that the stem might be considered as of the type consonant, syllabic m, n, or l, consonant. In our material 30 per cent of these stems have the type c̄vmc, 27 per cent c̄vnc, 36 per cent c̄vlc, while only 7 per cent have other consonants following the short vowel.

Notwithstanding the close relations between m, n, l and vowels to be more fully discussed later, these syllabic consonants cannot be entirely identified with vowels. The accent rules would require that in stems of the type: consonant, syllabic m, n, l, the syllabic m, n, l must be considered short. Whenever followed by another consonant, it would have to be considered long. Glottalized ᵐm, ᵐn, ᵐl when occurring in the stem are never syllabic.

Stems may be grouped in a number of classes in each of which the suffix is attached to the stem according to definite rules dependent upon the suffixes. The accent and type of reduplication used with the stems are also dependent upon these classes. The sub-classes given here are determined partly by the general phonetic rules given before, partly by the methods of reduplication (see pp. 220-223).

We use v to indicate ᵛ which, under certain conditions, changes to a (see p. 222); c\* a voiceless stop or spirant; m indicates any consonant of the group m, n, l; y represents ᵛ and w; b a sonant stop; ᵑ a glottalized consonant; c any consonant.

## Types of Stems

A <u>c̄vc</u>	C <u>c̄vmc</u>
A 1 <u>c̄vc*</u>	C 1 <u>c̄vmc*</u>
A 2 <u>c̄v<sup>12</sup></u>	C 2 <u>(c̄vmc*)</u>
A 3 <u>c̄v<sup>12</sup></u>	C 3 <u>c̄vmy</u>
A 4 <u>c̄vb</u>	C 4 <u>c̄vmb</u>
A 5 <u>c̄v<sup>ᵛ</sup>c*</u>	C 5 <u>c̄vm<sup>ᵛ</sup>c*</u>
A 6 <u>c̄v<sup>ᵑ</sup>m</u>	C 6 <u>c̄vm<sup>ᵑ</sup>m</u>
B <u>c̄vc</u> , <u>c̄vm</u> , <u>c̄vy</u>	D <u>c̄vc*c*</u> , <u>c̄vc*c*</u>
B 1 <u>c̄vc*</u>	D 1 <u>c̄v surd c*</u>
B 2 <u>c̄vm</u> , <u>c̄vm<sup>12</sup></u>	D 2 <u>c̄v sonant c*</u>
B 3 <u>c̄vy</u> , <u>c̄vy<sup>12</sup></u>	D 3 <u>c̄v surd c*</u>
B 4 <u>c̄vb</u>	D 4 <u>c̄v sonant c*</u>
B 5 <u>c̄v<sup>ᵛ</sup>c</u>	D 5 <u>c̄v glottal c*</u>
B 6 <u>c̄v<sup>ᵑ</sup>m</u>	
	E <u>cv</u>

## F Special forms

## G Complete words

Modifications of initial consonants Iy, Iy, Iw, Im, In, Iy, Iw, Ism, Isn, Iḵ, Il, Is. The classes c̄vc\*, c̄vc\*, c̄vmc\* (A1, B1, C1) must be subdivided as indicated in the following lists.

A c̄vc

A 1 a Last consonant a surd stop: yēp- to be arranged in a row; sek'- to throw a long thing point forward; p!ēl- to fly.

A 1 b Last consonant a spirant:

c̄vx; c̄vḵ: bēx- to cut; mēx- open vessels are somewhere; ᵑwēḵ- in vain; q!ēḵ- to carry in arms.

c̄vs; c̄vx'; c̄vx<sup>u</sup>; c̄vx<sup>u</sup>: on account of the vocalization of the weakened or hardened consonants in interconsonantic position these stems appear often markedly altered: pēs- to soak; yēx'- fast; dēx<sup>u</sup> to jump.

A 4 Last consonant a voiced stop: ᵑwed- cold.

A 5 Last consonant glottalized stop: xēk'!- to stay for good.

A 6 Last consonant glottalized m: bēᵑn- underneath; mēᵑl- to go hunting with torches; ts!ēᵑm- to melt away; x!ēᵑm- to snare.

B c̄vc

B 1 a c̄vc\*: wāt- to lead; t!ēp- to step; māk'- next to; k'ōt- to guess.

B 1 b c̄vx; c̄vḵ: nēx- to pull; k'ē'x- to scrape; gā'x- to stand with spread legs.

c̄vs; c̄vx'; c̄vx<sup>u</sup>; c̄vx<sup>u</sup>: hō's- to count; nās- to cover; sēx'- to peel sprouts; mē'x'-

<sup>12</sup>These two groups behave in the same way and might be combined. We have kept them apart, because y and w contract with adjoining vowels (see p. 212).

to light fire; kwax<sup>u</sup>- hole; ɣax<sup>u</sup>- difficult; səx<sup>u</sup>- to paddle; ɫax<sup>u</sup>- to stand.

B 2 a cvm; last vowel and consonant not am, an, or al: qom rich; gən- to threaten.

B 2 b Ending in am, an, or al: wan- to change.

B 2 c cvm; last consonant m, n, or l: ts!em- to point with finger; hən- a hollow vessel is somewhere; bən- to fit; smel- white.

B 3 a cvy: no example found.

B 3 b cvy: last consonant y or w: tsey- to draw water; gey- a long time; gwey- thus; q!ey- many; smew- to pile up; tey- to go; ts!ew- to give.

B 4 cvb: syug<sup>u</sup>- to rain.

B 5 cvc: səq!- to eat dry herring spawn.

B 6 cvc: swəs!- to stop; xən- naked; k!əy- to drive away.

### C cvmc

C 1 cvmc\*: As stated before, 93 per cent of the stems of the type cvc belong to this class. For forms cvmc see p. 222.

C 1 a cvmc\*: last consonant a surd stop. gelp- to grasp; yent- to gnaw; temk<sup>u</sup>- to chop; k!emq- to meet.

C 1 b last consonant a spirant.

cvmx; cvmk: dɛnx- to sing; bɛlx- to spread loose objects; qɛlx- to lay eggs; g!ɛnɫ- child; k!wemɫ- to draw back; g!ɛmɫ- to fish with halibut hook. See also xwɛldzos Hexagrammus superciliaris under the doubtful suffix -os.

cvm̄s; cvm̄x\*; cvm̄x<sup>u</sup>; cvm̄x<sup>u</sup>; terminal consonant vocalized before weakening or hardening suffixes: x!ɛns- to breathe through nose; yɛls- to rub; g!ɛlx- to leak; ts!ɛlx- fish go up river; dzelx<sup>u</sup>- to run; qemx<sup>u</sup>- down of bird.

C 2 cvmc: No examples have been found except those in which the terminal consonants are separated by a vowel: so'mata pain ceases; gwa'ɛnag to bend over; gwa'lats!a abalone; kwa'ɛlasa to make drowsy; q!a'lat(ɛla) mind; q!wɛ'nalɛla to move about; no'mas old man.

See also the doubtful suffix -os.

C 4 cvm̄b: mɛndz- to split wood for kindling; mɛng<sup>a</sup> to caulk canoe.

C 5 cvm̄c: yɛnk!- to throw with sling stones.

C 6 cvm̄c: g!ɛmx- lest side; kwem<sup>ɛl</sup>- to scorch.

### D cvc\*c\* (probably containing a suffix)

D 1 cvc\*c\* when the first consonant following the vowel is surd:

te!ts!a' to warm oneself; sɛxuts!a' to be willing; max<sup>uts</sup>!a' to be ashamed; ts!ɛtx'a' to squirt; k!wɛsx'a' to splash; ts!ɛk'a' to be surprised; g!sx'a' to carry on fingers; g!ɛtexwa' to tickle; also g!ɛts!ɛm knife of mussel shell.

In some of these verbs the suffix -x'a is unchangeable and not affected by softening and hardening suffixes: ts!ɛtx!aa's place of squirting R 1270.18. Suffixes with unstable initial also do not lose it when following -x'a: ts!ɛtx!ex!ɛi'd to begin to squirt R 1270.10; ts!ɛtx!eg!usta to squirt up R 1270.17; kwɛsx!-ek!a'la sound of splashing; g!sx!ex!ɛi'd to carry on fingers. The Newetee form kwɛsdɛ!lqɛla = kwag!uɫ kwɛsx'a' shows that this -x'a is a suffix. Not all endings -x'a belong to this group, as is indicated by x!ɛdzɛn!ɛna kwɛla to get mouldy, from x!ɛdzɛx'a' (D 2).

The terminals of others are weakened or hardened in the usual way: tsɛ!g!ɛm cause of being startled R 869.1.

Like the type cvmc\* many of these have an accented vowel between the two terminal consonants. While the reconstructed stems of almost all those of the type cvmc\* occur, those of the type cvc\*c\* have not been found:

With a: h!za'g- to pay; te!gwa'g boards supporting house platform; ts!ɛda'g woman; ts!ɛx'a's new; nɛxa'g large goose.

With e: !be'q<sup>u</sup>-gale; h!dze'q<sup>u</sup>- to talk roughly (from has- breath?), yekwi'ɫ parent of twins; swɛsɛ'k- belt; mɛsɛ'q<sup>u</sup> sea-egg.

With o: g!go'q<sup>u</sup> swan.

D 2 Stems of the type cvc\*c\* in which the consonant following the vowel is a sonant or glottalized are in appearance bisyllabic, because the sonants continue their voicing before the terminal consonant and the glottalized consonants seem to require a voiced release before all classes of following consonants. Since phonemically the voicing is part of the sonancy or glottalization the accent is on the completive suffix; if there is none on the terminal voicing:

p!ɛdek'- dark; dzebeq- to fit loosely; qɛgɛta'!a overhanging (see qek<sup>u</sup>- to collapse); x!ɛdzɛx'a' mouldy; ɫɛgɛ'k<sup>u</sup> barbed harpoon point; ɫɛgɛ'k<sup>u</sup> marten; bɛxɔ't torch.

D 3: c̄v surd c\*: while the corresponding class of cvmc\* is entirely missing, the present class is represented by a few examples:

te!ɫx'a to sprinkle (-x'a may be a suffix); ts!ɛ!ta to soak; !a'sx'a indistinct; ya'xk!a, ya'ɫk!a to hop on one foot.

Here we find also a number of words in which the two terminal consonants are separated by a vowel: wa'ɫag- to desire; k!a'saxa white owl; qo'tex'a to return bride price; y!ɫox<sup>u</sup>- to have a sudden quarrel; also: ya'sek<sup>u</sup> tallow.

See also the doubtful suffix -os.

D 4,5 c̄vc\*c\* when the first consonant following the vowel is sonant or glottalized have a vowel between the terminal consonants. The accent is on the first syllable:

dze'dɛxa to spread; dze'd!d<sup>u</sup> milky sea-eggs; tso'dɛxa to get tired by work; yu'dɛx<sup>u</sup> three; ɛa'd!d<sup>u</sup>- to call out loud; ga'dzɛq starfish; qa'bɛx'a heat of fire felt on body; q!o'd!d<sup>u</sup> horned grebe (q!ot-!d<sup>u</sup>?) ba'xwɛs secular;

ha'dzap(a<sup>s</sup>ma) yarrow; q!a'boq rotting olachen after oil has been tried out; go'bet scales; l!a'bat cedar bark basket; me'gwat seal; se'nat plan; l'a'nut wedge (l'a'ta to wedge Kos.); he'nak'a to have as a last resort; k!o'lot! porpoise; ma'ts!āpā to make bundle; se'k!āq-cane; ts!e'q!wēt(ēla) to understand; x'i'ts!-ax'ēla to be spectator; l!e'p!ēq(aža) to turn inside out; l!e'k!wāqa to make very plain; l!o'p!ēk' roots; a'l!ēk'a to swell by soaking (New).

E cv'

The vowel in this group is always a. It is doubtful whether the vowel is part of the stem; da to take; ta to wade; k'a a dish is somewhere; la to go.

## ACCENT

1. When followed by a suffix with initial vowel, words derived from stems of the type A (cvc) and D (cvc\*c\*) and E have the accent on the second or a later syllable; those of the types B and C (cvc and cvmc\*) and D (cvc\*c\*) when followed by a suffix with initial vowel, on the first syllable.

A 1. cvc\*: nepa' to throw a round thing; bexa' to cut.

(A 2. cv̄m: ts!ēma' to point; q!wēla' to live).

(A 3. c̄vy always contracted; tsā < tseyā to draw water; ts!ā < ts!ēwa' to give).

A 4. c̄vb: swēda' it is cold.

A 5. c̄v̄c: xek'!a' to stay away.

A 6. c̄v̄m: ts!ēsma' to melt; hāsma'p to eat.

B. c̄vc\*: qā'sa to walk; snā'la day; ts!ē'kwa bird.

cv̄m and c̄vy which in other respects behave like B follow the pattern of A and have the accent on the second syllable.

C. cv̄mc\*: me'nsa to measure; dē'lx'a damp; te'lgwa soft; ye'nk'!a to throw with sling; me'ndza to make kindling wood.

D. c̄vc\*c\*: ts!ēt'x'a' to squirt; te!ts!a' to warm oneself.

D. c̄vc\*c\* te'lx'a to sprinkle; yā'xk'!a to hop on one foot; dze'dāq<sup>u</sup> milky sea eggs.

E. lāē'l to enter; dāa's place of taking; lāō'x<sup>u</sup> price.

2. Stems of the type A 1 (cvc\*) when followed by an indifferent suffix with initial consonant have the accent on the second syllable. (This rule agrees with that for D 1 (cvc\*c\*) which makes it likely that the last c of that type is a suffix): sāx<sup>u</sup>sō'le (stem sāx<sup>u</sup>-) hellebore.

3. Stems of the type cv̄m retain their accent before suffixes which do not modify the terminal consonant of the stem, and that have no initial stop, except in those cases when a

syllabic m, n, or l forms the initial sound of the suffix: wē'nx'<sup>s</sup>id to drill; mē'lx'<sup>s</sup>id to turn; dze'mbetels to bury in hole in ground; k!ē'nwāla cranky (canoe, lit. loose on water); wē'nbeta to drill a hole into; dē'ng'ustā to pull up; se'nband the whole day; gwe'ng'eliž to try in house; ewe'lg'ila to stop at a point at a distance.

4. All stems of the type c̄vc and c̄vm if followed by a weakening or hardening suffix or one beginning with a glottal stop have the accent on the suffix: g'ēdē'k<sup>u</sup> (g'ēt=k<sup>u</sup>) made up; k!ēdē'k<sup>u</sup> woven; g'ēl=dzō'd to crawl on flat thing (but g'ē'lts!ōd to crawl in a thing); g'ēl'ēna'kwēla to crawl along; dze'm'stō'd to bury at door; mēldzō' white on surface (but mē'lts!a white inside); qēbedzō'd to turn over vessel on flat thing; qen<sup>s</sup>xā'we<sup>s</sup> qex'-!xaw-e<sup>s</sup> neck ring; qenxō'dayu qex'-!xaw-d-ayu wound around neck; k!ēq!wexsde'ndalap!a to stick through at both ends X 164.11; qesē'ye'ndala qes-[g']ē<sup>s</sup>y-nd-a-la to be coiled on top; sa<sup>s</sup>g'ē'k<sup>u</sup> carved; sa<sup>s</sup>gwe'ns meat comes visiting; sa<sup>s</sup>gwe'dzō' carving board.

5. Stems of the type c̄v retain their accent before suffixes with initial consonant: dā'bend to take hold of end; lā'g'iž reason; dā'wāla to take off; k!wa'xlo to sit on top of tree.

6. Trisyllabic words of the type c̄vcv̄ca have equal accent on all syllables. When in terminal position they are accented on the last syllable: smekwēla' moon; ts!ex'ēla' to be sick.

7. All stems with the exception of c̄v̄sy, c̄v̄sm (e), cv̄m<sup>s</sup>m and cv̄m<sup>s</sup>y (d) when containing a glottal stop, followed by a weakening or hardening suffix or when followed by a suffix with initial glottal stop, have the accent on the second syllable: de'stōd to wipe eyes; asxstōd to open door; sep'stēnd to throw into water.

a. Stems ending in a vowel or those inserting a vowel before the suffix followed by a glottal stop have the accent on the second syllable: o'be<sup>s</sup> point, o'ba'<sup>s</sup> plural; o'xlala to carry on back, o<sup>s</sup>xlā'la plural; k!wa<sup>s</sup>xle<sup>s</sup> to sit in rear (but k!wa'xlo to sit on top of a tree); la<sup>s</sup>qa' to go among; swēda'ssta' cold water; qedze'sna'kwēla to coil gradually.

b. Stems of the type cv̄c\*, with short vowel or vowel of medium length when followed by a suffix with vocalic or consonantic initial have the accent on the second syllable: dza<sup>s</sup>χa' heavy swell; k!a<sup>s</sup>χa' to steam; na<sup>s</sup>χa' to dare; k!a<sup>s</sup>x'a' to back up; sa<sup>s</sup>kwa' to butcher; tsa<sup>s</sup>x'a' slippery; da<sup>s</sup>χ'ēla' to laugh; q!a<sup>s</sup>sēla' to take notice.

g'i<sup>s</sup>xā' to put away (but g'i'xa to grind, polish); we<sup>s</sup>xā' to lift; se<sup>s</sup>x'a' to have bowel pains; t!ēkwa' to be curdled.

tso<sup>s</sup>kwa' to have mouth rounded open, with protuded lips.

gēsya' to be across; g'ēswā'la to help; dze'snā' to be loyal to a place or person; mē'sla' to light a torch, fire, by means of a firebrand;

ʒe<sup>s</sup>la' to be dead, to die; q!we<sup>s</sup>la' to be bright; x'e<sup>s</sup>ma' to snare; ts!e<sup>s</sup>ma' to melt away; xe<sup>s</sup>ma'la to stay over night; hã<sup>s</sup>ma'p to eat; q!we<sup>s</sup>lba' to be at an end; sa<sup>s</sup>x<sup>u</sup>x'ã' butcher knife; hã<sup>s</sup>mx<sup>s</sup>i'd to eat.

Also gã<sup>s</sup>x<sup>s</sup>i'd to start early (gã<sup>s</sup>-).

c. c<sup>v</sup>emc stems also have the accent on the second syllable: ge<sup>s</sup>mxã' to use the left hand; kwẽ<sup>s</sup>nxã' clams are spoiled; me<sup>s</sup>lqa' to repair canoe. ã<sup>s</sup>nqa' to put fire among (ã<sup>s</sup>nqa to squeeze); ge<sup>s</sup>lqa' to wipe anus (ge<sup>s</sup>lqa to swim); ha<sup>s</sup>ndzã's han-!s=as place of vessel standing on ground.

d. Stems which have as terminal consonant s<sub>1</sub>, s<sub>y</sub>, or s<sub>w</sub> have the accent on the first syllable:

g'e<sup>s</sup>n<sup>s</sup>wa to add on; k'!e<sup>s</sup>m<sup>s</sup>ya to lock in; k'e<sup>s</sup>m<sup>s</sup>ya ends of circle meet; !e<sup>s</sup>n<sup>s</sup>ya to split edge grain of wood; se<sup>s</sup>l<sup>s</sup>ya to pick out; kwẽ<sup>s</sup>m<sup>s</sup>la to burn.

e. Stems of the types c<sup>v</sup>em and c<sup>v</sup>ey have the accent on the first syllable, like all other cvc stems:

xã<sup>s</sup>ma to weep; swi<sup>s</sup>sla all together; x'i<sup>s</sup>sla to praise; k'ã<sup>s</sup>ya to drive away; t!ã<sup>s</sup>ya to be covered so as to be out of sight; k!wã<sup>s</sup>ya<sup>2</sup>a rather, quite; !ã<sup>s</sup>ya<sup>2</sup>a to be transformed; mõ<sup>s</sup>sla to be grateful; q!õ<sup>s</sup>ya to rub; hã<sup>s</sup>la to inherit.

Also bisyllabic q!ã<sup>s</sup>enã- to soar.

8. A number of stems with terminal m, n or l, most of them in em, en, el, have long ã when followed by a vowel, short vowel e when followed by a suffix beginning with a consonant. These retain the accent on the first syllable.

swã<sup>s</sup>na, swẽ<sup>s</sup>nx<sup>s</sup>id to change (New.); t!ã<sup>s</sup>na, t!e<sup>s</sup>nt!ego near relatives; g'ã<sup>s</sup>la, g'e<sup>s</sup>l<sup>s</sup>em first; swã<sup>s</sup>na<sup>2</sup>a, swẽ<sup>s</sup>ng'e<sup>s</sup>l<sup>s</sup>me<sup>s</sup> poor; !ã<sup>s</sup>la, !e<sup>s</sup>lx<sup>s</sup>id to scoop up; ẽ<sup>s</sup>nã<sup>s</sup>la, ẽ<sup>s</sup>ne<sup>s</sup>ldzẽ<sup>s</sup> up river.

dzã<sup>s</sup>ma, dze<sup>s</sup>mx<sup>s</sup>id to suck (baby); gwã<sup>s</sup>na to test, gwe<sup>s</sup>nx<sup>s</sup>id to try; xã<sup>s</sup>ena, xe<sup>s</sup>nx<sup>s</sup>id to undress; q!wã<sup>s</sup>sla, q!we<sup>s</sup>l<sup>s</sup>x<sup>s</sup>id to burn up; swã<sup>s</sup>sla, swẽ<sup>s</sup>l<sup>s</sup>na<sup>s</sup>kwela to stop; gã<sup>s</sup>xa, ge<sup>s</sup>lx<sup>s</sup>id to burn up; ã<sup>s</sup>ma, ã<sup>s</sup>emx<sup>s</sup>id to be indistinct (sight or sound); sõ<sup>s</sup>ma chieftainness; swi<sup>s</sup>lã all.

Related are k'ã<sup>s</sup>ne<sup>s</sup> fungus on trees, k'e<sup>s</sup>nx<sup>s</sup>ene<sup>s</sup> fungus on trunk of tree; g'ã<sup>s</sup>elã (Kwa); g'e<sup>s</sup>el<sup>s</sup>wa (Kos) old style canoe.

We have also nan grizzly bear (ceremonial name), ne<sup>s</sup>ngemã grizzly bear mask.

9. When the suffix is a continuant consonant it becomes syllabic. When this consonant is followed by a vowel, the latter carries the accent.

qo<sup>s</sup>s' < qew-!s, with vocalic ending qo<sup>s</sup>se' pond (standing water on ground); -la<sup>s</sup>m' (la<sup>s</sup>em), with vowel la<sup>s</sup>me' and it is (so).

10. When the suffix begins with a syllabic m, n, or l followed by a consonant the accent is on the syllabic m, n or l. Stems with long vowel or two terminal consonants have in this case two accents, one on the stem, one on the syllabic m, n, or l.

me<sup>s</sup>x'e<sup>s</sup>nxend to strike edge; -g'e<sup>s</sup>te<sup>s</sup>lg'es wood worker; -seg'e<sup>s</sup>nsa long thing falls point first into water; -ts!em<sup>s</sup>nxend to point at edge; -k!we<sup>s</sup>nxes to sit on edge; -kwẽ<sup>s</sup>le<sup>s</sup>mg'a<sup>s</sup>liã to lie down in house pl.; -k'!e<sup>s</sup>le<sup>s</sup>mbend to put tongue at end C II 218.20; -k'!en<sup>s</sup>mg'aã<sup>s</sup>lela to get loose pl.; -k'!ex<sup>s</sup>mx<sup>s</sup>id to shut eyes C II 208.14; -lo<sup>s</sup>lx<sup>u</sup>sem balls; -k!we<sup>s</sup>me<sup>s</sup>lx<sup>s</sup>id (k!we<sup>s</sup>m<sup>s</sup>la) to burn.

11. In determining the place of the accent syllables due to the continued voicing of sonants or to glottalized stops do not count, so that phonemically the voicing which follows the release of the stop, although acoustically important should be omitted:

dza'wade e'nox<sup>u</sup> < dzax<sup>u</sup>=ad-!enox<sup>u</sup> people of dza'wade (Knight Inlet).

qa'g'ek!wã<sup>s</sup> < qak<sup>u</sup>=k<sup>u</sup>-!a=as place where skulls are (hung up) on rock.

xwa'xwagweme' < xwa-xwak<sup>u</sup>=em-e that small canoe.

p!edex<sup>s</sup>i'd < p!edek<sup>s</sup>-(x)<sup>s</sup>id it gets dark.

When a terminal e or o of a word is followed by a syntactic vocalic suffix it becomes -eye or -ewe respectively. In these cases the -ey and -ew are also non-syllabic so far as the accent is concerned:

g'o'x<sup>u</sup>bidõ', but g'o'x<sup>u</sup>bidewe' small house.

## MORPHOLOGY

## TYPES OF REDUPLICATION AND STEM EXPANSION

Reduplication and expansion of the stem by a variety of methods are used for grammatical purposes. Plurality, repetition, distribution are expressed in this manner. Many suffixes require some form of reduplication or of stem expansion, not only those implying some

kind of repetition. At this place we shall merely describe the various processes used. It should be remembered that in most cases em of the stem is equivalent to a long vowel. Reduplication will be indicated by R, other types of stem expansion by E.

- - - - -

Stem Expansion

There are three methods of stem expansion: by reduplication, by lengthening or expansion of the first vowel of the stem, or by insertion of a vowel between two terminal consonants. These may be classified as follows:

## A. Reduplication

## I. Reduplication including the first vowel.

1. Vowel of first syllable of reduplicated for is e, a or ε
  - a. Vowel of second syllable retained
  - b. Vowel of second syllable shortened
2. The same with introduction of s, ʒ or x after the initial cv.
3. Loss of stem vowel in stem syllable. (Reduplication including the first consonant following the first vowel, always m, n, or l; also theoretically y and w which, however, are contracted to ε and o respectively. According to p. 209 vm of these forms represents a long vowel and the group is therefore part of the preceding. The shortening of the long vowel vm results in vā. Formally we have:
  1. Repetition of cvm
  2. Repetition of cvm and omission of m in the second syllable)

## II. Duplication of stem.

- 1a. Duplication of complete stem.
- 1b. Duplication of complete stem including suffix -k'(a) of those ending in vowel
2. Duplication of complete stem of types cvc\*, cvc\*, cvmc\*, without complete suffix. cvc\* lengthens second syllable; cvc\* shortens second syllable, cvmc\* omits m in second syllable.

## III. Treatment of initial sound

1. Initial vowel
2. Initial vowel, glottalized εy, εw, εm prefix ā-
3. Initial y, w, m prefix hā-
4. Initial s changes in second syllable to y
5. Initial hām drops h in second syllable
6. Initial ʒ and l are retained as initial sound, change to l in second syllable
7. Initial m, n, l, ʒ, l reduce second syllable to syllabic consonant changing ʒ and l to l as in 6.
8. Initial m of group A I 3 drops stem vowel of original second syllable.

## B. Lengthening or expansion of stem vowel

- I. ε of stem vowel changes to a.
- II. Expansion by insertion of glottal stop.
- III. Initial ha changes to hāε' or hā.

- IV. Initial hē expands to hāya (contracted hā) or heya; hō to hawa (contracted hā)
- V. Initial yε or yā expand to yāε' (contracted yā) or hāya (contracted hā)
- VI. Initial wa changes to wā (< wewa) or wō; swa to swāō'; wo to wā
- VII. Initial ā changes to ε

C. Expansion of cvmc\* stems by insertion of vowel after m

- I. With lengthening of first vowel and insertion of a
- II. With retention of short first vowel and insertion of a
- III. With retention of short first vowel and insertion of ε
- IV. With retention of short vowel and insertion of o

## A I. Reduplication including first vowel.

1. Stem vowel retained or weakened.

- cvc\*-, R cecv'c-: Repetition of initial consonant followed by ε. Retention of accent on reduplicated word: g'ōk<sup>u</sup> house pl. g'ig'ō'k<sup>u</sup>;  
cvc-, R ce'cvc-: Same as last, but accent on first syllable: εna'la, day pl. εne'εnala.  
cvc, R cā'cvc-: Repetition of initial consonant followed by a which takes the accent: t!ē'sem stone, t!ā't!edzεm small stone.  
cvc-, R cecv'c-: Repetition of initial consonant followed by ε. xwa'k!wεna canoe, xwεxwa'k!wεm real canoe; gεnε'm wife pl. gεgεnε'm (accent on last syllable because all short).  
cvc-, R cū'cāc: Repetition of initial consonant and vowel, accent on first syllable, reduction of length of vowel of reduplicated word; ga'nul night, pl. ga'gānul

2. Insertion of s, ʒ, or x

- cvc-, R cvscvc-: Repetition of initial consonant and vowel and inserted s: if first vowel long and accented, accent on first syllable, if short, accent of word retained: mo'la rough, mo'smaεla ear ornaments of wool; εmεla' white, εmεsεmεla' white in ear; g'εt!e'nox<sup>u</sup> carpenter pl. g'εsg'εt!e'nox<sup>u</sup> wood workers; wasw'naεla war canoes are coming (New) X 186.5; εyā'εyεnk'!ā'la<sup>ε</sup>yu weapons; yā syaq!-εndεl!ʒ conversation in house.  
cvc-, R cv'cvc-: Same as last with inserted ʒ: ts!a'εmaq icicle, ts!a'ʒts!ε'εmaq!a long ear pendants; xa'g bone pl. xa'ʒxaq; wεʒwε nxstā deep-set eyes (wεng-).  
cvc-, R cvx'cvc-: Same as last with inserted x: dze'εʒ'ε'ls lake on ground pl. dze'x'dze'εʒ'ε'ls.

## 3. Loss of stem vowel in stem syllable.

mṽ'c-, R mṽmc-; lō'pa empty, lō'lbapela hollow underneath; mō'kwa to tie, mō'mgwexlo tied at top; lō'sa to uncover, lō'ltšesela bare-footed; ēne'k'a to say, ēne'nk'!eqela to think (to say in mind); mē'xa to sleep; mē'mx'e'qela to feel asleep; nē'sa to pull, nē'nts'e'qela to feel like pulling hair.

mvc-, R mvclvc-: mē'mx'g'ila southeast wind blows all the time; lē'lgox'wid to build fire.

Reduplication of the types cṽm and

cṽmc\*:

cṽm-, R cṽmcṽ-; ēmē'lēmēdzo white on flat surface (ēmēl-).

cṽmc\*-, R cṽmcṽmc\*: Repetition of first three sounds of words beginning with cvcc. Accent on first syllable: tēlq<sup>u</sup> soft, pl. tē'ltēlq<sup>u</sup>.

Repetition of cṽm and omission of m in second syllable

cṽmc-, R cṽmcṽc-: gē'lqa to swim, gē'lgagole<sup>e</sup> to meet swimming in water; dze'lxwa to run, dze'ldzex'o to meet running; gwēlgwata'wali<sup>x</sup> fire in middle of house (gwēlt-) gwē'ngwatoli<sup>x</sup> to be heavy together (gwēnt-).

## II. Duplication of Stem

1. Duplication of complete stem; including suffix -k'(a) of those ending in vowel or m

All types, R doubled: mē'xa to sleep, mē'xmexa to sleep repeatedly; hā'nla to shoot, hā'nḫānia to shoot repeatedly; la to go, lā'x'lak'a; ha<sup>m</sup>- to eat, hā'mx'hāmk'a.

2. Duplication of complete stem without complete suffix

cṽc-, R cṽccac: tēqa' berry cakes, textā'q to eat berry cakes.

cṽc-, R cṽ'ccvc: R cṽ'cc<sup>e</sup>c gwa'dem huckleberry, gwa'dgwed to eat huckleberries.

cṽmc-, R cṽmccac R cṽ'ccac: t!ēls crabapple; t!ē'lst!as to eat crabapples.

## III. Treatment of initial sound

1. Initial vowel

ṽc-, R ā<sup>e</sup>ṽc-: Most of those with initial ā unaccented followed by a single consonant have accented ā: ā'sā'ela to make firm (āl-); ā<sup>e</sup>āmak'!a to try to defecate (āma'k'-); ā<sup>e</sup>adā my dear ones (ādā'); ā<sup>e</sup>āyots!a to try to understand (āyō's-); ā<sup>e</sup>āyapq!ēsēnā to be happy with others (āyā'pq!ēs); ā<sup>e</sup>ālexwēnā to follow suit sea hunting (ālē'x<sup>u</sup>).

A number of double forms are found: ā<sup>e</sup>ax<sup>e</sup>a, ā<sup>e</sup>ā'x<sup>e</sup>a ready to take (āx-); ā<sup>e</sup>āmyaxēnā, ā<sup>e</sup>ā'myaxēnā to praise with others (āmyax-); ā<sup>e</sup>āmyaxela, ā<sup>e</sup>ā'myaxela to praise every now and then; ā<sup>e</sup>ānx<sup>u</sup>sila, ā<sup>e</sup>ā'nx<sup>u</sup>sila to take care of eyebrows.

ṽc, R ā<sup>e</sup>ṽ'c: Those with initial long vowel reduplicate with unaccented ā: ā<sup>e</sup>ā'lāga to go inland (al-) (gwā'gwasā'a'ga to come this way [gwas-]).

ā<sup>e</sup>ā'xsila to take care (āx-) (l!ā'l!opsila to take care of roasting).

ā<sup>e</sup>ā'la<sup>e</sup>ne<sup>e</sup>ma' to try to get a wolf (āla<sup>e</sup>ne'm) (mā'megwat!a' to try to get a seal [mē'gwat]).

ā<sup>e</sup>ā'dāga to return (ēt-); ā<sup>e</sup>ā'g'ala to return a good deed (ēk') (p!ā'p!ewala to return kindness [p!ex<sup>u</sup>]);

ā<sup>e</sup>ā'g'elaqwēla to talk pleasantly (ēk') (xā'xalēla'qwēla to shout hāhāhā C III 202.12).

ā<sup>e</sup>ā'lo!a to examine (ō'lo!) (l!ā'laq!a to slap [laq-])

ā<sup>e</sup>ā'<sup>e</sup>mala<sup>x</sup> chieftainness dancer (o<sup>e</sup>ma); (pā'xalala<sup>x</sup> shaman dancer [paxāla'])

ṽmc-, R ā<sup>e</sup>ṽ'mc: Short a followed by m, n, or l and a second stem consonant retains the accent on the stem: ā<sup>e</sup>ā'm!q!ēn<sup>e</sup>wa to play when others play (ā'm!a); ā<sup>e</sup>ā'lkwamak' blood on water (alk<sup>u</sup>); ā<sup>e</sup>ā'msila to be a widow (āms-); ā<sup>e</sup>ā'mlaxwēs one who always stays at home (āmlēx<sup>u</sup>).

2. Initial e<sub>y</sub>, e<sub>w</sub>, e<sub>m</sub> prefix ā-

R āy-, āw, ām: o<sup>e</sup>ma chieftainness, ā<sup>e</sup>o<sup>e</sup>mala<sup>x</sup> chieftainness dance; e<sup>m</sup>mā'xwa potlatch, ā<sup>e</sup>mā'xwēla<sup>x</sup> potlatch dance.

3. Initial y, w, m prefix hā

R hāy-, hāw-, hām: y, w, m introduces initial h and short ā. On account of its analogy with the preceding this may be included in reduplicated forms: wi'na war, hawi'nala<sup>x</sup> war dance.

4. Initial s changes in stem to y

svc-, R svyvc-: sā'pa to chop, sō'yapmut chips; sē'mk'a to try out oil, sā'yēmk'!a to be ready to try out oil.

5. Initial hāmc drops h in second syllable

hāmc-, R hāmcām: hā'n!enox<sup>u</sup> pl. hā'nān!enox<sup>u</sup> hunter.

6. Initial ḫ and l are retained as initial sound, changed to l in second syllable

ḫvc-, R ḫvlc-: ḫō'q!wē<sup>e</sup>, diminutive, ḫā'logwem dish; ḫā'xwēla is difficult; ḫā'laxwila to be in want.

lvC-, R lvlc-: lɛ'mqə to be proud, lɛ'mlɛmq!ala to speak proudly.

7. Initial m, n, l, ʃ, ɬ reduce second syllable to syllabic consonant, changing ɣ and ɬ to ɬ (as in 6.)

mVc-, R māā'mc-: Short stem vowel: accent on second syllable: mā'x<sup>u</sup>enox<sup>u</sup> pl. mā<sup>s</sup>ā'mx<sup>s</sup>enox<sup>u</sup> killer whales; nɛg'ā' pl. na<sup>s</sup>ɛ'ng'ā mountains; ʃɛk:wane<sup>s</sup> pl. ʃaɛ'lk:wane<sup>s</sup> old women; ʃa<sup>s</sup>ɛ'ɬ<sup>s</sup>wene<sup>s</sup> beloved ones.

mVc-, R mV<sup>s</sup>ɛm-: Long stem vowel: accent on first syllable: lā'xwiwe<sup>s</sup> pl. lā<sup>s</sup>ɛ'laxwiwe<sup>s</sup> kerchiefs; lɛ'lot pl. lɛ'ɛlot fellow travellers; ʃa'q:we<sup>s</sup> pl. ʃa<sup>s</sup>ɛ'ɛlq:we<sup>s</sup> dishes.

8. Stems of the type mVc drop stem vowel of second syllable (see A 2)

## B. Lengthening and Expansion of Stem Vowel

### I. ɛ of stem changes to a

cVc-ɛcāc: wā'lanaga to question one after another (wɛl-); nā'pɛla to throw without looking (nɛp-); k'!ā'moma needles of conifers (k'!ɛmx'-)

### II. Expansion by insertion of glottal stop

ō'x<sup>u</sup>siwe<sup>s</sup> pl. ō<sup>s</sup>x<sup>u</sup>sɬ'we<sup>s</sup> mouth of river; hē'lok<sup>u</sup> pl. hē<sup>s</sup>lō'k<sup>u</sup> slim waisted; tsē'tsɛxwɛla pl. tsē<sup>s</sup>t<sup>s</sup>ɛxwɛla bucket running over; ɛ'k'!ɛnxɛ<sup>s</sup> pl. ɛk'!ɛ'nxɛ<sup>s</sup> it is on top edge (glottalization merged in glottal k'!)

ā<sup>s</sup>wā'ɬ'ɬāla to go about lively (ā<sup>s</sup>wɛl-); ā<sup>s</sup>wā'letɛ<sup>s</sup>ma<sup>s</sup> to try to joke someone (ā<sup>s</sup>ɬ-); ā<sup>s</sup>lɛ'wadzɛm a small spruce (ā<sup>s</sup>lɛ'was); ā<sup>s</sup>lɛ'xwɛlqɛla to think of sea hunting (ā<sup>s</sup>lɛ'x<sup>u</sup>-); ā<sup>s</sup>nɛ'xbala to get fire-wood on the way (ā<sup>s</sup>nɛ'q-); ā<sup>s</sup>wɬ'ɬɛlqɛla to feel important (ā<sup>s</sup>wɬ'ɬ-); ā<sup>s</sup>wɬ'ɬax'sila to consider important.

When followed by weakening or hardening suffixes the stem āw, before vowels ō-, takes the form ā<sup>s</sup>wa-

### III. Initial hā changes to hā<sup>s</sup>ɛ', he' or hē'ya

hā<sup>s</sup>ɛ'p!oma, hē'ya'p!omas skins, quadrupeds (hāp- body hair); hē<sup>s</sup>ɛ'māomas food (hā<sup>s</sup>ɛm-).

### IV. Initial hē expands to ha<sup>s</sup>ɛya (contracted hā<sup>s</sup>ɛ-); ho to hāwa

hē<sup>s</sup>ɛ'ɬ<sup>s</sup>a, pl. hā<sup>s</sup>ɛya'ɬ<sup>s</sup>a youth; always before suffix with initial vowel: hā'yoštāla to go right up river.

hā<sup>s</sup>ɛ'stāla to go right around something hā<sup>s</sup>ɛ'walelāa to try to listen (hō'ɬɛl-)

V. Initial ye or yā expand to yā<sup>s</sup>ɛ' (contracted yā<sup>s</sup>-) or hāya- (contracted hā<sup>s</sup>-), if following consonant is c\*.

yɛpa' pl. yā<sup>s</sup>ɛ'pa to weave mats; ya'q:wema pl. yā<sup>s</sup>ɛ'q:wema potlatch gift.  
hāya'q!ɛnt!alaɬ speaker dancer (yā'q!ɛnt-); hā'q!ɛntɛxsala to talk against a person behind his back.

VI. Initial wā changes to wā<sup>s</sup> (< wɛwa) or wō'; ɛwā to ɛwā<sup>s</sup>ō'

wā'tāla to go hand in hand (wat-); wō'ysdɛsila to treat cruelly (wā'yad); wā'ɬdɛm pl. wā'ɬdɛm word; wā'ts!e pl. wā<sup>s</sup>ō'ts!e dog.

### VII. Initial a changes to ā

ābɛ'mp pl. ābɛ'mp mother; ā<sup>s</sup>ya<sup>s</sup>o', pl. ē<sup>s</sup>ya<sup>s</sup>o hand.

## C. Expansion of cVmc\* stems by insertion of vowel after m

Most of these are nouns without suffix.

### I. With lengthening of vowel and second vowel a

sā'latɛsɬāla to take it easy moving about (sɛlt-); k'ā max'ā'maq!asto snapping door (k'ɛmq-<sup>s</sup>sto); ā'ɬqwa to put out tongue, ā'laqwa to have tongue lolling; hā'masɛlaɬ wasp dancer (hāms-); dā'natala to quarrel (dɛnt-); hā'na!a to hunt (hānl- to shoot) q!ā'nas cryptochiton (?) (q!ɛns-); q!ā'slawe worm (q!ɛlx<sup>u</sup>- to coil); q!ā'max herring (q!amx-); pa'ɛnaq slow match (pɛnq-); k'!ā'madzena cascade (k'!ɛms-)

No reconstructed form found: nō'mas old man

### II. With retention of short vowel and insertion of a

ɬ!ɛnā'k' branch, knob of wood (ɬ!ɛnk'-); k'!ɛlā'k<sup>u</sup> digging stick (k'!ɛlk<sup>u</sup>-); mɛnā'k' excrement (mɛnk'-); dɛna's yellow cedar (dɛns-); ā<sup>s</sup>lā's holothuria (āls-); xā<sup>s</sup>ma's dry salmon (xɛms-); dzɛlā'k' old salmon (dzɛlk'-); k!wema'ɬ battle-dore (k!wemɬ-); ta'nɛs cannibal dancer (tɛns- BB); wɛnā'gwɛl fir (wɛnq-); mɛnā'goɬ war canoe, Kos (mɛ'ngə Kwa); t!ɛna'xtōɬ weaving frame for blanket (t!ɛnx- ridge)

The reconstructed stems for q!wene'qwa cotton-wood, xāwe'q head cut off, do not occur. See also below.

### III. With insertion of e

gwɛlɛ'k' gum (gwɛlx'-); also tamɬ'nas squirrel (tɛms- or tɛmas-); gɛɛlɛ'x haws (gɛlx-); k'!ɛnɛ ɬ chiton (New) (k'!ɛnɬ-)

IV. With insertion of o

xwenō 'k<sup>u</sup> child of a person (xwenk<sup>u</sup>-);  
k'!elō 'psāla flames whirling through roof  
 (k'!elp- to twist); g'ā 'mo'sla halibut hook  
 (g'ēmā- New); g'elo 'q<sup>u</sup> clam buttons (g'elq<sup>u</sup>-);  
k'!eno 't chiton (k'!enx<sup>u</sup>-)

Reconstructed stem unknown: swelo 'pa to  
 eat fresh, roasted olachen.

See also the doubtful suffix -os.

## Stems

A considerable number of these stems when followed by a suffix affecting the stem end in m, n, l plus a terminal consonant. However, as independent nouns, they appear with a vowel, principally a, separating the two terminal consonants. It is not likely that these vowels are inserted. We might rather imagine that they have been lost in composition. As shown below, some verbal suffixes require an inserted a at the corresponding place even when unaccented. A number of words of the same form occur for which we have no corresponding derivatives that lose the second vowel, even when followed by suffixes affecting the inner structure of the stem, while others that have the same type of consonantic endings never have the second vowel. Examples of these are no 'mas old man, o 's mas great (New); me 'ā's southeast wind; but x 'oms head, se 'ms mouth, ā 'oms ordinary, not supernatural, ge 'ms dead fern fronds, old moss; gw 'ms ocher; ā 'mx watertight; g 'ens how many; k'! 'elx' raw, k'! 'weng wet.

It is striking that the monosyllabic "stem" type cvmc\* does not occur except in a few cases like those just mentioned, and that the great majority of words that would conform to this type have a second vowel:

ha 'nak'a to request; de 'lak'a salmon jumps; k'! 'e'lak'a to strike with weapon; ya 'laqa ostentatious; sa 'laqa to send; ma 'laqa to mix; do 's maq heart-wood; ā 's maqa embroidery; yā 'laqwa to sing sacred song; q'! 'wa'lax'a to dress; q'! 'we'lax'a to feel itchy; ts! 'a'pax branches of red or yellow cedar; wel '!a'x antlers; o 's mas (New), swa 'las large; mo 'mas to hurt; to 'lasa to chop in blocks; ts! 'e'nas lean; ne 'nas to dare; gwa 'las lizard; la 'e'lasa to be cloyed; se 'nat plan; sa 'mata to take a rest; so 'mata pain ceases; q'! 'we'naK- to move about; xwa 'naža to be ready; xo 'maža to fight; ā 'wala to leave; ga 'ma'ela uncle (Kos.).

wa 'neqa to annoy; wā 'leqa zigzag;  
so 'neqwa a ceremonial; p! 'o'leqwa salmon churns water; tso 'lexa to crush fine; ts! 'e'nexa to get tired of a person; ā 'nexa slanting; o 's mis funny; ma 'lis salmon weir (perhaps maK-is);  
go 'loq<sup>u</sup> tallow (Nak); dzo 'noq<sup>u</sup>- a monster; qa 'loqwa to be bent in half circle;  
te 'noqwa ragged; se 'noqwa oblique; ts! 'a'noq!wa to urge; k'! 'o'lox<sup>u</sup> salmon dried in a certain

way; sa 'mosa to decorate; tso 's mosa to break little objects; ts! 'a'nosa to catch deer, seals in net; k'! 'o'lot!a porpoise; swa 'noX- helpful medicine; ga 'nuu night.

ge net late arrival at feast (gey- ?)

There are quite a number of the type cvmc\* that also have a second vowel; ā 'na'k<sup>u</sup> enough; ā 'la'k'- prepared deer or elk skin; dema 'k'a to be out of sight; kwena 'xwa to split boards (New); ā 'la'q almost; k'! 'ema'qa to be calm; q'! 'we'la'la to hide something; k'! 'ela'k<sup>u</sup> muskrat; (gwena 'p) young sawbill ducks; dene 'k'a to cut off strips of blubber; ! 'ene'k'a to bar door; hā 'ne'qa to growl; ts! 'ele'qa to shine; q'! 'wene'qwa cotton wood; xwele 'qwa to make balls of herring roe; ! 'ene'qwa lightning; wele 'xa to utter war cry; mē 'e'x- to go and return by canoe; ts! 'ene'x intestines (Kos); qe 'sne'x mountain goat kid; wē 'e'x<sup>u</sup> young seal; syene 'sa to feed a new arrival; geli 's- to screech; q'! 'wele's wife's brother; smā 'e'kwa to chew; gele 'k<sup>u</sup>- to bend; q'! 'ene'p- to wrap up; gwene 'p dead alder; ā 'yo's(ela) to understand; k'! 'wemo'sa pattern; xelo 'sa to catch in scoop net; g'elo 'la to steal; k'! 'elo'pa flames whirl.

Stems of the type cvyvc\* and cvyvc\* behave like cvmc\* and cvmc\*:

With long vowel: sa 'yak'a to see saw; g'! 'i'yak'ela novice; ! '!a'yak'a thin; gwa 's yak'āla to be able (?); k'a 'yaq'ela to nod head; ma 'yax'a to respect; q'! 'a'yaxa to be surprised; ha 'yax'id to howl (?).

sa 'yoq<sup>u</sup> pure; q'! 'a'yoqwa ripe; ma 'yukwa to look away; ma 's yula to give birth.

ya 'wapa to hoist sail; sa 'wak'a slow; sa 'waqwa to sit on summer seat; sa 's waqwa indifferent to gain; k'! 'wa'waga to split in two; ! 'e'wax'a to rattle; ya 'was'id to do for a little while; k'! 'a was dried fish;

g'a 'weq- clam; (sa 'wek'a) to steal fire-wood; ya 'wix'a to move, yā 'wix'ela to give winter ceremonial.

With short vowel: q'! 'ā'sya'k'a to kick with toes; k'! 'weyo'q<sup>u</sup> duck (New); gwēyo 'k<sup>u</sup> heavy; se 'yo'k<sup>u</sup> widgeon duck; ā 'yo's- to understand.

ā 'wa'k'a porpoise dives; xā 'we'q head cut off; dē 'we'x cedar twigs; ā 'awe'qwa to leave without notice; ne 'we'qwa to smoulder; ge 'wi's frost.

It is possible that some of these contain suffixes. For instance dene 'k'a and ! 'ene'k'a probably contain =ek'a on back and, therefore, do not belong to this series.

The Nootka equivalents of lc\* form o, p.e. xwēlt- to groove, Nootka xot-; ! '!elx<sup>u</sup>- to shred cedarbark t!ox<sup>u</sup>- so that the vowel following m had probably been lost before the Nootka equivalent originated.

There is a small group of verbs of the type cvcvmc\* which we may consider as belonging here on account of the vocalic character of vm (see p. 209): ā 't!ā'nxwa to persist; wē 'nmta to bury; mē 'elqa to boil, bubble; tē 'mē'lq to appease; se 'bē'lxa metallic noise; k'! 'ēdē'lxa



dizzy; q!ek'!e'lsa kinked; e'xenta to menstruate; swa'lemk'a to make an effort; ha'melqa to cover; da'p!enk' squid bones.

In a number of cases we find forms that suggest the occurrence of fossilized suffixes or some other obscure relation:<sup>13</sup> t!ema' to sew wood; t!ema k'a to lash with a strap; t!e'mga to pin; - sela to drill; se'lpā, se'lqwa to twist; - q!ena to sew; q!e'nsa to mend; q!ene'p- to wrap up; - mela to turn, to plait a rope; me'lxwa to be spiral; me'lsa to turn head; - kwema to walk stooping; kwēmta to let head hang down; kwēmtsa to lean forward.

There are also others in which the forms with and without vowel occur: k'!e'lpā to whirl; k'!elo'pā whirling flames; - ge'lxwa to bend fingers; gele'kwa to bend down, ge'lo'qwa crooked; - qwe'ngwa to move in sleep, to shake shoulders; qwene'qwa to loosen by shaking; - ge'lo'q'u (from ge'lo'q'u-) clam buttons.

A full explanation of these processes cannot be given at present.

#### SUFFIXES

Almost all words are analyzable into stem and suffix or suffixes. The number of complete words without suffixes is small. Still, there are a number of static and active words including nouns that consist of stems without suffixes. We have not found any rule by which these stems can be differentiated from others that do not occur without some kind of formative suffix and in which the stem has to be reconstructed from its derivatives.

There are two exceptions:

Words that have the formative suffix a when used in exclamatory forms, as imperatives of verbs and vocatives of nouns, -- drop their suffix: doq'u see!, ho'lel listen!, !a'qwag'il or !o'qwag'ila!

Words meaning "to eat a certain kind of food" are formed by reduplication of the stem without suffix, the reduplicated syllable undergoing certain changes (see p. 221): metma t to eat horse clams (stem met-; complete noun met!a'na).

There are some monosyllabic nouns which end in a consonant and never take a.

āe'nt herring spawn; elk'u speaker; wilk'u cedar; swap water; ma'sm bed cover; ma mē'sm leaves; mās head of spear; dex'u yellow cedar; telp one who follows a woman; temte'sm rack for roasting; tes small, easily bent stick; t!ens shelter; t!oq'u small hole; tsāp apron; tes basket for salmon trap; ts!ek!u gull; nan grizzly bear; na'x'u vulva; nun wolf; g'ok'u house; k'om blanket worn over regular blanket; k'!ets fungus on alder tree; kwek'u eagle; gwen nettle, gast friend; xāa'p cradle;

sāa'q juice; xag bone; xwe'el quarts; lād dance; !emq! yew tree; !es skin; !eq! clay; !āq'u tobacco; !o'x'u ice; āo'ms man without supernatural power; x'o'sms head; sēms mouth; gēms dead fern fronds; !eq!e'ms old leaves, berries, dropping off.

The following static verbs are without -a:

ēaa ms anything tabooed, causing bad luck; sāmlex'u to stay at home; sām closed, water tight, air tight; sā'nak' enough; sā'yo's to know how to speak a language well; s'ek' to be good; s'ek'! above; s'o'mas large (New); s'o'mi's to be of funny behavior; s'o'q!wes to believe; wa'yed cruel; wax' although; wās to pity; wa'naq unlucky; swa'las large; swi'x thin around; swok'u thick; ha manek'u to be dazed, to have a nightmare; hek'u finished; ho'la'x few; ba'xwes secular; p'el thin and flat; p!ep'as blind; ma'x two; mo four; s'mas what; dze'x fresh (fish); t'elq'u soft; sa'yog'u pure, unmixed; ts!enk'u to be furious; ts!ex'a's new (only mat or blanket); ts!enas lean (meat, animals); ts!eq! narrow; nēma'x a short time; na'nuk'u to feel uneasy; na'nas brave; enem one; g'ens how many; g'el first adv.; k'ox'u cool; k'!elx' raw, unripe; k'!e's not; k!wes light in weight; k!weng wet; qāi indeed; lek'wemq!es to think something strange; s!ex wide open; āā'n unusual; !e'el to be dead; āa'wis angry; āāk'u strong; !ek'u thick; !ax thick; !op cooked, roasted, ripe.

Active verbs:

g'ax to come; nek' to say; k!ād to throw away many things; lenk'u to start to do something; !!ex to stop crying; !!ās to make love; ha'sna'x to continue; ha'āa'xs to send something; āewe'm to belch.

Bisyllabic verbs of this type may contain suffixes:

ts!e'lgwa'x to forbid to go; la'gwa'x to wail; āe'lgwa'x to wail; may contain a suffix related to -[k!:]g'a'x to begin to make a noise.

q!a'sya'nas one of married couple dislikes mate (cf. q!a'yata, q!a'yaxa to get excited).

hāne'nax to ask to go along (cf. ha'nak'a to request, to ask leave).

Many nouns are derived from reconstructed stems of the type c'vmc, by insertion of a vowel between the terminal consonants (for examples see p. 222).

There are no prefixes.<sup>14</sup> Suffixes are not used as independent stems. The only exception so far discovered is -q!es "to eat" which occurs independently as q!esa' "to eat meat" III 21.9. The suffix -p!a "to taste" and the stem p!aq- "to taste"; s!aqwela "to shout," and the suffix -laqwela "to talk about; wat- to lead and -watela to carry, may also be related.

<sup>14</sup>In a few cases the initial augments a and ha are found, but these must be interpreted as forms of stem expansion related to reduplication.

<sup>13</sup>See Franz Boas, *Dakota Grammar*, Memoir XXIII, Part 2, Washington, National Academy of Sciences, 1941.

The similarity of the stem wey- to fail, or generally a negation of some positive concept and the suffix -we which expresses the opposite of certain movements, like "out of" as against "into" may also be mentioned.

Suffixes of similar type and expressing similar concepts are found in Nootka, Quileute, and Salish. In regard to Nootka, Swadesh<sup>15</sup> remarks: "Elements which are used as stems are never used as suffixes and vice versa. A few exceptions and apparent exceptions to this principle occur, but it is clear that they are quite abnormal in the descriptive theory of the language. The clearest case is the coincidence of stem wa(X-) "to say" and suffix -wa(X-) "to say . . ." Another case involves greater disparity in meaning, namely, maX- "to move, shift position" and -maX- moving about. qwiyi (relative) "at which time" seems to be combined in suffix position in wāsgwiyi (interrogation) "when?" (cf. wās "where?"). The incremental suffix -lā "again" is formally similar to the synonymous stem lāōk."

That independent words may have become suffixes is indicated by the use of the Chinook jargon word kapō "man's coat" as a suffix in Quileute.<sup>16</sup> According to Andrade: "In about 60 per cent of the cases in which the language has two forms for the same nominal concept, it is not conceivable that there can be any etymological connection between them. In other duplicates the free and the postposition forms have at least one or two phonetic elements in common."<sup>17</sup> As examples of the latter group he gives: hōk'uts!at and -ts!ai "blanket"; ba'xwi and -bai "basket"; ts!ik'ts!al and -ts!a "dress", a<sup>s</sup>lotq and -tz "sealing canoe."

The problem is more difficult in Salishan, because the language has prefixes and a few cases occur in which a suffix is used as an independent noun when preceded by a locative or nominalizing prefix.<sup>18</sup> Thus we find t'i'nā<sup>a</sup> "outer ear," compounded of -inā<sup>a</sup> and the prefix t- "attached to";<sup>19</sup> s-nun "success" from nominalizing s- and suffix -nun to succeed"; s-tes-u'ps-en from nominalizing s-; tes- "after, tail"; -ups "anal region."<sup>20</sup>

The composition of themes with a variety of suffixes, enables us to isolate stems from their completive endings. It is not improbable that in some cases forms which are not true stems may have developed by analogy which are really fragmentary phonetic groups derived secondarily from longer words.

<sup>15</sup>Int. Jour. Amer. Ling. 9:79, 1936-1939.

<sup>16</sup>M. Andrade, "Quileute" in F. Boas, *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, III: 195, J. J. Augustin, 1940

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., 193, 194.

<sup>18</sup>Reichard, Gladys A., *Coeur d'Alene*, in F. Boas, *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, III: 611, No. 473, J. J. Augustin, 1940.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., 607, No. 450.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., 595, No. 399; 608, No. 456.

Most stems are monosyllabic (p. 216) and it may be that in some cases a monosyllabic stem has been construed by misinterpretation of a form. Thus in the Bella Bella dialect g'ī'-game<sup>s</sup> means "standing in front." In Kwakiutl it means "chief" and is derived from an apparent stem g'iq- which, however, is irregularly treated. Similarly the word gē'was "deer" is treated as though it were a compound of gex<sup>u</sup>- "to hang" and a suffix -as "place." It is possible that these are misinterpretations and do not represent the true history of the terms. The treatment of a few loanwords makes it plausible that such misinterpretations have occurred.

On the other hand a number of monosyllabic and polysyllabic Kwakiutl words are never reduced in compositions. Some of these are so much alike in their endings that we may suspect that they contain fossilized suffixes, for instance: s<sup>e</sup>ms "mouth"; x'ōms "head"; āō'ms "a person lacking supernatural power."

Others have varied endings. Examples are: kwēk<sup>u</sup> "eagle"; nan "grizzly bear"; ānē's "aunt"; ā qen "omen"; mē'gwat "seal"; k'!ō'lot! "porpoise"; a<sup>s</sup>yasō "hand"; āō'wak "ocean"; adē'mgwale "crane"; s<sup>e</sup>nem "one"; ānā'k "enough"; s<sup>e</sup>wā'las "large"; ālā'q "almost"; s<sup>e</sup>nēk "to say."

In most cases the suffixes expressing denominative, predicative, or adverbial concepts are attached to the theme. These compositions are subject to complicated phonetic rules which affect in part the theme, in part the suffix. Another group of suffixes, including largely conjunctive and adverbial terms which express tense, mode, elements denoting judgment of value and the like, are added on to words which retain their formative suffixes. The differentiation of these classes is not absolute, for some suffixes may be used either way, sometimes with slight modifications of meaning, or according to the type of word to which they are attached.

Many stem-suffixes exert a far-reaching effect upon the stem to which they are affixed.

The stem changes required by the suffixes may be grouped as: 1. Changes of terminal consonant; 2. Stem-extension; 3. Changes of accent. These express themselves in various ways according to the phonetic type of the stem.

The suffixes undergo changes insofar as certain initial sounds (s, g, k, k'!, g, x, x) are dropped after many consonantic endings of stems, although the combinations would be phonetically admissible.

According to the grammatical function of the suffixes we may distinguish between those required to complete a stem without adding a material concept to it, those indicating its syntactic function, and others which add new material concepts to the stem. The demarcations between these groups are somewhat arbitrary because they are fundamentally based on the structure of European languages. To us the concept of time is a functional element modifying the stem and not adding a new material concept; for

there is no verbal expression that does not imply time, as permanent existence, present, past or future. In Kwakiutl such time concepts are treated like other material concepts. The formal expression of "I struck him," "I shall strike him," "I strike him on the hand," "I really struck him," "I want to strike him," are all on the same pattern. On the other hand the demonstrative forms of Kwakiutl, being an obligatory part of expression and combining with verb and noun in their own way are formative, functional.

The classification of meanings of suffixes which we have adopted cannot be more than an attempt to bring together those that present a certain unity of concepts.

#### INFLUENCE OF SUFFIX UPON TERMINAL CONSONANT OF STEM

Suffixes may be classified as indifferent, weakening, or hardening the terminal consonant of the stem. We have designated these by preceding -, =, or -! respectively. Suffixes ending in consonants are not affected by following weakening or hardening suffixes. Weakening and hardening suffixes must be subdivided into those weakening or hardening all consonants and those affecting only stops, sometimes also s. These are indicated by (=) and (-!). A small number of weakening suffixes have no effect on sonants and glottalized stem-terminals (see p. 230). A few others behave irregularly (see p. 228 ff.). Furthermore certain initial consonants of suffixes are dropped, generally after terminal stem consonants, excepting m, n, l, y, w, sonants and glottalized consonants. In these the dropped initial consonant is placed in brackets [ ]. The only consonants so dropped are s, g', k', k'!, g, x', x. The suffix -sg'em becomes -sem.

Exceptional are -[s]eستا, around, which loses s after vowels, m, n, l, y, w and glottals, and is irregular after other consonants.

-[s]ta, water and -[s]to, round opening, seem to lose s only after s and ʒ.  
-[s]x'ä teeth, sharp edge, has s in a few cases only after vowels.

-[g']äs expresses position on roof, -g'ääläs motion on roof.  
-g'iu forehead, -g'iu bow of canoe, -aʒg'iwe moving ahead.  
-k'!ot loses k'! after x, s, l, changes terminal q of stem to x and retains k'!; -ot does not harden.

We have not been able to discover any principle underlying the classification of these groups. It is striking that none of the suffixes with initial [x'] influence the inner structure of the stem, but there is no indication of what the x' may be. It is also

apparent that all those with initial [x] or x modify the terminal stem consonant.

With a vowel begin:

among 55 word suffixes..... 7, or 13 per cent  
among 138 that do not influence the terminal stem consonant..... 69, or 50 per cent  
among 65 weakening the terminal stem consonant... 48, or 74 per cent  
among 38 hardening the terminal stem consonant... 29, or 77 per cent

Since it is not always possible to find examples for suffixes following all types of consonants, there remain some doubts in this classification:

Most suffixes are attached to the stem or to the stem with attached derivational suffixes. Those attached exclusively to complete words with purely formative endings have mostly modal, conjunctive, or attributive meaning. They do not influence the terminal sounds of the word. A strict distinction between word suffixes and stem suffixes cannot be made because a fair number may be used either way.

We find, for instance, begwā'nemx'id he became a man, and mex'id he struck (momentaneous), the former from the stem dek<sup>u</sup>-man with formative suffix -anem, the latter from the stem mex'- to strike, both with the inchoative suffix -x'id; begwā'nemk'!āla man's voice and qā'yala (qās-k'!ala) sound of walking, from the word begwā'nem man, as before, and from the stem qās- to walk, both with the suffix -k'!ala to produce a sound; ē'axalabēs one fond of work, nā'xbēs drunkard, from the stem -äx- with formative endings ē'äxāla, and from the stem nāq- to drink, both with the suffix -bēs fond of; begwā'ne'emem just an ordinary man; bā'k'iwem Indian (real man), the former from the word begwā'nem with formative ending, the latter from the stem dek<sup>u</sup>-, both with the ending -!em real.

The weakening and hardening of the terminal consonant follow the system of consonant relationships given on p. 212.

p, t, ts, k', k<sup>u</sup>, q, q<sup>u</sup>, l hardened give p!, t!, ts!, k'!, k<sup>u</sup>!, q!, q<sup>u</sup>!, l!.  
Weakened, they give b, d, dz, g', g<sup>u</sup>, ʒ, ʒ<sup>u</sup>, l.

<u>s</u>	hardened gives	<u>ts!</u>	or	<u>s<sup>y</sup></u>	weakened	<u>dz</u>	or	<u>y</u>
<u>x'</u>	"	"	"	<u>sn</u>	"	"	"	<u>n</u>
<u>x<sup>u</sup></u>	"	"	"	<u>sw</u>	"	"	"	<u>w</u>
<u>x</u>	"	"	"	<u>x<sup>s</sup></u>	"	"	"	<u>x</u>
<u>x<sup>u</sup></u>	"	"	"	<u>sw</u>	"	"	"	<u>w</u>
<u>ʒ</u>	"	"	"	<u>sl</u>	"	"	"	<u>l</u>

Voiced consonants when weakened or hardened strengthen the terminal voicing to ä; glottalized consonants strengthen the glottal release in this way.

=anem obtained by; =ad having---;  
=äx'sa aimlessly, away; =alisesm to die of---;

=ayu instrument, passives do not obey this rule. They follow voiced or glottalized terminals of the stem without a post-sonant or post-glottal a:

ga's<sup>s</sup>idayu to be taken along walking (gas-[x']<sup>s</sup>id=ayu); na'qexsda'lisem to die of thirst (naq-exsd=alisem); g<sup>g</sup>eg'a'danem obtained by having a wife (g<sup>g</sup>ek'-ad=anem); x'ε<sup>s</sup>ma'nem obtained by snaring; ε<sup>s</sup>ā<sup>s</sup>mt!<sup>s</sup>ayū means of getting sea urchins R 494.01.

m, n, l, w, y hardened or weakened give ε<sup>m</sup>, ε<sup>n</sup>, ε<sup>l</sup>, ε<sup>w</sup>, ε<sup>y</sup>.

a. Themes ending in a voiceless stop

	Weakening	Hardening
<u>ε<sup>p</sup></u> - to pinch	<u>ε<sup>b</sup>'āyū</u> dice	<u>ε<sup>p</sup>'!-id</u> to begin to pinch
<u>wat-</u> to lead	<u>wā'd-εk<sup>u</sup></u> led	<u>wat,ε<sup>s</sup>'ne<sup>s</sup></u> the act of leading
<u>g<sup>g</sup>ek'-</u> wife	<u>g<sup>g</sup>ε<sup>g</sup>'-a'd</u> having a wife	<u>g<sup>g</sup>ā'g<sup>g</sup>k'!<sup>a</sup></u> to try to get a wife
<u>be<sup>k</sup>u-</u> man	<u>be<sup>g</sup>w-1's</u> man of the sea	<u>be<sup>k</sup>!<sup>w</sup>-ε's</u> man of the woods
<u>wεnq-</u> deep	<u>wε'ng-1<sup>x</sup></u> deep on floor	<u>wε'nq!<sup>!</sup>-a</u> deep on rock
<u>ya<sup>u</sup></u> - to lie dead	<u>yā'gw-1s</u> to lie dead on beach	<u>yā'q!<sup>w</sup>-εs</u> to lie dead on ground
<u>k'!<sup>ε</sup>m-</u> to adze	<u>k'!<sup>ε</sup>'m<sup>l</sup>ε<sup>k</sup><sup>u</sup></u> adzed	<u>k'!<sup>ε</sup>'m!<sup>l</sup>-ala</u> noise of adzing

b. Themes ending in spirants and nasals

In these the hardening and weakening brings about the changes referred to above.

<u>p!<sup>ε</sup>s-</u> to flatten	<u>p!<sup>ε</sup>y-āyū</u> means of flattening	<u>p!<sup>ε</sup>'p!<sup>ε</sup>ts!<sup>!</sup>-a</u> to try to flatten
<u>mεx'-</u> to strike with fist	<u>mεn-a'ts!<sup>ε</sup></u> drum (striking receptacle)	<u>mā'mā<sup>s</sup>n-a</u> to be ready to strike
<u>lax<sup>u</sup></u> - to stand	<u>lā'w-ayū</u> salmon weir	<u>lā'<sup>s</sup>wa</u> to stand on rock
<u>ts!<sup>ō</sup>x-</u> to be black	<u>ts!<sup>ō</sup>'l-ato</u> black-eared	<u>ts!<sup>ō</sup>'l-ε'mya</u> black-cheeked
<u>sεx<sup>u</sup></u> - to paddle	<u>sε<sup>s</sup>wala</u> noise of paddling	<u>sε'wayū</u> paddle

Since interconsonantic y and w change to e and o, those verbs which, on account of a following suffix, change their s or x<sup>u</sup> to y and w respectively, y and w present peculiar forms:

x'ε<sup>s</sup>nakwεla < x'εy-<sup>s</sup>nakwεla (stem x'εs-) to disappear gradually.  
q!<sup>ε</sup>lε'k<sup>u</sup> < q!<sup>ε</sup>lε-k<sup>u</sup> (stem q!<sup>ε</sup>lεs-) sunk in water.  
yū<sup>s</sup>nakwεla < yεw-<sup>s</sup>nakwεla (stem yεx<sup>u</sup>-) to dance along.

In some cases the preceding accented vowel is contracted with the y which is derived from s:

qā'<sup>s</sup>nakwεla < qay-<sup>s</sup>nakwεla (stem qas-) to walk along.

qā'nodze<sup>s</sup> < qay-nos=e<sup>s</sup> (stem qas-) to walk alongside of---

The change of s to dz or y does not seem to follow any definite rule. We find:

lε'ndzεm < la-ns=εm means of taking under water X 62.10 and εmε'n<sup>s</sup>yεm < εmens=εm measuring instrument;

qā'yas, less frequently qā'dzas < qas=as place of walking;

gwa'yaxsta < gwas=exsta to bring mouth near to one III 71.33;

hā'dzεxstax'<sup>s</sup>id < has=exsta-x'<sup>s</sup>id to begin to make a noise;

εwā'layas < εwālas=as size of X 161.25;

han<sup>s</sup>nē'dzas < han-es=as canoe lying on beach X 161.17.

c. Themes ending in sonants or glottalized consonants

εwedāa'to to have cold ear (εwed=ato);

gwe'x'<sup>s</sup>idāa's place of being thus III 26.22 (gwey-x'<sup>s</sup>id=as); εo'xlāa'tā<sup>s</sup>ye behind ear (εo-!xl=ato-ay=e<sup>s</sup>); yā'xodāas place of tying together (yεl-[g]o-d=as); εāxba'εyāas place where something is at end (εāx-b-ay=as);

εwa'dzεq!<sup>ε</sup>xsdāa's size of bottom (εwa-dzεq-!xsd=as).

ha<sup>s</sup>māa'ts!<sup>ε</sup> food dish (ha<sup>s</sup>m=ats!<sup>ε</sup>);

kwe'm<sup>s</sup>lāa'to to scorch ear (kwe<sup>m</sup>l=ato);

hāk!wāa's place of staying away C II 320.3 (hāk!<sup>u</sup>=as); dεx<sup>u</sup>sεq!<sup>ā</sup>a's time of jumping across (dεx<sup>u</sup>-sεq!<sup>ā</sup>=as).

εwes<sup>s</sup>wedāa' ear is cold (εwes<sup>s</sup>wed-!ā); εya'εyugwāa' to be about to rain (εyug<sup>u</sup>-!ā).

sa'seq!<sup>ā</sup>a' to try to eat dry herring spawn (seq!<sup>!</sup>-!ā); xa'xāk!<sup>!</sup>āa' to try to stay away (xεk!<sup>!</sup>-!ā).

d. Words of the types ca and c<sup>v</sup>c\*c'a retain their a:

da'age<sup>s</sup> to hold crotch (da-g-e<sup>s</sup>); q!<sup>ā</sup>a's place of finding; k!<sup>w</sup>āa'pεla to have something sitting underneath (k!<sup>w</sup>āa=apεla); kwe<sup>s</sup>x'<sup>ā</sup>a's place of splashing.

Besides stems and suffixes ending in sonants or glottalized consonants we find a number of stems and suffixes the terminal consonants of which are never weakened or hardened:

Stems

<u>εaps-</u> one side	<u>εnεx<sup>u</sup></u> - near, always with <u>a</u>
<u>εwax's-</u> both sides	<u>εex'-</u> to approach, always with <u>a</u>
<u>gwas-</u> direction towards here	<u>nεq-</u> ten, always with <u>a</u>
<u>qwεs-</u> direction towards there	<u>εnol-</u> elder brother, always with <u>a</u>
<u>l!<sup>ε</sup>as-</u> seaside, towards middle of house	<u>ts!<sup>ā</sup>'εy-</u> younger brother, always with <u>a</u>
<u>εo'xl-</u> to carry on back	

A related group is:

ai- inland, which weakens or hardens terminal l irregularly.  
ᵉneᵐa' equal, level, which never loses terminal a  
q!wɛla' to be alive.  
ᵉna'la up river, south, world; before consonants  
ᵉnɛl-

## Suffixes:

-ᵉsta water            -aʎa to be in a certain position  
-eᵉsta around        -xsa flat object  
-aqa passing        -[x]la on fire

In many cases these words and suffixes retain terminal a, but no definite rule has been found. Sometimes the meanings of the compounds with a and without a differ somewhat in meaning.

gwas- direction towards here, qwe's- direction towards there; ᵉḅps- to one side; ᵉwax's- towards both sides; qwa'sḅa'bod, qwe'sḅa'bod this, that direction under (=abo-d); gwa'saᵉnakwɛla, qwe'saᵉna'kwɛla going gradually this, that way (=ᵉnakwɛla); qwe'sag'ḅa to arrive at a distant point (-g'ḅḅ); gwa'sḅḅtoxᵉwid to turn ear this way (=ḅto-x'ᵉid).

ḅpsa'dzeᵉ one side; ᵉwax'sa'dzeᵉ both sides; l!a'sadzeᵉ seaside; ᵉḅa'ladzeᵉ land side (see also suffix -(a)s, -(a)dzeᵉ).

ḅpsa'negwiʎ one side wall of house, gwa'sanegwiʎ near side of house.

gwa'saqɛnᵉweᵉ to be on near side;  
qwe'saqɛnᵉweᵉ to be on far side.

gwa'soʎɛla to come towards; ᵉna'loʎɛla to go south.

gwasg'i'la to come towards; ᵉne'lg'ila to go up river; qwe'sg'ila to go to far side.

gwa'sek'aʎa having back this way C 26: 121.115.

gwa'sut this side opposite; ᵉwa'x'sot both sides. gwa'sḅḅ' this side on rock.

With varied meaning: gwa'sabala to come this way III 24.7; gwa'sbala end, wind, tide is this way R 414.4; l!a'sabala to move out at sea; l!a'sbala wind blows seaward; ḅpsaba'la to go to one side; ḅpsbala wind blowing the opposite way; ᵉwa'x'sabala to go both ways; ᵉwa'x'sbala tide runs, wind blows both ways; gwa'seᵉ next one on this side; gwa'sadzeᵉ this side of a flat thing; qwe'seᵉ next one on far side; qwe'sadzeᵉ far side of a flat thing; a'lɛbeᵉ inland point; a'lɛbala to walk inland; ᵉna'ladzeᵉ upriver side of a point; ᵉne'ldzeᵉ up river, south.

q!wa'q!wɛlḅḅ' to try to come to life;  
q!wa'q!wɛ'la to try to save.

Following is a list of suffixes arranged according to their position and their effect upon the terminal consonant of the stem.

Suffixes attached exclusively to complete words.

-ᵉng'a in a dream  
-ayadzɛᵉwaʎ used to be, do(?)  
-ana perhaps  
-akwɛla at intervals of time and space  
-ɛl astonishing!  
-oᵉ hypothetical  
-oᵉ small  
-ostq!a to do  
-uʎ, -ᵉwɛʎ remote past  
-wis and so  
-ᵉwis not  
-wist!a very (< -wis and so, -t!a but)  
-biḅoᵉ small, a little, sing  
-boʎa to pretend  
-p!ɛn times  
-ᵉm previously referred to  
-mɛnᵉ'xᵘ small, a little, plur.  
-smis and so (-sm-wis)  
-dɛn finger width  
-t!a but  
-soᵉ passive  
(-sdana to die by outer force)  
-skᵘ I told you so  
(-sgɛm surface of round thing)  
(-sgɛᵉmakᵘ tribe)  
(-dʒɛs piece of)  
-dʒɛ large, very much, many  
-dʒḅ emphatic  
(-ts!aq long things)  
-naxwa from time to time  
-neᵉsl oh if!  
-g'anɛm perhaps  
-g'iʎ reason  
-k'as real, really  
-k'asᵉo nicely  
-k'inaʎ nicely  
-ga, -gas woman  
-q!a(la), -q!a(mas); -q!a(nakᵘ) emphatic  
-[x]ldɛla past optative  
-[x]daᵉxᵘ plural  
-[x]dḅx still, yet (?)  
-[x]de transition from present to past  
-[x]st!a as usual  
-[x]stḅḅᵘ apparently  
-[x]lɛ very  
-xwaᵉs days  
-xɛnt evidently  
-xa to say  
-xḅḅ, -xḅt! again  
-xol astonishing!  
-[x]lɛ miserably  
-lag'a now  
-lax uncertainty  
-laxsd contrary to fact, past  
-ᵉl it is said  
-lɛ but  
-l future

Suffixes that do not affect terminal consonant of stem.

-ɛm nominal suffix (also =ɛm (?) -!ɛm)  
-ɛm- plural of locative suffixes

- es belonging to (see -dzēs), with spirantization of terminal k<sup>u</sup> and g
- en nominal suffix
- ene to go to visit relatives or home
- ents!es down to beach
- enx edge
- ek'sa away (see =āx'sa)
- ēla, -āla continuative, to live at
- ēlaēla to be above ground
- ēlg'ēs one whose duty it is to perform a certain kind of work
- ēlqēla to think of, to feel like
- ā verbal and nominal suffix
- āqa to go in a certain direction (sometimes =āqa)
- ā'sē'sēla to do to each in order (see -ānāesa, -ānaqa)
- ayadzēwā used to be, one who has been
- ayak' on surface of water (see -amak')
- āwē's, -āla left behind (see -!ā'syawē's, -!ā'syāla, -g'isawē's)
- ā'swī across
- ap! each other
- ā'sm suffix for names of certain plants
- ā'smēnga to feign an action
- āmēngwēla some are, or are doing something
- amas to cause
- amak' on surface of water (see -ayak')
- ā'smala to quarrel about
- atus down river
- (a)s, -(a)dze's side of a flat thing
- asde dried meat of
- ānēm class of animate things (also -!ānēm)
- ānāesa, -ānē'sēla to do to each in a row (see -ānāesa, -ānē'sēla, -ānaqa)
- ānaqa to act so as to extend over several in order
- ānomā to come to do
- ak'a to happen
- ak<sup>u</sup>, -akwēla at intervals of time or space (perhaps =k<sup>u</sup>)
- agawē's extreme
- agwēnek'aā on top of, behind, one another (see -enek'aā)
- āqa to pass
- aq!ēs back and forth
- axa down
- ālas material for
- āā continued position
- āā a little more
- āāg'iwē's moving ahead (see -g'iu)
- e's nominal (also =e's, -!e's)
- e'sm near
- e'snak<sup>u</sup> extent of country
- enek'aā on top, behind one another (see -agwēnek'aā)
- i'slāla here and there, about
- exla dish (see -xla)
- el going along
- yag' back into the woods (see -xs'ag')
- s'yala to go to look for (see -[g'ē]s'yala)
- s'watēla to carry
- o, -wē, -ā'la, -wāla direction negating positive direction
- wēls out of house; -oxtā (-wēxtā) out of canoe; -oxt!a (-wēxt!a) out of woods; -osdes (-wēsdes) up from beach; -o'ssta (-wē'ssta) out of water, up from ground; -oxts!ā (-wēxts!ā) out from inside
- āla -wāla on water
- āla each other
- osmala
- ot (-wēt) fellow
- o'ss from one to the other
- usta up river
- ost!ēqēla intensification (see -[x']st!ēqēla)
- [g']usta up
- ogwī as expected
- ok!wema pair
- olēm nominal (also =olēm)
- ole suffix for fruits of certain plants
- ōtēla motion in a certain direction (see =ol)
- wēnek'aā one on top or behind another (see -agwēnek'aā, -enek'aā), perhaps containing =ek'āla back)
- βeta into a hole
- βes fond of
- ba end of long, horizontal object
- βala on the way
- baqw(ēla) blazing fire (see -qwap)
- pēla to be able to
- poi into a hole (New)
- p!a to taste
- p!ala to smell; -p!a'ā to sense by means of the eyes
- p!eg'a shin
- p!ēq post, tree
- mēs, -sms useless part
- s'mēn, -mēn young of animals
- manu head (see -[g'ē]manu)
- s'mo, s'mala moving in company
- s'mut refuse
- mp relationship
- d active verb, after suffixes
- dēn finger width
- dēq effluvia of mouth and nose
- dēlqwa disposition (?)
- dēlxēla kind of, ---ish (see -!ēlxēla)
- dana worth
- s'sana main part of an object
- saqo penis
- seqwa across (see -x'sēq!a, -x'sēxt!a)
- [s]e'ssta around
- sdana to die (from some inner trouble; see =alīsm)
- g'sta water
- ssto round opening, eye
- sgēm, -sem surface of round thing
- sgēs'mak<sup>u</sup> tribe
- [s]x'ā tooth, sharp-toothed edge
- dzēs belonging to (see -ēs)
- dzēq hole
- dzaqwa to speak (see =laqwa)
- tšen to travel by means of
- ts!ās excelling in the use of a sense organ (see -!ēs, -q!ēs)
- ts!aq long objects
- ts!axsta movement along a long, narrow path

-ts!á inside  
 -nem nominal (also =nem)  
 -g.(é) to eat  
 -g'áá to arrive; too  
 -k'én at the same time  
 -k'én too much  
 -k'áx knee  
 -k'a iterative after stems ending in vowels, y,  
w, m, n, l  
 -k'e<sup>s</sup> favorite  
 -k'inála accidentally  
 -k'!ém sign, omen  
 -k'!és to eat (see -q!és)  
 -[k']!én body  
 -k'!élqéla in front of body  
 -k'!áes front outside of body, tree, mountain  
 (see =es, -!es)  
 -[k']!ála, [k']!g'áá noise, continued action  
 with voice  
 -k'!ála, -k'!e<sup>s</sup> to assist  
 -qéno suddenly (?), to be sick  
 -qwap fire (see -baq<sup>u</sup>)  
 -q!és having an outstanding quality  
 -q!és to eat  
 -q!éno jointly with  
 -q!á to feel  
 -q!wénoxsia to come to mind  
 -x' exhortative  
 -x'es, -x's acting, being like---  
 -x'éla, -x'ála to move  
 -x'iu on top  
 -[x']<sup>s</sup>id, -nd, od, d inchoative  
 -x'<sup>s</sup>id recent past (with nouns -[x']<sup>s</sup>id)  
 -x'dém time, place  
 -xsa flat objects  
 -xla dish (see -exla)  
 -laá dance  
 -lén object used for---

## Weakening suffixes

=em nominal (also -ém, -!ém)  
 =em passive, instrument  
ém diminutive  
 =ema, =éma to play  
 =én nominal suffix.  
 =éns found unexpectedly (see =ag'énsa)  
 =énsa under water, down throat  
 =élk<sup>u</sup> having the habit of  
 =étus down river  
 =áág'ól to have been, acted before  
 =áaga to go in a certain direction (generally  
 -áaga)  
 =ayu instrument, passive  
 =ábedze<sup>s</sup> leg  
 =ab<sup>s</sup>, =apéla underneath, bottom  
 =ap! nape of neck, behind  
 =á<sup>s</sup>ma old, useless  
 =amala along bank of river  
 =ad having  
 =ato ear  
 =as place  
 =ats!e receptacle  
 =aném obtained by some action

=ano passive of some verbs in -nd, instrument  
 =a<sup>s</sup>ano, =a<sup>s</sup>no rope  
 =ag'énsa to happen to meet someone while (see  
 =éns)  
 =ak'a to happen  
 =ak<sup>u</sup> beforehand  
 =aq crotch  
 =ala to do in return  
 =ala just at that moment (?)  
 =alísem to die of some inner trouble (see =sdana)  
 =e<sup>s</sup> nominal (also -e<sup>s</sup> and -!e<sup>s</sup>)  
 =ed one who is had as owner  
 =es inside of body (see -!es, -k'!áes)  
 =es beach  
 =inet obtained by  
 =ek'(éla) back  
 =eleq(ála) nearly like (=eq)  
 =iá in house  
 =iába nose  
 =ei into house, inlet  
 =ei!xo into mouth  
 =yus always engaged in---  
 =áá ugly  
 =o<sup>s</sup>yo middle  
 =oma ? quality  
 =o<sup>s</sup>so to cause accidentally  
 =ok<sup>u</sup> person  
 =olém nominal (also -olém)  
 =ól made exclusively of, completely  
 =ól in a certain direction (see -óléla) (does  
 not weaken s)  
 =éwat successful ([=wat ?)  
 =deq in body (?)  
 =sdenaq to work in a certain position  
 =dzo on a flat thing  
 =nem nominal (also -nem)  
 =énakwéla gradually, to be---ing  
 =ne<sup>s</sup> corner  
 =neqwa corner, side of house  
 =no, =nus, =nul side  
 =k<sup>u</sup> passive participle  
 =x'és like  
 =xdala runner ?  
 =xlá on top of head  
 =xlo top of tree, ends of branches, leaves, body  
 hair  
 =laqwa to speak (see dzaqwa)  
 =á passive of verbs expressing sensations or  
 effects upon body as felt

## Suffixes weakening stops only

(=)és continuously  
 (=)exsta mouth, opening, to talk about  
 (=)áx'sa away  
 (=)táwe<sup>s</sup>, (=)tá<sup>s</sup>ye to do something while doing  
 something else (weakens s)  
 (=)g'él, continuous motion in a definite direc-  
 tion. Makes neutral verbs active (weakens k,  
q, s)  
 (=)g'éléla to go to attend, to be on way  
 (=)xék<sup>u</sup> place where there are many (plants etc.)  
 does not weaken s  
 (=)xs canoe

- (=) xsek'a in front of house, body, mountain  
 (=) xle<sup>s</sup>ya by force  
 (=) le<sup>s</sup> moving on water

## Hardening Suffixes

- !em nominal (also -em, =em)  
 -!em exclusively, real  
 -!em<sup>s</sup>ya cheek  
 -!emk'a one at a time  
 -!es excelling in the use of a sense (see -ts!ās, -q!ēs)  
 -!enx season (with numerals -[x]enx)  
 -!ela to order, cause an action  
 -!elxela kind of, ---ish (see -d!elxela)  
 -!a on rock (-!alod)  
 -!a to endeavor, be ready to  
 -!a ear  
 -!a<sup>s</sup>yawē, -!a<sup>s</sup>yāla left behind (see -āwē, -āla, -g'isawē<sup>s</sup>)  
 -!ak' disposition  
 -!aqela to carry along  
 -!aq among  
 -!axsem woman of a tribe  
 -!ax easily  
 -!ax nominal suffix  
 -!e<sup>s</sup> nominal suffix (also -e<sup>s</sup>, =e<sup>s</sup>)  
 -!ema to be able  
 -!emas, -!omas class of animals  
 -!ene<sup>s</sup> present participle, abstract noun  
 -!enox<sup>u</sup> nomen actoris  
 -!es inside or outside of stomach (see -es, -k'!āes)  
 -!eq in body, in mind  
 -!exsd to desire  
 -!od to bring  
 -!os cheek  
 -!ox<sup>u</sup> price  
 -!bo, -!pela chest  
 -!ta intensification (?)  
 -!s on ground  
 -!dze<sup>ku</sup> to do first, before  
 -!dze<sup>s</sup> number  
 -!genisbe<sup>s</sup> inside of nose  
 -!q among, inside  
 -!xo neck  
 -!xsd behind, tail end  
 -!xla hind end, stern of canoe

## Suffixes losing initial consonants

## Losing initial s:

- (s)e<sup>s</sup>sta around      -(s)x'ā tooth  
 -(<sup>s</sup>)ta water      -sgem round thing  
 -(<sup>s</sup>)to round hole,      (becomes -sem)  
 eye

## Losing initial g':

- [g'ε]<sup>s</sup>yala, -[k'ε]<sup>s</sup>yala to go to look for  
 -[g'ε]i, -[g'a]ax, -[w]εi motion  
 -[g'ā]āela, -[ε]ela<sup>u</sup>ela to be above ground  
 -[g']a<sup>s</sup>la, -[k']a<sup>s</sup>la, -<sup>s</sup>ela to perform an action at once, without looking  
 -[g']ās on roof (see [g'ā]āās)  
 -[g']āq alongside of

- [g']iu forehead  
 -[g']it body as a whole  
 -[g']isawē left over (see -!a<sup>s</sup>yāla, -<sup>s</sup>awē, -<sup>s</sup>āla)  
 -[g']ila to make something  
 -[g']ix reason  
 (=) [g'ε]g'a inside a hollow object (s?)  
 (=) [g']εi- continued or repeated motion  
 (=) [g'εi]mā<sup>s</sup>ye left by moving away  
 (=) [g']ε<sup>s</sup>ela off from ground, to be on way (weakens s)  
 (=) [g']ε<sup>s</sup>ela to wear (weakens s)  
 = [g']iu bow of canoe (see -[g']iu)  
 -[g']ustā up

## Losing initial k':

- [k']ε<sup>s</sup>ya on top of a surface  
 -[k']a<sup>s</sup>la, -[g']a<sup>s</sup>la to perform an action at once, without looking (see -[g']a<sup>s</sup>la)

## Losing initial k'!:

- [k']!en, -(!)en body  
 -[k']!eg'ax, -(!)eg'ax to begin to make a noise  
 -[k']!ala, -(!)ala to continue making a noise  
 -[k']!ot opposite (not hardening terminal consonant of stem)

## Losing initial -x':

- [x']id recent past (loses x' only when suffixed to nouns)  
 -[x']<sup>s</sup>id to begin, momentaneous; -(!)id only after p and t; k stops are aspirated  
 -[x']dem time, place  
 -[x']demk'!en dress  
 -[x']de<sup>s</sup>ma owner (Dzaw)  
 -[x']deq exclusively by---  
 -[x']de<sup>s</sup>la past optative  
 -[x']da<sup>s</sup>x<sup>u</sup> 2d and 3d person plural for human beings  
 -[x']dāx still, yet  
 -[x']de transition from present to past  
 -[x']sε<sup>s</sup>yap! shoulder  
 -[x']sεq!a across (see -seqwa, -x'sexla)  
 -[x']sexla across a hill  
 -[x']s<sup>s</sup> in two parts, off from the fire  
 -[x']sa<sup>s</sup>yas something used for---  
 -[x']sayuk<sup>u</sup> bundle  
 -[x']sanāla some in a crowd  
 -[x']s<sup>s</sup>ag' landward, towards inland  
 -[x']s<sup>s</sup>ala to talk about (see [=]xstala)  
 -[x']sā aimlessly, about  
 -[x']sā still, entirely  
 -[x']siu mouth of river  
 -[x']siwe<sup>s</sup> to do something being compelled by circumstances  
 -[x']sis foot  
 -[x']sila to take care of, work at  
 -[x']sā through  
 -[x']sok<sup>u</sup> numeral suffix for the tenths in each one hundred  
 -[x']sokwela somewhat  
 -[x']sta down to ground  
 -[x']st!eqela very (see -ost!eqela)  
 -[x']st!āāk<sup>u</sup> apparently  
 -[x']dze<sup>ku</sup> layers, minded  
 -[x']dza<sup>s</sup>mo in front of body



- [x']ts!ana hand  
 -[x']la on fire  
 Losing initial g:  
 -[g]em face  
 -[g]em mask  
 -[g]manu head  
 -[go] between  
 Losing initial x:  
 (=)[x]tâ on top of long object  
 (=)[x]t!a seaward  
 (=)[x]sek'a in front of house, of body  
 (=)[x]lεya by force  
 -![x]le miserable, pitiful (loses x after  
 s ?)

#### INFLUENCE OF SUFFIXES UPON INNER FORM OF THE STEM

In a discussion of the influence of suffixes upon the inner form of the stem some general phonetic considerations have to be borne in mind.

Lengthening of ε results in long or short a. Long stem vowels and stems of the type cvmc\* cannot be affected by lengthening, the former group because they have already long vowel. In the latter the combination vm functions as a long vowel.

Shortening of the stem vowel brings about under certain conditions elimination of the stem vowel. In most cases it leaves the character of the stem vowel unaffected.

In most cases long vowels shortened change to ε. Whenever vm either alone or in the combination vmc\* functions as a long vowel it is shortened by dropping m. In all other cases it remains em.

The influence of the suffix upon the stem may be conveniently summarized in a diagram<sup>21</sup> in which shortening of the stem-vowel is indicated by ˘, lengthening by -, no change by =; ˘ indicates ä or â (from ay and aw). Reduplication is indicated by +. Only the vowels of the reduplicated first syllables are indicated.

We have fundamentally seven types, setting aside certain irregularities to be mentioned later.

- Group 1. No influence upon the stem =
2. All stems lengthened -
3. An intermediate group, partly lengthening, partly reduplicating according to type ˘+=; stem type cvc' taking form ˘;
4. Reduplication of type ˘+=
5. Reduplication of type ä + ä, or a + ˘
6. Reduplication of type -+˘
7. Reduplication of type ä+˘

Group 1 contains by far the greatest number of suffixes. They do not modify the

stem except insofar as they influence the terminal consonant as discussed in the preceding chapter. A few examples will be sufficient to characterize this group:

Group 1.

- ela, -ala continuative: wesela' to rub her-ring spawn (wes-); ts!emā'la pointer (ts!em-); do'kwela trolling line (dōk<sup>u</sup>- to be stretched out)  
 =anem obtained by: seg'ā'nem spearing (sek'-); hā'myanem --berrying (hāms-)  
 -!ene<sup>s</sup> present participle, quality: mē'x<sup>s</sup>ene<sup>s</sup> sleeping; bek!wē'ne<sup>s</sup> quality of being a man (bek<sup>u</sup>-)

Subgroup 1a: =as place of; =ats!e receptacle; =εxsta mouth.

These suffixes differ from the preceding insofar as stems of the type A 2 and A 3 (cvm, cvy) are lengthened.

- neg'a's place for steaming (nek'-); yegxste'nd to knit mouth of net (yeg-); q!ā'mats!e box for mending; ts!ā'maxstend to point to mouth

Group 2.

- amengwela some are, do---; -ap! each other; -ens found unexpectedly; =ensa under water, down throat; =amala along bank of river; -asde dried meat of ---; -āse'la, -ānāe'sa to extend an action over several in order; -aq!es back and forth; -!a<sup>x</sup> easily; -usta up river is used both ways, with stem unchanged or long.

These suffixes demand a long vowel in all classes. Examples are:

- amengwela some are, do---: t!ā'pamengwela some are broken (t!ep-); q!wā'lamengwela some are alive (q!wel-); tsa'yamengwela some are drawing water (tsey-); sa'x'ts!amengwela some agree (sex'ts!-); hā'msamengwela some are picking berries  
 -ap! each other, one another: wā'lap! to question one another (wel-); bā'wap! to leave one another (bew-); gwā'dap! to untie--- (gwed-); kwē'lap! to give feasts to --- (kwē'lap!); hā'nlap! to shoot--- (hānl-)

Group 3. Most types of stems are used with long vowels, but there are a number of irregularities:

- a. -i<sup>s</sup>lāla here and there, uses for B 1 (cvc) also -+˘; for C 1 (cmc\*) also -+˘ or camac. p!a'li<sup>s</sup>lāla to fly about (p!el-); kwa'sx'i<sup>s</sup>lāla to splash about (kwεax'-); dō'qwi<sup>s</sup>lāla or dō'dεgwi<sup>s</sup>lāla to look here and there; se'lti<sup>s</sup>lāla or sa'lati<sup>s</sup>lāla to move about quietly.
- b. =äx'sa (-εk'sa) away without definite aim: s-wā'nax'sala (s-wen-) to hide anywhere; kwa'sx'ak'sala to splash carelessly away; gεga'sx'ak'sa to carry away on fingers (gεsx'-); sne'k'ax'sala to talk about nothing (snek'); t!ā'x'εk'sa or t!εt!e'-x'sεk'a to carry a round thing away on shoulder; k!wε'lpak'sala or k!wā'lapεk'sala

<sup>21</sup>See p. 235.

- to pluck off berries carelessly (k!wɛlp-)  
 -laɔ dancer, behaves in A 1 like  
 -ilɛsɛla, in B 1 sometimes like -ɛslɛla,  
 sometimes like ax'sa.
- c. -k'aɛla, -g'aɛla, precipitately, without  
 previous consideration: la p'ɛla to  
 spread---(ɛp-); wɛw'ng'aɛla to drill---  
 (wɛn-); tsɛtse'g'aɛla to draw water  
 (tɛy-); gwa'dɛk'aɛla to untie (gwɛd-);  
xa'k'!ɛk'aɛla to stay away---(xɛk'!);  
x'ɛsmk'aɛla to snare---(x'ɛsm-);  
q!wɛq!wa'sɛɛla to cry---(q!wɛs-);  
q!wɛɔ'ɛla or q!wɛq!wɛ'ɔ'ɛla sound stops  
 ---(q!wɛl-); dɔ'xɛwɛla, da'waxɛwɛla or  
do'xkwaɛla to see---(doq<sup>u</sup>-); ɔ'ɛɔ't!-  
ɛk'aɛla to split boards---(ɔat!);  
mɛmɔ'ɛlk'aɛla to thank---(mɔɛl-);  
sɛsɛ'lpk'aɛla to twist---(sɛlp)
- d. -[x']dɛq exclusively by: p!aɔ'dɛ'q flying  
 (p!ɛl-); t!a'ɔts!ɛdɛq---warming oneself  
 (ts!ɛɔts!); (wɛ)wɛ'nx'dɛq---drilling  
 (wɛn-); dɔ'x'dɛq---wiping (dɛy-);  
gwadɛx'dɛ'q---untying (gwɛd-); ts!a'k'!-  
aɔ'dɛq---telling news (ts!ɛk'!aɔ-);  
wɛwa'tdɛq---leading (wat-); bɔ'ɔdɛq---  
 pulling apart loose things (bɛɔ-);  
sɛ'ba'q!wɛx'dɛq---peeling bark (saq!);  
sɛ'lpdɛq---twisting (sɛlp-); (mɛ)mɛ'-  
ndzɛx'dɛq---splitting kindling wood  
 (mɛndz-); (yɛ)yɛ'nk'!ɛx'dɛq---throwing  
 sling stones (yɛnk'!); dɛda'x'dɛq---  
 holding (da)
- e. -[x']sɔ about: gwaxsɔ to pour out here  
 and there (gwɛq-); gɔ'sx'ɛk'sɔ to carry  
 about on fingers (gax's-); g'ɛg'ɛ'lk'sɔ  
 to crawl---(g'ɛl-); dɛdɛ'x'sɔ to wipe  
 ---(dɛy-); xa'k'!ɛx'sɔ to be held up  
 somewhere (xɛk'!); mɛ'ɛltsɔ to throw  
 light---; p!ɛp!ɛ'x'sɔ or p!ɔ'x'sɔ  
 to feel---(p!ɛx<sup>u</sup>-); gɛgɛ'lx'sɔ to swim---  
 (gɛlq-); sɛsa'x'sɔ to stretch---(sa)
- f. -!m really: ma'ɛnɛm to hit with fist and  
 nothing else (mɛx'-); g'ɛg'ɛ'lt!ɛm really  
 long (g'ɛlt-); sɛwɛsɛwɛnɛ'm really to hide  
 (sɛwɛn-); bɛbɛsɛwɛm---to leave (bɛw-);  
sɛwa'dɔɛm---cold (sɛwɛd-); ɔa'ɛlɔɛm---dead;  
g'ɛg'o'k!wɛm a house and nothing else  
 (g'ok<sup>u</sup>); g'ɛg'a'laɛm very first;  
wɛwa'ɛnaɛmx'ɛid to get really poor;  
tɛtaɛɛm really to wade
- g. -!ɛla to order: ya'ɔ!ɛla---to tie (yɛl-);  
yɛyɛɛla to call for wind (yɛw-);  
q!wɛq!wa'syala to tell to cry (q!was-);  
sɛsɛ'ɛwɛla or sɔ'ɛwɛla---paddle (sɛx<sup>u</sup>-);  
sɛyɛyɛ'gwaɛla to call rain (sɛyug<sup>u</sup>-);  
(dɛ)dɛ'nxɛɛla to order to sing (dɛnx-);  
tɛtaɛla to order to wade; k'ɛk'aɛla to  
 order to carry a dish
- h. -k'ɛn too much: p!ask'ɛ'n or p!a'sak'ɛn  
 to potlatch---(p!ɛs); (pɛ)pɛ'lk'ɛn too  
 thin (pɛl); dɛdɛ'k'ɛn to wipe---(dɛy-);  
sɛwa'dɛk'ɛn too cold (sɛwɛd-); hɔsmk'ɛn to  
 eat too much (hɔsm-); dɛdɛ'nxk'ɛn to  
 sing---; lo'mak'ɛnala too much
- Group 4. =ɛs continuously; -g'ɛ to eat: these  
 form += in all types of stems: yɛyɛ'xwɛs to  
 dance all the time (yɛx<sup>u</sup>-); nɛnɔ'qɛs to  
 drink---(nɔq-); lɛlɛ'mxwɛs dry---(lɛmx<sup>u</sup>-);  
mɛmɛt!ɔ'neg'ɛ to eat horse clams (mɛt!ɔ'ne);  
pɛpa'stag'ɛ to eat flounder soup (pas-ɛsta-g'ɛ)
- Group 5. =ɛm diminutive; = ɛsma to play, a  
 little; -ɔɔqa to go in a certain direction;  
 -!a to be ready, to try; -ayak', -amak' on  
 surface of water; -ap! to rival each other;<sup>22</sup>  
 -asm names of plants; -asmɛnqa to feign a  
 motion; =ala to do in return; -!ala to join  
 in; -aɔa a little more; =ɔg'iwala moving  
 ahead; =oɔ exclusively; -bala on the way;  
 =sɛnqa to do while in a certain position;  
 =[g']ɛlala to wear; -g'ɛsna to follow suit;  
 -[g'ɛ]ɛyala, [k'ɛ]ɛyala to look for an ob-  
 ject; -k'ɛn<sup>23</sup> also; -k'inala by accident;  
 -[x']sila to take care of; =[o]laqwa to talk.
- These suffixes have the same type of reduplica-  
 tion for all classes of stems, ā+, except-  
 ing A 1 (cvc) which has ā + a. Examples:  
 =[o]laqwa to talk; bɔ'bagwɛla'qwɛla to utter  
 cannibal ceremonial cry (bɛk<sup>u</sup>-); sɔ'sɛwɛla'-  
qwɛla cry used in paddling (sɛx<sup>u</sup>-)  
 -aɔa a little more. yɔ'yaxwɔɔa to dance (yɛx-);  
pɔ'pɛlaɔa a little thinner; sɛwɔ'ɛwadɔ'ɔa  
 a little colder (sɛwɛd-); wɔ'wak'ɔɔa to bend a  
 little more (wɔk'-); dɔ'dɛnɔɔa to sing---  
 (dɛnx-)
- =ɛsma to play, a little: dɔ'dɛnɛsma to pull a  
 little (dɛn-); yɔ'yɛnk'!ɛsma to play with a  
 sling
- !a to try: q!wɔ'q!waɛla to try to scratch  
 (q!wɛɔ); t!ɔ't!ɛsma to be ready to sew with  
 cedar twigs (t!ɛm-)
- The groups 6 a - c have in a number of  
 stem types the reduplication +=
- 6 a -go between, together: g'a'pod to tuck be-  
 tween (g'ɛp-); ts!a'tx'ɛgod to squirt---  
 (ts!ɛtx-); t!ɛ'mt!ɛgod to sew together with  
 cedar twigs (t!ɛm-); dɛ'dagod to wipe be-  
 tween (dɛy-); sɛmɔ'ɛmɛgod to pile---(sɛmɛw-);  
gwa'dɛgod to tie---(gwɛd-); xa'k'!ɛgod to  
 disappear permanently between (xɛk'!);  
x'ɛx'ɛ'ɛmgod to snare---(x'ɛsm-);  
q!wɔ'q!wɛsɔla to cry together (q!was-);  
sɔsɔwɔpɔ'la to whisper (op-); g'ɛg'ɛ'lgo  
 first meeting together (g'ɛl-); t!ɛt!ɔ'god  
 to be hidden from each other (t!ɛɛy-);  
sɛnɛnɛsod to compare measures (sɛnɛns-);  
da'dɛgɔxɛwid to hold two things together (da)
- 6 b q! inside: wa'xɔɔq to have a crack inside  
 (wɛx-); ts!ɛts!ɛtx'a'qa to squirt---  
 (ts!ɛtx-); sɛwɛ'nɛwɔqa to hide---(sɛwɛn-);  
dɛ'daqa to wipe---(dɛq-); gwɛda'q to untie  
 ---(gwɛd-); xa'k'!age what stays for good  
 away inside (xɛk'!); p!ɛp!ats!ɛq to have  
 something hard inside (p!ɛs-); g'a'laqa  
 first to go inside (g'al-); ɔ!o'ɔ!ɛk!wɔqa  
 to peel off inside (ɔ!ok!-); sɛ'sɔlqɛla to have

<sup>22</sup>There are a few irregular forms with this suffix.

<sup>23</sup>With all types of stems ā + ā.

- a snake inside (seX-); wē'nwēng!ēg having deep hole inside (wēng-)
- 6 c smut refuse, useless remains: q!ax'ēmut t piece bitten out (q!ēk'-); kwa'sx'ēmut left after splashing (kweSX-); wē'nwēmut refuse of drilling (wēn-); dē'dēmut--- of wiping (dēg-); gwa'dēmut--- tying (gwēd-); ha'sāmut or haēmēmut rest of food (haēm-); g'i'g'ax'ēmut ---filling (g'i'x-); sā'q!wēmut--- peeling bark (saq!u-); q!wēq!wa'ēlēmūt embers (q!waēl-); y'enyat'ēmut gnawings (yent-); mēmēndzēmut ---cutting kindling (mēndz-)
7. Reduplication of type e + ~ or - + ~:  
-!dzēk<sup>u</sup> beforehand; -!ēma to be able to; -!ēg in body, mind; -!ēmas classes of things; bē'bax'ēma can be cut (bēx-); kwe'kwēsx'adzēk<sup>u</sup> to splash before (kweSX-); ḡē'ḡaēslae'qēla to think of dying (ḡēēl-); bē'lbaē'ma can be forbidden (bēl-); hō'hats!ēdzēk<sup>u</sup> to count beforehand (hos-); t!ē'mt!ēmq!adzēk<sup>u</sup> to chop beforehand (t!ēmq-); g'ē'lg'āemas quadrupeds; ts!ē'ts!ēk!wemas shell fish (ts!ēk<sup>u</sup>)

## I s

(See p. 220, para. III)

Many stems with initial s when reduplicated weaken s to y. No definite rule can be given. The suffix -smut has often this effect, but not regularly. The same stems have in some reduplications stable s, in others they change to y. It seems that no plural reduplication causes this change. The following examples have been observed:

- sā'yapaḡ'g'iwa'la to throw while going along III 149.22 (sēp-); sā'yak'aḡ'g'iwa'la to spear---(sēk'-); sā'yopaḡ'g'iwa'la to chop---(sōp-)
- sā'yap!a to be ready to throw (sēp-); sā'yēmēk!a (also sā'sēmēk!a) to be ready to try out oil (sēmēk'-); sā'yak!a--- spear C 26: 210.435 (sēk'-); sā'yēlp!a--- to twist; sā'yop!a ---chop (sōp-); sā'yats!a or sā'sāa'--- get spring salmon (sās-); sā'yak!wa--- get fern root (sāk<sup>u</sup>), ---butcher (sa<sup>ēk<sup>u</sup></sup>); sā'yā'wēk!a to try to steal fire-wood; sā'yē'na to try to get whole (sēn-)
- We have however sā'sap!a to try to skin (sāp-); sā'sēēla to try to drill (sēl-); sā'sēlt!a to try to be quiet (sēlt-); sā'sēlq!wa to try to twist (sēlq-)

sē'myax'ēmut refuse after trying out oil (sēmēk'-); sē'nyax'ēmut--- peeling bark (sēng-); sō'yap'ēmut--- chopping R 617.11 (sōp-); sā'pēmut < sā'yap'ēmut--- skinning (sāp-); sāk<sup>u</sup>ēmut < sā'yak<sup>u</sup>ēmut--- fern digging sāk<sup>u</sup>); sāq!wē'ēmut < sayaq!wē'ēmut (also sēsā'q!wē'ēmut) ---peeling bark (saq!u-); sē'yax'ēmut (also sē'sax'ēmut, sē'nax'ēmut) ---peeling seagrass

sē'myak'awēs left over after trying out oil (sēmēk'-); sē'yā'kwēsawēs--- butchering

sā'ya(p)bala to return first marriage gift R 1079.24 (sēp-); sē'nyēnē'nd to go to the end R 187.33.

- sā'yak'aēmēngā to make motion of spear-  
ing
- sa'yak'ināla to spear by chance
- sā'yobēm (also sā'sobēm) little axe R 111.3; sā'yāōgwēm small board, shingle CX 220.24.
- sā'yākwēyāla to go to look for meat C 26:49.266; sā'yak!ag'ēyāla to go to look for fire
- sā'yēnx'sāla to talk about a plan (sēn-)
- sē'nyānoliḡ whole in house; sē'nyānō-gwa'ēliḡ whole family together in house R 594.31; sē'nyēnk!ēnā'lats!āla to have the whole body inside R 532.32
- sā'yak!āla four and one half;
- sā'yak!ap!ēnk!ēla four and a half spans R 162.70; sā'yak!ax'okwēlasa māēḡa forty-two R 878.92; sā'yak!asgēm'ustā'lasa māēḡwēnā'ḡtēm forty-eight (sēk!-)
- sā'yagawā'ēliḡ stretched between in house (sa)
- sē'yak!wemas meat, game R 856.64;
- sē'yāēx<sup>u</sup>sila to take care of butchering M 706.2
- sā'yāōk'āla to push boards one on the other C II 22.17
- sā'p!ēm < sā'yop!ēm; sā'pdēg < sā'yopdēg exclusively by chopping

The following are treated like stems with initial s:

tsāx'ēmut < tsā'yax'ēmut leavings after eating sea-eggs (tsak'-); tsā'yak'ināla cut off by chance C 26:68.15 (tsēk'-); tayaqwa'yak' octopus (tēg-); ḡa'ēyēngēma to make forget [R 1038.77] (ḡēnā?).

## ORDER OF SUFFIXES

The group of suffixes which are attached to complete words and which consists largely of conjunctive and adverbial terms which express tense, mode, pronouns (see p. 266) appear often in combination and are applied in most cases in definite order although in a number of instances the order may be reversed, p.e. hāē'bēts!a-nax<sup>u</sup>stāax<sup>u</sup>dze and hāē'bēts!anadzēx<sup>u</sup>stāak<sup>u</sup> apparently a big hairy hand C II 118. 1,2.

The following suffixes that appear fairly frequently in combination have been investigated:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. Personal pronouns and<br><u>-x'daēx<sup>u</sup></u> | 13. <u>-ana</u> perhaps                    |
| 2. <u>-x'dē</u> transition from present to past        | 14. <u>-ēl</u> by hearsay                  |
| 3. <u>-x'ēid</u> near past                             | 15. <u>-ēng'a</u> in a dream               |
| 4. <u>-ōl</u> remote past                              | 16. <u>-xaa</u> , <u>-xat!</u> also        |
| 5. <u>-l</u> future                                    | 17. <u>-x'stāak<sup>u</sup></u> apparently |
| 6. <u>-lax</u> hypothetical                            | 18. <u>-x'st!a</u> as usual (?)            |
| 6a. <u>-laxsē</u> contrary to fact                     | 19. <u>-dzā</u> really                     |
| 7. <u>-ēm</u> conjunctive                              | 20. <u>-xle</u> miserably                  |
| 8. <u>-t!a</u> but                                     | 21. <u>-xol</u> surprise                   |
| 9. <u>-la</u> but                                      | 22. <u>-ēl</u> surprise                    |
| 10. <u>-wis</u> and so                                 | 23. <u>-dze</u> large, many                |
| 11. <u>-g'anēm</u> probably, perhaps                   | 24. <u>-k'as</u> real                      |
| 12. <u>-xēt</u> evidently                              | 25. <u>-x'sā</u> still                     |
|  | 26. <u>-naxwa</u> from time to time        |

	1	1a	2	$\frac{iES(?)}{iEiLa}$ $\frac{3a}{3a}$	$\frac{-EX'Sa}{3b}$	$\frac{k'asila}{3c}$	$\frac{x'deq}{3d}$	$\frac{x'sh}{3e}$	$\frac{-iEM}{3f}$	$\frac{-iEla}{3g}$	$\frac{k'EN}{3h}$	$\frac{-ES,-gE}{4}$	5	6a	6b	$\frac{emit}{6c}$	$\frac{g'isave}{6d}$	$\frac{-eme, -eq, -dzeg}{-iemas}$ 7
A 1				- OR V+=	-		R' OR +E1	R'	-	- OR V=-	R' OR CVC'B	V+=	R+R	-	-	a'	-	E+V
A 1'					- OR V+=	-	-	R'	-	-	a	V+=		-	V+=	a	-	E+V
(A 2)		-		-	-	-+=	-2 OR OR =	V+=	- OR V+=	- OR V+=	V+=	V+=	R+=	-+ <sup>4</sup> OR -	-+	-+ <sup>4</sup>	-+ <sup>4</sup>	-+ <sup>4</sup>
(A 3)		-		-	- OR V+=	V+= OR =	-3 OR V+=	V+=	V+=	OR V+=	V+=	V+=		-+ <sup>4</sup>	-+	-+ <sup>4</sup>	-+ <sup>4</sup>	-+ <sup>4</sup>
A 4				-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	V+=		-	= (?)	-	-	E+V
A 5				-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	V+=	R+=	-	-	-	-	E+V
A 6		all oth- ers		-	-	=	-	-	-	-	-	V+=		V+=	V+=	V+=	-	E+V
B 1	all	=	all	- OR -+	OR V+=	V+= OR OR <u>ca</u> <u>vac</u>	OR V+=	OR V+=	OR V+=	OR V+=	V+=	V+=	R+=	-+ <sup>4</sup> OR -+ <sup>4</sup>	-+V	- OR -+R	-+R	-+
B 2	=								V+=					V+= OR EM	-+			
B 3							OR V+=											
B 4						V+= OR V+=			OR V+=									
B 5				=		V+= (a)	- OR V+=		V+=	V+=				V+=	-+	- OR V+=		
B 6				=		V+=			V+=					-				
C 1				- OR OR <u>ca</u> <u>mac</u>	- OR OR <u>ca</u> <u>mac</u>	V+= OR OR <u>ca</u> <u>mac</u>	- OR OR <u>ca</u> <u>mac</u>	V+= OR OR <u>ca</u> <u>mac</u>	V+= OR OR <u>ca</u> <u>mac</u>	V+= OR OR <u>ca</u> <u>mac</u>	V+=	V+=	R+=	-+ <sup>4</sup>	-+=	-+ <sup>4</sup>	-+ <sup>4</sup>	-+=
C 2																		
C 3																		
C 4						V+=	- OR V+=			V+=						V+=		
C 5				=		V+=	- OR V+=	V+=								V+=		
C 6				=		-										V+=		
Ccyc																		
D						V+=	OR V+=	V+=	V+=	V+=			R+=?	R+=				-+

1 Accent on suffix.  
 2 vowel cannot change to a because followed by two consonants.  
 3 ay and av become k and a.  
 4 According to previous definition the first syllable represents cem, respectively cey, the second ca.\*

Since not all combinations of these occur in our material (a number being impossible on account of the meaning of the suffixes), the list is incomplete.

1. Personal pronouns are always in terminal position, except the second person in combination with the suffix -e<sub>l</sub> surprise:

swi'slāe<sub>l</sub>ε la<sub>ε</sub> m<sub>ε</sub> lents we will all go in (-ε<sub>m</sub>-l-ents) CX 1.16 but lε<sub>ε</sub>ma'se<sub>l</sub>axat! astonishing! you also (-ε<sub>m</sub>-as-e<sub>l</sub>-xat!)<sup>C</sup> II 74.18.

-x'da<sub>ε</sub>x<sup>u</sup> forming the plural of the second and third persons precedes all other suffixes of this group excepting pronouns. It may precede or follow -g'anεm and -εng'a

2-5. The tenses -x'de, -x'εid, -o<sub>l</sub>, -l behave in general in the same manner with all suffixes. They follow -xent, -ε<sub>l</sub>,<sup>24</sup> -xāā, -xat!, -e<sub>l</sub>. They precede -g'anεm, -εng'a, -x'sā, -x'st!a.

There are a few exceptions for the future. -t!a, -l<sub>a</sub> follow the tenses, except the future which they precede. -ana precedes the tenses except the future, which it follows.

ε<sub>m</sub> precedes the tenses except -x'εid which it follows.

-x'st!a follows -x'εid and -o<sub>l</sub>. It precedes -x'de and -l.

Incomplete records are: -x'da<sub>ε</sub>x<sup>u</sup> precedes -o<sub>l</sub>, -l; -lax, -laxsde follow -x'εid, -o<sub>l</sub>; -wis follows -l; -x'stāāk<sup>u</sup> precedes -x'de, -o<sub>l</sub>, -l; -dzā precedes -x'de, -o<sub>l</sub>, -l; -x<sub>l</sub>e precedes -x'de, -x'εid, -o<sub>l</sub>; -xol follows -x'de, -o<sub>l</sub>, -l; -k'as precedes -o<sub>l</sub>, -l.

6. -lax, -laxsde follow -x'da<sub>ε</sub>x<sup>u</sup>, -x'εid, -o<sub>l</sub>, -ε<sub>m</sub>, -dzā, -naxwa. They precede -t!a, -wis, -ana, -ε<sub>l</sub>.

7. -ε<sub>m</sub> follows -x'da<sub>ε</sub>x<sup>u</sup>, -x'εid, -g'anεm, -ana, -εng'a, -x'stāāk<sup>u</sup>, -dzā, -x<sub>l</sub>e, -dze, -k'as, -x'sā, -naxwa. It precedes the tenses except -x'εid; -lax, laxsde, -t!a, -l<sub>a</sub>, -wis, -xent, -ε<sub>l</sub>, -xāā, -xat!, -xol.

8. -t!a follows tenses except -l; x'da<sub>ε</sub>x<sup>u</sup>, -lax, -ε<sub>m</sub>, -εwis, -xent, -ε<sub>l</sub>, -εng'a, -x'stāāk<sup>u</sup>, -dzā, -x<sub>l</sub>e. It precedes -l, -e<sub>l</sub>.

9. -l<sub>a</sub> follows tenses except -l; -x'da<sub>ε</sub>x<sup>u</sup>, -ε<sub>m</sub>, -wis, -xent, -ana, -εng'a, -x'stāāk<sup>u</sup>, -dzā, -xol, -e<sub>l</sub>, -dze, -naxwa. It precedes -l, -ε<sub>l</sub>.

10. -wis follows -l, -lax, -ε<sub>m</sub>, -ana, -ε<sub>l</sub>, -εng'a, -dzā, -e<sub>l</sub>. It precedes -t!a, -l<sub>a</sub>.

11. -g'anεm precedes all suffixes of this group. It may either precede or follow -x'da<sub>ε</sub>x<sup>u</sup>, -xāā, -xat!, -naxwa.

12. -xent follows tenses, -x'da<sub>ε</sub>x<sup>u</sup>, ε<sub>m</sub>, -εng'a, -dzā, -naxwa. It precedes -t!a, -l<sub>a</sub>.

13. -ana follows -l, -lax, -dzā. It precedes the tenses except -l; -lax, -ε<sub>m</sub>, -l<sub>a</sub>, -wis, -ε<sub>l</sub>.

14. -ε<sub>l</sub> follows -ε<sub>m</sub>, -g'anεm, -ana, -x'stāāk<sup>u</sup>, -dzā, -x<sub>l</sub>e, -k'as, -x'sā, -naxwa. It precedes -t!a, -l<sub>a</sub>, -wis, -x'st!a, -xol.

<sup>24</sup>Dr. Boas was not certain of this entry.

15. -εng'a follows -dze, -k'as. It precedes -t!a, -l<sub>a</sub>, -wis, -g'anεm, -xent, -xāā, -xat!.

16. -xāā, -xat! follows -ε<sub>m</sub>, -g'anεm, -xent, -ana, -ε<sub>l</sub>, -εng'a, -x'stāāk<sup>u</sup>, -x'st!a, -dzā, -x<sub>l</sub>e, -xol, -e<sub>l</sub>, -k'as, -naxwa. It precedes -wis.

17. -x'stāāk<sup>u</sup> follows -x<sub>l</sub>e. It precedes -ε<sub>m</sub>, -t!a, -l<sub>a</sub>, -ε<sub>l</sub>, -xāā, -dzā, -naxwa.

18. -x'st!a follows -ε<sub>m</sub>, -g'anεm. It precedes -ε<sub>l</sub>.

19. -dzā follows -x'stāāk<sup>u</sup>, -x<sub>l</sub>e. It precedes -lax, -ε<sub>m</sub>, -t!a, -l<sub>a</sub>, -wis, -xent, -ana, -ε<sub>l</sub>, -εng'a, -xāā, -e<sub>l</sub>. It may follow or precede -naxwa.

20. -x<sub>l</sub>e follows -ε<sub>m</sub>, -t!a, -ε<sub>l</sub>, -xāā, -xat!, -x'stāāk<sup>u</sup>, -dzā, -naxwa.

21. -xol follows -ε<sub>m</sub>, -ε<sub>l</sub>, -dze. It precedes -l<sub>a</sub>, -xāā.

22. -e<sub>l</sub> follows -lax, -ε<sub>m</sub>, -t!a, -dzā. It precedes -xāā. It may precede or follow -l<sub>a</sub>. The second person pronoun precedes -e<sub>l</sub>.

23. -dze precedes -ε<sub>m</sub>, -l<sub>a</sub>, -ε<sub>l</sub>, -εng'a, -k'as.

24. -k'as follows -x'da<sub>ε</sub>x<sup>u</sup>, -dze. It precedes -ε<sub>m</sub>, -ε<sub>l</sub>, -εng'a, -xāā, -dzā, -naxwa.

25. -x'sā precedes -ε<sub>m</sub>, -wis, -ε<sub>l</sub>.

26. naxwa follows -l<sub>a</sub> -x<sub>l</sub>e. It precedes -x'da<sub>ε</sub>x<sup>u</sup>, -lax, -ε<sub>m</sub>, -t!a, -xent, -ε<sub>l</sub>, -xāā, -xat!, -xol. It may follow or precede -g'anεm, -dzā.

#### THE SEMANTIC VALUE OF SUFFIXES

The use of suffixes for adding new material ideas to the initial morpheme is common to a restricted area inhabited by all the Kwakiutl dialects, Nootka, Quileute, and Salish. Outside of this area it is unknown. Its closest analogue is found in the suffixes of the Eskimo language. Since in all these languages the initial morphemes are much more numerous and varied in their contents than the suffixes we may designate them as stems. Kwakiutl, Nootka, and Quileute admit only a single stem preceding the suffixes. These can never be initial. Salish has also modifying prefixes.

The range of ideas expressed by suffixes is very wide and the classifications made for the various languages differ considerably. In Quileute Andrade<sup>25</sup> distinguishes between suffixes expressing nominal concepts, those expressing verbal concepts and a miscellaneous group. Reichard<sup>26</sup> classifies the suffixes of Coeur d'Alene as verbal, nominal, locative, nominalizing, and syntactic suffixes. Vogt<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup>Andrade, Manuel, Quileute, in Handbook of American Indian Languages, III: 194 et seq.

<sup>26</sup>Reichard, Gladys, Coeur d'Alene, ibid., 601 et seq.

<sup>27</sup>Vogt, Hans, The Kalispel Language; Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademie 1 Oslo, 50 et seq., Oslo, 1940.

distinguishes in closely related Kalispel -p suffixes (expressing the idea that an action occurs without interference of the subject, field-suffixes (corresponding to Reichard's nominal and locative), lexical suffixes changing the syntactical functions of the verb or adding shades of meaning like iteration, reciprocity, reflexivity, etc. These correspond on the whole to Reichard's verbal suffixes. Sapir and Swadesh<sup>28</sup> distinguish between (1) formative suffixes, which are added to a theme (i.e. a stem or a derivational form) and which either make a derivative theme or indicate the aspect; (2) incremental suffixes which are added only to complete words and which express notions of time, voice, mode, person, and number of subject and object, and other notions. In Kwakiutl this distinction cannot be rigidly made. Two of the three passives, for instance, would belong to the formative group. In the former group they distinguish between (1) governing suffixes, which introduce a new central notion to which the underlying stem or theme becomes subsidiary, (like "to see a canoe," where "to see" is expressed by a suffix); and (2) restrictive suffixes, which introduce a notion that is semantically subordinate to or coordinate with that of the underlying theme.

In the classifications of suffixes used for Quileute and Salish the incremental suffixes of Nootka, as defined by Sapir and Swadesh have, on the whole, not been included. In Kwakiutl there is a corresponding group insofar as time, voice (in part), mode, person and number of persons are concerned. The "other notions" contain in Kwakiutl a number of verbs, adverbs, adjectives, nouns, conjunctions and terms expressing emotional attitudes.

We cannot accept the classification of "formative" suffixes in two groups: "governing" and "restrictive" suffixes which are not based on internal evidence, but rather on our European classifications. The objections to this have been well stated by Andrade.<sup>29</sup> For instance "to see a canoe" which would fall under the heading of "governing suffixes" may as well be conceived as "to perform an action relating to a canoe by seeing" in which case "to see" would be a restrictive element.

We may say: it tastes good, it seems good, it smells good, etc. Then the general element would be "good," restricted by the various verbs. On the other hand in the expressions "it tastes good, bad, bitter, like man" the general element would be "to taste," restricted by various qualifications. It is impossible to decide how these combinations may be felt by native speakers. Formally the governing and restrictive groups are identical.

<sup>28</sup>Sapir, Edward, and Morris Swadesh, *Nottka Texts*, 236, Linguistic Soc. Amer., Philadelphia, 1939.

<sup>29</sup>Loc. cit., 260.

The classification which we have adopted should be considered merely as a convenience designed to give an impression of the range of ideas expressed by means of suffixes:

1. General locatives, p.e. in, on, under, across.
2. Special locatives, p.e. up river, on water, in house, etc.
3. Special locatives referring to body parts: p.e. on the hand, in the body, on the head. Some of these have at the same time a general locative meaning and it remains doubtful whether the general or special idea is fundamental.
4. Limitations of form (mostly with numerals), p.e. long, flat, bundle, times.
5. Temporal suffixes, p.e. past, future.
6. Suffixes forming transitive verbs.
7. Aspects, p.e. continuative, momentary, gradually, repetitive.
8. Number of human beings.
9. Modes.
10. Passive.
11. Restriction of subject.
12. Nominal suffixes, p.e. actor, instrument, quality, place.
13. Verbal suffixes, p.e. to make, to smell of, to travel by---
14. Adverbs and adjectives, p.e. large, small, somewhat, accidentally.
15. Source of information, p.e. quotative, evidential.
16. Degree of certainty, p.e. probably, perhaps.
17. Conjunctions.
18. Emotional attitudes.
19. Auxiliary suffixes.

#### 1. General Locatives

- [x']sâ through: lax'sâ to go through (la);  
nē'xsâla to pull through (nēx-) III 76.1;  
p!ē'ṭsâ to fly through (p!ēL-) III 165.22.
- i'slâla about: q!wē'si'slâla to squeeze all over  
III 40.7 (qwēs-); pā'xwi'slâla to drift about  
III 459.33 (pex<sup>u</sup>-).
- [x']sâ about; p!ā'ṭsâ to fly about (p!ēL-);  
dēdē'nx'sâ to pull about (dēn-).
- o'ss from one to the other; dâ'ss to give from  
one to the other; tseyo'ssēla to dip from one  
to the other R 771.71 (tsey-).
- [s]e'ssta around: mō'p!ēne'ssta four times around  
III 13.9; qā'tse'sstala to walk around III  
49.30 (qās-).
- !q among, in the inside of material:  
baxō't!r'qēla pitchy inside V 490.1; yā'q!wē'qes  
to distribute among; g'ē'lt!ēge longest  
(long among others).
- [g]o between: qensâ'la to adze between V 363.10  
(qens-).
- aga past: lā'ga to go past; g'ā'laqa to go past  
first (to forestall) III 246.35 (g'āl-); see  
-aga p. 244.
- =āāga to go in a direction: āē'dāāga to return

III 13.9 (sēt-); gwā'gwayāāqa to turn toward (gwas-)  
 =āx'sa, away: p!ā'lex'sa to fly away;  
mā'xts!āx'sa to go away for shame III 316.32.  
 -em nearby: swenē'ems to hide nearby outside;  
k!wā'smīx to sit nearby on floor.  
 -[k!]ot opposite: gwa'k!ot the opposite side  
 down river III 130.22; la'k!otend to go to  
 the opposite side III 271.8.  
 -!xsd behind, hind end, tail end: ē'k!axsdala  
 to have hind end up V 490.28; ō'xsdes hind  
 end V 490.28.  
 -!xla behind, bottom, stern: ō'xlax'sidze heel  
 V 475.5 (o-xla-[x]sis=eε) V 475.5;  
gwā'!ex!āla to groan afterwards X 5.11.  
 =oeyo middle: k'ebō'eyod to embrace in middle  
 X 177.4 (k'ep-); mō'gwoeyod to tie in mid-  
 dle III 370.13.  
 =no side of round object: t!enno'sye side door  
 X 171.28 (t!ex'-); āxnō'lisa to place by  
 the side of on beach (āx-no-lis) III 177.39.  
 =nos side of a long object: lā'weno'dzēlīx to  
 stand alongside in house III 31.34 (lax<sup>u</sup>=  
 nos=g'ēx=iā).  
 =nul<sup>em</sup> side of face (< nul-[g]em):  
hē'xk!odenuleme right side of face, of  
 housefront III 186.32.  
 =ne<sup>ε</sup> corner.  
 =neq<sup>u</sup> side of house: hāsne'gwīx vessel stands  
 at side of house X 125.29 (hān=neq<sup>u</sup>=iā).  
 -axa, -axōd, -axōdayu down: lā'xa to go down  
 III 165.29; ts!eqā'xoeyu to be thrown down  
 X 87.28 (ts!eq-axa=ayū).  
 -[g]ustā up: dō'qwestāla to look up X 167.37;  
nē'xustod to pull up (nēx-).  
 -[x]seq!a over: p!ē!ts!eq!a to fly over.  
 -seqwa across: nepsē'gwīx to throw across in  
 house C 26:135.38.  
 -[x]sexla across a hill: lā'x'sexla to go---.  
 -aewīx across: gelqaewīxēla to swim across  
 III 148.18.  
 -ts!ā in: saxts!ā'la to put into III 114.36;  
q!ō'xts!ōd to dress in (i.e. to put on gar-  
 ment) III 98.1.  
 -beta down into: !ē'nxbetend to shove down  
 into X 224.17.  
 -poi down into (Kos): kwelpō'liā to lie down  
 in bedroom X 207.22 (kwel-poi=iā).  
 =abo under: lā'yabod to push under III 80.13  
 (lās-); g!gabā'sye chief under other  
 chiefs III 151.26.  
 -[x]sta down to ground: lā'x'stāiā to fall  
 down to floor; nepstāiā to throw (stone)  
 down to floor.  
 -[g'aa]lēla, [g'ē]lēla above; k!wet!ā'lēla to  
 stick on (body) R 1135.97; te'kwelalēla to be  
 hanging above R 368.3 (tek<sup>u</sup>-).  
 =[x]tā on top of a long, standing object:  
k!waxtā to sit on top III 182.32; ē'betod  
 to pinch top end X 224.32.  
 -ba end of a long, horizontal object: dō'x<sup>u</sup>ba  
 to see point III 91.32; !ē'!exbala to have  
 sea-lions at ends X 71.6; lā'labēndala to go  
 from end to end III 196.35.

-[x']la on fire: hā'nx'lala kettle (hān-x'la-  
 [ē]la vessel on fire); t!ē'qwaplend to put  
 stones on fire III 20.8.  
 -enx edge: dē'nxend to take hold of edge III  
 10.14; sāma'ēnxε youngest child (small one  
 at edge) III 45.34.  
 =edzo on a flat object: t!ē'bedzod to step on a  
 flat object X 101.18; sālē'wedzeweε sea  
 hunter on flat (i.e. in sky, Orion).  
 -sgem on a round object: smē'lsgem white on sur-  
 face III 61.26; ālā'g'εmsgem dressed skin  
 blanket X 57.3 (see also -g<sup>em</sup> face; -sgem  
 classifier of numerals).  
 -ā off, away from; after vowels m, n, l, -wā:  
lā'wā to go off from road; sopā'la to chop  
 off; t!ō'sod to cut off.  
 With other suffixes: lā'wels to go out  
 of house; lā'ēsta to go out of water III  
 356.6; smō!ts!ā'la to unload III 55.33;  
g'ā'xeweqā to come out of inside; lā'wegod  
 to take off from forehead (-[g]liu forehead);  
dexewelt!ā'liā to jump out of room III 97.29;  
smō'xtod to unload canoe X 103.26; dexewē!to's  
 to jump down out of III 279.15.  
 -[x']sε across: sō'psεend to chop across;  
swi'ewεlx'sε cut up entirely X 155.32. Also  
g'ā'xsεa to come ashore III 371.37.  
 -aq!εs back and forth: nā'paq!εs to throw ball  
 back and forth.

## 2. Special Locatives

=[g']eg'a inside a hollow object.  
 -[k']ēya top of surface: lēpēyendā'la to spread  
 over top of box; enemā'k'ēyε level on top.  
 -ents!es down to beach: lē'nts!es to go---III  
 80.21; lā'x!ents!e'sela to call---III 80.17.  
 =ensa under water, in throat: sē'densa again  
 under water III 143.19; nege'nsela straight  
 under water V 477.30.  
 -swesdes up from beach (perhaps < s<sup>wε</sup>-ēsta=es):  
lā'ēsdes to go up---III 211.15; sō'xlozdō'sela  
 to carry on back---X 162.15.  
 =[x]t!a out to sea: dō'gwēt!ā'la to look---  
 X 117.26; kwadzet!ō'd to kick---X 111.1.  
 -atus, (=)ē!tus down river, down inlet:  
gelqatū'sela to swim---; qā'mxwatū'sela  
 bird's down is coming---; sē'wē!tū'sela to  
 paddle---.  
 -susta up river: hō'xwesta to go up river, pl.;  
sē'xwestā'la to paddle---.  
 -yag' into woods: lā'yag' to go---X 186.18;  
lā'yag'ēliā to go (to sides) in house III  
 386.11.  
 -[x]sεak'ēla into woods: nē'x<sup>u</sup>sεak'ēla to go  
 into woods at night C 26:183.8.  
 -[s]ta water, air: āxsts'nd to put into water;  
s<sup>wε</sup>daēsta' cold water III 141.17; ā'xta fresh  
 water; masxta two eat out one fluid i.e.  
 out of one dish.  
 -[s]to round opening, eye, door: d<sup>ε</sup>stō'd to  
 wipe eyes; sōstā'liā door of house; nege!tō  
 to keep on trail; lā'x<sup>u</sup>esto to miss a round  
 place.

-qwap fire: t!ē'qwap stones on fire;  
swā'lasqwapelis great fire in world.  
 -baq<sup>u</sup> flames: nexbā'qwela to have a blaze going right up.  
 -āla, after vowels, m, n, l, -wāla stationary on water: k'atā'la long object adrift;  
smek'ā'la island (smek<sup>u</sup>-āla round thing on water).  
 -ayak on surface of water: pā'paxwayak' to float on water C 26:82.105.  
 -amak' on surface of water: syā'syak'amak' rub-bish on water (syak'- bad).  
 =amala along bank of river: nā'gamala to go straight--R 117.10.  
 =leē, =laeyod moving on water: hā'nleleē to shoot on water (hānl-); smē'nsalaeeyod to try on water C 26: 51.77.  
 -!a, -!aēlod on rock: yā'q!wa to lie dead on rock III 154.12; qāp!ā'ēlod to pour out on rock III 179.8; k!wā'g'āaēla to sit down on rock X 105.25.  
 -!s on ground: k!wasē to be seated on ground X 173.22; swā'tels to lead on ground X 4.5; lā'wels to go out of house III 19.8.  
 =is open space, bottom of sea, world, beach, in body: k!wedzi's to sit on beach (k!wes- to sit, pl.); qāp!ā'lis to upset on beach; g'ē'ldeē long-breathed; smegwī's round thing in stomach.  
 =iχ floor of house, in house: legwi'χ fire in house (leq<sup>u</sup>-); sāxēā'liχ to put on floor III 137.37; kweēli'χ to lie down in house (kwe-l-); lebeqwi'lk<sup>u</sup> spread out on floor V 430.22 (lep=k<sup>u</sup>=iχ=k<sup>u</sup>).  
 =xs canoe: dāxs to take aboard III 96.32; smō'xsela to load canoe III 78.38; qep!ēχxs to pour into canoe V 473.15.  
 =ēl into house, into inlet: sāxē'lēla to put into house III 48.27; hō'gwe to enter pl. III 21.1  
     =elēlela shoreward: dā'belelela to tow ashore (dap-).  
 -el! going along (with -!s on ground, -!a on rock): gē'lpel!e'sela to pull canoe up along ground (i.e. along bank of river);  
qā'sel!ala to walk along rocky shore C II 116.6; lā'!lesela to go to all houses.  
 =xlo branches, leaves, body hair: l!ā'gwexlo red-haired; hā'nxlod to put in branches of tree III 278.31; sawō'xlo big-leaved R 258.68.  
 -[x']siu mouth of river: wē'nx'siu deep at---; ō'x<sup>u</sup>siwe mouth of river III 29.3.  
 -[x']liu top of hill, bank of river; lā'x'eyud to go up to top C 26:213.40.  
 -[g']lāq bank of river: mā'k'āgeē next to--- III 180.23; k!wā'g'āgēnd to sit on---III 30.6  
 =xsek'a outside front of house: k'!ā'dexsek'ela to have painting on---III 186.27;  
ho!ā'gexse'k'a to listen in front of house C 26:124.84 (< =xs=ek'a ?)  
 -[g']ās, -[g'ā]alās roof: ē'lg'ās ballast on roof R 183.9; lā'g'ās to go about on roof CX 273.31; lā'g'āāās to go up to roof

C 26:181.244.

=aq crotch: sawā'geē crotch of tree; g'i'g'aqala to have teeth in crotch III 96.17 (special for female sexual organs).  
 =eēno at someone or something passing by:  
nēbe'ēnod to throw (stones) at passer-by (nep-).  
 =giu bow of canoe: xwedēg'i'wala to have sticking out at---III 143.26; ā'g'iveē bow of canoe III 127.42.

## 3. Parts of Body as Locatives

(=)xlā head: smeldzēxlā'la to have something turning on head X 114.12; nē'χēxlā'x'sid to begin to show head III 143.10.  
 -[g]ēm face: smē'lgēm white-faced, sāxamā'la to have on face III 271.24; salaēnē'mgēm with a wolf's face.  
     -[g]manu head: g'ēla'gemanu head of grizzly bear; sā'semanu head of spring salmon.  
     -[g]ēmχ mask: kwe'nxwēmχ thunderbird mask III 16.1; smē'lgēmχ mountain goat mask III 98.12.  
     -nulem temples < nul-[g]ēm; see no-p.  
 --!ēmēya cheek: nā'swēmēya to cover cheek with blanket; pēl!ē'mēyeē cheek fins of halibut R 242.20.  
 -!os cheek: smēslō's white-cheeked; ē'p!odzēnd to pinch cheek.  
 -[g']liu, -eyu forehead: yexwī'weē dancing-headress; sāxē'wala to have on forehead III 19.6; yēlēyō'd to tie on forehead; lā'weyod to take off from---III 22.2.  
 =ato ear: g'ē'ldato long-eared; gwā'sāatāla to turn ear to III 81.43; hē'latā to lend ear III 217.37 (hēχ-).  
 -!a ear: swēsēwedāā' ear is cold (swēd- reduplicated with inserted s); tē'stek!wa ear pendant (tēk<sup>u</sup>- to hang); sēsēāp!ō'd to pinch ear (sēp-).  
 -[s]tō eye, also door, round opening: kwē'stod to spit into eye III 95.30; sāxstō'd to open door III 15.6.  
 =iχba nose (< =iχ-ba): gwā'wiχbeē raven nose III 129.41; lā'gwilχbēnd to shove against nose III 349.20.  
 -!genisba inside of nose: dō'dēq!wege'nisba to look into nose CX 103.15; sē'wasgenisbeē nostrils.<sup>30</sup>  
 (=)exsta mouth, opening of a bag, vessel:  
tsiā'maxstēnd to point at mouth; hā'ēlamāxsta to eat quickly pl. C III 328.29;  
bēnk'!ō'dēsxsteē lower lip R 446.13;  
mā'g'exstaēliχ close to mouth (opening, door) of house X 5.38; bēgwexsta' man's voice (mouth).  
 -[s]x'ā tooth, sharp edge: swā'lasx'ā big-tooth (lynx); t!ē sx'ā stone-edged III 96.18.  
 -!xo neck: qēnxā'la to have around neck (qēx'-!xo-ala) III 167.28; k'!ēp!ēxō'd to

<sup>30</sup>Dr. Boas was not certain of the sg in this form.



embrace around neck X 121.38.

=e!xo in mouth (see -ei into):

ts!egē!l!exod to throw into mouth III  
359.13.

=endzem throat (< =ens=em): tō'bendzem speck in throat.

-ap! neck: sãxã'p!ala to have on neck III 19.6;  
g'ep!ã'l!elod to tuck into neckpiece III  
39.3.

Also: following, behind: lãwap!elis to stand behind on beach.

-[x']seeyap! shoulder and arm above elbow:  
wix'seyã'p!ala to carry on shoulder III  
57.16.

-[x']ts!ana hand: t!ē'semx'ts!ana stone-handed  
III 131.32; sãxst!ã'nend to put on hand.

-!bo, -!pela chest: g'emxot!abãseye left side  
of chest C II 48.17; tē'k!wepela to have  
hanging on chest R 208.10.

=ek'ela, =eg'ee back: eadē'g'ee back sinew  
V 487.4; menē'g'end to strike back (mex'-)  
Also: lē'g'a to follow; l!ō'beg'a to  
roast afterwards; nã'gek'ela to drink  
afterwards III 41.25.

-k'!elq(ela) front of body, lap: g'i'k'!elg'end  
to put in lap V 478.25.

=ãbedze leg below knee: sã'dabedze sinews at  
heel.

-sag penis: mō'x'us'egewak<sup>u</sup> with tied---III  
138.11 (mōk<sup>u</sup>-to tie).

-p!eg'a shin: qex'p!ē'g'end to put ring around  
shin III 89.37.

-k'ãx'es knee: lem'ã'x'es with scabby knees  
III 154.11.

-[x']sis foot: sē'psidzēnd to pinch foot III  
96.3; t!ē'psisela to wear shoes CX 281.32.

-k'!ães, =ēs in body, in front of body:  
g'i'k'!ãedze what is in body C II 42.4;  
ge'snek'!ãe'sela or gē'snese'sela salmon  
with spawn in body (see =es).

-[g]it body: xō'sit to sprinkle body III  
105.38; õ'gwhite body III 202.24; e'e'k'itela  
well grown (tree) V 496.6; t!ē'semg'it  
stone-bodied III 200.9.

-[x']dzaemo in front of body; k'a'x'dzaemod to  
place dish in front of, V 429.23.

-[k]!en body (of man, log, etc.) (relating  
rather to surface of body): smē'lk'!en  
white-bodied; lē'mlemx'ewenx'ēid body gets  
dry all over V 483.6; g'i'k'!endala to put  
on a log III 272.33; sã'lak'!en able-bodied  
III 208.39; -g'ē'ēen along a line;  
mã'g'ē'ēene close to a line R 67.56.

dã'g'ē'ēend to hold (a rope) C 26:  
202.97.

-!eq in mind: ē'k'!eqela to feel good III  
123.12; g'i'g'ãe'qela to think; sne'enk'!-  
exēid to begin to say in mind (i.e. to  
think) III 184.3.

#### 4. Limitations of Form

Generally used with numerals

=ok<sup>u</sup> human beings: mã'elō'k<sup>u</sup> two persons III  
48.21; g'ē'nō'k<sup>u</sup> how many persons?

-xsa flat: sñe'mxsa one (day) III 18.2; q!ē'xsa  
many (leaves) R 298.51.

-ts!aq long: mō'ts!aq four long ones III 10.12;  
sã'xats!agas number of long ones C III  
162.15.

-ts!axsta, =g'ē'xts!axsta movement in a  
long path: hē'ba'xts!axsta it goes right  
through C 26:20.113; sñe'mp!enats!axsta (to  
call) only once along street of village  
C III 218.21.

-sgem, -sem round, on surface: hã'msgemd to hold  
round thing in mouth C 26:13.6; sãxse'md to  
put down round thing R 485.38; p!ē'lxelag'em  
woolen blanket (fog on surface) R 691.8.  
-sgemak<sup>u</sup> tribe: sek'!a'sgemak!wes five tribes  
in one village.

-den finger-width: sñe'mdenx'sã one finger-  
width through V 491.6.

-p!enk' fathom, span: sã'lebo'p!enk' seven spans  
R 110.34.

-p!en(a) times: sñe'mp!ena once; sñe'mp!ãniã to  
stay in house one day.

-xwes days: hē'xop!enxwes the right number of  
days III 355.26.

-[x']sayuk<sup>u</sup> bundle: sñe'mx'sayuk<sup>u</sup> one bundle  
R 263.66.

-[x']sok<sup>u</sup> five pairs of blankets: mã'xtso'ku  
two five pairs (i.e. ten pairs of blankets);  
also the tenths in each hundred:  
sñe'mx'sogweg'iu one hundred and ten.

Also: sē'x'sok<sup>u</sup> handsome III 48.29

-ok!wema pairs: sek'!ã'k!wema five pairs  
(< ok<sup>u</sup>-!ema).

-xla, -exla dish: mã'xexla two dishes R 516.14;  
sñemē'xla one dish V 434.3.

-x'eyu, strings of fish: sñe'mx'eyu one---

-dzeq hole, sñe'mdzeq one---; s'wã dzeq size of  
---V 332.24.

-[x']dzeqwaia layers; sñe'mx'dzeqwaia one---.

-[x']dzeqw(ela) one way: sñe'mx'dzeqwi'd tide  
begins to run one way.

-!emk'a at a time: sñã'ã'sñemē'mk'a one at a  
time.

-!ōex<sup>u</sup> price (also verb): q!ã'syō'ex<sup>u</sup> high  
(many) priced.

#### 5. Temporal Suffixes

-oã, -weã remote past: geyō'ã long ago III 12.4;  
sō'mp'weã the late father; g'ã'x'weãen I  
came long ago III 142.19.

-x'ēid recent past: sãx'ã'x'ēid place where he  
had been III 42.4; qã'sax'ēid he went  
(about a week ago); qã'sēidex'ēid he took a  
walk.

-l future: lē'gadel he will have a name III  
19.1; xwã'k!wena a future canoe III 83.33.

-x'de transition from present to past:  
wã'ã'demx'de what he had said III 25.4;

- q!wā'xεmg'ustā'lex'de it had been rising on the water (and disappeared) C II 36.6.  
 -ayadzε'waʔ used to be, to do: lē'q!enoxwa'-  
yadzε'waʔ used to be a canoe-builder  
 R 616.53.  
 =a(y)ag'oʔ to have been done: le'gayag'oʔ one who had made a canoe.

#### 6. Suffixes Forming Transitive Verbs

- a after verbs expressing a static or intransitive concept -a forms active verbs: tē'gwiʔ to hang in house, tē'gwiʔaq he hangs it up in the house; lē megwεg'i't it is all over body, le megwεg'i'taq he puts it all over body; sā'mx water-tight, sā'mxa to make water-tight.

Also after nouns: yā'sεk<sup>u</sup> tallow, yā'sεkwa to put tallow on.

When expressing "to gather, to catch" it is attached to stems: nekwa' to pick salal berries (nek!wε'ʔ salal berry); q!ō'sa to catch crabs (q!ō'smās).

- d forming transitive verbs, only after locative suffixes:  
 After terminal m: d: q!εnē'pemd to wrap around face (suffix -[g]εm).  
 After other terminal consonants -end: lā'bend to go to the end; dzā'k'oxlend to rub hind end.  
 After suffixes ending in o or ā, after -axa down, -g'āālela, -εlela, -leε, -od: nē'xsod to pull through (nēx-[x']sā); qεx'ō'd to take off a ring III 16.10 (qεx'-o-d); dō'xswālelod to see suddenly (dōq<sup>u</sup>-[g']ālel-od); sāxsā'lasoyod to put on water (sāx-[g']āāx-leε-od).

#### 7. Aspects

- a statement of single act or simple condition: mεx'a' to strike with fist; qā'sa to walk; ts!ε'lgwa to be hot; sweda to be cold. -- Also nominal: leqwa' fire; g'εla' grizzly bear.  
 -[x']sīd momentaneous, inchoative: swε'nx'sīd to hide; qā'ssīd to start walking; !εp!f'd to start climbing.  
 -εla, -ala all actions implying multiplicity, repetition or continuity; often formal ending as in: wεlela' to hear III 11.10; dε'nxela to sing; sā'ngwela to be cloudy, which do not occur with simple a suffix.  
ō'xlosdē'sela to carry on back up the beach, one person, but an action requiring many steps R 215.54; mεx'ela' to strike with fist continually i.e. to drum; dεxwa' to jump, dεxwela' to jump up and down; ts!εma' to point, ts!εmā'la to point continuously, first finger.  
 -āʔa to be in the position of performing an act: x'ō'saʔa to be at rest III 274.7; dā'ʔa to be holding III 16.5; swenā'ʔa to be

in hiding III 161.2.

- =snakwela gradual, continued motion, one after another: tē'gwεsna'kwela to hang one after another; pε'nle'sna'kwela to grow stout gradually; qā'sna'kwela to walk along III 115.3.  
 -naxwa sometimes: lā'naxwa to go sometimes (he would go) III 11.3; x'εyā'snaxwa place where he would disappear from time to time III 28.8.  
 -[x]dala to be habitually: yā'yεlx<sup>u</sup>dala to hurt oneself habitually.  
 -k'a repetitive: lā'x'lak'a to go again and again. Stems ending in consonants except m repeat the stem: mē'xmεxa to sleep again and again.  
 -εs, -s continuously: mεmē'xεs to sleep continuously, all the time.

#### 8. Number of Human Beings

- x'daεx<sup>u</sup> plural of verb and possessive for human beings, 2d and 3d persons: sāxsē'dεx'daεx<sup>u</sup> they took C II 360.14; la'xes g'ō'x<sup>u</sup>daεxwāos at your (pl.) house C II 388.25.  
 Probably related to Bella Bella -idεx<sup>u</sup> and Kwa -!enox<sup>u</sup>.

#### 9. Modes

- oε hypothetical: qasoe wela'soε!oε if you should be asked C 26:158.13.  
 -lax, -laxsd potentiality.  
 -neεa: g'a'xneεs!eε I wish he would come!  
 -[x']dεla past optative: g'a'x'dεla I wish it would have been this; (probably < .x'de + imperative la).  
 -x' exhortative: gwa'lax'εnts do not let us do so!

#### 10. Passive

- soε passive of verbs governing objective form: lē'slalasoe he was invited; le hālā'qasoe than he is paid R 670.92.  
 =εm passive of verbs with instrumental: hālā'gεmaxa mā'mayuxtsila it is paid to the midwife R 670.92.  
 =ayu is used like =εm: hāmg'i'lasuyuxa g'o'kwelote it is given to eat to the tribe III 7.6 (also used as nominal).  
 -ʔ passive of verbs expressing sensations and mental actions; also sensations produced by outer actions: dō'gwεʔ to be seen C II 98.13; sā'mdεʔ to be affected by a furuncle; legwε'ʔ---by fire.  
 =ano passive parallel to =ayu: axεstano to be put into water R 110.40; 449.61 (also used as nominal; see p. 242).

#### 11. Restriction of Subject

- [x']sanāla some---: ts!εx'q!ā'x'sanāla some of them are sick; hō'x<sup>u</sup>sanālag'εliʔ some of them vomit in house M 692.10.

-amenqwela some---; k'!ε'lx'amenqwela some are unripe R 269.2.

## 12. Nominal Suffixes

-e<sup>s</sup>, =e<sup>s</sup>, -!e the object made by means of an action:<sup>31</sup> k'!ā'te<sup>s</sup> a painting R 458.57; xwε'lte<sup>s</sup> a mark R 85.67.  
χē we<sup>s</sup> mat (χex<sup>u</sup>); negē'g'ee<sup>s</sup> mid-night (=straight in back) C II 48.1  
swa'ts!e dog C II 10.4  
(swas-); χō'q!we dish (loq<sup>u</sup>).  
-!ene<sup>s</sup> present participle, quality: q!āē'nee finding X 4.36; k'ō'q!wene<sup>s</sup> condition of being broken; εē'x'sok!wene<sup>s</sup> quality of being pretty R 791.75; ts!εdā'q!ene<sup>s</sup> womanhood.  
-!enox<sup>u</sup> actor: εalē'ewenox<sup>u</sup> sea-hunter (εālēx<sup>u</sup>-) V 496.2; sāsk!wē'nox<sup>u</sup> meat-carver III 32.1.  
Also for tribal names: εma'eno<sup>u</sup>? what tribe?; dzā'wadεno<sup>u</sup> tribe of Dzā'wade.  
-bes fond of: nā'xbes drunkard (nāq-); εē'axalabes fond of work; mē'mxbes fond of sleeping (mēx-).  
-!εs; -ts!ās, -q!εs excelling in---: dō'dεq!wes with keen eyesight; dō'xts!εs a seer, prophet; εā'māq!εs excelling in a different kind of behavior CX 171.12.  
=εlk<sup>u</sup> doing habitually: nā'gεlk<sup>u</sup> drunkard; hāεmε'lk<sup>u</sup> eater.  
-εlg'εs one employed as: xō'sεlg'εs---sprinkler X 4.8; dā'doq!walεlg'εs watchman III 228.12.  
-k'!ē<sup>s</sup> assistant, to assist: dā'dεqwεlak!ē<sup>s</sup> guide of a blind person.  
-ot, -wet fellow---: g'ō'kwεlot house mate; εāεmā'χalot playfellow X 201.4; g'ē'xεwet fellow chief.  
-mp relationship: εōmp father; negwε'mp parent-versus child-in-law; g'inp (< g'is-mp) wife's sister.  
-nuk<sup>u</sup> having (also verb): sā'sεmnuk<sup>u</sup> having children III 45.7; εāxnu'k<sup>u</sup> owner III 103.12.  
=ad having (also verb): l!ē'gad having a name III 19.1; k'!ē'dad having a chief's daughter III 133.6.  
=id the one by whom one is owned as: q!ā'gwid master (the one by whom one is owned as slave [q!ak<sup>u</sup>-]).  
=k<sup>u</sup> past passive participle: l!ō'bεk<sup>u</sup> roasted III 155.22; lεgwi'lk<sup>u</sup> fire made in house III 187.25.  
=em instrument, passive (cp. p. 270): lābε'm peg III 79.13; q!ε'mdem song III 15.6.  
=ayu instrument, passive (cp. p. 270): dē'gwayu piledriver III 100.9; εlā'bayu instrument for digging  
=ano instrument, passive (see p. 241): wεsē'g'ano belt; hā'nx'lano kettle.  
-[x']saεyas instrument used in connection with some activity: le'xsaεyas tools for canoe-building.

-[g']iχ reason: la'g'iχ reason of going; l!ē'εlālag'iχ reason for inviting III 31.37.  
-!en cause of---: ya'χlen property (cause of distributing property); yā'lax<sup>u</sup>len sacred song (cause of singing---) X 69.30.  
=anem obtained by---: hā'nlanem obtained by shooting III 138.25; q!ā'k'olanem (q!āk<sup>u</sup>-ol-anem) obtained by obtaining a slave III 136.25.  
=inet obtained by---: dō'gwinet obtained by trolling dok<sup>u</sup>.  
=ens obtained unexpectedly (see =ag'ensa): bā'gwens visitor; k'!ē'wens obtained by escaping, i.e. a runaway slave found X 197.5.  
-sεanaχ main part: xwa'x<sup>u</sup>sεanaχ body of canoe.  
-mut refuse: sō'yapmut chips (sop-); g'ō'g'ax<sup>u</sup>mut ruins of a house III 146.8.  
-sō piece of remains of: bεx<sup>u</sup>sō' skeleton, trunk of body.  
=as place of---: l!ō'bas cormorant rock III 369.29. (l!ōp-); sē'was place where one paddles III 129.32.  
=xεk<sup>u</sup> place where there are many---: ālē'εwadzεxεkwεla spruce patch R 111.4.  
-[x']dem time of---: hāεmx'dε'm time of eating; lāē'lđem time of entering III 106.22; swā'sdem time.  
-[x']dεsmiχ place in house: k'ā'sdεsmiχ place for shredding cedarbark R 127.42.  
-[x']dεsms place outside: g'ō'x<sup>u</sup>dεsms village site III 51.22.  
-[x']dεsma place used for a purpose: nεx'dεsma steaming place; k!wē'lasdεsma place for (fire in) feast house R 766.98.  
-[x']dε'mk'!εn dress:  
-εsnak<sup>u</sup> country lying in a certain direction: εnā'leεnak<sup>u</sup> southern country X 144.7; qwē'sεsnak<sup>u</sup> far side III 11.2.  
=ats!e receptacle: wl'εnats!e war canoe III 129.25; nā'gats!e drinking vessel, cup III 20.10.  
-(a)s, -(a)dzeε side of flat thing: ts!εkwadze'ε short side; εnε'l-dzeε up-river side.  
-!εnx season. ts!ā'q!εnx season of winter ceremonial; x'ā'εmaεnx season of scarcity of food CX 284.40.  
-alas, material: sē'xwalas V 496.5 material for paddles.  
-dze<sup>s</sup>, -εs piece of---, belonging to: q!wa'xdze<sup>s</sup> part of hemlock tree V 347.13; sāō'x<sup>u</sup>dze<sup>s</sup> piece of a board; g'ō'xwεs, belonging to a house.  
-!dzeε number: p!edze'ε number of potlatches (p!εs-)  
-εmes, -εms useless part: tsε'lxmεs hailstones III 121.24; dεna'sεmεs useless part of cedar bark (i.e. cedar tree); sā'lādanaεms plant of Polystichum munium.  
-k'ε<sup>s</sup> favorite place: k!wak'ē'ε favorite seat.  
-p!εq stick, tree: εma'x<sup>u</sup>p!εq potlatch pole; yε'χp!εgenda'la to tie to a stick III 158.32.  
-[a]εano rope, line, something attached to---: seg'ā'ano harpoon line V 493.19; mā'g'āno

<sup>31</sup>Or the conditions of a static verb? [F.B].

a line next to---, attached next to V 493.26.  
 =a<sup>no</sup> parts of plant.  
 -asde dried meat of ---: sã'sasde---spring salmon III 225.32; bã'kwasde flesh of man III 32.1.  
 -ga, -gas woman: leqwa'ga brain woman III 48.23; sã'xostãgas young woman R 616.61.  
 -!axsem woman of a tribe, wife of one practicing an occupation: sãwĩ'k'!axsem Awik'!enox woman; sãlẽ'swaxsem wife of sea-hunter R 638.22.  
 -em a frequent nominal suffix: t!ẽ'sem stone; sã'sem children; k'!ẽlẽ'm tongue.  
 -nem a nominal suffix: q!ẽ'nem many (q!ey-); gene'm wife (geg'-).  
 -ãnem, -!ãnem classes of animate beings: begwã'nem man; g'enã'nem child (g'enx-); g'ã'weq!ãnem clam.  
 -emen, -emen young of animals: q'ẽ'lxã'em egg (New); k'!ẽ'k'!ẽ'semen childless woman; g'i'qamen born in a chief's family.  
 -k'!em sign of ---: yũ'k'!em sign of wind; syã'x'k'!em bad sign.  
 -olem nominal suffix: x'ẽlõ'lem death; sãlõ'lem ballast (sãl- firm).  
 -!ẽmas, -!õmas, -!ema class of objects: ts!ẽ'ts!ẽk!wẽ'mas shell-fish C 26:61.113; sãõ'ẽne'swẽ'mas berries (ẽnõx<sup>u</sup>- blueberry); k'!ẽ'ts!ẽ'mas of the kind not belonging to ---C 26:55.17.  
 -deq effluvia of mouth and nose (?): kwẽ'sdeq saliva.  
 =en nominal suffix: l!ẽ'x'ẽen sea-lion (l!ẽx-rust color); dza'swẽ'n silver salmon (dza<sup>x</sup>u-) (body?).  
 =ina, =inas nominal suffix: gwa'swina raven III 46.13 (gwa<sup>x</sup>u-); tam'nas squirrel (tẽms-).  
 -!a<sup>x</sup> nominal suffix: g'ẽg'õ'k!wa<sup>x</sup> camp R 533.10 (g'ok<sup>u</sup> house); q!ẽ'xa<sup>x</sup> driftwood.  
 -a<sup>em</sup> plants: gwã'gwelta<sup>em</sup> fireweed (Chamerium angustifolium) (gwelt- flame); k'!ã'k'!osa<sup>em</sup> Struthiopteris spicans (k'os- to fold); hellebore (sax<sup>u</sup>-).  
 -ole, sole used part of plant: ha'baxsole fruit of Ribes echinatum; sãxso'le.  
 =ane<sup>?</sup>(?), -!ane<sup>?</sup> in names of animals: ba'gwane skate; met!a'ne<sup>?</sup> horse clam.

## 13. Verbs

-[g]ila to make: l!ẽ'nag'ila to make oil; l!ã'wayugwila to make a salmon weir.  
 -[x]sila to take care of: l!ã'l!opsila to take care of roasting; ha'smex'sila to cook food R 231.25; 247.17.  
 -la<sup>x</sup> to perform a ceremonial (generally noun: performer): hãwĩ'lkwela<sup>x</sup> cedar dancer (wilk<sup>u</sup>); p!ã'sala<sup>x</sup> potlatch dancer (p!ẽs-).  
 -!ẽxsd to desire: sãxse'xsd to desire to do III 17.3; nã'q!exsd---to drink.  
 -oi to obtain: mẽ'gwato<sup>i</sup> to obtain seals; q!eyõ'l to obtain many III 139.36.  
 -!a to endeavor, to try, to be ready to:  
 dã'doq!wa to try to see; xwã'xwak!wa to try to get a canoe; swã'swi'lo!a to try to get all C II 10.30.  
 -[g'ẽ]s<sup>yala</sup> to go to look for: t!ã't!est<sup>s</sup>yala to go to look for stones; ha'hang'ẽ's<sup>yala</sup> to go to look for a vessel.  
 -anoma to come to---: sẽ'xwanoma to come to paddle; q!ã'noma to come to find M 709.6.  
 =tãse<sup>y</sup>, =te<sup>s</sup>we to do while---: ẽnẽ'g'ẽte<sup>s</sup>we to say while---III 285.6.  
 =ag'ẽnsa to meet while---: ẽe'ãxalag'ẽnsa---at work (see -ens found by chance).  
 -ene<sup>s</sup> to go to visit home, relatives: g'õ'kwene<sup>s</sup> to go to visit father-in-law (lit. house); weq!wa'sene---sibling of opposite sex.  
 -mãla to walk: q!ẽ'mãla many walk III 16.2; wãõ'xwemãla several walk together III 44.19.  
 -o<sup>x</sup>lãla continued motion in one direction: sã'k'!otela to be going up III 126.40; ẽnã'lo<sup>x</sup>lãla going down river, south III 125.7 (see =o<sup>x</sup> direction).  
 -[k]!ãla to continue noise, -[k']!eg'ã<sup>x</sup> to begin noise: de'n<sup>x</sup>k'!ãla noise of singing III 11.10; hẽ'k'!eg'ã<sup>x</sup> it sounds that way III 443.33.  
 -xa to say: mã'lexa to say "mã'le" III 34.27; yẽ'xa to say "yẽ" III 35.40.  
 -dzaqwa to speak: ẽwĩ'sldzaqwa all spoke III 319.12; ẽ'dzaqwa to speak again (ẽet-).  
 =laqwa, =olaqwa to speak: sãã'g'olaqwela to speak pleasantly; yã'laqwela to sing sacred song C II 54.11.  
 -x'ss(ala) to talk about: gwã'gwex'ssala to talk about R 685.70.  
 -q!a to feel: põ'sq!a to feel hungry III 36.38; sõ'dzeq!ala to feel wrong III 30.34.  
 -q!ẽs, -k!ies to eat: g'ẽ'lq!ẽs to eat first.  
 -g' to eat: g'ẽg'ã'wexg' to eat clams; q!ãq!ã'mdzex<sup>u</sup>g<sup>u</sup> to eat salmon berries.  
 -p!a (to sense) specifically: to taste: sã'x'p!a sweet.  
 -p!ala to smell: ẽ'x'p!ala sweet smell.  
 -p!ã<sup>x</sup>to to sense by eyesight: g'ẽ'lp!ã<sup>x</sup>to to see first X 197.2.  
 =alisem to die of inner troubles: xwẽ'lyalisem to die of longing III 382.27; q!wã'yalisem ---crying III 367.35.  
 -sdana to die by outer force: ẽnã'lasdana---weather (i.e. by drowning at sea) III 251.42; also põ'sdana---hunger III 21.6.  
 -qeno to be affected by sickness, bodily attack; yex'qeno to get sick quickly R 1216.87.  
 -elqela to think of: sã'k'ẽlqela---spearing; he<sup>x</sup>'lqela to feel right (see: -!ẽq in mind).  
 -a<sup>em</sup>mala to quarrel about: sõ'pa<sup>em</sup>mala---an axe; k'!ẽ'lkwa<sup>em</sup>mala---a digging stick.  
 =ak'a to happen (?): sõ'dzak'a it happens wrongly (=to die).  
 -!od to bring: swĩ'k'!od to bring a long object leqwãõ'd to bring firewood; l!ã'qwãod to bring a copper III 110.3.  
 -!aq(ela) to carry along: sõ'p!age an adze carried along.  
 -aga to pass one: p!ẽlã'ga to fly past; gã'xaqa

to step over one to the next one following (see -aga p. 237).

-aganud: ā'laqanud to pass behind houses (-no side)

-agod to pass further: ē'k'!agod to go higher X 179.32; nominal: -agaweē extreme: g'wā'gaweē extreme north end.

-māla, -mo to move in company: q'ē'māla many walk together; wāō'x'muleē several go in company on sea.

With =g'ēl:-: kwā'x'ēlēmā'eye smoke drifting away C 26: 160.156.

-g'āā to arrive: s'ēng'āā to arrive at a plan, C II 24.23; lā'g'āā'ās he arrived on roof C 26:181.244.

-tsen to travel by---: x'wā'x'utsen to travel by canoe.

-swatēla to carry: l'ēx'swātēla to carry a basket.

-x'ēla, -x'āla to be moving: q'wē'lax'ēla to move about (like crawling insects);

l'ā'sx'āla to go out to sea C 26:148.34.

-ēla to live at---: tsā'xisēla to live at Tsā'xis (Ft. Rupert).

=ala to repeat an action in return: nā'nabala to throw round thing back (nep-).

=sdenaq to work while---: k'wā'k'wasdenaq to work sitting R 187.21.

=yus always doing---: nā'bēyus always throwing stones (nep-).

-[g'laēla, -[k'laēla to act precipitately: ts!ā't!ēla to split precipitately (ts!ēt-); wewē'ng'aēla to drill (wen-).

-!ema to be able to be---: bē'baxēma can be cut (bex-); bē'nōbēma can be fitted (bēn-); also noun.

-[g'leñā to follow suit: p!ā'p!āleñā to follow suit flying, i.e. to join others that are flying.

-!ala to join.

-(q'eno) to try to be, do something in relation to someone; only with tentative -!a: s'āce'x'q!ēnēwa to try to get on good terms with some one.

=[g'ēlala to wear: hā'hāxag'ēlala to wear a shirt.

-boḡa to pretend: q!wā'saboḡa to pretend to cry III 155.34.

-aēmēngā to feign a motion: mā'māx'aēmēngā to make motion of striking with fist (mēx-).

-ogwiḡ to intend, mean to---, to expect: ēnē'k'ogwiḡ to mean to say, to expect that someone will say.

-!dzeḡ to do before doing something else; first---: k'ē'k'!ēldzeḡ to shake off berries before---; hō'hāts!ēdzeḡ to count before---.

-k'ēn, -k'ēna to be somewhere at the same time with something else; also; to do to somebody else also: mā'māx'k'ēn vessels are there also (mēx-); yā'yāq!ēntk'ēna to talk to someone else also.

-amas to cause: ḡ'ēlā'mas to kill (cause to die) C II 32.12; dō'qwamas to cause to see

(to show) R 1235.80.

=oēso to cause accidentally: ḡ'ēlō'ēso to cause a death accidentally; yē'lgoēso to hurt someone accidentally.<sup>32</sup>

-[x'isiweē to have to do something on account of circumstances: yā'q!ēg'aḡtsiweē to have (be compelled) to talk.

=xlēēya to take by force: xwē'ngwēxlēēya to take child (bride) by force; dā'xlēēya to take away by force CX 206.13.

-!ēla to order: yā'l!ēla to order to tie (yēl-).

=ēma, -ēma to play (see =em diminutive):

dzā'dzāēmedzēma' to play burying on beach (dzēm=es); hā'hānlēma to hunt a little.

-x'ēs, -x's to be like, to act like: g'ī'g'ēxx'ēs to act like a chief; hē'gwē'x's to be like that R 1258.38.

-ak<sup>u</sup>, -akwēla to be apart in time or space: s'ēxwāā'kwēla it occurs at short intervals of time; s'ēxwāā'k<sup>u</sup> close together.

-[g'lisāla, -[g'lisawē; -!ayāla, -sāla to leave behind, left behind; s'ā'lēakwesāla

to have blood running out of wound;

s'ā'lēakwesawē the blood left over after

running out of wound; s'mēk'wa'syāla to leave

round thing on rock; s'mēg'wēxs'sā'la to leave round thing in canoe.

#### 14. Adverbs and Adjectives

=em diminutive: g'ā'g'ēnlēm a little child (g'ēnḡ-); gā'gāḡāēm a little while C 26: 192.57.

-!ēm real, really, exclusively: bā'k'wēm Indian (real man) (bēk<sup>u</sup>-); s'wā'daēm really cold (s'wēd-); g'ēg'ō'k'wēm a house and nothing else.

-bidoē small, sing.: q!ā'k'obidoē a little slave III 99.31; nēxwā'ḡabidoē quite near III 19.13; ē'p!ēbidōē he pinched a little, or the little one pinched C II 12.13.

-mēnēx<sup>u</sup> small pl.: s'neēn'ēmgēs'mēnēx<sup>u</sup> the little Nimkish III 135.34.

-o small: g'ā'xēlēlāo little one enter.

-dze large: l!ā'q'wadze large copper III 84.16; q!ā'sadzek'as a great number of sea otters.

-[x'sokw(ēla) somewhat, ---ish: s'ē'x'sok<sup>u</sup> handsome. III 47.8; qwē'sg'ilax'sokwēla to go somewhat far; sya'x'sogwiḡ uglyish in house.

-!ēlxēla, -dēlq'wēla, -dēlxēla somewhat, ---ish:

gā'x'dēlq'wā'lagas woman talking in a kind

of womanish way (g'ēk'-dēlq-[k']!ala-gas);

sya'k'!ēlxēla kind of bad day R 203.47.

=ēleq(aḡa); =x'dāēleq(aḡa); =ēq nearly, like,

---ish: s'mēle'leqaḡa, s'mēlx'dāēleqaḡa

whitish; lō'beq!ala it sounds like hollow

C 26:79.136 (lop-ēq-[k']!ala).

-k'as real, really: gā'ḡak'as really a long time III 7.4; nē'nwalak'wēnek'asos your real supernatural power III 479.11.

-k'asō fine and beautiful: lō'gwalak'asō having a fine magic treasure III 111.1.

<sup>32</sup>Dr. Boas was not certain of the g in this form.

-k'inaʒ nicely: dɛ'nxalak'inaʒ to sing nicely.  
 =âɛʒ ugly: wā'yâɛʒ big, ugly dog; lā'k'adzɔɛʒ  
 that really bad one X 207.16.  
 -aɛma old and useless: lɛxa'ɛma old basket.  
 -k'in(ala) accidentally: dā'dox<sup>u</sup>kwinala to see  
 by chance.  
 -!aʒ easily: x'i'q!aʒ it catches fire easily,  
 inflammable (see -!ema able to: bɛ'lbäema  
 can be forbidden, i.e. to be obedient).  
 -!ak' easily: dɛ'lnak' to get damp easily  
 R 281.23 (dɛlx'-).  
 =oʒ completely, exclusively: ʌ!ē'sɛlāoʒ sun has  
 risen completely; ʌ!ā'ʌ!ɛmgoʒ made exclu-  
 sively of yew (ʌ!ɛmq-).  
 -[x'dɛq exclusively by---: dā'x'dɛq exclusive-  
 ly by wiping; g'ɛg'ɛ'lx'dɛq---crawling C 26:  
 179.166.  
 =āk<sup>u</sup>, =ɛk<sup>u</sup> in advance: sɛnɛ'g'ɛgwiʒa to tell in  
 advance in house C III 340.23.  
 -aʒa a little more: yā'yaxwaxa to dance a little  
 more C 26: 25.19 (yɛx<sup>u</sup>-).  
 -āɛsɛla, -anaqa, -anāɛsa, -anēs over several in  
 order: mā'x'anaqɛla to punch one after  
 another; yā'qwaɛsɛla to tell someone to dis-  
 tribute in order; yā'qwanāɛsa to give to  
 each in order.  
 -enek'aʒa, -[ɛag]wenek'aʒa (from =ek' back?) in  
 rows, in piles: hā'qɛwɛnek'aʒa to lie on  
 belly one on top of another R 245.84.  
 -ap! mutually, each other: wā'ʌap! to ask each  
 other; ʒā'xwɛlap!ot fellows in mutual love  
 III 267.37.  
 -[g]o, -[g]āla mutually: hā'waxɛlagāla to listen  
 to each other III 26.10; ɛnā'mok'āla mutual  
 friends III 147.20.  
 -[x]sā still; only, always: dā'lax'sā still  
 holding on R 1081.22; bā'gwanɛmx'sā only men;  
 hāma'ɛɛmālx'sā two animals always walking  
 together (maɛɛ-māla).  
 -xāā, -xat! also: dā'x'ɛidɛxāā he also took  
 III 8.13; he'ɛɛmɛlaxat! that, it is said,  
 also III 154.3.  
 -x'īā very: āwī'lax'īā very important C II 52.4.  
 -k'ɛn too much: lɛlā'k'ɛnx'ɛid to go too far,  
 to overdo CX 276.27.  
 -ɛnoɛ too much (only second person); g'ā'xɛnoɛ  
 you come too often.  
 -g'āā too---: q!ē'g'āā too many.  
 -sk<sup>u</sup>, (k<sup>u</sup>s) already, as expected: g'ā'xɛmsk<sup>u</sup>  
 he has come already.  
 -q!a(la); just, also emphatic: siɔ'ɛnakwɛlaq!-  
 alaɛma he was just paddling about C II 65.15;  
 yū'q!alalaɛm it is exactly this R 189.7;  
 ɛya'x'q!ala altogether bad.  
 -x'st! as usual: laɛɛ'mx'st!as you do as usual  
 M 670.7.  
 -lag'a immediately, at this moment: gē'lag'ax'os  
 qaɛs g'ā'xlag'āos come at once and come im-  
 mediately C II 82 25.  
 -lag'it (< lag'a-eɛ) emphasizes one noun in  
 contrast to another one: mē'xalag'itas  
 qɛn lā'lag'itɛ let him sleep while I go.

## 15. Source of Information

-ɛl(a) it is said: xɛ'niɛlaɛl very much, it is  
 said III 7.3; lā'ɛlāe then, it is said.  
 -xɛnt evidently (as is shown by evidence):  
 k'!ē'ɛsxɛnt evidently not III 148.15.  
 -ɛng'a in a dream: laɛɛ'ng'a in a dream it was  
 seen that he went X 173 40.

## 16. Degree of Certainty

-g'anɛm perhaps: sō'gwanɛm you perhaps III  
 146.28.  
 -ana probably: lā'naɛɛm probably C II 10.12.  
 -lax potentiality: yɛ'lkwalaxɔl you might be  
 hurt III 29.35.  
 (-laxsd potentiality, past): ɛnɔ'ɛnɛlā'laxsdɛn  
 those who would (might) have been my brothers  
 C II 184.1.  
 -dzā emphatic certainty: ladzā'ɛɛn I am going to  
 go III 146.7; yūdzā'ɛɛmxɛnt evidently, it is  
 certainly this one III 55.38.  
 -x'st!āāk<sup>u</sup> seemingly, it seems as though---:  
 mē'xɛdɛx'st!āāk<sup>u</sup> seemingly they went to  
 sleep (it seemed as though---) C II 32.10.

## 17. Conjunctions

-ɛm referring to a previous subject of conver-  
 sation or narrative.  
 -ɛm-wis, -ɛmis and so.  
 -t!a but, on his part.  
 -ɛa but.

## 18. Emotional Attitudes

=ɛl astonishing!: sā'ɛɛa is that you?! III  
 149.12.  
 -xɔl behold!: k'!ē'ɛsxɔl behold! not III 17.7.  
 -! [x]ɛ (regret): yū'gwaxɛaɛyox too bad it is  
 raining! laxɛ'ɛlax'ox let him go, poor  
 thing!  
 -nɛsɛ oh if!: g'ā'xɛnɛsɛɛ oh, if he would  
 come!  
 -q!wɛnɛoxsɛa come to think of it!: lā'q!wɛnɛoxsɛa  
 come to think of it!

## AUXILIARY SUFFIXES

The initial sounds of suffixes which are  
 lost even in those cases in which phonetic laws  
 would permit the multi-consonantic combinations  
 resulting from their presence presumably repre-  
 sent old auxiliary suffixes the meaning of which  
 can no longer be reconstructed. This is partic-  
 ularly true of x' and g', while the initial ɛs  
 of -ɛsta and -ɛsto may be lost for purely  
 phonetic reasons. The origin of s in -[s]ɛsta  
 which appears after vowels is quite obscure.

Other auxiliary suffixes, termed  
 auxiliary because they modify the meaning of  
 the following suffixes, have clearly defined  
 meanings:

- em plural of locative suffixes: yep<sup>u</sup>emli<sup>z</sup> to stand in a row in the house (yep-li<sup>z</sup> sing.); le<sup>u</sup>m<sup>u</sup>sta to go into water pl. (la<sup>u</sup>sta sing.); ε<sup>u</sup>axemā<sup>u</sup>xod to put down many (ε<sup>u</sup>axā<sup>u</sup>xod sing. obj.).
- [g]e<sup>z</sup> motion without cessation, away: ō<sup>u</sup>xleg<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>z</sup>exsa to lift a load out of canoe (ōxl-g<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>z</sup>(=xs-a)); āxeli<sup>z</sup>ā to take off from floor R 73.78 (āx-[g]ε<sup>z</sup>=i<sup>z</sup>-a).
- [g]a<sup>z</sup>-, g<sup>u</sup>ā<sup>z</sup>- motion towards a definite goal: hā<sup>u</sup>ng<sup>u</sup>a<sup>z</sup>ila to put vessel down on floor; lep<sup>u</sup>a<sup>z</sup>lod to spread on rock (lep-[g]a<sup>z</sup>l-!od); ō<sup>u</sup>xleg<sup>u</sup>ā<sup>z</sup>exsa to put a load down in canoe.
- we<sup>z</sup>- to reverse a motion in a certain direction: āxewε<sup>z</sup>ts!ō<sup>u</sup>d to take out (āxts!ō<sup>u</sup>d to put into); le<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>z</sup>wε<sup>z</sup>t!ā<sup>u</sup>li<sup>z</sup> to call out of room.
- =g<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>z</sup> continued or repeated motion in any direction: qā<sup>u</sup>dze<sup>z</sup>tod pl. qā<sup>u</sup>semg<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>z</sup>tod to walk in tracks of someone (qās=[g]ε<sup>z</sup>-tod, qās-em=g<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>z</sup>-tod), C II 22.27; l!ēbe<sup>z</sup>ε<sup>z</sup>nd to climb tree C II 428.6 (lep-[g]ε<sup>z</sup>-(k!)en-d).

## PLURAL

The formation of plurals is exceedingly irregular. Several processes, generally based on reduplication are in use, but there is much individual variation in the selection of forms. This is largely due to the reluctant use of any plural form at all. When an adjective expressing plurality, such as numerals or "many" is used, the plural is often omitted.

Three types of plurality of verbs may be distinguished: one indicating several subjects; a second indicating an action occurring at the same time in different parts of a unit; and a third, expressing repeated action.

mede<sup>u</sup>lqwela it is boiling; mē<sup>u</sup>mede<sup>u</sup>-lqwela many are boiling; ma<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>mdelqwela it is boiling in all its parts; mede<sup>u</sup>lx<sup>u</sup>mede<sup>u</sup>lqwela it is boiling repeatedly.

te<sup>u</sup>nk<sup>u</sup>ela it is sizzling; tē<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>nk<sup>u</sup>ela many are sizzling; te<sup>u</sup>ntenk<sup>u</sup>ela it is sizzling in all its parts; te<sup>u</sup>nx<sup>u</sup>tenk<sup>u</sup>ela it is sizzling repeatedly.

pe<sup>u</sup>nk<sup>u</sup>ela to move belly out; pē<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>nk<sup>u</sup>ela many---; pe<sup>u</sup>npenk<sup>u</sup>ela to move belly out and in in all its parts.

x<sup>u</sup>i<sup>u</sup>qāla to be on fire; x<sup>u</sup>i<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>x<sup>u</sup>i<sup>u</sup>qāla many fires are burning; x<sup>u</sup>i<sup>u</sup>x<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>qāla fire is burning all over, in all its parts; x<sup>u</sup>i<sup>u</sup>xx<sup>u</sup>iqā it blazes up now and then.

yexs<sup>u</sup>q!ē<sup>u</sup>nemāe<sup>u</sup>tsē<sup>u</sup>lts<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>lxwε<sup>u</sup>lawa<sup>u</sup>eyasa tsē<sup>u</sup>ts<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>lx<sup>u</sup>mese for many crabapples are all over the tops of the crabapple trees R 214.40.

swi<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>lāwe<sup>u</sup>t!ēt!endzā<sup>u</sup>eye R 79.30, and swi<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>lāwe<sup>u</sup>t!ē<sup>u</sup>nt!endzā<sup>u</sup>eye R 81.66 all the ridges are off, in the former case evidently with reference to the single ridges, in the latter to the whole surface with its ridges.

In plurals of verbs expressing human activities the suffix -x<sup>u</sup>daε<sup>u</sup> is used, not a reduplicated form as is done in Bella Bella.

1. By far the greatest number of plurals are formed by reduplication, the first consonant with the vowel e (i) forming the reduplicated syllable. When the word begins with a vowel usually the e is prefixed.

begwa<sup>u</sup>nem pl. be<sup>u</sup>begwanem man; xātsε<sup>u</sup>m pl. xexātsε<sup>u</sup>m box; q!wela<sup>u</sup> pl. q!we<sup>u</sup>q!wela<sup>u</sup> alive; ε<sup>u</sup>nemo<sup>u</sup>k<sup>u</sup> pl. ε<sup>u</sup>nε<sup>u</sup>nmo<sup>u</sup>k<sup>u</sup> friend; g<sup>u</sup>ok<sup>u</sup> pl. g<sup>u</sup>ig<sup>u</sup>ok<sup>u</sup> house.

ō<sup>u</sup>dεm pl. eo<sup>u</sup>dεm spit; ē<sup>u</sup>wa pl. ē<sup>u</sup>ē<sup>u</sup>wa point of land near village; ā<sup>u</sup>mosa pl. ā<sup>u</sup>ē<sup>u</sup>mosa to decorate; āwī<sup>u</sup>la pl. ā<sup>u</sup>ē<sup>u</sup>awī<sup>u</sup>la important; also āpsi<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup> pl. ā<sup>u</sup>ē<sup>u</sup>psi<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup> side in house.

On the whole the accent remains on the syllable of the unreduplicated word, although the reduplicated syllable has at least a secondary accent when the stem has the form cvc. Exceptions are ε<sup>u</sup>na<sup>u</sup>la pl. ε<sup>u</sup>nε<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>nala day; nā<sup>u</sup>qe<sup>u</sup> pl. nε<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>nāqe<sup>u</sup> mind, and derivatives like nā<sup>u</sup>gad pl. nε<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>nāgad song-leader (= having mind).

2. Many words of the type cvc form plurals by repeating the long vowel in the reduplicated syllables and shortening the stem vowel.

ba<sup>u</sup>bagwem pl. ba<sup>u</sup>bε<sup>u</sup>bagwem boy; de<sup>u</sup>gwayu pl. de<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>dε<sup>u</sup>gwayu, or de<sup>u</sup>de<sup>u</sup>gwayu pile driver; do<sup>u</sup>gwayu pl. do<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>dε<sup>u</sup>gwayu trolling line; do<sup>u</sup>gwe<sup>z</sup> pl. do<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>dε<sup>u</sup>gwe<sup>z</sup> seen; (do<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>dε<sup>u</sup>q!wes seer); dzā<sup>u</sup>qwa pl. dzā<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>dε<sup>u</sup>qwa evening; ts!a<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>ya pl. ts!a<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>ts!ε<sup>u</sup>ya hiding place (New); ts!a<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>ya pl. ts!a<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>ts!ε<sup>u</sup>ya younger brother, <sup>33</sup>na<sup>u</sup>walak<sup>u</sup> pl. nā<sup>u</sup>nāwalak<sup>u</sup> supernatural power; no<sup>u</sup>mas pl. no<sup>u</sup>nemas old man; g<sup>u</sup>i<sup>u</sup>gāme<sup>u</sup> pl. g<sup>u</sup>i<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>gāme<sup>u</sup> chief; g<sup>u</sup>ō<sup>u</sup>gwe<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>yu pl. g<sup>u</sup>ō<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>gwe<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>yu foot; k<sup>u</sup>ō<sup>u</sup>xus<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>nd pl. k<sup>u</sup>!ō<sup>u</sup>k<sup>u</sup>!ε<sup>u</sup>x<sup>u</sup>s<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>nd to break to pieces; k<sup>u</sup>!a<sup>u</sup>wayu pl. k<sup>u</sup>!a<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>k<sup>u</sup>!āyū (< k<sup>u</sup>!āk<sup>u</sup>!ε<sup>u</sup>wayu) knife; k<sup>u</sup>!ā<sup>u</sup>ts!ε<sup>u</sup>naq pl. k<sup>u</sup>!ā<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>k<sup>u</sup>!ε<sup>u</sup>ts!ε<sup>u</sup>naq (k<sup>u</sup>!ā<sup>u</sup>sk<sup>u</sup>!ε<sup>u</sup>-ts!ε<sup>u</sup>naq, Dzā<sup>u</sup>wadε<sup>u</sup>nox<sup>u</sup>) spoon; k<sup>u</sup>!e<sup>u</sup>s<sup>u</sup>o, k<sup>u</sup>!e<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>sk<sup>u</sup>!ε<sup>u</sup>s<sup>u</sup>o privilege; k<sup>u</sup>!ē<sup>u</sup>k<sup>u</sup>!ε<sup>u</sup>ak<sup>u</sup> pl. k<sup>u</sup>!ē<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>k<sup>u</sup>!ε<sup>u</sup>ak<sup>u</sup> carving; kwā<sup>u</sup>g<sup>u</sup>u<sup>z</sup> pl. kwā<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>kwε<sup>u</sup>g<sup>u</sup>u<sup>z</sup> the (four) Kwā<sup>u</sup>g<sup>u</sup>u<sup>z</sup> tribes; gā<sup>u</sup>nui pl. gā<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>nui night; gā<sup>u</sup>layu pl. gā<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>gelayu fish-hook; gā<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>wina pl. gā<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>gε<sup>u</sup>wina raven; gō<sup>u</sup>gweme<sup>u</sup> pl. gō<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>gε<sup>u</sup>gweme<sup>u</sup> or gē<sup>u</sup>gō<sup>u</sup>gweme<sup>u</sup> face; qē<sup>u</sup>nui pl. qē<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>nui pillow; xwā<sup>u</sup>k!wena pl. xwā<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>xwε<sup>u</sup>k!wena canoe.

3. Words of the type cvmc\* form plurals by repeating cvm with accent on the first syllable or by repeating the first consonant with e, retaining the accent on the stem. According to the general treatment of vm as a long vowel this would be equivalent to a type cvcvc\*.

hā<sup>u</sup>n!enox<sup>u</sup> pl. hā<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>n!enox<sup>u</sup> hunter; hā<sup>u</sup>nx<sup>u</sup>!ano pl. hā<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>nx<sup>u</sup>!ano kettle; pe<sup>u</sup>npensε<sup>u</sup>ene<sup>u</sup> blisters on body; g<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>ngε<sup>u</sup>nanem (stem g<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>nd-) children; kwε<sup>u</sup>lxε<sup>u</sup>wen pl. kwε<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>lxε<sup>u</sup>wen grey-bodied; k<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>lwanem pl. k<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>lk<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>lwanem something bought; k<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>lx<sup>u</sup>sem pl. k<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>lk<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>lx<sup>u</sup>sem to be run over by car; x<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>ldayu

<sup>33</sup>ts!a<sup>u</sup>ts!a<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>ya to try to stretch, from ts!a<sup>u</sup>sa.

pl. x'ε'lx'eldayu saw; xwε'lsε'n pl. xwεlxwε'lsε'n withered body; l!ε'mx<sup>u</sup>sem pl. l!ε'ml!ε'mx<sup>u</sup>sem (or l!ε'l!ε'mx<sup>u</sup>sem) to poke.

Words of this type with initial m; εm, εn, l, y, w have only reduplication in cē:

mε'lxwa pl. mεsmε'lxwa screw; mε'elqa' pl. mεsmε'elqa' to sew wood; mε'lsaia pl. mεsmε'lsaia to have the head turned; smε'nyayu pl. smεsmε'nyayu measure; εneεnε'lsa to whine; lε'mx'dεsma pl. lεslε'mx'dεsma drying rack; yε'lqa pl. yiyε'lqa to have sore eyes; syε'mza pl. syisyε'mza to split open; yε'nk'!ayu pl. yiyε'nk'!ayu sling; wεna'yū pl. wi'wεnayū auger; wε'nqεla pl. wiwε'nqεla; wε'nx'wεn pl. wiwε'nx'wεn made of fir; wε'lxā pl. wiwε'lxā to put rope around; εwε'lk'a pl. εwi'εwε'lk'a to put a ring on.

A great many words are used in either form. It seems likely that these differ in meaning, those with ε being true plurals, those in cvm referring to parts of a whole.

sε'lxswen pl. sεsε'lxswen and sε'lsεlxswen twisted body; k'ε'ngāla'εla, pl. k'ik'ε'ngāla'εla and k'ε'nk'ε'ngāla'εla attendant of cannibal dancer; k'!ε'mdzayu pl. k'!ik'!ε'mdzayu and k'!ε'mk'!ε'mdzayu adze; k'!εk'!ε'mayu and k'!ε'mk'!ε'mayu adze; k'!ε'nx'wεn pl. k'ik'!ε'nx'wεn and k'!ε'nk'!ε'nx'wεn log with "matted" grain; also k'!ε'mayu adze; k'!ε'lp!εn twisted body; gε'ldzayu painting brush; qε'ndzayu adze; q!ε'nyayu netting needle; xwε'lt!εnd to groove body; lε'mk'!εn scabby.

Many words of the type cvmc\* have only the plural cē-, as:

g'ε'mxwa to hang head; g'ε'lx'a leaky; k'!ε'mta to notch; k'!ε'lk'a to wind; gwε'lta fire; lε'nxa green; lε'mxwa tough; lε'nqwa rotten (wood); l!εnq'a' to poke among.

Note lε'mg'ayu pl. lε'mlεm'ayu wedge, lε'mqa pl. lεslε'mqa proud.

Irregular: wε'nwεn'x'εs pl.

wε'n'sāwεn'x'εs wonderful, incredible (generally the ʔ is suppressed).

4. Some words with initial unaccented ā substitute e for ā; also in the term for "mother." Others prefix e (see p. 246).

4 a. Prefixed e:

εā'oms pl. εēā'oms man of ordinary powers; εā'myaxa pl. εēā'myaxa to pray; εāne's pl. εēānes aunt; εāxa'za pl. εēā'xa'za to be at a place; εālā'g'εm pl. εēā'lā'g'εm dressed deer skin; εā'wak'εla pl. εēā'wak'εla or εēā'kεla slow in movement; also εā'waqwe pl. εēā'waqwe summer seat.

4 b. Change of a to e:

εāyaso', hand; εē'yaso, also εē'ayaso' hands; εāpsī'z one side of house, εēpsī'z both sides of several houses; εāpsō'diʔ opposite side of house, εēpsō'diʔ opposite sides of several houses; εāpsō'ztsidze foot of one side; εēpsō'ztsidze one side feet of several people.

abε'mp, pl. ε'bεmp mother (stem ābās-).

4 c. Reduplication of initial vowel and consonant, only with short ā followed by m:

εāmā', pl. εā'mεāmā' small; εā'mle'wεnox<sup>u</sup> pl. εēā'mεāmle'wεnox<sup>u</sup> one who stays at home; εā'mlεm pl. εēā'mεāmle'm toy; εā'ngwa pl. εēā'n sāngwa who?; εāla'za pl. εēā'lε'alāza firm (but εālstā'la door is firmly closed, pl. εēālstā'la) (εālstā'za to be sound asleep).

4 d. Expansion of initial short a:

εε'lk<sup>u</sup> pl. εāsyε'lk<sup>u</sup> speaker; εāx<sup>u</sup>so'le pl. εāyax<sup>u</sup>so'le evil-tempered person (with meaning hellebore, no. pl.); εā'ldzo pl. εāsyε'ldzo new flat thing.

4 e. Reduplication of a:

adā pl. ā'adā respectful address: lord! mother!

5. Many words beginning with an accented long vowel and some with initial consonant form their plural by insertion of a glottal stop and consequent shift of accent. When the word contains a glottalized consonant following the initial vowel, there is only a shift of accent.

By far the greatest number of words of this class are derived from the generalized locative stem o- which, before vowels and syllabic consonants takes the form āsw- or āw-.

The form o- has the accent except in the following:

ōbā'εye, chest; ōdzā'εye flat place; ōesta' to go straight into water; ōesto'd to go straight into a round opening; ōexa'weε neck; ōexsde' tail end; ōxle'ε bottom end. All the suffixes involved are weakening, hardening or begin with a glottal stop. Suffixes beginning with a contract with āw- to ā, for instance ā'tus < āw-atus.

The form āsw- is used before all hardening and softening suffixes and before -agawεs; -εlgawεs space between; the form āw- before indifferent suffixes, but also before =exsteε mouth, and =eg'εε back.

Before indifferent suffixes o changes in the plural to ōs- with shift of accent required by ε, although prefixed e with retention of accent may be used.

The forms εāw- and εāsw retain before indifferent suffixes the accent of the singular and the glottalization or lack of glottalization of w. The plural is εāw- or εēsw-.

Before weakening or hardening suffixes it becomes ε'εwa- although weakening suffixes may use also āwa'-.

5 a. Words with initial o followed by indifferent suffixes:

ō'p!eg'εs, pl. ōsp!ε'g'i shin; - ō'p!εg, pl. ōspe'q pole; - ō'sgεmεε, pl. ōsgεmε'ε surface; - ō'gwāgeε, pl. ōsgwā'geε bank of river; - ō'gwiweε, pl. ōsgwi'weε forehead; - ō'gwideε, pl. ōsgwi'deε body; - ō'kwεsye, pl. ōskwε'sye' top of box, pile; - ō'kwāx'εs, pl. ōskwā'x'εs knee; - ō'k!wineε, pl. ōsk!wi'neε body; - ō'k!wāneε, pl. ōsk!wā'neε one's own body; - ō'k!wāedzeε, pl. ōsk!wā'dzeε front of belly; - ō'gwεmεε, pl. ōsgwεmε'ε head end; - ō'xwās, pl.



o'swá' sharp keel under bow of canoe; -  
o'xwá'sye, pl. o'sxwá'sye tooth edge; - o'x'utá'sye,  
 pl. o'sx'utá'sye top; - o'x'usiwe, pl. o'sx'usi'we  
 mouth of river; - o'x'usidze, pl. o'sx'usi'dze  
 foot of mountain.

Here belong also:

o'xsem, pl. o'sxse'm grey-haired; -  
o'xiala, pl. o'sxiala'la to carry on back; o'ya  
 pl. o'sya' or eo'ya slow; o'mas, pl. o'sma's  
 large (New); o'mis pl. o'smi's funny fellow;  
o'dza'la pl. o'sdza'la or eo'dza'la wrong.

o'be, pl. o'sbá's, and o'xles, pl.  
o'sxlá's have a curious change of terminal vowel.  
 Their possessive forms are normal: o'bas'ya  
legwi'z, pl. o'sba'syasa legwi'z end of log.

The stem o- followed by compound suf-  
 fixes follows the same rules:

o'ba'ts!anele (< o-ba-x'ts!ana-le)  
 pl. o'sba'x'ts!anele; point of island (branch  
 end on water), o'bes'x'á'sye, pl. o'sbe'sx'á'sye  
 sharp (tooth) pointed.

5 b. Words with initial vowels a, e and  
 with initial consonant:

á'bane pl. a'sbane' or esa'bane maggot;  
a'deg'ats!ane pl. a'sde'g'ats!ane sinew on  
 back of hand; a'lolaq pl. a'slo'laq new (dish,  
 spoon, canoe); a'lomas pl. a'slo'mas new (ex-  
 cept dish, spoon, canoe); a'xeslak pl.  
a'sxe'slak newly-made; a'xwas pl. a'sxwa's  
 fresh; a'igas pl. a'siga's young woman; a'lebe  
 pl. a'sle'bá's point inland; a'leg'ila pl.  
a'sleg'i'la to go inland; a'ladze pl. a'sladze's  
 place towards inland in house; ala'lals, pl.  
a'sla'lals places or things inland.

se'k'!nxes pl. sek'!e'nxes it is on  
 top edge, se'k'!ot!enes pl. sek'!o't!enes top  
 of long thing; se'q!enox pl. seq!e'nox prac-  
 tice of witchcraft; e'semala pl. e'sema'la  
 wearing abalone on face.

he'lomas pl. he'slo'mas very;  
he'loba'ts!ane pl. he'slo'ba'ts!ane servant;  
he'slo'magem pl. he'slo'magem smaller; he'lok  
 pl. he'slo'k slim-waisted; he'xdzaq pl.  
he'sxdza'q Bella Bella tribes.

x'i'qela, pl. x'ix'i'qela blaze; (but  
x'i'x'qala it is burning in all its parts)  
tse'tsexwela, pl. tse'stsexwela bucket running  
 over; de'gwayu, pl. de'sde'gwayu or de'degwayu  
 pile driver.

5 c. o followed by softening suffixes:  
o'dzá'slis pl. e'swasdzá'slis open  
 plain; o'negwi'z pl. e'swanegwi'z side of house  
 inside; o'ná'sye pl. e'swaná'sye side, and all  
 derivatives of -dzo flat, -nu side; also  
o'stewe's pl. e'swastewe's hole (but not -esta).  
 In these forms á'va- is also used for the  
 plural.

Irregular are o'syewe (< oosyewe) pl.  
eo'syewe, more rarely á'wo'syewe pl.  
e'swoyewe middle; o'nesyey pl. eo'nesyey, more  
 rarely e'swané'sye, from an obsolescent suffix  
=nes, corner.

5 d. o followed by hardening suffixes:  
o'sbá'sye pl. e'swabá'sye chest, -- o'sxa'we pl.

e'swaxa'we neck; o'sxside's pl. e'swaxside hind,  
 tail, end; oxle'e pl. e'swaxle'e bottom end,  
 and their derivatives.

5 e. The suffixes -exste mouth, and  
-mala to move along bank of river have the ac-  
 cent on the first syllable: a'waxste mouth-  
 opening; a'wamala to move along bank of river.

5 f. áw- and ásw- followed by indifferent  
 suffixes form plurals by prefixing e-, keeping  
 the accent on the word:

áwe'nsela pl. eáwe'nsela fishing lines,  
 to go into water from beach; áwe'esta pl.  
eáwe'esta around; áwi'enagwis pl. eáwi'enagwis  
 country; áwi'g'e pl. eáwi'g'e back; áwe'lgawe  
 pl. eáwe'lgawe place between; áwa'gawe pl.  
eáwa'gawe place between; áwa'goxle pl.  
eáwa'goxle small of back; áwo't!a or o't!a  
 pl. eo't!a to go out of woods, and all similar  
 forms derived from wé(x) out of.

5 g. áw- followed by weakening or  
 hardening suffixes changes áw- to e'swa-:  
áswa'bedze pl. e'swáa'bedze calf of leg;  
áswa'bá'sye pl. e'swáa'bá'sye under; áswabo'ts!exsde  
 pl. e'swabo'ts!exsde thigh; áswa'ple pl.  
e'swáa'ple neck; áswa'ená'sye pl. e'swáa'ená'sye  
 ancestor, beginning of line; áswa'ge pl.  
e'swáage crotch; áswi'dze pl. e'swáidze  
 front of belly; áswi'xbe pl. e'swáixbe point  
 of land; áswé'mye pl. e'swáé'mye cheek;  
áwo'dze pl. e'swáodze cheek.

6. Words with initial m, n, l, z and a  
 few with initial l repeat the initial cv and  
 transform the following cv into a syllabic con-  
 sonant, z and l becoming syllabic l, accented  
 when the vowel of the initial cv of the unre-  
 duplicated word is e or a; in all other cases  
 the accent is on the first syllable.

Diminutives formed by reduplication  
 with vowel a have the accent on the first syl-  
 labable.

No rule can be given in which cases this  
 type of reduplication is used and in which the  
 usual reduplication with e is used. Some  
 speakers maintain that the type here discussed  
 has a collective meaning, e.g. neneg'á' single  
 mountains, men of the name neg'á'; ná'ng'á' the  
 mountains of a mountainous country collectively.

6 a. Vowel of first syllable e or a:

metsa' pl. ma'etsa mink; mets!eta' pl.  
 to heal (ma'ets!etilagas wound-healing woman  
 CX 232.25; 239.17; mek'á'la pl. ema'mk'á'la  
 island; nexx'á' pl. ná'nsx'á' bad teeth; neg'á'  
 pl. ná'ng'á' mountain; negwe'mp pl. na'ngwe'emp  
 parents-in-law versus child-in-law; neq'eme's pl.  
ná'ng'eme front; neq'nxes pl. na'ng'nxes  
 straight edge; neq'á'la pl. ná'ng'á'la noon, half  
 day; nexsag'i'la pl. na'nx'sag'ila half done,  
 half tide; nex'so'k pl. na'nx'sok a person  
 who wants to get everything for the asking;  
nex'wene's pl. na'nx'wene blanket; lexe's pl.  
la'lx'e basket; xá'ki'wane pl. xá'lk'wane  
 old woman.

ma'yaenk pl. ma'myaenk respected;  
ma'yulem pl. ma'myulem new-born; ma'tag'ila pl.

mae'mtag'ila name of an ancestor, pl. his descendants); ma'x'eno<sup>u</sup> pl. maä'mx'eno<sup>u</sup> killer whale; na'gats!e pl. na'ngats!e drinking vessel; za'wis pl. za'lwis bad tempered; za'ewene<sup>e</sup> pl. za'e'le'wene<sup>e</sup> valued; za'wad pl. la'e'lwad having a husband.

6 b. Forms with a reduplication:

la'laxem<sup>e</sup> pl. la'e'laxem<sup>e</sup> small basket; za'logwem, pl. za'e'logwem small dish; za'lawe'lela pl. za'e'lawe'lela to be in trouble; za'laxwila pl. za'e'laxwila to be in need.

Irregular za'xwela pl. ze'e'laxwela valuable property.

6 c. cv vowel not e or a.

me'gwat pl. me'emgwat seal; ne'gwats!e pl. ne'ngwats!e lamp; le'gwi'da<sup>x</sup>, ze'e'lgwi'da<sup>x</sup> the (four) le'gwi'da<sup>x</sup> tribes; le'lwelale<sup>e</sup> pl. le'e'lwelale<sup>e</sup> tribe; le'p'eno<sup>u</sup> pl. le'e'lp'eno<sup>u</sup> (le'slap'eno<sup>u</sup> Dzaw) gambler; le'x'enen pl. le'e'lx'enen round log; ze'ewe<sup>e</sup> pl. ze'e'lwe<sup>e</sup> mat; le'k'wala pl. le'e'lk'wala to lie (speak untruth); le'gwad pl. le'e'lgwad person who does the wrong thing; le'q'eno<sup>u</sup> pl. le'e'lq'eno<sup>u</sup> canoe builder; zo'q'we<sup>e</sup> pl. zo'e'lq'we<sup>e</sup> dish; zo'qweli<sup>z</sup> pl. zo'e'lqweli<sup>z</sup> house dish; lo'x'sem pl. lo'e'lx'sem round; nu'xema<sup>z</sup> pl. nu'e'nxema<sup>z</sup> fool dancer.

7. Many words with initial l reduplicate and change the l of the second syllable to l':

le'mg'ayu pl. le'm'sle'mg'ayu wedge; le'mq'ala pl. to brag; le'mlemsema to speak proudly; le'mza to burst; le'mlemx'se<sup>e</sup>nd to split firewood to pieces pl.

#### Initial y

Words with initial y followed by e or a form their plurals in yäe- provided the following sound is not m, n, or l. (There are no examples of stems in ye followed by t, s, ts, x<sup>u</sup>, z; or of ya followed by p, k, k<sup>u</sup>, g, x, l):

yepa' pl. yae'pa to weave mats; yek'o' pl. yäe'k'o halibut hook; yekweye'e pl. yäe'kweye<sup>e</sup> cover, lid; yekwi'z pl. yäe'kwiz parents of twins; yega'yu pl. yäe'gayu netting needle; yex'a' pl. yäe'x'a fast, quick; yexwa' pl. yäe'xwa to dance; yela' pl. yäe'la to tie bundles.

ya'yats!e pl. yäe'yats!e travelling canoe; ya'wabem pl. yäe'wabem sail; ya'was'id pl. yäe'was'id to do for a short while; ya'ewix'a pl. yäe'ewix'a to move; ya'q!wema pl. yäe'q!wema or yä'q!wema potlatch gift; ya'q!ent!ala pl. yäe'q!ent!ala to speak.

Only one word with initial sy seems to form this type of plural:

syax'sem<sup>e</sup> pl. syäe'x'sem<sup>e</sup> bad; syak'!ala pl. syäe'k'!ala to scold (syak'-bad).

yanem has the plural he'eyanem game; ya'lag'elis pl. he'eyalag'elis to work on beach.

yäe'yudux<sup>u</sup> or ya'yu'dux<sup>u</sup> three each R 592.49.

The derivatives of syak'- bad are quite irregular in the use of the syäe- forms.

All other stems reduplicate with yi-, unless the suffixes require other plural forms: ye'nta pl. yiy'e'nta to gnaw (except mice); ye'lkwe<sup>e</sup> pl. yiy'e'lkwe<sup>e</sup> to be hurt (for animals); ya'den pl. yiy'a'den rattle; syag'em pl. syisya'g'em sea-monster; etc.

#### Insertion of s

sek' pl. se'ssek' good R 200.411, C II 310.6; wil pl. wil swil thin R 250.83; se'q'eno<sup>u</sup> pl. se'sseq'eno<sup>u</sup> one who practices witchcraft; (se'ssaqa to counteract witchcraft); ba'sbele fins R 750.4; peta pl. pe'spata to treat with (several) medicine(s) R 1209.23; pel pl. pe'lspe<sup>l</sup> thin R 117.36; V 346.22; pl. pe'lspe<sup>l</sup>adzo thin and flat R 116.18; pl. pa'spelxela place with rock slabs R 489.10; ma'smeg'elis deep sea fish; nenö'slo pl. ne'sneno'slo foolish; ge'lö'lek<sup>u</sup> pl. gi'sge'lö'lek<sup>u</sup> thief; ge'lsge'elg'els insects, small creeping animals R 1220.64; ge'lt!a pl. ge'lsge'lt!a R 129.12; ge'ldas pl. ge'lsge'lda's long box (also ge'isge'ldas); ka'ts!enaq pl. ke'sk'ats!enaq and ka'k'ats!enaq wooden spoon; ko'x'wid, pl. ka'sk'ox'wid to put on more clothing (ko'ox'- lukewarm); gi't!eno<sup>u</sup> pl. gi'sgit!eno<sup>u</sup> woodworker; ke'lsk'!elg'ewes hair ribbons III 89.16 (ke'elk'-); ke'edek pl. ke'edek'ede<sup>z</sup> princess; ke'ot! pl. ke'ot'sk!welot! porpoise; gewe'nt!a pl. gewe'nsgwent!a heavy R 199.38; q!we'leyak<sup>u</sup> pl. q!we'lsq!we'leyak<sup>u</sup> old man; elax pl. ele'selax wide open; la'elenox<sup>u</sup> pl. lesla'elenox<sup>u</sup> ghost R 904.89; zena'la to be puzzled, lose way; za'sxenalala string game; le'k<sup>u</sup> pl. lesle'k<sup>u</sup> thick; la'siala limbs (la- to stand, inanimate); lasa'la limbs R 750.10; les!e'k<sup>u</sup> rock seaweed (le'ek<sup>u</sup>-); l!ax pl. l!a'sl!ax stiff.

Some of these forms have special meanings: se'ssaqa to counteract witchcraft; ha'shenaqa to fit up C 26: 154.105 (no unre-duplicated form); da'sda'sza to make fun of someone (desda'zela to laugh pl.); da'sdoqwa pl. deda'sdoqwa to scout R 1276.56.

#### Insertion of z

Many words with initial ts! form their plurals by reduplication and insertion of z: ts!ek<sup>u</sup> pl. ts!e'zts!ek<sup>u</sup> short R 159.18; ts!e'zts!ex<sup>u</sup>em short boards (but ts!a'ts!ex<sup>u</sup>em short pieces of log R 189.24); ts!ek<sup>u</sup> pl. ts!e'zts!ek<sup>u</sup> various kinds of birds; ts!egwenö' pl. ts!e'zts!egweno egg; ts!a'zts!emaq!a ear ornaments; ts!e'zts!eno cat's cradle.

With other initial sounds: ge'g'ax'es woman's property; ge'z'g'ö'k<sup>u</sup> houses (Dza'wade'nox<sup>u</sup>, ge'ig'ö'k<sup>u</sup> Kwa); g'ö'z'g'ekwelot

tribes 3760.1; dē ʔdak'εla graves C 26: 12.3 (Nak); dē ʔdak'εlεls graves on ground III 323.27 (dē'dεg'εsya Kwa); k'!ā ʔk'!eyots!enox<sup>u</sup> those who are nothing, the ghosts (spirits) (k'!eyō's); sā ʔεawēlʔ insides of houses (so=iʔ) '30.70.

The forms in -aʔ have generally a distributive meaning: sā ʔεnems p!ε ʔxεlasgεm or sā ʔεnεmgεmxa p!ε ʔxεlasgεm each has a blanket (sεnem one, -s with, -sgεm surface, -xa object) '30.6; sa ʔεoqweεla various tribes C III 82.13; ts!ā ʔts!aεnεmk'a a little at a time; sā ʔεnεεmema the single numaymas 3762.3 (cf. g'ō ʔg'εkwelot tribes); sā ʔεnεmō'k<sup>u</sup> 4366.7, sā ʔεnεmō'k!wεmk'a 2243.6 one person at a time; sā ʔεāwεmk'a a little by little, in instalments '30.741 (-εmk'a distributive); q!wā ʔq!wεnā'la often, many times singly (q!wεnō'la) '30.493.10; sā ʔεnεmp!εndzaqwεla to speak at intervals 3985.2; q!a ʔlq!εyō'-kwεmlis various tribes with many chiefs (q!εyō'k<sup>u</sup> many persons) '30.513; nā ʔnaqεloεyāla to be right in the middle of each (nεq-εla-oεyo-εla) R 70.23; dā ʔdanax<sup>u</sup> belonging III 93.9; 223.32; dε ʔdāā mk'ila tools III 189.17; '22.100; gwī ʔgwā'la clothing R 228.26; ga ʔgene kidneys R 447.21; nā ʔnax'uts!āla to travel alone in canoe C 26: 153.60; '30.8; t!ēāt!ē sεmx'εid each becomes a stone '30.475; ts!ā ʔts!ax'εid pain all over body CX 237.22.

qāa ʔqox<sup>u</sup>sidεε ankle, qāa ʔqox'uts!anεε wrist (qoq<sup>u</sup>- lump) seem to belong here according to form. They are, however, singular in meaning.

The locative suffixes =iʔ in house, on floor, =is on an open space, on beach, in body, in water; -!a on rock; =xs in canoe, when attached to a stem or some unanalyzable words have in many cases plurals formed by reduplication of the initial consonant and following vowel followed by -x-. These plurals express position, not motion. The particular forms depend on the character of the reduplicated stem.

A1, B1, and C1 are treated in the same manner. In these classes the terminal c\* of the stem does not include the labialized consonants k<sup>u</sup> and x<sup>u</sup>. ʔ is also excluded because all the suffixes weaken or harden ʔ to l or εl so that the stems assume the type B.

A1. cvc\*, R cvc\*cvc\*: tεp! ʔ pl. tεptεb! ʔ to be shattered on floor; ts!εd! ʔ pl. ts!ε(t)ts!εd! ʔ cracked on floor; k!εg! ʔ pl. k!εxk!εg! ʔ pile (blankets, fish) lie on floor; qwx! ʔ pl. qwxqxwx! ʔ powdery on floor; k!εq!ε's, pl. k!εxk!εq!ε's small poles stand on ground, k!εgē's, pl. k!εxk!εgē's on beach; nεxnεqāεl! ʔ to place right opposite in house C III 266.13 (seems to express movement).

B1. cvc\*, R cvc\*cvc\*: mē'diʔ pl. mē'tmed! ʔ to spin nettle bark in house; pō'dziʔ pl. pō'spodziʔ to swell in house; mē'xiʔ pl. mē'xmex! ʔ to sleep in house; k!ā'liʔ pl.

k!ā'ʔk!ā!liʔ to have flat thing thrown on floor; tsā giʔ pl. tsā ʔxtsagiʔ boards on floor; yā q!wεs pl. yā ʔxyaq!wεs to lie dead on ground C 26: 206.247.

- C1. cvmc\*, R cvmc\*cvmc\*: lε'mwiʔ, pl. lε'mx<sup>u</sup>lεmwiʔ dry in house; q!ε'ldziʔ pl. q!ε'lsq!εldziʔ oily on floor; gwε'ldiʔ, pl. gwε'ltgwe!diʔ blaze on floor; kwε'ndziʔ pl. kwε'nskwendziʔ to bake in house; pl. tsε'nx'utsenwiʔ fat on floor, in stomach R 465.38; bε'lx! ʔ, pl. bε'lxεlx! ʔ to spread (hair, thread) on floor; wε'ngiʔ, pl. wε'nxw ngiʔ deep floor; k!ε'lx! ʔ, pl. k!ε'lxk!εlx! ʔ fire in house is out.
- A2. cvm, R cvmx'cū or cūx'cvm. In both forms ū is treated like a long vowel; the first form corresponding to cūx'cū (like cū below), the second to cūx'cū: hānx's, pl. hā'nx'hānx's or hāx'hā'nx's vessel is in canoe; hā'nx'hā's (not hāx'hā'ns) vessels are on ground R 20.6, 28; hāx'hān! ʔ or hā'nx'hā! ʔ vessels are on floor C III 98.22; kwε'li ʔ pl. kwε'lx'kwā! ʔ to lie on floor; dze'εmi ʔ pl. dze'mx'dzā! ʔ or dze'εmi ʔ to be buried on floor; sme'li ʔ pl. sme'lx'smā! ʔ white on floor; swε'nx'swā! ʔ to hide in house; pā'εli ʔ pl. pā'lx'pā! ʔ or pax'pā'εli ʔ thin on floor.

Also from a complete word: nū'yεsmiʔ pl. nū'x<sup>u</sup>nuyεsmiʔ house story, and probably nū'x<sup>u</sup>neε'mis from obsolete singular nū'εmis animals before their transformation in mythical times.

cūʔ stems are treated in the same way, ʔ changing to l or εl before the weakening or hardening suffixes: q!εli ʔ pl. q!εx'q!εli ʔ to hang in house (q!εx-); q!εx'q!εs!a ---on rock; wεli ʔ pl. wεx'wεli ʔ in vain on floor, on bare floor (wεx-);

Also dze'εlā'lis pl. dze'εlā'lis lake on open ground (dze'εlā'ʔ).

- B2. cvm, R cvmx'cvm: lō'mā! ʔ pl. lō'x<sup>u</sup>lεmā! ʔ very much on floor (lō'mā!kos wā ʔdεmagos you said very much); xā'mā ʔ pl. xā'x'xāmā ʔ to be on bare rock (xām-).

cūʔ stems are treated in the same way (see above under A2): mō'liʔ pl. mō'x<sup>u</sup>mēliʔ rough floor (mōʔ-); dā'liʔ pl. dā'x'dēliʔ folded on floor (dāʔ-); bē'liʔ pl. bē'x'bēliʔ loose things scattered on floor (bēʔ-); bō'liʔ pl. bōx<sup>u</sup>bēliʔ lump on floor (bōʔ-); gwā'liʔ pl. gwā'x'gwēliʔ ready in house R 384.34; 434.36 (gwāʔ-).

- C2. cvmʔ- R cvmx'cvmʔ; mē'nliʔ, pl. mē'nx'menliʔ to be oversatiated with oil (menʔ-); k!wε'mliʔ, pl. k!wε'mx'k!wεmliʔ to draw oneself back (k!wεmʔ-).

- A3. cεy- R cūx'cūy- or cε'x'cūy- (< cūyx'cū-). The reduplication is strictly analogous to type A2. Apparently the former type appears frequently with cūw-, the latter with cūy-: sme'εwi ʔ pl. sme'εw! ʔ or sme'εw! ʔ to be piled on floor (sme'εw-); sne'εwi ʔ pl. sne'εw! ʔ or sne'εw! ʔ to feign a

motion in house (snew-); q!āswi'ł pl. q!āx'q!āswi'ł or q!ōxuq!āił water on floor (q!ēw-); xawī'ł, pl. xēx'xawī'ł or xōx'xāił to split wood on floor.

q!āē'ł, pl. q!ē'x'q!āēł many on floor C III 170.31 (q!ēy-); q!āē'sēla pl. q!ēx'q!āēsēla much in mind; gēs pl. gē'x'gēs long time on ground (gēy-); sne's, pl. sne'x'snēs string of fish on ground (sney-); sne'sya' pl. sne'x'sne'sya' --- on rock.

- A4. cvb- R cvx'cvb, but also with unvoiced b instead of x: swedāi'ł pl. swex'swedāi'ł cold in house (swed-); gwē'tgwedāi'ł to untie bundle in house (gwed-).
- A6. cvem- R cvx'cām-: āwi's pl. āx'sāwi's open space (āēw-); āswi'ł pl. āx'sāswi'ł floor of house; āswa' pl. āx'sāswa' rocky place.
- B6. cve'm R cvx'cāsm-: xā'snāił pl. xā'x'xānāił to be naked in house (xāsn-); k'!ē'slāił pl. k'!ē'x'k'!ēslāił slime on floor.
- ABC with terminal k<sup>u</sup> or x<sup>u</sup> palatalize these sounds cvk<sup>u</sup>-, cvx<sup>u</sup>-, R cvk'cvk<sup>u</sup>-, cvx'cvx<sup>u</sup>-: ts!ēgwi's pl. ts!ēx'ts!ēgwi's short beach (ts!ēk<sup>u</sup>); x'ēgwi'ł pl. x'ēx'x'ēgwi'ł to roast shellfish in house (x'ēk<sup>u</sup>); smēgwi'ł pl. smēx'smēgwi'ł or smēx<sup>u</sup>smēgwi'ł round thing is on floor; pewi's pl. pe'x'pewi's to float on beach (pe'x<sup>u</sup>).
- cvk<sup>u</sup>-, R cvx'cvk<sup>u</sup>-: !ā'gwił pl. !ā'x'!ēgwił to kneel on floor (!ā'k<sup>u</sup>); tē'gwił pl. tē'x'tēgwił to hang in house (tē'k<sup>u</sup>).
- cvmk<sup>u</sup>-, R cvmx'cvmk<sup>u</sup>-: !ē'mgwił pl. !ē'mx'!ēmgwił long thing sticks out on floor.
- ABC stems ending in k' change to x', those ending in x' retain x' according to general phonetic rules: tē'ng'ił pl. tē'nx'tēng'ił to be piled (like a mound) on the floor (tēnk'-); t!ēx't!ēg'i'ł soil on floor R 478.53 (t!ēk'-).
- D cv, R cvx'cā: dāi'ł pl. dā'x'dāił to hold on to floor; t!ās's pl. t!ā'x't!ās's or t!atās's to fall on the ground; k'āi'ł pl. k'ā'x'-k'āił dish is on floor; yā's pl. yā'x'yā's (hair) hangs down on ground C 26:22.4; q!wāi'ł pl. q!wā'x'q!wāił several stand in several places on floor; ts!āē's pl. ts!ā'x'ts!āē's rapid on open place; g'ixs pl. g'i'x'g'āxs to be in canoe.

Unusual accent and shortening of the reduplicated syllable is found in dā'smił pl. dēx'dā'smił, to take hold in house, perhaps on account of the contraction dā'smił < da-ēsm-ił CX 11.23.

- 8 Unclassified: na'walagwis pl. na'x'na'-walagwis supernatural power on beach. Besides the forms in =ił, =is, -!s, -!ā, =xs we have na'x'nawalakwāge supernatural power at side of (pond, river).

The following types do not insert x' but reduplicate with ē:

C4 cvm̄b-, R cēcvm̄b: mē'ndził pl. mē'mēndzāił to split kindling wood in house

(mēndz-).

C6 cvm̄ey-, R cēcvm̄ey-: k'ē'meyāił pl. k'ik'ē'meyāił to surround in house.

- Al' cvc\*c', R cēcvc\*c': tēłts!āi'ł pl. tē'tēłts!āi'ł to warm oneself; ts!ētx'āi'ł pl. ts!ē'ts!ētx'āi'ł to squirt on floor; māx'ts!āi'ł pl. mēmā'x'ts!āił to be ashamed in house; k'!ēd'ēłxił pl. k'!ēk'!ēd'ēłxił dizzy in house.
- C 6 k!wē'mēlāił pl. k!wēk!wē'mēlāił to burn in house; qā'bēnił pl. qēqā'bēnił heat in house (qābix'-)

#### PRONOUNS<sup>34</sup>

Verbal and nominal themes contained in the sentence do not undergo any modifications except those due to mechanical phonetic effects of the contact between their terminal sounds and the following initial sound. Syntactic relations are expressed by means of the pronoun which has three cases: a subjective, objective, and instrumental. The functions of nouns are defined by modified forms of the third person pronoun. Subordinate clauses are also formed by means of the pronouns suffixed to stems expressing causal, final, temporal, conditional relations.

The following pronouns are distinguished:

Speaker	1st person
Speaker and person or persons addressed	Inclusive
Speaker and person or persons spoken of	Exclusive
Person or persons addressed	2d person
Person or persons spoken of	3d person

The tendency of the language to a strict localization of statements which finds expression in the large number and precise meaning of locative suffixes, is also exhibited in the third person pronoun. The positions near speaker, near person addressed, and near person spoken of are distinguished and expressed by means of formative elements suffixed to the pronouns. These three forms are further distinguished as referring to visible and to invisible objects. Thus the third person has always a demonstrative character.

Subject, object, and instrumental coalesce with the verb and form a phonetic unit, the verb being followed by the pronouns in the order here given. For instance, "he strikes him with it" is expressed by the combination "strike-he-him-with=it." As a matter of fact such cumbersome combinations are avoided. However subject and object or subject and instrumental always form a phonetic unit.

When nouns with or without possessive

<sup>34</sup>For a comparison of the Kwariuti and Bella Bella system of pronouns see p. 296.

pronouns are introduced into the complex, they are placed immediately following the syntactic pronominal elements which indicate their functions. In this case the pronominal subjective, objective, and instrumental undergo phonetic changes. These forms may be designated as pronominal. The phonetic coalescence of the syntactic pronominal elements with the preceding part of the complex persists, but the pronouns are phonetically separated from the following noun. Theoretically the statement "the man struck the boy with a stick" could be expressed in the form: "struck=he=the-man=him=the-boy=with=the-stick." As said before, such combinations are avoided, but are possible. The separation between the pronoun and the following noun is justified only by the phonetic character of the sentence. In reality the whole seems to form one verbal expression. The pronoun and the following subject, object or instrumental cannot be separated by any other elements. On the other hand, the close connection between the subject, object and instrumental with the preceding verb or noun is justified solely on phonetic grounds.

Table of Pronouns

I. VERBAL SUFFIXES

	Pronominal			Prenominal		
	Subject	Object	Instrumental	Subject	Object	Instrumental
1st person Inclusive	-en(L)	--	-en(L)			
1st person Exclusive	-ents	--	-ents			
2d person	-enu <sup>ex</sup>	--	-enu <sup>ex</sup>			
3d person	-es	-ol	-os	-e	-x	-s

II. DEMONSTRATIVE SUFFIXES

Demonstrative of	Verbal		Postnominal
	Pronominal	Prenominal <sup>1</sup>	
1st person, visible	-k'	-g'a	-k'
1st person, invisible	-g'a <sup>s</sup>		
2d person, visible	-ox	-ox	-ex
2d person, invisible	-o <sup>s</sup>		-ax, -aq!
3d person, visible	-eq	--e	--
3d person, invisible	-e <sup>s</sup>		-a

<sup>1</sup>With common nouns followed by -da.

Examples: la'dza<sup>s</sup>en indeed, I shall go III 146.7; la<sup>s</sup>ments we (incl.) go III 179.35; ga'gak'!anu<sup>s</sup>x<sup>u</sup> we (excl.) are ready to

marry III 225.43; g'a'x<sup>s</sup>ems you have come C III 234.14; g'a'xg'a<sup>s</sup> he (near 1st p., invis.) has come; la<sup>s</sup>mo'x qos<sup>u</sup> this (near 2d p. vis.) will be thine III 228.42; g'a'x<sup>s</sup>mo<sup>s</sup> this (near 2d p. invis.) has come III 370.24; he<sup>s</sup>meq that is it (near 3d p. visible).

la<sup>s</sup>mo<sup>s</sup> it is this (near 2d person invisible) C III 338.5; ye'xg'a k'!a'la<sup>s</sup>minek' this (near 1st p. visible) k'!a'la<sup>s</sup>min III 411.19; he'k'!alag'ada x'esa'lax'dg'a<sup>s</sup> they (near 1st p. invisible) made that noise these who had disappeared III 85.31; la'loxda na<sup>s</sup>enx<sup>u</sup>we na<sup>s</sup>ex these (near 2d p. visible) blankets will go III 213.11; laxo'x tsa'xisax at this (near 2d invisible) Tsa'xis; la bwe'x<sup>s</sup>witsox wi'sax then she became pregnant with this (near 2d invisible) child C III 42.5; g'a'x<sup>s</sup>laxda ma'lo'kwe two persons (near 3d p.) came, it is said III 261.33.

From the fundamental series originates a great number of forms by composition and further modification. The pronominal demonstrative forms occur as subject, object, and instrumental, and are formed, on the whole, by adding the demonstrative suffix to the personal endings.

II (a) PRONOMINAL DEMONSTRATIVE SUFFIXES

Demonstrative of	Subjective	Objective	Instrumental
1st person, visible	-k'	-qek'	-sek'
1st person, invisible	-g'a <sup>s</sup>	-xg'a <sup>s</sup>	-sg'a <sup>s</sup>
2d person, visible	-ox	-q <sup>u</sup>	-sox
2d person, invisible	-o <sup>s</sup>	-q <sup>u</sup> !, -qo <sup>s</sup>	-so <sup>s</sup>
3d person, visible	-eq	-q	-s
3d person, invisible	-e <sup>s</sup>	-qe	-se

Examples: ha'g'a laqo<sup>s</sup> go to him (near 2d invisible) C II 52.7; g'a'xeg'en wa'walk'ina laqek' I came and got this one (near 1st p. visible) by good luck C II 58.5; qen la'wade<sup>s</sup>sek' that I have this one (near 1st p. visible) for my husband C II 72.11; saxlax'g'ag<sup>u</sup> take this now (near 2d p. visible) C II 94.14; k'!e<sup>s</sup>dzen q!a'lelaq<sup>s</sup> I do not know about it (near 3d p. invisible) C II 94.9; la'xenten l!els<sup>s</sup>laqo<sup>s</sup> evidently I left and forgot it (near 2d p. invisible) yu<sup>s</sup>em ax<sup>s</sup>e'xsd<sup>s</sup>o<sup>s</sup>sek' this (near 2d) is wished by this one (near 1st p. visible) C II 182.6; la<sup>s</sup>e'ms pa'q!exl<sup>s</sup>nd<sup>s</sup>etsox you will put it down flat in the bottom C II 360.27.

## III (a). TRANSITIVE VERB WITH OBJECT

Subject	Object				
	1st person	Inclusive	Exclusive	2d person	3d person
1st person	---	---	---	-enlol	-enlag
Inclusive	---	---	---	---	-entsaq
Exclusive	---	---	---	-enu <sup>s</sup> xwol	-enu <sup>s</sup> xwag
2d person	g'a'x <sup>u</sup> en	---	g'a'x <sup>u</sup> enu <sup>s</sup> x <sup>u</sup>	---	-seq
3d person	g'a'x <sup>u</sup> en	g'a'x <sup>u</sup> ents	g'a'x <sup>u</sup> enu <sup>s</sup> x <sup>u</sup>	-ol	-q

## III (b). TRANSITIVE VERB WITH INSTRUMENTAL

Subject	Instrumental				
	1st person	Inclusive	Exclusive	2d person	3d person
1st person	---	---	---	-enlos	-enlas
Inclusive	---	---	---	---	-entsas
Exclusive	---	---	---	-enu <sup>s</sup> xwos	-enu <sup>s</sup> xwas
2d person	-setsen	---	-setsenu <sup>s</sup> x <sup>u</sup>	---	-ses
3d person	-en	-ents	-enu <sup>s</sup> x	-os	-s

Examples: g'a'gak'!enlol I am ready to marry thee III 97.4; l!elē'wa<sup>s</sup>yenlol I forgot it III 102.15; welā'nu<sup>s</sup>xwol we ask thee; ene'x'lesex q!wile'ya you will tell uncle C 26:138.162; enē'x'slāeq he said to him, it is said C II 88.18; emā'ts!aǎdze q!ǎǎē'deol what big thing carried you away? C II 120.15; dzonoq!wadzā q!ǎǎē'de g'a'x<sup>u</sup>en indeed a Dzo'noq!wa carried me away C II 120.15.

k'!ē'dadewe<sup>s</sup>en he had me for a princess C II 107.8 (-ad owner always with instrumental); la bewē'n he left me (bew- to leave always with instrumental); len bewō's I left you; len bās I left him (< bew-s); gwā'la nā'nokwen don't worry about me C II 42.14.

The demonstrative prenominal forms show an analogous development. In this case we find, furthermore, a double form, a vocalic, characterized by a terminal -a, and another one which is used preceding proper names, indefinite nouns, and possessive forms of the third person when the possessor is a person different from the subject of the sentence. For brevity's sake we will call this form the consonantic.

For the postnominal demonstrative suffixes see Table II, p. 252.

Examples: la wax<sup>s</sup>etso<sup>s</sup>g'a g'a'xek' k!wāē'za now you were pitied by this one (near 1st p. vis.) who came and sits in the house C II 62.15; lā'len qā'qeselisulaxg'a'da a'le<sup>s</sup>nagwisek' I shall go along the beach to this inland country (near 1st p. vis.) C II 50.1; āwi'lax'lag'a wā'zēm<sup>s</sup>g'ada pāxāla'g'axent very important is this word (near 1st p.) of this (near 1st p.) who is evidently a shaman C II 52.4; do'xewidasoxda g'ō'kwex do you see this house? (near 2d p. vis.) C II 62.16; qā<sup>s</sup> lā'wadāsoxda g'ēnā'nemex that you have for your husband this (near 2d p.) child C II 70.3; k'a'syadzāx'lxox wī'saq! drive away this boy (near 2d. inv.) C II 70.33; laxō'x-g'ī'g'āēlex at this what is in the house (near 2d p. vis.) C II 52.5; lā'slāe qā'sēideda g'ē'ng'ēnanem then, it is said, the children started (3d p. vocalic); C II 8.23; la yā'q!ēg'āle hāwī'lkwēlaž now spoke Hāwī'lkwēlaž (3d p. cons.) C II 38.20; lā<sup>s</sup>ē'm k!wā<sup>s</sup>ēā'laxa g'ēnā'nem and now they left sitting on the ground the child (3d p.

## IV. PRENOMINAL DEMONSTRATIVE SUFFIXES

Demonstrative of	Subjective		Objective		Instrumental	
	Vocalic	Consonantic	Vocalic	Consonantic	Vocalic	Consonantic
1st person	-g'ada	-g'a	-xg'ada	-xg'a	-sg'ada	-sg'a
2d person	-oxda	-ox	{ -xoxda -xwa	{ -xox -x <sup>u</sup>	{ -soxda -sa	{ -sox -sa
3d person	-eda, a	-e	-xa	-x	-sa	-s

voc.) C II 40.4; se'sen q!â'lɛlax ts!ɛx'-q!o'lɛmas I do not know the cause of his feeling ill (3d p. con.) C II 50.15; gwa'lkwitasa q!wa'xe he rubs his body with hemlock branches (3d p. voc.) C II 30.2; â'emis<sup>ε</sup>la g'ilo'x<sup>ε</sup>itso<sup>s</sup> qa'wadiliqala it is said, it was just stolen by Qa'wadiliqala (3d p. cons.).

In the Newetsee and Koskimo dialects -xa and -sa are replaced by -xe and se.

The possessive suffixes are also attracted by the syntactic pronominal forms and coalesce with them. Nevertheless they persist as postnominal suffixes. In the first person, inclusive and exclusive, the suffixed forms are permissible; in the second person, obligatory; in the third person pronominal only when subject and possessor are the same.

For the third person two forms are differentiated. When the possessor and the subject are identical the instrumental s is attached to the pronominal form, while the noun takes the postnominal demonstrative ending. When possessor and subject are distinct, the instrumental -s is added to the postnominal demonstrative ending while the pronominal suffix remains identical with the pronominal demonstrative

The possessive pronominal forms for the objective and instrumental are formed by suffixing the possessive pronominals given in Tables V a and b to x- and -s in the same manner as is done in the pronominal demonstratives given in Table II a.

Examples: la<sup>ε</sup> ms<sup>ε</sup> a'xlɛx'ɛn le'gɛmx'dɛk' now you will take my past name (1st p. vis) III 125.31; ɛma s<sup>ε</sup>anawiseg'ɛn tek'!e'g'aɛn

V. POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

(a) First Person, Inclusive, Exclusive, Second Person

Demonstrative of	Prenominal		Postnominal
	1st person, inclusive, exclusive.	2d person	
1st person, visible	<u>-g'in, -g'intɛs</u>	{ <u>g'as</u> <u>-os, -xs</u> <u>-oxs</u> <u>-es</u>	<u>-g'-</u> With the endings
1st person, invisible	<u>-g'inu<sup>ε</sup>xu</u>		<u>-g'a-</u> of the pronominal in-
2d person, visible	<u>-ɛn, -ɛnts</u>		<u>-q<sup>-1</sup></u> strumental of the
2d person, invisible	<u>-ɛnu<sup>ε</sup>xu</u>		<u>-q!<sup>-1</sup></u> various persons.
3d person, visible			<u>---<sup>1</sup></u>
3d person, invisible			<u>-a-</u>

<sup>1</sup>These forms may be -aq-, -aq!<sup>-1</sup>, -e<sup>ε</sup> [HBY].

The three forms for the second person for the demonstrative of the second person seem to be used indiscriminately.

In place of the double use of pronominal and postnominal possessive forms, the pronominal or postnominal demonstrative possessives alone are also in use for the first person, inclusive, and exclusive.

what may be the matter with my belly? (1st p. invis.) III 172.20; we'g'a<sup>ε</sup> do'gwaɛaxwa g'o'kwaqɛn look at this my house (2d p. vis.) III 409.38; k'!e'seg'ɛn wɛyo'xɛn wa'xɛme I did not fail to obtain my wish (3d p. vis.) III 454.3; qɛnts le<sup>ε</sup> la'xɛn g'o'kwa that we go to my house (3d p. inv.) III 409.12; gwɛna'x'g'aɛn la'xɛn g'a'g'imax'daɛn

V (b). Third Person

Demonstrative of	Possessor subject of sentence		Possessor not subject of sentence	
	Prenominal	Postnominal	Prenominal	Postnominal
1st person, visible	<u>-g'as</u>	{ <u>-k'</u> <u>-g'a<sup>ε</sup></u> <u>-q (-ɛx)<sup>1</sup></u> <u>-q!<sup>1</sup> (-aq!<sup>1</sup>)<sup>1</sup></u>	<u>-g'a</u>	<u>-g'as</u>
1st person, invisible				<u>-g'aɛs</u>
2d person, visible	<u>-os</u>	{ <u>-q (-ɛx)<sup>1</sup></u> <u>-q!<sup>1</sup> (-aq!<sup>1</sup>)<sup>1</sup></u>	<u>-ox</u>	<u>-xs (-axs)</u>
2d person, invisible				<u>-q!ɛs</u>
3d person, visible	<u>-es</u>	<u>-a</u>	<u>-e</u>	<u>-s</u>
3d person, invisible				<u>-as</u>

<sup>1</sup>See Note 1 above.

lo pay me for what I loaned to you (1st p., 3d p. inv.) III 452.1; na'qa'vaxsents 'no'lax the mind of our elder brother (incl., invis.) III 325.11; do'qwxg'ada wa'g'ents look at our river (incl. 1st p. vis.) III 147.37; la'emk' swi'elae'g'ents 'nemo'kwig'e' now all our friends are in the house (incl. 1st p. vis.); ha'g'as, sa'xk'!a'laxents g'o'kwelotax go and ask our tribe (incl. 2d p. invis.) III 310.8; la'xents sa'wi'nagwisaents to our country (incl. 3d p. inv.); la'xg'as g'ne'mg'os to your wife (2d p., 1st p. vis.) III 234.22; laxs go'gwema'syaqos to your face (2d p., 2d p. vis.) III 306.20; la'xos sa'wi'nagwisaqos to your country (2d p., 2d p. vis.) III 259.39; ga'gak'!enlaxs k'!e'de'axq!os I try to woo your princess (2d p., 2d p. inv.) III 119.22; sq'x'semes wa'xemos good is your word (2d p., 3d p. vis.) III 259.35; do'qwa'xaxs sa'xe'xsde'so'e-laos see what will be desired by you (2d p., 3d p. inv.) III 409.29; do'xswidxos xweno'kwex (let her) see her child (3d p., 2d p. vis.) III 134.16; dada'x'asaxes xek'wise' they still held their bows (3d p. possessor subject of sentence, 3d p. vis.) III 243.40; la'smesn geg'a'desoxda k'!e'de'axs (3d p., possessor not subject) (3d p., 2d p. vis.); sa'xex ya'nems he took his game (3d p. possessor not subject, 3d p. vis.) III 294.27.

It has been stated before that the division of the complex verb, subject, object, instrumental is arbitrary. If the phonetic cohesion of the single parts of this structure were disregarded we might write do'qwa g he saw him, or ne'k' eda be'gwa'ne'ma g said the man to him, as separate words. Phonetically the former is do'qwaq, the latter ne'k'eda be'gwa'ne'maq. When the objective or instrumental pronoun is in consonantic form we have the same phonetic grouping: ne'k'eda be'gwa'ne'max wa'nuk<sup>u</sup> the man said to wa'nuk<sup>u</sup>, while in the vocalic form we have ne'k'eda be'gwa'ne'maxa g'ena'nem. The close phonetic connection between the verb and the syntactic elements appears still more clearly in those instrumental forms in which according to phonetic laws the instrumental -s is changed to -ts: do'gwekts < do'gwek=s it was seen by him C 26:44.50. When the connection between two words is not intimate, the s would not be changed to ts. There are, however, cases in which xa and sa have initial position, namely when a number of objects or instrumentals are enumerated.

#### Remarks on the Pronouns

As shown in Table I the first person subject and instrumental is expressed by -en, inclusive by -ents, exclusive by -enu<sup>sx<sup>u</sup></sup>. When the first person is followed by an object

or instrumental it takes the form -enla. The objective forms for the first person, inclusive and exclusive are missing. In their places indirect objects are used derived from the verb g'ax to come. g'a'xen to me, g'a'xents to us (incl.); g'a'xenu<sup>sx<sup>u</sup></sup> to us (excl.).

A number of general inferences may be drawn in regard to the somewhat complicated history of the pronominal forms. Obviously the glottal stop is a means of expressing invisibility. It corresponds to Bella Bella -ts.

The second person demonstrative (near 2d person) is throughout characterized by the vowel o, except in the postnominal forms and in one alternative pronominal form -xs (see Table V (a)). Visibility and invisibility are not distinguished in pronominal forms. The vowel o is also characteristic of the second personal pronominal suffixes: -ou object, -os instrumental, while the subject in Kwakiutl is -es, in Bella Bella it is also characterized by o: -so. The independent second person verbal personal pronoun is also so-, the nominal form yu, the independent second person demonstrative is yu-. Thus it appears that o must be considered a characteristic element of the second person. When the second person subject is followed by the objective or instrumental it takes the vowel e following the subject: -seq, -ses instead of an expected -o. Possibly this may be explained by the fairly frequent change of Kwakiutl o to e in the northern dialects; see -be'za (Bella Bella), -bo'za (Kwakiutl) to pretend; nes (Bella Bella), nos (Kwakiutl) mine; which, however, is the reverse of what is required.

#### RULES OF CONNECTION

A number of general observations regarding the pronouns should be made.

1. The first person, when followed by the objective or instrumental, takes the form -enl. This probably represents an earlier form of the first person. It is claimed that the Koskimo used it as the ordinary form of the first person, p.e. g'a'xenl I came, but I have not heard it used. It will be noted (Table III a p. 253) that the objective forms of the first person, and those of the inclusive and exclusive, have been lost and that the verb forms g'a'xen, g'a'xents, g'a'xenu<sup>sx<sup>u</sup></sup> I, we come, have taken their place. These correspond to the indirect object laq formed from la to go. We may conclude that these forms are derived from g'ax-xen etc.: come to me, as opposed to laq go to him. Those forms in which an adverbial form is added to the indirect object show clearly that laq is a verb with object: la'seng'ag to him in a dream (-seng'a in a dream). The objective forms of the first person, inclusive and exclusive, persist in Bella Bella: -enla, -enlents, -enlentk<sup>u</sup>.



2. The first person, inclusive and exclusive, when followed by the objective or instrumental takes a connective -a-; so that we find -enlaq, -entsaq, -enu<sup>s</sup>xwag; -enlas, -entsas, -enu<sup>s</sup>xwas I, we --- him, I; we---with him.

3. The second person takes a connective -e- before the objective and instrumental of the third person, so that we have -seg them---him, -ses them---with him. With the instrumental of the first person and exclusive, the second person forms -setsen, -setsenu<sup>s</sup>x<sup>u</sup>.

4. When a nominal subject is followed by an objective or instrumental pronoun or noun; or when a nominal object is followed by an instrumental pronoun or noun, it takes a connective -a-, analogous to that following the first person, the inclusive or exclusive (see above under 2.)

Examples: sāwe'lp!a<sup>z</sup>teswaslāe l<sup>e</sup>ma'syag l<sup>e</sup>ma'se examined him, it is said C II 48.4; le k!wa'nodzeližeda ba'bagwemaq now a boy was sitting at her side C II 388.1; do'x<sup>s</sup>walele dza'wadalalisaxa l<sup>e</sup>lkwa Dza'wadalalis saw the blood III 99.7; sne'x'soelāe q!a'mtalažas q!a'neqeslak<sup>u</sup> Q!a mtalaž was told by Q!a'neqeslak<sup>u</sup> III 100.19.

5. Verbs which have the future suffix -l generally form the subjective by the suffix -a in place of -eda. Evidently the process by which the objective -xa and the instrumental -sa have developed from the fuller -xeda and -seda has affected in this case also the subjective.

Examples: g'a'xla g'e'ng'enaneme the children will come X 17.8; la<sup>s</sup>mox<sup>u</sup> q!a'q!exweto'x<sup>s</sup>widela ts!o' ts!o<sup>s</sup>max these barnacles (dem. 2d p.) will show their tops X 97.40.

lo<sup>s</sup> and, in company with, is treated in the same way as the future: l<sup>e</sup>swa' sna'xwa ts!e'zts!ek!wa and all the birds III 295.2.

6. Nouns ending in -a, -e, -ā, and -d, when followed by the connective -a- (see above 4), by the postnominal -a of the third person invisible, by -ax, -aq!, and -q<sup>u</sup>! of the second person invisible, and by -q<sup>u</sup> of the second person visible. take the endings -ā, -āx, -āq!, -āq, in place of a, e, ā, d followed by the usual endings.

Examples: k!e'lax'sit<sup>s</sup>ewa wāo'x'dās his (past) companions were killed C II 84.26; k!eo'selat!a xwa'k!wenās xa'xamala none was, it is said, however, the canoe of the orphans C II 86.5; ne'xadzāg'astsa l!a'qwa tell about the (3d p., inv.) copper C II 94.8; weg!ā'dzā big toad (3d p. inv.) C II 114.11; wā'qos your river C II 116.11; s<sup>e</sup>lkwāxsos y<sup>e</sup>lkwāex the blood of your wound (2d p. inv.) C II 388.12; le welēle'da ha'sya'x<sup>s</sup>āx B. then the youths heard B. C II 390.19; sne'x'selāe hāmdzidāxes so'mpe it is said, Ha mdzid said to his father III 55.19; la'elāe do'x<sup>s</sup>walele la'qwelayugwāxa

g'o'kwe then, it is said, La'qwelayugwa saw the house III 251.8.

7. Nouns in -e<sup>s</sup> take in the cases enumerated under 6 the endings -a<sup>s</sup>ya, -a<sup>s</sup>ya<sup>x</sup>, -a<sup>s</sup>yaq!, -a<sup>s</sup>yaq!<sup>u</sup>, -a<sup>s</sup>yaq<sup>u</sup>; g'i'gāma'syasa b<sup>e</sup>l<sup>e</sup>xwēla the chief of the Bella Coola III 223.33.

8. Nouns ending in -o take in the cases enumerated under 6 the endings -ā, -āx, -āq!, -āq!<sup>u</sup>, -āq<sup>u</sup>: lā<sup>s</sup>e'm<sup>e</sup>la go't!e ya'syats!ās k!wa'qaxsanāxa qā'g<sup>e</sup>kwe and then, however, was full the canoe of K!wa'qaxsano of heads III 153.33.

9. The -s third person possessive, when followed by an objective or instrumental, takes a terminal -e: t!e'm<sup>s</sup>yāsexes xwā'k!wana his means of sewing his canoe M 665.13; la'elāe da'le k!wey<sup>e</sup>masexa s<sup>w</sup>a'lase g'e'ldasa then, it is said, his crew took the large box III 226.39.

10. The objective -q and instrumental s, when followed by the temporal subordinating elements, are followed by -e: he'semis la'g'ilās q!a'lagexs l<sup>e</sup>ma'e t<sup>e</sup>l<sup>e</sup>px<sup>e</sup> gen<sup>e</sup>mas therefore he knew that (a lover) had met his wife C II 400.22; la welēlagexs la'e la'g'āā now they heard it when they arrived C II 406.4; g'e'l<sup>s</sup>e<sup>m</sup>ela'wise gwa'xe sāxa'syasexs la'e sāxsi'dzentses sāxa'sye as soon as he finished his work he put his work on his feet C II 406.21.

11. Nouns ending in -a contract before following -xs to -āxs: g'e'l<sup>s</sup>e<sup>m</sup>ela'wise la'g'āā la'xa g'o'kwelāxs la'e...first they arrived at the village when they...C II 406.6.

Nouns ending in -o contract before following -xs to -āxs: ne'xaxa q!a'k'āxs ga'gak!lāe lax mā'esila he told the slave that he wanted to get a wife from Salmon C II 170.14.

12. Nouns ending in -a or -o, when followed by the demonstrative of the second person visible, take the ending -x instead of -ex: la<sup>s</sup>e'm<sup>x</sup>den le'stali'sela la'xents sna'lax I have been around this our world III 12.7; weg'a wi'x'idxwa sme<sup>s</sup>m<sup>e</sup>l<sup>x</sup>lox go on! carry these mountain goats III 41.5; l<sup>e</sup>wo'xda hala'yux and this death bringer III 50.36.

13. Nouns ending in -a, -e, -ā, -o do not take the postnominal -e of the third person. Compare he'x'idas<sup>e</sup>m slawise na'naqasi<sup>s</sup>lakwe sāxk!a'laxes weg!wa and so, it is said, immediately Na'naqasi<sup>s</sup>lak<sup>u</sup> asked her brother C II 388.8, and la<sup>s</sup>e'm<sup>e</sup>lāe da'sneme'ma dzelodzā'lis and, it is said, the brothers (s<sup>n</sup>eme'ma) were running on the flat open space C II 390.32; la'elāe g'il<sup>e</sup>xwitsa q!e'mg'ilas then, it is said, blue bird (?) made him ashamed C II 122.13; and la'elāe l<sup>e</sup>ma'sye p!a'x'sit<sup>s</sup>es s<sup>a</sup>syaso' then, it is said, l<sup>e</sup>me<sup>s</sup> felt (of it) with his hand C II 70.19. (In many forms of this kind the demonstrative -e is missing.)

## SECOND PERSON SUBJECT -OL

The second person subject is often emphasized by means of the suffixed objective form -OL, either in conjunction with the subjective form of an auxiliary verb, or alone. These forms are in frequent use with the future, with the negative imperative introduced by gwa la and the positive imperative introduced by wā'g'as, hā'g'as.

la<sup>s</sup> ms lā'lo<sup>l</sup> now you will go C II 4.27, also la<sup>s</sup> ms lā<sup>l</sup>; la<sup>s</sup> ms q'wēlō<sup>l</sup> now you are alive C II 110.19; ā'las o'ō'dzeg'is<sup>l</sup>alaxol else you might face wrongly on the rock C II 4.17; la<sup>s</sup> ms mē'x'ed<sup>l</sup>ol now you will sleep C II 46.23; ā'ā'ē<sup>l</sup>em<sup>l</sup>las yā'ā'ā'ol they say you will just take care C II 52.12; hā'g'as qā's<sup>l</sup>idol go on! start! C II 8.17; wā'g'as sē'x'widol go ahead! paddle C II 222.16; wā'dzo<sup>l</sup>lag'as nā'x'idol go ahead! drink C II 224.29; gwā'la snē'k'ol don't say it; gwā'las snē'k'ol or gwā'las snē'k'ol now you have said it; gwā'la wē'wē'm qā'yaqalol don't feel uneasy in vain C II 46.28.

## CLOSE OF THE SENTENCE

1. When the sentence closes with a noun, subject, object, or instrumental the terminal noun has either no suffix or -e, if no demonstrative location is indicated, or the demonstrative endings -k', -g'as, -ex, eq', as.

ā'xk'!a'laxes snemo'k<sup>u</sup>. or ā'xk'!a'laxes snemo'kwe. he asked his friend (position indefinite).

ā'xk'!a'laxoxs snemo'kwex he asked his friend near you.

2. Nouns ending in a, e, ā, u do not change their terminal vowel at the close of the sentence when no demonstrative location is indicated.

lēs<sup>l</sup>la'masxa g'ē<sup>l</sup>la<sup>l</sup>. He killed the grizzly bear.

slā'p'edayuweda k'!ē<sup>l</sup>la'k<sup>u</sup> la'xa ā'x<sup>u</sup>sole the digging stick was the means of digging up the hellebore.

x'i'qē<sup>l</sup>leda neg'ā<sup>l</sup>. the mountain was burning.

x'ēsā'masentaxen k'!a'wayu or k'!a'wayuwe. I lost (caused to disappear) my knife.

When demonstrative location is given, the third person invisible position is -ā<sup>s</sup> for those ending in -a, -e, -ā and d, -ā<sup>s</sup> for those ending in -o (u), contracted from -ā<sup>s</sup>, -e<sup>s</sup>, -ā<sup>s</sup> and -o<sup>s</sup>.

la dze'lx'wideda metsā<sup>s</sup>. now the mink ran.

sne'x'deda ts!ē<sup>l</sup>da'qdā<sup>s</sup> the past woman said.

x'i'qē<sup>l</sup>leda neg'ā<sup>l</sup> the mountain was burning.

x'ēsā'musentaxen k'!a'wayā<sup>s</sup>. I lost my knife.

sne'k'eda g'o'gwadā<sup>s</sup> the house owner said.

Those ending in -e<sup>s</sup> and -ā<sup>s</sup>ye have without demonstrative location the ending -a<sup>s</sup>ye and -ā<sup>s</sup>ye, with third person invisible -a<sup>s</sup>ya<sup>s</sup> and -ā<sup>s</sup>ya<sup>s</sup>.

sne'k'eda g'i'gemasye. The chief said, sne'k'eda q!o'mayā<sup>s</sup>ye the Q!o'moyā<sup>s</sup>ye said, and sne'k'eda g'i'gemasyas, sne'k'eda q!o'mayā<sup>s</sup>yas.

Nouns followed by objective -q or instrumental -s do not take an ending when the demonstrative position is not indicated.

2. When the sentence ends in a verb those ending in -a, -ā or -ā add the glottal stop. Those ending in a consonant add -a<sup>s</sup>, those ending in -o, contract with -a<sup>s</sup> to -ā<sup>s</sup>; those ending in -e<sup>s</sup> form -a<sup>s</sup>ya<sup>s</sup>, those in -o<sup>s</sup> -ēswas; those in -ā<sup>s</sup>ye (-ēwe<sup>s</sup> see above) form -ā<sup>s</sup>ya<sup>s</sup>.

2a. Verbs ending in -a, -ā, -ā, -o:  
la g'ē'lt!a<sup>s</sup>. now it is long; la la'g'ā<sup>s</sup>. now he arrived; q!wēna'la ya'q!ent!ala<sup>s</sup>. he talked often; la sā<sup>s</sup> then he put up roof; la k'!ā<sup>s</sup> then he carved; la ts'nā<sup>s</sup> then he poled; la bek'ā<sup>s</sup>. then he borrowed a canoe; la qa'yayā<sup>s</sup> then he was taken along.

2b. Verbs ending in a consonant: la sne'k'a<sup>s</sup>. then he said; la la'x'widā<sup>s</sup> then he stood up; la k!wa'g'asliā<sup>s</sup> then he sat down in house; la k!wa'ssa<sup>s</sup> now he was sitting on the ground; la wo'kwa<sup>s</sup> then it was thick (wok<sup>u</sup> la<sup>s</sup> it is thick now).

2c. Verbs in -e<sup>s</sup>: la na'naxmasya<sup>s</sup>. then he answered.

2d. Verbs in -o<sup>s</sup>: la sne'x'sēswas then it was said.

2e. Verbs in -ā<sup>s</sup>ye (-ēwe<sup>s</sup>) la k!wadzā'sya<sup>s</sup> then he was sitting on a flat thing.

3. When the verb carries a demonstrative this is expressed in an auxiliary verb and the verb itself retains the forms described under 2.  
lak' la'x'widā<sup>s</sup>. then this one stood up; loxla'x'widā<sup>s</sup>. then this one near you stood up; la'x'de sne'k'a<sup>s</sup> (past) he said; k'!e'ssək' la'x'widā<sup>s</sup> this one did not stand up.

## INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUNS

The independent personal pronoun appears in a verbal and in a nominal form. The latter is derived from the stem ye with objective or instrumental endings. The first and second persons seem to be built up of n for the first and s for the second person, an element o, and, for the first person, the suffix g'a (after o, gwa) of the first person demonstrative. It seems, however, quite against the spirit of the language that n and s should appear as stems in first position.

The verbal forms may be used alone: no'gwasem it is I; or they may be used as emphatic forms (nog<sup>u</sup> C III 262.21). On account of the locative distinctions in the third person

	Verbal Forms		Nominal Forms	
			Subject	Object
1st person	<u>no'gwa</u>	<u>yen</u>		<u>g'a'xen</u>
Inclusive	<u>no'gwents</u>	<u>yents</u>		<u>g'a'xents</u>
Exclusive	<u>no'gwenux<sup>u</sup></u>	<u>yenux<sup>u</sup></u>		<u>g'a'xenux<sup>u</sup></u>
2d person	<u>so</u>	<u>yul</u>		<u>la'l</u>
3d p. near 1st	<u>g'a</u>	<u>yexg'a, yesg'a</u> (instrumental)		<u>laxg'a</u>
3d p. near 2d	<u>yu</u>	<u>yexox, yesox</u> (instrumental)		<u>laxox</u>
3d p. near 3d	<u>he</u>	<u>yex, yes</u> (instrumental)		<u>laq</u>

the three forms might as well be designated as demonstrative pronouns.

Examples of the use of nominal or adjectival forms of personal pronouns: yentsaxg'nts swa'lasek' kw'nkwenxwelig'asya we (incl.) as we are great thunderbirds (III 468.12); yenuxwaxganu<sup>xu</sup> mo'kwek' we (excl.) as we are four CX 69.30; yul, wi<sup>w</sup>ew<sup>n</sup>axsem ye, wives of the warriors! R 1368.23; yul gwe'tel ye, Gwe'tela! R 1375.77; -yexo'xda so'gwe'elax la'l that one who is different from you (apposition) III 448.13; yexa la le'gadex h. he who had now the name H C III 108.23; yexg'ada lak' !a'yuxi'ag'a y. he (here) who is now changing his name Y. C III 144.15; we'gax'ents gwe'nx'sida da's'id yesa'nts enemo'kwex let us try to dive with this (2d p. dem.) our friend; yesa k'ie'esex sa'o'msa no'masex of this not ordinary No'mas C III 260.18; yexg'a !a'sotiwalisek' this !a'sotiwalis C III 172 8; xg'en qa'so qa'es ... yessg'a da xwa'k!wenak', yes sek'!a x so k!wexkek' p!e'lxelagema that I promise a feast for you ... with this canoe which is worth fifty blankets C III 180.16.

The term which follows the verbal pronoun and to which it refers retains its verbal character. This is shown most clearly in the second person and in the third person near 2d person: so'em si'wides it is you, you who are Si'wid; -yud si'widox that one near you is he (near you) who is Si'wid; -yu'emes wa'xdemox and so this (near you) is that which is your word (near you); no'gwak'as se'nla'sya I, indeed, am Se'nla'se.

lo'e no'gwa sem'z lo'e so'gwe'ela'eml shall I be it or someone else? R 1364.33; gwa'la so q!wa'sax don't you cry! R 1364.35; so'em k'!e's'onuk<sup>u</sup> you are the one who owns the privilege CX 66.18; g'a's'em so'gwaqa dzedza'q!wala'syu this is also a means of calling the northwest wind R 630.1; yu'emis la k'!e'k'!es'o and so these are now the privileges C II 82.14.

We have translated these forms as relative clauses, because when the noun has a possessive form, the possessives differ from the predicative possessive forms. The following examples illustrate this: (Roman figures, subject; Arabic, possessor):

I 2. no'gwa'ems enemo'kwos I am the one who is your friend C II 108.15.

- I 2. no'gwa'ems he'g'idos gwä'ze I am the one who is your reason of being thus C II 42.2.
- I 2. no'gwa'ems lo'gwexwa ena'lax I am your treasure (found) today R 1271.50.
- I 3. no'gwa'ems mex'eit'sogwi'ts I am the reason of his being struck 00.83.
- II 1. so'em en gwe'yo' qen xa'swenemas you are the one referred to as my husband (you) C III 46.7.
- II 3. so'em mex'eit'sogwi'zes you are the one who is the reason of his being struck 00.83.
- III 1. g'a'dzä'maents g'i'gäma'sya is this indeed the one who is our chief? C II 126.12.
- III 2. g'a'ems gen'mg'ada this is the one who is your wife. C 26:48.227.
- III 1. g'a'deg'anux<sup>u</sup> a'leg'a'e this is what is inland from us X 18.9.
- III 1. yu'em en lo'gwa'yo'x this (near you) is what is my treasure C II 62.17.
- III 3. yu'em xweno'x<sup>u</sup>enakwelas kweno'sila these came to be the children of Kweno'sila C II 92.20.
- III 2. he'ems le'legemle these are what will be your names C II 116.2.
- III 2. he'les gwe'g'ila'eda laxg'en gwe'g'ilasek' that is what will be your way of doing according to my way of doing (you will do as I do) C II 110.25.
- III 3. he'em ya'nems that is what he obtained C 26: 49.251.
- III 2. yu'em wa'xdemox<sup>u</sup> this is what you say.
- III 2. yu'das wa'xdemox<sup>u</sup> this is what you say.
- III 2. he'emas g'o'kweda is that what is your house C II 74.8
- III 3. he'em el' a'xes qa'qayeme it was that what was his new ability to walk C II 94.21.
- he'emaen wa'xdemol is that what was my word to you? C II 126.8.

Following is a paradigmatic statement of these forms:

<u>no'gwa'em</u> (Si'wid)	I am Si'wid
<u>so'em</u> (Si'wid)es	you are Si'wid
<u>g'ad</u> (Si'wid)ek'	he here is Si'wid
<u>yud</u> (Si'wid)ox	he near you is Si'wid
<u>hed</u> (Si'wid)e	he near him is Si'wid
	With possessives. I am your (child)

etc.

	my	thy	his
I	---	no'gwa <sup>s</sup> ems (xweno'kw)os	no'gwa <sup>s</sup> em (xweno'x <sup>u</sup> )s
thou	so's <sup>em</sup> en (xweno'x <sup>u</sup> )s	---	so's <sup>em</sup> (xweno'x <sup>u</sup> )s
he	he's <sup>em</sup> en (xweno'k <sup>u</sup> )	he's <sup>em</sup> s (xweno'k <sup>u</sup> )	he's <sup>em</sup> (xweno'x <sup>u</sup> )s

It is important to note that the third person forms anticipate the noun that may be connected with the following verb and that the noun is given at the end in the demonstrative form agreeing with the demonstrative form of the pronoun. Examples are:

he g'o'kwela qa'logwis that was where they lived, Qa'logwis R 1386.1; he i'en gwagwex'-s<sup>al</sup>asle g'a'lāse gwa<sup>s</sup>s<sup>el</sup>axe xo'lose that is what I shall talk about, the first of the Gwa<sup>s</sup>s<sup>el</sup>a the thunderbird C II 368.29; yu'danu<sup>s</sup>x<sup>u</sup> me'xoxda o'gwāsex; yu'danu<sup>s</sup>x<sup>u</sup> g'o'k'oda o'gwāsex this is where we sleep, the roof; this is what is our house, the roof. C II 104.17.

Whenever a genitive follows the pronouns the connective a of finite clauses is omitted:

he's<sup>em</sup>s<sup>el</sup> wa'x<sup>d</sup>ems w. that was the word of W. R 900.86; but len w<sup>e</sup>lelā'x wa'x<sup>d</sup>emas w. I heard the word of W.

These forms are used when the whole phrase is a verbal expression. When it is the subject of another verb the usual possessive forms are used:

he's<sup>em</sup>s g'o'kwe that is your house (3d p. dem.); yu's<sup>em</sup>s g'o'kwox (2d p. dem.) that is your house; but

he's<sup>em</sup>s g'o'kwāos x'i'x<sup>s</sup>eda (3d p. dem. inv.);

yu's<sup>em</sup>oxs g'o'kwaos x'i'x<sup>s</sup>eda (2d p. dem. vis.) that your house caught fire.

#### VOCALIC AND CONSONANTIC PRENOMINAL FORMS

The consonantic form is used before proper names, when a noun is used in a general sense, when the existence of the object is unknown, and before nouns with possessive endings.

1. Before proper names: le ya'q!eg'axe ts!ā'qama<sup>s</sup>ye then Ts!ā'qame<sup>s</sup> spoke III 193.26; sa<sup>s</sup>ye'lkwās t!e's<sup>em</sup>g'ite the attendants of T!e's<sup>em</sup>g'it III 222.30.

2. Before a noun used in a general sense: he's<sup>em</sup> wa'x<sup>d</sup>ems begwa'nem that is the word of mankind; g'o'kwās g'i'g'egama'oya a house fit for chiefs; la's<sup>em</sup>en w<sup>e</sup>la'xg'a begwa'nemk' I ask the men in present existence.

3. Existence of object doubtful: sa'lāse<sup>s</sup>we lāe'sasa ts!e'daq mussels are searched for by the women; sek'a'lenlax gwe<sup>s</sup>ye'mlaxa I shall possibly harpoon a whale (if there is one); but la's<sup>em</sup>en sek'a'xa gwe<sup>s</sup>ye'm may mean "I harpooned the whale," or "I harpooned a whale."

4. Before nouns with possessive endings:

le na'nox<sup>s</sup>wide o'mpas then his father became uneasy C II 78.33; le sa'le'x<sup>s</sup>wide xweno'kwās l!a'lamin then the child of l!a'lamin went sea hunting.

#### -da

The use of -da which appears in the definite pronominal subjective forms -g'ada, -oxda, -eda, but also in the objective and instrumental -xg'ada, -xoxda, -sg'ada, -soxda, while in the subjective -a, the objective -xwa, -xa, and the instrumental sa it has dropped out (see the rarer forms -xeda, -seda), is not confined to a pronominal function. It appears in terminal position, particularly with demonstratives and the interrogative swey- which?

g'a'den lag'a'da, yu'den lo'xda, he'den le'da I am here, there (1st, 2d, 3d p. dem.).

g'a'dāk' lag'en g'o'kwēk', yu'dos len g'o'kwex, he'da len g'ok<sup>u</sup> he is in my house (that is where he is, my house) (also he'len g'ok).

he'deda g'ok<sup>u</sup> that is the house (I mean).

swi'de la negwe'mpa? where is father-in-law III 99.30.

g'a's<sup>em</sup>s qa'yatsa q!e'md<sup>em</sup>se g'ada yex w<sup>e</sup>lelās these were the words of their song, this what was heard by him C III 40.22.

yu'd se'k'os sa'yex wa'x<sup>d</sup>ema this is good your recent word MS 3.10.

he't!a gwā'xeda but it was thus R 620.17.

g'a's<sup>em</sup>m g'a'da it is this (=g'a's<sup>em</sup>mk'). g'a's<sup>em</sup>m baxs!s g'a'da this is the one whose foot is cut.

yu'danu<sup>s</sup>x<sup>u</sup> me'xoxda that (pointed out near 2d) is where we sleep.

yu's<sup>em</sup>enu<sup>s</sup>x<sup>u</sup> me'xoxda so we slept there.

#### INDEPENDENT POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

The verbal forms of the independent possessive are:

nōs it is mine, nō'sents it is ours (incl.), nō'senu<sup>s</sup>x<sup>u</sup> it is ours (excl.).

hōs or qōs it is thine.

hās or qās it is his.

We have not been able to discover the difference between the double forms of the second and third persons. Most speakers use them indiscriminately, although it is likely that a difference exists.

Examples: nō's gō'kwelot my tribe! (address) C III 162.3; nō's g'i'g'egame<sup>s</sup> my

chiefs (address) C III 300.12; sá'lasemis lá'xen nō'se dō'qwa'āneq and it is true according to my way of seeing them C III 158.19; nō'sae'ent-sax' wā'īdema is this, indeed, our speech? C III 202.23.

hō'semelaxas nā'qelax it would be your mind C II 78.14; la'e'm hō'sleda hō'wa'εmalag'ila now will be yours the (power) that makes it easy to obtain property III 107.37; qō'sā'elox wa'a? is this your river? III 102.4; qa'εxs k'!ē'sā'ax nū'naxālag'εn lā'xwa'āasek' lε'wō's hō'saqos lā'xwa'āasa for 'it' is not in doubt my rank and your rank C III 274.22.

le nā'εnak<sup>u</sup> laxes hεsa'q g'ō'kwa then she goes home to her own house R 641.90; hā'sdoxwa dē'yadexen xwenō'kwεx this is hers, Deyade's, my child's R 653 7; hεsεmaq l!ā'qwa his own copper R 685 57; -xa hεsεmaxa yεkwi'layag'ō'ε her own, the one who had before twin children R 668.43; qa'εxs qε'sεmā'q gεnε'ma for she is his own wife R 433.12; qε'sεmā'q gō'gwεma'εye his own face III 226.9; sā'εmax'i qās'εmqē' nā'qa'εya just let it be his own mind III 281.7; qεsda'εx<sup>u</sup>mē'q their own; qā'ts!εmεmq it is really his own.

## ADJECTIVES

On account of the close relation between the rules relating to the use of the connective postnominal -a and those relating to the adjectives, we discuss this subject at this place.

When a noun is accompanied by an adjective, the demonstrative and temporal suffixes are joined to the adjective, not to the noun, and the noun does not take the connective -a:

lasme'sεk' la'īg'ada yu'dεxwek' q!ε'ltaxoyu and so now these three pieces cut off will go C III 226.15; -xa εnεmo'x<sup>u</sup>wεm g'εl lō'gwalaxg'ada gwa'gwek'!ayuk<sup>u</sup> masto' la'xa al'aεnε'm the one who first had as supernatural treasure this whaling harpoon shaft from the wolf C III 252.12; la'īg'ada εnε'mxsak' p!ε'lxεlasgεm C III 252.23; gε'lag'ε' la'xwa k'!ē'sεx a'ī'εm wa'īdema come to this not new speech C III 148.18; la'e'm gwa'ī'εlsg'as s'wa'lasg'os k'!ē'sεá this is ready on the ground your great privilege C III 150.24.

ha'dzā's le'k'ox g'ε'lt!ā dεnε'ms hō'maxa go and borrow the long rope of Spider III 53.1; le hā'mtεleda s'e'x'sokwe ts!εda'qxa ba'bagwεme then the pretty woman carried the boy III 70.19; mεx'εi'deda s'wa'lase bεgwa'nεmxa g'εna'nεm the big man struck the child; but mεx'εi'deda bεgwa'nεmaxa g'εna'nεm the man struck the child; la'εmεn dō'qwεlaxa s'e'x'sokwe bεgwa'nεmxs g'a'xāe I saw a handsome man as he came CX 241.16; g'ε'ldele'la wεna'īdεmtsa gwa'si'la the long inlet of the Gwasila CX 246.7.<sup>35</sup>

## PARADIGMS

## Paradigm 1

The verb or noun as ordinarily given has no syntactic value, a verb only when combined with pronominal forms, either suffixed or attached to an antecedent. The pronominal endings are:

1st person sing. -εn  
exclusive -εnuεx<sup>u</sup>  
inclusive -εnts

2d person -(ε)s

3d person, near 1st person, visible -k', invisible -g'aε; a secondary form in -εk' expresses the first person, past

3d person, near 2d person, visible -ox, invisible, -oε, -oq!<sup>u</sup>

3d person, near 3d person, visible -ε, invisible, -aε, -εε

Interrogative forms are characterized by a suffix a. For convenience sake the interrogative forms are given here with the indicative forms.

Nouns and verbs are treated slightly differently according to their terminal sound. We have to distinguish between

1. those ending in a consonant
2. those ending in a vowel, y or w
3. those ending in -εε and -ā'εye

1. The first class add the pronouns to the terminal consonant. When an impossible combination occurs like dk' a very short vowel is introduced: dk'ε.

<sup>35</sup>There are a few contradictions to this rule, p.e. g'ame'seg'ada q!εl!εsgε'mg'ustāk' s'e'εla'g'εmk' and these sixty prepared skins III 82.15. See also p. 246 (for plural).

## Paradigm 2

	<u>mex'ei'd</u> to strike		<u>â'laεem</u> it is really---	
	Indicative	Interrogative	Indicative	Interrogative
1st p.	<u>mex'ei'den</u>	<u>mex'ei'daen(a')</u>	<u>â'laεmen</u>	<u>â'laεmaen(a)</u>
2d p.	<u>mex'ei'des</u> ( <u>mex'ei'ts</u> )	<u>mex'ei'das(a)</u>	<u>â'laεms</u>	<u>â'laεmas(a)</u>
3d p. pr. vis.	<u>mex'ei'dek'</u>	<u>mex'ei'dæek'</u>	<u>â'laεmk'</u>	<u>â'laεmaek'</u>
3d p. pr. invis.	<u>mex'ei'dg'aε</u>	<u>mex'ei'dæg'aε</u>	<u>â'laεmg'aε</u>	<u>â'laεmaeg'aε</u>
1st p.	<u>mex'ei'dek'</u>	---	<u>â'laεmek'</u>	---
3d p. near you vis.	<u>mex'ei'dox<sup>u</sup></u>	<u>mex'ei'dæox<sup>u</sup></u>	<u>â'laεmox<sup>u</sup></u>	<u>â'laεmæox<sup>u</sup></u>
3d p. near you inv.	<u>mex'ei'doε</u>	<u>mex'ei'dæoε</u>	<u>â'laεmoε</u>	<u>â'laεmæoε</u>
3d p. abs. vis.	<u>mex'ei'deε</u>	<u>mex'ei'dæeε</u>	<u>â'laεmeε</u>	<u>â'laεmæeε</u>
3d p. abs. inv.	<u>mex'ei'dæε</u>	<u>mex'ei'dæeεya'</u>	<u>â'laεmaε</u>	<u>â'laεmæeεya'</u>

2a. Monosyllabic words of the second class, like la to go, da to take, retain their a in all forms except the first person. lăo'x<sup>u</sup> is contracted to lâx<sup>u</sup>, lăe' to lĕ. The interrogative retains a in all forms.<sup>36</sup>

la to go

	Indicative	Interrogative
1st p.	<u>læn</u>	<u>la'εn(a')</u>
2d p.	<u>las</u>	<u>la'sa</u>
3d p. pr.	<u>lak'</u>	<u>la'ek'</u>
1st p.	<u>lek'</u>	---
3d p. near 2d	<u>lâx<sup>u</sup></u>	<u>la'ox<sup>u</sup></u>
3d p. abs.	<u>lĕ</u>	<u>la'eε</u>
3d p. abs. inv.	<u>la'as</u>	<u>la'eεya</u>

2b. Stems ending in a consonant but requiring the completive -a follow the same pattern and drop in the indicative the a before all pronominal forms beginning with a vowel or n. These include reduplicated verbs with -!a to be ready to, to try to.

## Paradigm 3

	to strike with fist		to look	
	Indicative	Interrogative	Indicative	Interrogative
1st p.	<u>mex'e'n</u>	<u>mex'a'εn(a')</u>	<u>do'qwelen</u>	<u>do'qwelaεn(a')</u>
2d p.	<u>mex'a's</u>	<u>mex'a's(a)</u>	<u>do'qwelas</u>	<u>do'qwelas(a)</u>
3d p. pr.	<u>mex'a'k'</u>	<u>mex'a'ek'</u>	<u>do'qwelak'</u>	<u>do'qwelæk'</u>
1st p.	<u>mex'e'k'</u>	---	<u>do'qwelek'</u>	---
3d p. near you	<u>mex'o'x<sup>u</sup></u>	<u>mex'a'ox<sup>u</sup></u>	<u>do'qwelox<sup>u</sup></u>	<u>do'qwelaox<sup>u</sup></u>
3d p. abs.	<u>mex'e'ε</u>	<u>mex'a'eε</u>	<u>do'qweleε</u>	<u>do'qwelæeε</u>
3d p. abs. inv.	(not found)	<u>mex'a'eεya'</u>	(not found)	<u>do'qwelaεeεya'</u>

## Paradigm 4

2c. Those ending in y and w with following -a follow the same rule -εya being contracted to ĕ, -εwa to â

<sup>36</sup>

From here on the "invisible" forms are omitted. They are formed in the same way as in the first class.

	<u>tsɛy-</u> to draw water ( <u>tsɛy</u> > <u>tsä</u> )		<u>snew-</u> to aim ( <u>nɛwa</u> > <u>nä</u> )	
	Indicative	Interrogative	Indicative	Interrogative
1st p.	<u>tsɛyɛ'n</u>	<u>tsä'en(a')</u>	<u>snewɛ'n</u>	<u>snä'en(a')</u>
2d p.	<u>tsäɛs</u>	<u>tsä's(a)</u>	<u>snäs</u>	<u>snä's(a)</u>
3d p. pr.	<u>tsäk'</u>	<u>tsä'ek'</u>	<u>snäk'</u>	<u>snä'ek'</u>
1st p.	<u>tsɛyɛ'k'</u>	---	<u>snewɛ'k'</u>	---
3d p. near you	<u>tsɛyo'x</u>	<u>tsä'ox<sup>u</sup></u>	<u>snewo'x<sup>u</sup></u>	<u>snä'ox<sup>u</sup></u>
3d p. abs.	<u>tsɛyɛ'ɛ</u>	<u>tsä'yɛɛ</u>	<u>snewɛ'ɛ</u>	<u>snä'ɛɛ</u>
3d p. abs. invis.	<u>tsɛyäh'ɛ</u>	<u>tsä'ɛsya</u>	<u>snewa'ɛ</u>	<u>snä'ɛsya</u>

Verbs of this type are dä, to wipe, plä to feel, mä fish swims; sä to put up roof; snä to string fish on line; k'!ä to cut blubber.

ho'mä to witness (a ceremonial etc.); dɛx'ä' to jump out, te'nä to pole, ts!ä to give, gag'u'stä to rise early; ge'ts!ä long time in, lɛxä to cough.

2d. Those ending in o(u) or ɔɛ without following a are treated in the same way, except that a is missing and hence no ä forms are found in the indicative. In the interrogative of those in ɔɛ the glottal stop prevents the contraction to ä.

	<u>lɛ'lgɔ</u> to start a fight		<u>bɛk'o'</u> to borrow a canoe	
	Indicative	Interrogative	Indicative	Interrogative
1st p.	<u>lɛ'lgɛwɛn</u>	<u>lɛ'lgäɛna'</u>	<u>bɛk'ɛwɛ'n</u>	<u>bɛk'ä'en(a')</u>
2d p.	<u>lɛ'lgɔs</u>	<u>lɛ'lgäsa</u>	<u>bɛk'o's</u>	<u>bɛk'ä'sa</u>
3d p. pr.	<u>lɛ'lgok<sup>u</sup></u>	<u>lɛ'lgäek'</u>	<u>bɛk'o'k<sup>u</sup></u>	<u>bɛk'ä'ek'</u>
1st p.	<u>lɛ'lgɛwɛk'</u>	---	<u>bɛk'ɛwɛ'k'</u>	---
3d p. near you	<u>lɛ'lgɛwox<sup>u</sup></u>	<u>lɛ'lgäoxw(a)</u>	<u>bɛk'ɛwo'x<sup>u</sup></u>	<u>bɛk'ä'oxw(a)</u>
3d p. abs.	<u>lɛ'lgɛwɛɛ</u>	<u>lɛ'lgäɛɛ</u>	<u>bɛk'ɛwɛ'ɛ</u>	<u>bɛk'ä'ɛɛ</u>
3d p. abs. inv.	<u>lɛ'lgäɛ</u>	<u>lɛ'lgäɛsya</u>	<u>bɛk'ä'ɛɛ</u>	<u>bɛk'ä'ɛsya</u>

## Paradigm 5

	<u>qa'yayu</u> to be taken on a walk		<u>sne'x'sɔɛ</u> to be told	
	Indicative	Interrogative <sup>37</sup>	Indicative	Interrogative
1st p.	<u>qa'yayuwɛn</u>	<u>qa'yayän(a')</u>	<u>sne'x'sɛwɛn</u>	<u>sne'x'sɛwän(a')</u>
2d p.	<u>qa'yayus</u>	<u>qa'yayäs(a)</u>	<u>sne'x'sɔɛs</u>	<u>sne'x'sɛwas(a)</u>
3d p. pr.	<u>qa'yayuk<sup>u</sup></u>	<u>qa'yayäk'</u>	<u>sne'x'sok<sup>u</sup></u>	<u>sne'x'sɛwäk'</u>
1st p.	<u>qa'yayɛwɛk'</u>	---	<u>sne'x'sɛwɛk'</u>	---
3d p. near you	<u>qa'yayuwox</u>	<u>qa'yayäoxw(a)</u>	<u>sne'x'sɛwox</u>	<u>sne'x'sɛwäoxw(a)</u>
3d p. abs.	<u>qa'yayɛwɛɛ</u>	<u>qa'yayäɛɛ</u>	<u>sne'x'sɛwɛɛ</u>	<u>sne'x'sɛwäɛɛ</u>
3d p. abs. inv.	<u>qa'yayɛwɛɛ</u>	<u>qa'yayäɛsya</u>	<u>sne'x'sɛwɛɛ</u>	<u>sne'x'sɛwäɛsya</u>

Verbs of this type are all passives in -ayu, -ano and -sɔɛ, those with suffix -go meaning, -!xo neck, -ɛsto opening, eye; also others with terminal o: heɛg'wɛsɔ to break unintentionally; hä'!o to attack, ge'ts!o to beg; qa'so to promise a feast, !!a'ɛyo to change places.

yɛx'qɛno follows the same pattern except that the form for 3d person near you is yɛx'qɛno'wox.

2e. Those ending in e or ä:<sup>38</sup>

<sup>37</sup> qayayewän(a) etc. is also admissible.

<sup>38</sup> These forms are identical with those in Paradigm 4(2c).

	<u>kwe'xexlã</u> to strike on head		<u>a'lã</u> to search	
	Indicative	Interrogative	Indicative	Interrogative
1st p.	<u>kwe'xexleye'n</u>	<u>kwe'xexlã'en(a)</u>	<u>a'leyen</u>	<u>a'lãen(a)</u>
2d p.	<u>kwe'xexlãs</u>	<u>kwe'xexlãs(a)</u>	<u>a'lãs</u>	<u>a'lãs(a)</u>
3d p. pr.	<u>kwe'xexlãk'</u>	<u>kwe'xexlã'ek'</u>	<u>a'lãk'</u>	<u>a'lãek'</u>
1st p.	<u>kwe'xexleye k'</u>	---	<u>a'leyek'</u>	---
3d p. near you	<u>kwe'xexleyox'u</u>	<u>kwe'xexlãoxw(a')</u>	<u>a'leyox'u</u>	<u>a'lãoxw(a)</u>
3d p. abs.	<u>kwe'xexleyeε</u>	<u>kwe'xexlãεε</u>	<u>a'leyeε</u>	<u>a'lãεε</u>
3d p. abs. inv.	<u>kwe'xexlãaε</u>	<u>kwe'xexlãεεya'</u>	<u>a'lãyaε</u>	<u>a'lãε ya'ε</u>

Verbs of this type are: ma'xt!ã to recognize.

## Paradigm 6

3a. Those in -eε change the ending to -aεy before vowels and n. A few ending in -ãε < -aεye retain ã before consonants, except n.

	<u>na'naxεmeε</u> to answer		<u>ãmh'ε</u> small	
	Indicative	Interrogative	Indicative	Interrogative
1st p.	<u>na'naxεmaεyen</u>	<u>na'naxεmaεyaε'n(a)</u>	<u>ãma'εyen</u>	<u>ãma'εyaen(a')</u>
2d p.	<u>na'naxεmeεs</u>	<u>na'naxεmaεyas(a)</u>	<u>ãmh'εs</u>	<u>ãma'εyas(a')</u>
3d p. pr.	<u>na'naxεmek'</u>	<u>na'naxεmaεyãek'</u>	<u>ãmh'k'</u>	<u>ãma'εyaek'</u>
1st p.	<u>na'naxεmaεyek'</u>	---	<u>ãma'εyek'</u>	---
3d p. near you	<u>na'naxεmaεyox'u</u>	<u>na'naxεmaεyaox</u>	<u>ãma'εyox</u>	<u>ãma'εyãox'u</u>
3d p. abs.	<u>na'naxεmaεyeε</u>	<u>na'naxεmaεyãε</u>	<u>ãma'εyeε</u>	<u>ãma'εyãε</u>
3d p. abs. inv.	<u>na'naxεmaεyaε</u>	<u>na'naxεmaεyãεya'</u>	<u>ãma'εyaε</u>	<u>ãma'εyãεya'</u>

Here belong all verbs in -eε.

3b. Those in -ãεya < εwaεya, like the preceding class, have the a only before vowels and n and contract -εweε to -ãε.

	<u>k!wadzεweε</u> to sit on a flat thing <sup>39</sup>		<u>ãεye</u> to be quiet, chaste <sup>39</sup>	
	Indicative	Interrogative	Indicative	Interrogative
1st p.	<u>k!wadzã'εyen</u>	<u>k!wadzã'εyaen(a')</u>	<u>ã'εyen</u>	<u>ã'εyaen(a')</u>
2d p.	<u>k!wadzεwe'εs</u>	<u>k!wadzã'εyas(a)</u>	<u>ãwã'εs</u>	<u>ã'εyas(a)</u>
3d p. pr.	<u>k!wadzεwe'k'</u>	<u>k!wadzã'εyaek'</u>	<u>ãwã'k'</u>	<u>ã'εyãeg'aε</u>
1st p.	<u>k!wadzã'εyek'</u>	---	<u>ã'εyek'</u>	---
3d p. near you	<u>k!wadzã'εyox'u</u>	<u>k!wadzã'εyãoxw(a)</u>	<u>ãwa'εyox'u</u>	<u>ã'εyãoxw(a)</u>
3d p. abs.	<u>k!wadzã'εyeε</u>	<u>k!wadzã'εyãε</u>	<u>ãwa'εyiε</u>	<u>ã'εyãε</u>
3d p. abs. inv.	<u>k!wadzã'εyaε</u>	<u>k!wadzã'εyãεya'</u>	<u>ãwa'εyaε</u>	<u>ã'εyãεya'</u>

## INTERROGATIVE

The type forms of the interrogative have been given with the paradigms of the indicative. As stated at that place the interrogative suffix a precedes the pronominal endings: gaye'nselaεmaen was I long under water? III 33.19; k!e'εsas ma'kt!ã'la g'a'xen don't you recognize me? III 420.34; do'xεwidaxoxda g'o'kwex do you see this house? C III 62.16; ho'saoxda wax is this your river? C II 116.8; ã'ladzãεmãoe g'a'xεem nã'εnakwe si'widã is it true, has Si'wid come home? C 26:189.291.

Nouns, including nominal pronouns, when not accompanied by a verb take the suffix a in

interrogative forms.

yexa g'εla'ã is that (visible) a grizzly bear?; yexa g'εlã'ã is that (invisible) a grizzly bear?; yexwa g'εla'εwa is this (near you, invisible) a grizzly bear?; yena' is it I (who is meant)?; yu'ia is it you (who is meant)?; but so'εmaa' is it you (whom I see); εmaεnox<sup>u</sup>daεxwas of what tribe are ye? (εmas-!enox -[x]daεx<sup>u</sup> -a-s); yεs εma'sa with what?; gae'da εma'sa for what purpose?

The interrogative a is often repeated at the end of the sentence.

ts!ex'q!a'εmasa are you sick?; he'εmaen wa'ldεmx'dola is that what I said to you? C II 126.8; k!vae'xεmasa are you sitting in the house? III 173.20; C 26:75.8; k!wa'sεmasa; e'sεmaen o'q!wesεidola are you sitting on the

<sup>39</sup>But lεmε'n k!wadzã'εya; lεmε'n ã'εya.



ground? don't I believe you now? III 261.35;  
 āxē'xsdasega do you want it? III 392.17;  
 k'wa'ssa'e'ya is he sitting on the ground?;  
 k'le'seme'laox nā'ēnakwexsdents ēnemo'kwexa  
 does not our fr'end wish to go home? C II  
 100.29; -

When the word to which the interroga-  
 tive a is attached ends in a vowel or a voiced  
 or glottalized consonant the terminal vowel is  
 retained and the voiced or glottalized conso-  
 nants insert an a.

ēnemo'x<sup>h</sup>mas e'qāā are you the only one  
 who bewitches? CX 278.27; ya'la'emas e'ēnāā do  
 you spouses continue to quarrel?; e's'emas  
 āe'x'ē'idāāā are you not getting better?  
 C II 56.3; k'le'e's'emas po'sq!āā are you not  
 hungry? III 262.23; - le'sma'e la'g'āāā has he  
 arrived?; - so'ē'māā is it you? III 167.21;  
 le'sma's ts!ex'ē'i'dāā did you wake up? III  
 259.15; le'sma's po'ē'idāā are you satiated?  
 III 406.3; k'le'ya'sa ts!ek'!a'lemāā have you no  
 news? 4072; yek'a'sg'ēn k'le'ya'sāex  
 begwa'nemk'asāā? am I not a man? C II 258.25  
 New; āxē'xsdase'xwa gwe'syā'qos ex' begwa'nemāā  
 would you like the one to whom you refer as a  
 nice man? X 64.11 (In the two last cases the  
 first a refers to the indefinite concept of  
 "man".) he'emas la'g'ixāos weo'q!wēsen  
 no'gwas'emes xweno'kwāos gag'ēn lak'  
 gwe'gwex'sa'slasāā is that your reason for dis-  
 believing me that I am your child on account  
 of my present state? X 79.2.

With the quotative -ēl a change from a  
 to e occurs which has not been observed in  
 other cases:<sup>40</sup>

g'o'kwelēslāe do they say that he lives  
 there? (g'o'kwelēslāe they say he lives there);  
 ts!ex'q!e'ēslāe do they say he is sick?  
 (ts!ex'q!a'ēslāe positive); - yelkwa'x'de'slāoxwa  
 do they say he has been hurt? (yelkwa'x'dāoxwa  
 has he been hurt).

Interrogative pronouns are āngwa (New  
 āno'gwa) who; ēwi (stem ēwey-) where, which;  
 ēmas (sma) what; g'ēn how many.

### ā'ngwa

ā'ngwas who are you? III 100.19;  
 so'ē'māā ā'ngwas you? who are you? R 837.35;  
 847.59; ā'ngweda who is that?; ā'ngwag'ada  
 ts!ēda'qek' who is this woman? III 190.21;  
 ā'ngwoxda ēwa'latsayakwex begwa'nema who is  
 this stout man (near you) X 207.22; - ā'ngweda  
 ya'q!ēg'āze lāu who talked to you?

With suffixes:

ā'ngwadzās III 130.41; āno'gwadzās  
 (New) X 199.41 who indeed are you?; ā'ngwat!e  
 g'o'kwela la'xa who on his part lives there?  
 III 272.9; - ā'ngwax'las what is your name?  
 (lit. who is on your head) C II 52.10;  
 III 67.31; 166.12; 214.19; ā'ngwadze mo'masilāou  
 who hurt you? X 82.12; ā'ngwadzeda

ēya'ēyax'mālagax'lā who is she whose name is  
 ēya'ēyax'māлага? X 113.32.

Plural:

ānēā'ngwadzeda mo'kwe be'begwanema who  
 are the four men CX 1.24.

With possessives:

ā'ngwos wi'nānemaqos who is the one whom  
 you took in war (yours obtained in war)?  
 X 145.26; ā'ngwadzes tsāg'ixāos for whom do you  
 draw water? (lit. who is your reason for drawing  
 water) C II 50.11; - āno'gwants k!wa'g'iwaxa who  
 is the one of us who will sit in the bow of the  
 canoe (who is ours sitting in bow) (New)  
 C II 226.12.

ā'ngwasox whose is this?; ā'ngwasox  
 xweno'kwexs wi'nānemaqos whose child is this  
 captured by you (yours obtained) in war  
 X 132.18; ā'ngwasas xweno'kwa whose child are  
 you? X 134.33; ā'ngwak'atsas lēwē'lgemak'asa  
 whose prince are you? X 131 note 2; ā'ngwasas  
 lēwē'lgemek'asol whose prince are you?  
 X 131 note 1.

ēmas what

ēma'sas, p!ēp!a'sasa what kind are you,  
 are you blind? III 95.26; ēma'sas negwē'mp  
 what kind of a son-in-law are you? C 26:193.86;  
 ēma'sas begwa'nem what kind of a man are you?  
 III 147.26; 150.25; ā'ladzāmxents ēya'k'ēlixēn  
 qae'da ēma'sa. ēma'sen ēya'x'sēma wa'x'demol  
 really evidently you are angry with me in the  
 house for what? What is bad in my words (my  
 bad word) to you; - ēma'se ts!ē'lx'a laxg'a'da  
 wak' what kind (of fish) goes up this river  
 C II 380.26; sma'seda gwe'syē'mxa gwe'syā'sa no'sa  
 qae'n what was the whale referred to by the one  
 who told me the story? C 26:219.285; - ēma'se  
 what is it; - ēma'sox what is this C II 240.5;  
 ēma'se ēwa'slā'āasas q!ā'lē'ās how much (what is  
 the amount of what) is known by him.

With possessives:

ēma'sen gwā'nem what is my gain; ēma'sos  
 āxse'ēwa'qos what is done by you III 248.1;  
 ēma'se wa'x'demas lēl what was his word to you;  
 ēma'sox ēya'g'ēmaxsos nā'qae'yex what is the  
 cause of badness of your mind III 376.10;  
 ēma'sles la'laos wa'los what will be your river  
 III 397.28.

The question "why" is expressed by  
 "what is the reason": ēma'ses qa'sag'ixāos why  
 are you walking? C II 196.12; ēma'sos  
 q!wa'sag'ixāq!os why are you crying here?  
 III 333.30; ēma'sela la'g'ixās ā'ēmlāxasēn  
 lēwē'lgemasēye but what is the reason of making  
 fun of my prince III 135.35.

Sometimes "why" is expressed by "what  
 is the state of": ēma'sos g'a'xēna'ēyaqos lit.  
 what is the state of your coming III 275.34;  
 ēma'sos se'ēwina'ēyax what is the state of pad-  
 dling? III 363.8.

The form ēmadze and ēmas seem to be  
 used indiscriminately. There may be a slight  
 difference in emphasis: ēma'dzēxg'ēn begwa'nemk'  
 what is it? for I am a man C II 82.24; ēma'dze

<sup>40</sup> See ēma'ēmel, p. 265.

do'gweʔan what was seen by me? C II 208.21 (New); sma'dzeda g'ena'nem what is that child? C II 208.22 (New).

With possessives: sma'dzos wa'xɛmaqos what was your word? III 321.18; sma'dzen ha'sme'x'silasosla what will be cooked by me; sma'dzes axse'swa'qos what is done by you? C II 116.8; sma'dzes g'a'xeʔaos why do you come?; sma'dzes xe'nɛlag'ixaos gwe'x'side why do you do so too much III 63.37;

sma'ts!aʔe what is it C 26:46.112; sma'ts!aʔias what do you want to be, what are you? C 26:4.152; - k'!ea's sma'ts!aʔ nothing at all C 26:157.51.

The form sma occurs rarely alone: sma what! why! C II 52.14; - sma'ta but why! C 26:61.105.

With the interrogative a: sma'smae Si'wid where is Si'wid (= swi'sle Si'wid); sma'smex'das where have you been?; sma'smelases xɛ'nsla where are you going to be tomorrow (= swi'las lax xɛ'nsla); sma'smelas where are you going to go? X 236.21; sma'smelas nege'lelai X 231.3, 34; sma'smelas lae'lele III 94.4 where are you going to go (straight) into the inlet?

Without interrogative a: sma'smelɛn where am I going to go?; sma'smelox<sup>u</sup> where is he going to go? C 26:164.332.

sma and sma's are used frequently with a variety of suffixes:

sma'k'!aleq what did he say to him?; sma'ts!eg'aʔe what sound is that suddenly; sma'sma'sya what are you trying to do?; sma'sma'syae'xsdas where do you wish to go?; sma'ts!exsdas what do you wish to be?; sma'se'slaents enemo'kwe what, it is said, does our friend? C II 32.27; 180.19; sma'selas what are you making?; - sma'selax what kind of a ceremonial is it?; sma'syalaxas what is your ceremony? C 26:48.218; sma'sxelas what do you call it?; - syu'maa sma'syɛnox what season is this? X 167.40; sma'sp!ale what kind of smell is it?; sma'yoxox what is the price of this?; sma'sdanaanawis what may he have died of?; smae'nox'tsents wi'nascla of what tribe are these against whom war is made by us C II 156.9; III 468.32; smae'noxwas of what tribe are you? C II 158.9; sma'ts!e'nox<sup>u</sup> aanawisen qao'x'a dax the doer of what shall I perhaps be for this my dear? III 422.31; sma'syonuk<sup>u</sup> what is the use of it (sma'syu-nuk<sup>u</sup>) C 26:207.306; qa sma'syonukwaosas and what is your use of it? C 26:207.306; qa sma'syonukwelasg'asa ts!o'ts!o'smax what is the use of the barnacles C X 98.2.

swey- where, which, when

Before consonants swey- is contracted to swi; with following a it forms swa;

swi occurs generally with endings the meaning of which has not been determined with certainty. It would seem that de is demonstrative, referring to the object to which the

question refers; le is a form of the verb la and must be considered a separate word and seems to indicate the region in which the object is supposed to be; a third form ne is used like the others but I have not been able to ascertain its meaning.

swi swa'selaʔe how far is it (lit: where is it stopping); swi swa'sgame, swi'de swa'sgame how long is it? (where is the length); swi'le swa'xales axse'xsdas what amount is wanted by you; swi'ox swa'sgame how long is this?; swi'de la where is he? C 26:168.497; swide len k'!a'wayu where is (the place of) my knife?; swide la negwe'mpa where is father-in-law? III 99.30; swi'de les g'o'kwelotaos where is your tribe III 214.20;

swi'ne lax xɛ'nswex where were you yesterday?; swi'ne la ts!a'syā III 366.34; 370.22 swi'de le ts!a'syā III 365.25; 366.15 where is (your) younger brother?; sweyi'slex xɛ'nswel where, it is said, was he yesterday.

Corresponding to sma'dze we find also the form swi'dze without any apparent difference in meaning: swi'dze's g'a'ya'sna'kwela where did he come from?; swi'dzeda e'k'a awi'snagwis where is a good country? III 166.36; swi'dze's la where is it C II 108.2; swidzo xɛ la where was he (past time).

Doubtful forms:

swi'dzewsile las swa'ts!aos III 38.11; swi'dzewile go'kwelen omp'sweza J III 144.30; swi'dzewsilen k'!a'waya III 38.11; - swi'dzeg'axe where is it? C II 374.32.

swi frequently designates which one?

swi'des gene'maos which one is your wife? where is your wife?, III 50.20; swi'de axse'xsdasents enemo'kwe which one is desired by our friend? C II 180.24; swides axse'xsdasewaos laxg'a'da ma'ce'daxa which one of these two kinds is desired by you?; swigeme'las which way will you go?

swi occurs frequently with the emphatic dzā, with temporal suffixes, and with several others, but not as numerous as the suffixes of sma's:

swio'xas when did it happen to you? III 472.22, where were you; swi'x'das la where did you go?; swi'las la when are you going to go? R 1224.35; swi'x'dasxudzax'das lax le'nsweʔ where were ye yesterday?; swit!a la laa'tse which way did he go?; swidza's g'a'ya'snakwele where do you come from III 67.36; swidza'le las xa'wenemaos where is your husband going to go?; swidza'las a'mʔai where are you going to play? C II 146.13; swi'x'sidas what are you going to do?; qen swi'x'side how can I do it? what can I do? (lit. that I do it how); sne'x'as qents swi'x'side how do you wish that we do it? C II 210.3; swi'x'sitso'dza's how was it done to you C II 118.16; swi'g'ilas la'xes laa'sos what did you do when you went C X 37.22; swi'g'iladzalen how shall I do III 113.23; - swisteda ge'ene whereabouts is the salmon roe? III 376.3; swi'stadze H. whereabouts is H.?

X 58.25; swi'stadzēs le'lotdāos whereabouts is your crew X 181.30; swi'stak'atsen gana'x'dāen whereabouts is my bundle? X 235.1; - swi'x'se la'xēs nā'qas'yoēs how do you like it? (lit. which like is it in your mind); swi'x'sik' how is this? like what is this?; swa'swe'syaqela's which way are you going?; swa'swe'syas what are you trying to do?

With following a swey- is contracted and forms swā:

swās g'e'x'side where do you come from?; swās g'a'yo'axs gw'e'le'k'ex where did you get this gum? JII 354.9; swā'x'os nā'qas'yex how is your mind? III 472 6; swā'xadzāents g'i'gemas'yex how indeed shall our chief be? C II 138.11; swā'xax'de o'bex'dēs how was its point C II 170.7; swālag'elīās what are you doing in the house?; swi'swā'lag'iledzā's place where you go on the water, pl. C II 266.26.

From swi is also derived the temporal interrogative swilaq<sup>u</sup>.

swi'lax<sup>u</sup>las lex'e'de when will you start?; swi'lax<sup>u</sup>len when shall I? C 26:134.9; swi'laqwas e'xente when did you menstruate? R 467.71; swi'lax<sup>u</sup> dze gwa'xtse'sta when was it finished?

g'en how many

g'e'nsoxda p'e'lxelag'emex how many are these blankets III 457.4; g'eno'xwas how many are you? X 250.8; g'eno'xwes sa'semos how many are your children C II 374.31; g'eno'kwox<sup>u</sup>da ts!ex'q!ā'q how many here are sick?

## VERBS

### IMPERATIVE

In most cases the imperative is introduced by imperative forms of wā, go ahead; hā (Koskimo ga) go; ge come; gwa finish (for imperative negative). These will be found discussed below.

The simplest form of the imperative is identical with the infinitive.

wā, dexswi'd, k'e'xenet, jump, k'exenet! X 179.22, 29; a'neqa get firewood! C II 218.1; lep'e'd strike with stone! C II 228.7; la'btalix go into a hole in the floor! C II 238.15; qwa'xwa emerge! C II 36.1; - ts!a'p!alis dip to the bottom! C II 126.20; gwā'sta come this way! C II 144.23; do'qwa'la look! X 253.22; gwa'e'sta la'k'asxe g'emxo't!ex!a'e X 253.10.

In transitive verbs the object remains attached to the infinitive form in the same way as in the declarative.

wā'g'a'e, ho'lela g'a'xen listen to me! X 99.13; wā'g'a'e, āx'e'dqo'e take this! X 166.6; ge'lag'a'e, āx'e'dex o'esdex dants come, get our (past) hammer! C II 196.5 (New); ge'la,

ts!o'xswidexg'en āwi'g'ex come, wash my back C II 194.15 (New); hāla'g'a'e, do'xwidqee look at it C II 198.8; 210.27 (New); do'qwa'x qwaxa'syusen k'!elē'm look at the dryness of my tongue C II 224.22 (New); wā'g'a'e, āx'e'dex k'!a'wasa go and get dry halibut C II 356.13.

In conversation vocative forms of the verb are often used, i.e. the terminal a is dropped. ho'lel listen!; - e'sel wait!; - -doq<sup>u</sup> look!

In texts I have found only the last of these. dox<sup>u</sup> qwaxa'syas k'!elē'mg'a'en look at the dryness of my tongue C II 224.27; do'xwoxda la'wi'lex yā'q!ent!eqox look at these speaking posts standing on the floor C 26: 49.237; do'x<sup>u</sup>g'en sems look at my mouth C II 166.26.

2. In conversation a terminal a in verbs with consonantic endings is often heard: dze'lx'ewida run along!; ts!o'xswenda, ts!o'xwit!eda wash your body.

These forms are also used with transitive verbs: k'!ā'da throw it away!; hā'g'a'e nā'x'eda laq go and drink of it C II 166.21; g'i'ts!oda put it in!; qwe'da go away! C II 70.22; g'i'dzo'da put it on a flat thing!; āx'e'g'enda put it on your back!; ā'sem qwe'da! just go away! C 26:176.31;

(The form k'e'peli'sa take it up from beach in arms C II 220.7 has the transitive ending a.)

3. Intransitive verbs frequently take the ending x for the imperative.

wā'g'a'e, qa's'idex start! C II 110.5; hā'g'a'e, e't!edex go, do it again C II 132.26; 134.2; gwa'la, he gwe'x'idex don't act that way!; hā'g'a'e qwe'dex go away! X 67.4; ā'sema nā'gadex X 40.15; gwa'sāxs'dex si'dex turn your backside this way! C II 202.3; wā'g'a, do'qwa'xax remain looking! C II 382.16; ge'ladzāg'a'e hā's'labalax come and be quick! X 67.39.

4. An imperative demanding immediate action is expressed by the suffix g'a'e, presumably identical with the demonstrative g'a'e expressing "present invisible." Since it implies the immediate starting of an action it is almost regularly attached to inchoative forms with following a as under the forms 2.

la'x'ewidag'a'e stand up! C 26: 159.134; 176.31; C II 44.18; nā'x'idg'a'e drink!<sup>41</sup> C II 200.5; q!we'x'idag'a'e dzā be silent! C II 128.23; do'x'ewidag'a'e look! C 26:158.79; k'!e'lax'ewidag'a'q<sup>u</sup> qas'ze'sle'ssox<sup>u</sup> strike him so that he dies; do'x'ewidag'a'xents xweno'k<sup>u</sup> look at our child C 26:37.76; qa's'idag'a'e C II 12.18; ye'xtse'mdag'a'e tie it on! C II 98.18.

The introductory wā go on!, hā (ga Kosk.) occur currently with this ending wā'g'a'e C II 114.9; hā'g'a'e CX 110.5; ga'g'a'e X 238.5.

5. The imperative of continued action is expressed by the suffix la following vowels, ela following consonants.

<sup>41</sup> Dr. Boas was uncertain of this form.

l!a'!lopsilala watch the roast! C II 142.16; bekwa'xala bear with fortitude! C II 178.19; lex'sto'dk'as'la open the door! C II 262.33; k'!a'k'!ag'alala back water! X 129 Note 4; ya'wix'ala do some kind of work!; k!wax'sla sit down in the canoe!; so'la g'els you first! C II 4.20; wa'wat!akalagwe' take pity on them! C 26:49.240; ne'x'slage tell him! X 73.20; me'lqwalaxa gw'e'lt!a remember the firebrand! C 26:157.39.

In a few cases la is affixed to inchoative forms:

la'xwilex'la stand up!; ya'q!eg'ax'la start talking!; qwa'eg'ax'la start crying!; na'snax'us'la go home!

The la may be identical with the continuative la; or the general verb expressing action, motion; or "now, at that time".

ge come, and gwa finish, appear currently with this suffix:

ge'la come! C II 194.15; 222.1; 314.4; gwa'la lepie'd g'a'xen don't strike me with stone! C II 228.9.

In the Koskimo dialect we find also wä with la. I have no examples of this in the Kwag'ul dialect.

wä'k'as'la g'i'gäme's ae'k'ilaxo's..o chief, treat well these .. C II 274.8.

This suffix is also used with future imperative forms do'x'wilela qo's g'axi look at him when he comes!; wa'xilela q!ap!e'g'ilex ... please, gather up the ... C II 172.24.

The form occurs frequently in the Koskimo dialect: ga'k'asilela go! C II 324.2; ga'g'ilela ga'gak'!axqono go to woo her C II 324.3; X 250.40; wä'lela ho'lelak'asilela g'a'xen listen to me! C II 318.29; sne'x'ela g'a'xen say to me! C II 190.22; wä'lela yene'selak'asilesox ... give this (one) ... to eat X 206.40; wä'k'asilela q!o'xts!odk'asileso'no put on this dress; wä'k'asilela ge'n'axqo's X 197.9;

6. These imperative forms often add the -s of the second person, except after the vocative form and after -g'a's: ha's qa's'idex go and start!; gwa's don't! X 111.29; C II 160.18; ge'la's äe'däqasox ... come back with ... C 26:47.171; lekwe'lala's qae'n make a bow for me X 81.14; - se'x'wida's paddle!; - gwä'sstala's go around there! X 87.36; k!wa'g'ustälil'la's sit up! C II 56.8; do'x'wida's look! C II 170.6; gwa'saxdex'-sida's turn your backside this way C 26:9.177; do'x'wida's eq look at it!

7. The emphatic -dzâ is seldom used alone. Generally it appears with other imperative or exhortative suffixes: qo's loqwiladzâ qae'n make a bird arrow for me! C II 176.5; wax'e'dadzâ take pity! C II 132.17; ya'q!ant!aladzâ talk! C II 130.8, 9; ga'gäxadzâ remain a longer time C II 132.27.

8. Compound forms. The suffixes -g'a's, -la, -s appear in combinations. Examples of these occur in the preceding pages.

A frequent combination is -lag'a:<sup>42</sup> ya'q!eg'ax'lag'a's start talking! X 123.39; g'ewa'lalag'a's g'a'xen help me! C 26:2.91; la'x'wels'lag'a's stand up outside! C 26:191.27; - hala'g'a's go! C II 198.8; 210.27; C 26:37.72; - ge'lag'a's come! C II 4.11; 88.18; 240.31; ge'lak'as'lag'a's come now! C II 256.8; 270.31; wä'k'as'lag'a's da's'idk'aso! go on, dive! C II 272.19; gwa'x'lag'adzâ la ne'xax'ä'sa don't tell your father C 26:56.49.

The combination -g'ix'la (probably < g'a-l-la) seems to occur only with wä. The accompanying verb has always the future form: wä'g'ix'la ya'!ä!ex take care! X 86.15; 175.5; wä'g'ix'la gwa'gwenaeg'elax'dax'u! think of trying C II 370.29; wä'g'ix'la do'qwa'älax look! X 31.34; wä'g'ix'la la'xweliot stand up on floor C II 58.26.

The emphatic -dzâ appears frequently in terminal position following -g'a's or -la: wä'g'adzâ go ahead! C II 118.20; 130.18; ha'g'adzâ äx'e'dqo's go and take this! C II 142.10; ge'ladzâ come! C II 134.6, 20; X 115.19; la'x'widag'adzâ stand up C II 72.11.

In other cases the position is reversed: ge'ladzâg'a's ha's labalax come quickly! X 67.39; - ne'xadzâg'atsa l!a'qwa' tell about the copper! C II 94.8; ya'q!eg'ax'dzâg'a's talk X 124.2.

-dzâ always precedes forms in -s: do'qwa'xadzâ's do look C II 46.17; ha'dzâ's äx'e'dxen ... go and take my ... X 13.32; wa'xdzâ's dze'kwa's wilex please, stretch your leg across X 18.22; lekwi'ladzâ's g'a'xen make me a bow C 26:160.187.

9. The imperative may also be strengthened by -k'as which is extensively used by the Koskimo: gwa'k'asilela sne'k'ol don't say so! X 114 note 2; ha'g'ak'asilela äxk'!a'lax ... go and call ...! X 143 note; ge'lak'asilela's gwedze'g'end g'a'xk'asen X 198.25; ge'lak'adzâ's gwede'g'end g'a'xk'asen come and wash my back! X 198.1; gwa'sgemx'idk'asilela's turn your face this way! X 206.18; wä'g'ak'asilela wax'e'dk'as g'a'xenuex'u take pity on us! X 220.38; wä'k'adzâlag'a's ga'gak'!ax go wooing X 250.27; doqwa'ak'asilelax'u look at this X 253.1.

It precedes -la, -lag'a's and -dzâ and follows -g'a's. In gela the terminal -la is retained before -k'as and repeated at the end.

10. The prohibitive or negative imperative is formed with derivatives of gwa to finish: gwa'la, gwa'k'asilela, gwa'x'ela's, gwa'xk'asilela, gwa'xadzâ's. The last three are not followed by the future and are probably derived from gwa'la it is in a finished condition.

gwa'la qwe'sg'ila don't go far away! C II 234.5; gwa'la mo'masilaleq don't hurt him! C II 436.12; - gwa'k'asilela sne'k'ol don't say so! X 123.6; gwa'k'asilela q!weq!wa'syilax wi'säx don't make this child cry! X 235.31; gwa'x'ela's q!esa'xwa e'ldzax don't eat this meat! X 16.9; gwa'xk'asilela's xeni me'xax'dax'ol

<sup>42</sup> lag'a also as an indicative.

don't sleep too much! X 200.7; gwa'ldzãs  
me'xalo don't sleep! C II 110.28.

11. A stronger imperative is formed with the emphatic negative -sno which is almost as strong as a curse word and is also used in non-imperative forms expressing strong disapproval. In prohibitive forms it is attached to the shortened stem gwa: ya'!ãsno take care! C II 418.5; gwe'no's sne'x'slaxol don't say so! C II 108.15; gwe'no'e ha'syamalax don't deny it! C II 72.34; gwa'k'as'no do'x'wale' don't be seen! C 26:192.76.

12. A mild imperative is formed by the ending -sema. Verbs ending in -x'sid (perhaps all ending in voiced or glottalized consonants) take a terminal a before this ending. It may be translated: you had better - : he'mena'ãs'ema syã'ãlaxox wi'sax X 96.15; do'x'wida'sema you better look!; k!wae'ãtsãs'ema remain seated on floor!; so'sema g'ãla you rather first! C II 4.21; ã'sema k!ess k'ãtlo'l just don't be afraid! C II 424.3; he'x'sida'sema ãxo'dex X 87.11; ã'sema ya'!ãlag'els only be careful on ground! C 26:44.40.

This form is also used with the -s second person and the future: ã'ãlaxbalãs'emasl stand still a while! C 26:11.222; gwa'ãlag'-ãs'emasl stop doing so! C II 174.22; C 26:37.77; ha'g'ãs'emasl tse'x'sidex swã'pas you better go and draw water! C 26:200.385.

13. When the verb following the introductory imperative form has a pronominal ending, this is -ol, as in the future (see p. 288): gwa's me'xol don't sleep! C II 178.14; wã'g'ãs se'x'widol go ahead, paddle! C II 222.16; ha'g'a nã'snax'k'asol go home! X 133 note 1; ge'lag'ãs ã'ãweli'ãol come, stand up! C II 242.30; gwa'k'as'la k'ãtãlak'a'sol don't be afraid! X 219.5.

Rarely with future: ha'g'ãs qa'ssida'ol go and start C II 8.17.

#### EXHORTATIVE

The exhortative is expressed by the suffix -x' followed by the personal pronouns and added to imperative forms, or to wã.

1st person: -x'en, -x'ents, -x'enu'x'u

3d person: -x'ek', -x'ox, -x'os, -x'i  
I have not found forms -x'eg'ãs or -x'ãs.

First persons: wã'g'adzãx'en le'selala o'gwaga let me also invite! C II 154.13; also 174.21; lek'wemadzãx'enlaxos xwa'layãg'os let me borrow your knife! C II 142.7; wã'x'ents do'x'widex let us look at it! C II 386.27; gwadzã'x'ents he gwã'ãe don't let us be that way! C II 168.18; e't!edag'ax'ents let us again! C 26: 194.171; wã'x'ents wi'na let us make war! C II 156.8; wã'x'ents ãx'e'dxen ... let us take my ... C II 390.9; - wã'k'as'elax'-ents wi'nak'asex let us make war! X 129 note 3; qwa'x'sidadzãx'entsaq let us cut them!

C II 174.3; he'lax'ants le'da a'ãsya q'ossa to that let us go the pond inland! C II 402.12.

The following form is not clear:

k'a'syadzãnex'ennox wi'sãg! let me drive away this dog! C II 72.7.

When followed by an object with possessive pronoun which agrees with the subject of the exhortative only one pronoun is used: dzema'lalax'ents g'i'gãmasyex let us bury this our chief! C II 138.13; na'qawali'ãlax'ents xweno'kwex! let us have this our child right between us C II 178.9.

Third person: e'x'slax'i ãwi'snak'wes let it be a nice country! C II 131.24; gwa'lax'i don't let him do so! C II 230.15; wã'g'ax'i ãx'e'tse'wa let it be taken! C II 210.33; gwa'lax'i wã'l!emas nã'qa'yus do not let there be weakness of your heart! C II 426.16; wã'g'ax'ox ãx'e'xsdẽso'nukwa let him have something wished! C II 100.11; g'a'x'slax'ox xweno'kwag'anu'x'u let this our child come! X 97.39; gwa'lax'ox q!wela' don't let this one live! X 145.34; gwa'k'as'elax'os ãmle'xwos kweya'ts!eq!us don't leave at home your chamber vessel! X 208.40.

A second set of forms with the suffix -x'os expresses the idea "in that case -". For the first and third persons it takes pronominal endings: ha'g'ax'os in that case, go! C II 108.6; 126.18; 128.10; ge'lag'ax'os if that is the case, come! C II 82.25; wã'g'ax'os qe'lqelãlãxe ... in that case pull down the ...! C II 236.14; - wã'g'ax'os do'x'widex (if that is so) look at it!; wã'g'adzãx'os na'x'sid in that case, go on and drink! C II 168.2; ã'ãlax'os wese'g'anoqos in that case fasten your belt! C II 4.28; wã'g'ax'os'en do'x'widex in that case, let me look at it; - wã'g'ax'ose do'x'widex in that case, let him look at it; wã'g'ax'osox dza'sme'sa X 141.36.

There is also an imperative in -entsos which does not seem to be related to other forms. It appears generally attached to wã. In a few cases it is attached to ã to go and to ge'la come: ã'entsos do'x'widex ãqwa'sya go and look for firewood! C II 214.23; ã'entsos do'x'widex ã'xen xwa'k!wema'syax go and look at my canoe! C II 236.11; - ge'laentsos qen ... come, that I ...! C II 218.20; X 212.33; wã'entsos ho'lalax'gen wa'ãdẽm'ek' ã'ãda'xol listen to what I'll say to you!; wã'dzãentsos ne'ãases g'ayolasãos tell about the place where yours comes from! C II 368.23; wã'endzosen q!ã q!ap!ãxa ... let me try to hit the ... C II 388.32! - sya, wã'dzãentsos o'gwax'sid le'slalak'asg'a X 198.15, 40; - wi'dzãents q!wa'x'sida let us wash with hemlock branches C II 407.27; - wã'k'as'elax'ents ã'le'sta ã'ã'asex X 230.12; - wã'k'as'elax'ents ã'le'sta ã'ã'asex X 231.18.

The imperative is often introduced by an exhortative ya which may take the plural and the second person imperative ending -ol, and the emphatic -k'as: ya, adã' o my dear!

C II 314.25; ya'x'da<sup>s</sup>x<sup>u</sup> wá'g'ax'ox sa'ts!á!axwa  
 ... X 17.29; ya'k'asol Ha'daq! o Ha'daga!  
 CII 246.5; also X 250.24.

## OPTATIVE

The optative may be expressed in several ways.

1. we'xen<sup>n</sup> I wish it were so!; we'xen<sup>n</sup>en la  
 I wish I could go; we'xen<sup>n</sup>en e'x's'idag'a<sup>s</sup>  
 I wish I were well; we'xen<sup>n</sup>e g'a'xa I wish  
 he would come; wá'xen<sup>n</sup>k'as<sup>u</sup>as begwa'nema I  
 wish you were a man C II 258.22.
2. By the suffix -ne<sup>s</sup>sl<sup>e</sup>. g'a'xne<sup>s</sup>sl<sup>e</sup> I wish he  
 would come; la<sup>s</sup>ne<sup>s</sup>sl<sup>e</sup>as I wish you would go;  
g'a'xne<sup>s</sup>sl<sup>e</sup>x ž'e'ntsl<sup>a</sup> I wish he would come  
 tomorrow; e'ssne<sup>s</sup>sl<sup>e</sup>ox oh! I wish not this!  
 C II 138.19; swi'x's'idane<sup>s</sup>sl<sup>e</sup>ents oh! how  
 shall we do it?; C II 70.2; smá'sne<sup>s</sup>sl<sup>e</sup>en  
e'ax<sup>s</sup>enas<sup>yaxa</sup> sna'lax oh, I wish (I knew)  
 what to do today; wá'k'asne<sup>s</sup>sl<sup>e</sup>as bekwema'lol  
 oh, if you were a man! C II 250.6.
3. [x] d<sup>e</sup>la past optative, often followed by  
 exhortative g'ax'd<sup>e</sup>la, g'ax'd<sup>e</sup>lax'i I wish  
 he had come; lax'd<sup>e</sup>lax'en I wish I had  
 gone; g'i'gámex'd<sup>e</sup>lax'en I wish I had been a  
 chief; mex's'i'd<sup>e</sup>x'd<sup>e</sup>lax'en<sup>u</sup>ag had I only  
 struck him!; g<sup>e</sup>g'a'd<sup>e</sup>x'd<sup>e</sup>lax'i I wish he had  
 had a wife!

## NEGATIVE

The negative is generally expressed by the independent intransitive verb k'!e<sup>s</sup>s or e<sup>s</sup>s which takes the usual pronominal endings. In connected narrative the form k'!e<sup>s</sup>s is used quite regularly. In conversation and particularly in speeches the form e<sup>s</sup>s is often used.

k'!e<sup>s</sup>sen q!á'le<sup>l</sup>la I do not know;  
k'!e<sup>s</sup>sl<sup>e</sup>en gá'xal I shall not stay long C II  
 34.13; - k'!e<sup>s</sup>sl<sup>e</sup>s ... há'nx'sá lol you will  
 not peep through C II 124.28.

The forms in e<sup>s</sup>s are almost invariably in rhetorical questions:

ses<sup>s</sup>melas<sup>q</sup> axse'xsd<sup>e</sup>qwa? k'!es<sup>s</sup>lag'a<sup>q</sup>  
 does he not wish this? He does not wish this  
 now C II 100.18; e'ssmae<sup>l</sup>en wa'wá'k'in<sup>al</sup>ol  
 did I not get you by good luck? C II 42.8;  
e'ssmae<sup>l</sup>e wá'g'ila now he will go ahead (lit.  
 but does he not now go ahead, future, question);  
 - se'ssmae<sup>l</sup> la'a didn't he go? (also  
k'!e'ssmae<sup>l</sup> la'a).

The suffix -e<sup>l</sup> surprise, which is commonly used with this form precedes the first and third persons, but follows the second person.

se'ssmae<sup>l</sup>e wá'g'ila now you will go  
 ahead (but will you not go ahead?); se'ssase<sup>l</sup>  
e'k'áá are you not feeling well?

Emphatic statements are expressed in form of a negative question:

se'ssmae<sup>l</sup>lanu<sup>s</sup>x<sup>u</sup> q!walen<sup>u</sup>žtsenu<sup>s</sup>x<sup>u</sup>

se'axelayu are we not going to dress in our  
 working-clothes? R 690.69 (e<sup>s</sup>s not; -s<sup>m</sup> con-  
 nective conjunctive, -a interrogative; -e<sup>l</sup>  
 emphatic).

An entirely different negative, appar-  
 ently with the same meaning is formed by the  
 suffix -s<sup>wis</sup>.

do'qwa<sup>s</sup>wis<sup>en</sup> I am not looking (=k'!e<sup>s</sup>sen  
do'qwa); ts!ex'q!a'<sup>s</sup>wis<sup>en</sup> I am not sick  
 (=k'!e<sup>s</sup>sen ts!ex'q!a'); he'žowise<sup>s</sup> it is worth-  
 less (=k'!e<sup>s</sup>sen he'žo); la'<sup>s</sup>wis<sup>en</sup> I did not go.

In the second person the suffix follows  
 the pronouns and -s-wis is contracted to -s<sup>sus</sup>.

do'qwa<sup>s</sup>sus you are not looking; la'<sup>s</sup>sus  
 you did not go; ts!ex'q!a'<sup>s</sup>sus you are not  
 sick.

This suffix forms with e<sup>s</sup>s a double  
 negative which gives the meaning of a strong  
 positive.

se'ssas<sup>s</sup>wis<sup>en</sup> t!ek'a' I am very dirty  
 (lit. am I not dirty?); se'ssas<sup>s</sup>wis<sup>en</sup>laxos  
wa'ždemaqos I agree to what you say (lit. not  
 not I your word here?).

Negatives are also expressed by means  
 of the emphatic dzâ. Although interpreted as  
 negative they are clearly interrogative forms,  
 rhetorical questions like the forms in e<sup>s</sup>s.

mex'a'dzâ<sup>en</sup>ag I did not strike him  
 (did I really strike him?) used like k'!e<sup>s</sup>sen  
mex'a'q or mex'a'wis<sup>en</sup>ag; ts!á'dzâ<sup>en</sup>as I did  
 not give it; sne'x'dzâ<sup>sa</sup> you did not say it  
 (= did you really say it?); sne'x'da<sup>s</sup>x<sup>u</sup>dzâ<sup>sa</sup>  
 you did not say it (= did you really say it?);  
sne'x'dzâ<sup>e</sup>ya' he did not say it (= did he  
 really say it?).

The relation between the negative suf-  
 fix -wis and the stem wi which expresses nega-  
 tion, failure, presents an interesting problem.  
 At present I do not see any solution, but at-  
 tention should be called to their similarity.

yala used as negative; yalawis<sup>en</sup>  
ts!ex'q!a I am not sick; same as ts!ex'q!awis<sup>en</sup>.

## CONDITIONAL

-o<sup>s</sup> refers to hypothetical or to tem-  
 poral statements that imply uncertainty. It  
 appears as a verbal suffix, generally together  
 with -lax which expresses uncertainty, and in  
 combination with qa- which introduces sub-  
 ordinate clauses. The pronominal forms of  
qa-o<sup>s</sup> are:

qánlo<sup>s</sup> if, when I  
qánu<sup>s</sup>xo<sup>s</sup> if, when we (excl.)  
qántso<sup>s</sup> if, when we (incl.)  
qaso<sup>s</sup> if, when you  
qo<sup>s</sup> if, when he

As a verbal suffix -o<sup>s</sup> seems to occur  
 only after the introductory forms derived from  
qa. he'smáá qaso<sup>s</sup> wi'g'ustá!axo<sup>s</sup> and that, if  
 you should not reach up R 1054.26; qaso<sup>s</sup>  
xa<sup>s</sup>malalaxo<sup>s</sup> if you should stay overnight; qo<sup>s</sup>  
g'axž'g'a'x<sup>s</sup>alislo<sup>s</sup> if he should come ashore;

qenlo<sup>s</sup> k'!e'ss<sup>s</sup>elax geyo'x<sup>s</sup>elax qe'lx'sid<sup>s</sup>elaxo<sup>s</sup>  
if I should not get tired early; qenlo<sup>s</sup>  
Xena'laxo<sup>s</sup> if I should get lost; qenu<sup>s</sup>xo<sup>s</sup>  
g'a'xlo<sup>s</sup> when we will come C 26:31.129;

The distinction between temporal and conditional is not strongly marked.

q!a'x<sup>s</sup>al<sup>s</sup>elax<sup>s</sup>em<sup>s</sup>le qänlo<sup>s</sup> la<sup>s</sup> äe'däaqa<sup>s</sup> she will know what I have done) when I'll go back (it is certain that he will go back) C 26:195.200;  
qo<sup>s</sup> la'länaxwa<sup>s</sup>en ä'ls'älsala when from time to time my future descendants will arrive C 26:33.22; qas<sup>s</sup> hes<sup>s</sup>ä'las<sup>s</sup>yuktse<sup>s</sup>s weq!wa'x'dasx<sup>u</sup>  
qos la<sup>s</sup> nā'snax<sup>u</sup> that they should be (the means of making right) the food of their sister when she would go home (she was about to go) C 26:192 71; qasos la<sup>s</sup> t!e't!epstosna'kwelalaxo'xda swa'pex when you will go and your eyes will be covered (in) by this water C 26:197.273; las<sup>s</sup>e'm<sup>s</sup>läe e'sela qas<sup>s</sup> dza'qwe<sup>s</sup>s qos la<sup>s</sup> lä'xt!a<sup>s</sup> qass lä<sup>s</sup> äle'xswida then they waited for the evening, when they were going to go out the woods to go sea hunting C 26:201.48.

In other cases the clauses are clearly conditional: qasos gwa'gwex'ssala laq<sup>u</sup> qäe'da snemo'kwe begwa'nem ... la'len kwe'xsid<sup>s</sup>elot if you talk about this to (any)one man...I'll club you C 26: 202.84; qasos sex<sup>u</sup>ts!äos if you were willing; qass q!ä'lele<sup>s</sup>xa t!ex'ela qos k'!e'xwa<sup>s</sup> so that he would know the way if he should escape C II 118.11; qenlo<sup>s</sup> la<sup>s</sup> do'x<sup>s</sup>wa<sup>s</sup>el<sup>s</sup>ynu<sup>s</sup>x<sup>u</sup>lo<sup>s</sup> if I should see (have to be seen) something C II 46.26.

With lax, expressing uncertainty and laxsd contrary to fact, it always expresses the conditional. qwno' hasyamalax qasos las<sup>s</sup>e'm<sup>s</sup>lax nā'snakwexsd<sup>s</sup>elax do not deny it if you should now wish to go home C II 72.34; qasos g<sup>s</sup>elpā'lax la'xen o'x<sup>u</sup>seyap!a'syagen if you should let go of my shoulders C II 78.14; qenlo<sup>s</sup> no'gwaq!anax<sup>s</sup>wemlax la'lax mo'masilag if I myself should from time to time now hurt him C II 150.7; le'sma's sya'x'se'mlaxsdol  
qasos ä'sem äxk'!a'la g'a'xen would you have been bad (behaved badly) if you had just told me C 26: 206.24.

## PASSIVE

The passives in =em and =ayu designate the thing used for doing something, while =so<sup>s</sup> designates the thing to which something is done.

=em seems to be used with all types of verbs excepting those ending in -d or -la (perhaps also -m); =ayu is used with all types of verbs. Both suffixes are used in nominal forms expressing instruments, means of actions; =ayu is much more frequently used in this manner: sē'wayu paddle; k'!e'm<sup>s</sup>ayu adze; k'!ā'wayu knife. On the other hand we find sele'm drill; k'ē'le'm fishing net; q!e'm<sup>s</sup>em song. Sometimes either form occurs: smē'nyayu and smē'nyem ruler, instrument for measuring. In other

cases they have specialized meanings, like nā'gayu drinking tube; nā'gem bucket.

hē's<sup>s</sup>emxā'wise swā'x'a hälä'gemaxa mā'mayu<sup>s</sup>tsila that also is paid to the midwife R 670.92; le hälä'qasos<sup>s</sup>sa mō'xsa p!e'lx<sup>s</sup>elag<sup>s</sup>ema<sup>s</sup> she is paid with four blankets R 670.92; qas<sup>s</sup> gw<sup>s</sup>q!e'gem<sup>s</sup> lā'xa x<sup>s</sup>q!e'st<sup>s</sup>nes<sup>s</sup> and it is poured on the seaweed R 515.18; gw<sup>s</sup>q!e'qasos<sup>s</sup>sa swēdas<sup>s</sup>sta' swā'pa it is poured over with cold water (i.e. cold water is poured over it) R 516.16.

le k!w<sup>s</sup>enq!e'qasos<sup>s</sup>sa !!ē'sna then it is wetted with oil.

lä<sup>s</sup>e'le'm<sup>s</sup>en lā'xa g'ōk<sup>u</sup> I am used for entering (i.e. I am taken) into the house; lä<sup>s</sup>e'xtse<sup>s</sup>wenaxg'ēn gwä<sup>s</sup>ē'xtsek' I was the object of entering (i.e. someone entered and came to me) when I was in the house here; las<sup>s</sup>mē lä<sup>s</sup>e'le'mē sī'wide lāx g'ō'kwasa q!ō'mogwex'lä<sup>s</sup> then Sī'wid was taken into the house of the one called Q!ō'mogwe X 62.12.

=qas<sup>s</sup> nē'g'emōsaxs xä'swenemāōs that it be said by you to your husband CX 249.40; sā'las x<sup>s</sup>es<sup>s</sup>la', snē'x'so'släe else you (will) die, he was told C II 94.8.

las<sup>s</sup>e'm qā'ssidayewe x'ā'nēlk<sup>u</sup> then X'ā'nēlk<sup>u</sup> he was used for walking (i.e. they took him along) C II 178.21; las<sup>s</sup>e'm<sup>s</sup>lā'wis qā'ssitse<sup>s</sup>was<sup>s</sup> he was started for (i.e. they went to get him) M 727.17; qas häsmg'ī'la'syosexes g'ō'kwelote to be given to eat (with it) to his tribe III 7.6; lē mas'ypena' hä mg'ī'lasē<sup>s</sup>wē t!ē'semg'ite then Stone Body was twice given to eat III 220.36.

Passive of verbs expressing sensations and mental actions; also sensations produced by some outer action

Verbs of this class form their passive by means of the suffix =x: dō'gwēx to be seen C II 98.13; q!ä'le<sup>s</sup>x to be known C II 100.14; x'ī'ts!enx (< x'ī'ts!äx'x) witnessed; sä'mdēx to be affected by a furuncle; legwēx to be affected by fire (i.e. on body) CX 208.32.

## PRESENT PARTICIPLE

=ene<sup>s</sup> quality of

Like other nouns derived from verbs it retains its verbal character. This appears most clearly in transitive verbs:

qen g'ā'xe<sup>s</sup> hä'lanemal<sup>s</sup>exs hō'xmalanen<sup>s</sup>-däqosaxa snā'xwa sē'yak!wemasa that I shall come (and) obtain by inheritance your past quality of obtaining easily all kinds of meat (game) CX 179.2; las<sup>s</sup>e'm snē'k'a begwā'nemag hē'xaxes ts!e'lwaq!ena yagexs k'!ē'ssāe hē'xtsā now says the man to it (the squirrel) it is good for the praying to it when it does not run away CX 195.6; qas<sup>s</sup>n q!ä'q!alaläene<sup>s</sup>em lenlōi on account of my observing you C II 436.21.

As subject: sä'sem lawise xä'k!wemase k!wē'mt!ets!e'na'syasa q!wē'l'syakwe and so, it is

said, was only strong the sticking to the ground of the old man X 4.10; hē'smāalaxo sne'nak'ixes dō'xwalelaena'syaxa sāmde'sma' that, behold! was what he meant his seeing the sea-eggs C II 156.17; sma'sk'asos g'ā'qlenā'sex what is your coming<sup>43</sup> (why did you come) C II 314.23; 344.21; sā'x'semlents qos nāā'nxs'seg'ila lesle x'ā'tsaxalāene as recently we shall (do so) when will go half way its going down half way (ebbtide) C II 126.21; gwā'xk'ase māō'ts!ena'syas (Kos) his work was finished C II 330.23.

As object: sā'la'smesen la iō'gwalaxes g'ō'k'iwets!ena'syos and so really I have (as) supernatural treasure the qualities of your house on the ground C II 58.22; qa's wāx'ā'dāos nā'qes'tendxen ts!edā'qlenā'se and pity me and make right my womanhood (i.e. cure me) X 138.22; lā'smē' sā'sem neg'x'tewe'x k!wats!ē'na'sye then he only followed the way of washing (purifying) CX 169 28.

Frequently with lax: sālā'xā la la'xes ge'lpazā'neleāos be firm in your holding on C II 78.12; sā's'emles yā'l!ālo la'xes hā'yas-ek'ālāeneleāos only you will take care of your future conditions of being married C II 72.26; yexs se'lxialisāe la'xes k'ē'l!ena'sye for he stood behind him in his fishing (while he was fishing) C II 104.1; k'!ē'ssien xē'nlelāi lā'sstax'sidei lā'xen na'walak:wenela's I shall not walk about too much in my quality of being supernatural C II 34.13; g'ā'x hē'xk'!awēssta laq lā'xes k!wa'stelts!ē'na'syaxa s'wa'pe he came went around on the right side to (of) him at his sitting in the water on the ground in the water X 61.27; lē sē'g'ēlwata la'xes l!ā'snena'sye then he was skillful in his spouting X 63.26.

With instrumental; nē'xases k'!ē'ts!ena'sye sāō'msda'xwa they showed their quality of not being ordinary persons C II 76.12; lā'xwa'syaxsents na'walak:wenā'syex this strength of this our supernatural quality X 29.27; g'ig'ēlgām'la'slāe lē'gēmas s'ne'smē māene'syas G'ig'ēlgam was the name it is said the name of their quality as a family group C II 84.2; sō'kwas'sma nē'xak'atses lāē'nelos dō'qwak'aslex gā'gase (Kos) only tell of your going (to) see your grandfather C II 278.32; (he told) hē'smises lāē'na'sye hā'mats!a and of that his now being a cannibal C II 438.9; lā'slae sō'dze'gēmēda dzō'noq!wagabidawe yē'se's lāē'na'sye dō'x walelaxes dā'g'i'slox then, it is said, was jealous the little Dzō'noq!wa woman of her now being (to) see her co-wife C II 74.27.

With qa: qa's nu'sx<sup>u</sup> g'ō's lalāenā'sye on account of our being uneasy C II 104.18; lē xwā'naž'sid...qāē's gā'gak'!aene he got ready for his future trying to get a wife C II 168.14; lās'ē'm syā'k'āwe...qa's k'!ē'ts!ema'syas q!ā'q!ek'ēla now he was defeated on account of

his not knowing C II 6.13; qa's hē sē'g'ase xēle' qāē's mā'x'ts!ole'smenā'sye yēx xwenō'kwas that that would be the good way (that he should) die on account of being the cause of shame that child C II 92.22.

## PAST PASSIVE PARTICIPLES

-e<sup>s</sup> and =k<sup>u</sup>

Both express the object made by some action, like shavings from cutting, adzing, etc. -e<sup>s</sup> expresses the complete, permanent object; =k<sup>u</sup> the object resulting from a just completed action. For this reason the latter appears often with la, now, and also as an adjective, while the forms in -e<sup>s</sup> are generally absolute.

xā'sye something that has been split R 65.113; 75.325; 229.20; C III 82.11; III 27.10, 13; xok<sup>u</sup> split, adj. 63.80; 67.166; 78.91; 79.9; 107.58; xwe'lto's mark R 64.94; 65.3; 66.44; 67.50; 70.26; 74.1; xwe'ldēk<sup>u</sup> marked 70.14; 449.58; 814.71; la xwe'ldēk<sup>u</sup> now it is marked R 61.31; 66.37, 43; 83.36; xwa'les a cut made with a fish-knife R 235.7; 243.27; xwa'lek<sup>u</sup> adj. cut with a fish-knife 403.15; t!ē'lse's a slice of fish R 303.26; t!ēle'k<sup>u</sup> what has been sliced R 303.27; lēqe's berry cake R 260.99; 279.88; lēge'k<sup>u</sup> made into berry cake R 280.91; la lēge'k<sup>u</sup> R 262.46.

In a number of cases the forms in =k<sup>u</sup> have become fixed nouns.

k'a'dzek<sup>u</sup> shredded cedar bark; lēg'ek<sup>u</sup> harpoon point; lo'bēk<sup>u</sup> emptied (=winter ceremonial house); q!ape'k<sup>u</sup> assembly before winter ceremonial.

A few static verbs follow the same pattern.

l!a'gēk<sup>u</sup> cedar bark dyed red (from l!aq<sup>u</sup>- red).

laxes lae'na'sye bexekwa in its condition of having been cut R 449.57; g'ē'lsmise la'g'āe bexa'syas la'xa ε'ldze as soon as the cut reaches the flesh R 447.17; g'ē'lsmise swi'slosteda la ts!ok<sup>u</sup> x'āa'sx'ent! as soon as all the now washed lily bulbs are out of the water R 544.11.

## VERB ASPECTS

In the intransitive verb two forms are distinguished "to be in a certain position in relation to something" and "to have something that is in a certain position in relation to the subject." The former is expressed by the suffix -e<sup>s</sup>, the latter by -ala. Besides there is an active form with the suffix -d (-nd, -od).

āxseme's it is on a round thing; sāxsema'la a round thing has something on itself; sāxse'md to put on to a round thing.

lax'si'wes it stands at the mouth of the river; lax'siwa'la the mouth of the river has something standing on it; lax'siud to set up

<sup>43</sup>Dr. Boas was uncertain of the q in this form.



(a pole) at the mouth of the river.

Examples from texts are: qenxâ'la to have a ring around the neck C II 50.7; qenxa'wes neck-ring, the ring is around the neck C II 48.30; qenxo'd to put a ring around the neck C II 48.30 (qex'-).

yu'smen lo'gwasoyox this is my super-natural treasure C II 62.16; â'smeg'en la lo'gwalo I just have you now for my super-natural treasure C II 42.8; nex'swena'la to have blanket on body III 74.17; nex'swe'nd to put blanket on body III 65.1; nex'swene's blanket R 210.14; pets!â'la to have medicine inside CX 223.39; swabets!â'swe water in it R 277.32; gwa'snaxts!od to fold into; t!e't!elts!âla lâ's'lxasya the baskets containing the viburnum berries R 301.35.<sup>44</sup> tetek!wepelaxes na'nâageme's she has the baskets hanging from her neck R 212.7; te'kwebâ'syes lexas'eya the basket hangs from her neck R 212.30.

yexs la'xwemalâax sma'xweyalidze. he'sem le'gemsexs la'e la'xwemas'yases ene'sme'muta when they have for their head chief sma'xweyalidze. That is his name when he is head chief of his ene'sme'ma R 825.93.

lâ'pe'paq!wepelada kwe'kwexa l!a'l!eqwa now the eagle has flat on his chest the coppers R 805.4.

lâ'k!wedzetâ'sya kwe'kwe lax o'xia'syasa na'ne now the eagles are sitting on top of the grizzly bear R 805.3.

lâ'k!a'dedzâleda le'la'ma...xa alâ'sne'ma now the posts have painted on them wolves R 810.21.

la's'mxâe k!e'yâ's k!a'teme's tsa'gema and also there is no painting of (on) the front boards R 817.2.

All active verbs end in -a or -e excepting hâla'xs to send an object, message III 17.15; g'âx to come (passim); enêk' to say (passim); k!âd to throw away pl. obj. R 410.3; lenk<sup>u</sup> to treat badly 4016.4.

All others ending in consonants are static: sâ'sms tabooed, unlucky R 575.53; sâ'oms to be without supernatural power R 1221.21; sâmlê'x<sup>u</sup> to stay at home R 638.28; sâna'k' enough; sêk' good R 200.41; sêk'! above R 205.16; sô'semis strange, funny R 711.31; yū'dex<sup>u</sup> three; wā'nag unlucky R 613.2; swâx' without result R 82.8; wâsx please! CX 177.12; wâs to have pity R 706.22; swâ'las large R 58.24; swi'k' thin and round R 230.28; swôk<sup>u</sup> thick R 61.35; hâ'manek<sup>u</sup> to be numb with terror III 204.6; hânē'nax<sup>u</sup> to be in company, to desire to go with III 359.5; 403.20; M 682.12; hō'la'x few R 562.46; bâ'xwes to be uninitiated R 716.72; pe'l thin and flat R 223.9; pe'p!â's blind III 95.26; ma'sx two; telq<sup>u</sup> soft R 167.4; tēs thin and pliable V 497.39; dze'x fresh (fish)

<sup>44</sup> The continuative form of the active form in -d is -ala identical with the form "to have---": gwexts!â'la to pour in R 301.36 [58.39]; ne'xtsemala to show R 689.61.

C II 316.10; ts!enk<sup>u</sup> furious C II 102.30; ts!ex'â's new (mat or blanket) R 638.23; ts!ē'nas lean (animal) R 313.31; ts!ēq! narrow R 295.73; nemâ'x a short time CX 104.4; nâ'nuk<sup>u</sup> to feel uneasy R 941.68; nē'nas to be brave CX 41.17; snem one (passim); k'ox<sup>u</sup> to be cool R 144.34; k!elx' unripe, raw R 368.34; k!wes light in weight R 190.34; qâ'l it is indeed! R 788.10; q!â'syâ'nas to dislike one's mate C II 76.31; elēx wide open, wide across R 713.7; xâ'ân unusual C 26: 177.87; xewē'm to feel like belching R 290.21; xâ'wis angry, fearless R 859.25; xâk<sup>u</sup> strong R 71.53; lek<sup>u</sup> thick around R 82.6; l!âx stiff R 156.41; hâ'na'x to do some more of the same kind of work R 61.34; l!âs to be fond of cohabitation.

It has not been possible to assign any reason for the lack of terminal a in these cases. Other static verbs end commonly in -a.

In contrast with the small number of active stems ending in consonants, suffixes, both static and active end very commonly in consonants. Among the static ones, -ix in house, -is on an open place, -is on the ground; -xs in a canoe, occur with great frequency. Among the active ones the endings -x<sup>e</sup>id, -nd, -od are most common.<sup>45</sup>

#### ACTIVE VERBS

A number of suffixes ending in consonants, excepting m, n, l have active forms ending in a: =ix in house, on floor; =is, on open space, on beach; -is on ground; =xs in canoe; -oes moving from one to another; -g'it on body.

<u>te'gwi'x</u> to hang in house	<u>te'gwi'xa(q)</u> he hangs (it) up in house
<u>et!a'lix</u> it is again on floor	<u>et!a'lixa</u> to put again on floor
<u>hâ'ng'a'slis</u> vessel stands on beach (result of action)	<u>hâ'ng'a'slisa</u> to put vessel down on beach
<u>hâ'ng'a'sels</u> vessel stands on ground (result of action)	<u>hâ'ng'a'selsa</u> to put vessel down on ground
<u>hâ'nxs</u> vessel is aboard	<u>hâ'nxsa</u> to put vessel aboard
<u>le'mxwexs</u> canoe is dry inside	<u>le'mxwexsa</u> to dry canoe inside
<u>lâ's</u> to go from one to another	<u>lâ'sa</u> to put from one to another
<u>le'megweg'i't</u> it is all over body	<u>le'megweg'i'ta(q)</u> he puts it all over body

<sup>45</sup> It is not always possible to decide from the texts whether the isolated form of the word or suffix ends in a consonant or in a because in connected speech the endings -a or -e are often required and the words ending in -a and those ending in a consonant have the same forms. The preceding remarks are based only on those cases in which the consonantic form has been observed. Among the stems practically all have been investigated in regard to the occurrence or non-occurrence of the consonantic forms.

gwe'lkwita to rub body C II 30.2; lã axsa'liãaq she puts it on the floor R 115.12; dze'k'i'ta to rub body III 199.20; ye'lsita to rub body with palm III 124.15; swi'lg'ãã'xsa all are aboard R 97.73; gwe'xsa'xexsa to pour into canoe R 94.47; qep'esa to turn upside down on ground R 91.10.

A number of stems ending in absolute form without terminal a are active with terminal a.

With verbs: ãmx water-tight, air-tight, ã'mxa to make ---; ã'yo's to understand (speech), ã'yo'sa to explain; yãx to be liquid, yã'xa to melt; telq<sup>u</sup> soft, te'lgwa to put down soft things; dzam<sup>e</sup> breast, dzam<sup>ea</sup> child sucks; k!weng wet, k!wē'nga to pour oil over something; x'el to be dead, x'ela to die; !õp to be roasted, ripe, !õ'pa to roast.

With nouns: yã'sek<sup>u</sup> tallow, yã'sekwa to put tallow on; tãx bait, tã'xa to bait; t!els fruit of Viburnum, t!e'lsa to pick---; gwems ochre, gwe'msa to paint with ochre; !õ'p!ek' root, !õ'p!ek'a to get roots.

Many nouns have formative suffixes. The terms for "to get---" are derived from the stem with suffix -a: nek!wē'x salal berry, nekwa' to pick---; x'õ'kwem lily bulbs, x'õ'kwa to dig---; lex'se'm cinquefoil, lex'a' to dig---; sã'gwem bracken, sã'kwa to dig---; !es!ek<sup>u</sup> seaweed; !ekwa' to gather---; gwe'slẽ'k' gum, gwe'lx'a to gum; t!e'mxwe'sle gooseberry, t!e'mxwa to pick---; qek'!ãã'le fruit of Cornus, qek'a' to gather---; q!ã'nas Cryptochiton (?), q!ã'nsa to gather---; q!ẽ'sena currant, q!ẽ'sa to pick---; q!õ'smãs crab, q!õ'sa to catch---; q!wa'snẽ' lupine, q!wē'nsa to dig---root; q!wa'sx'e'm salmon berry sprouts, q!wã'za to get---; x'ãã'sx'entle Erythronium, x'e'nta to get---; xõ'sla mussel, xõ'za to get---; xek!wa'es Polypodium glycorrhiza, xekwa' to dig---; xwenõ'k<sup>u</sup> child, xwē'nkwa to give daughter in payment, to pay high interest.

#### -d, -nd, -od activizing

Static suffixes are made active by the suffix -d which takes the forms -d, -nd, -od according to the character of the terminal sound of the preceding suffix. The use of object and instrumental will be found discussed on p. 284.

These forms are always active. When the concept contained in the suffix is conceived as locative, or generally adverbial, they are active and the object is expressed by the objective or by the instrumental (see p. 284). Sometimes they appear without object in a generalized meaning. When the suffix is conceived as nominal they appear without object.

With instrumental: qas sãxle'ndes and he puts it (instr.) on the fire (-x'la on fire) R 94.8; sãxã'gents lã'xa q!õ'lats!e he puts it (instr.) on the rim of the steaming-box (-g'ãga on rim, bank) R 94.19; sãxste'nts he puts it

(instr.) into water R 95.25; lẽ q!õxts!õds!aents g'i'syasēs g'its!ã'lase then put on our lady hers that she had on C II 78.7;

With objective: qas tsex'sse'ndeg and chops it (obj.) off R 111.10; sõ'p!exodēq she cuts it (obj.) off at the neck (butt of tree) R 112.19; --sẽ'ts!end pã'x'se'ndxa sãpsõ'liã-- again (off) she splits off the other side R 112.31; qas k'!õ'sse lẽ'gwe'xtõdex wã'xdemasēs snẽsnemõ'kwe and he did not miss (disobey) the words of his friends C II 66.29; le k'!wã'sgem-dxes bõ'lxsda'ye then he sat on his muskbag C II 146.4.

Without object: qos negexlo'dlo<sup>s</sup> when they get ripe R 111.3; lã'slaxãe qã'dzodas (< qãs-dzo-d) then it is said he walked on the flat C II 16.8 (transitive) C II 16.17; ye'xts'e'mda<sup>s</sup> she tied up her surface (her belt); lã'slãe p!eyõ'xstend then, it is said, he felt of his backside C II 144.1.

Often in passive form: xwedzexlẽ'labentsõ<sup>s</sup> he was struck over the head C II 148.19.

Without object, generalized: ts!eqõ'stod they threw up C II 144.23; lẽ w!ex'ustē'nde g'õ'kwelotas then his tribes pushed into the water (i.e. launched their canoes) C II 184.3 (transitive C II 186.11).

#### ITERATION

Occasional repetition of an action is expressed by duplication of the whole stem and terminal a, provided the stem ends in a consonant except y, w, m, n, l or the corresponding glottalized sounds.

q!ã'x'q!axwa to emerge now and then C 26:209.365; mẽ'xmexa to sleep---; syã'x'syak'a to get back---; gã'nuxã'nuxa every night.

Stems ending in vowels, y, w, m, n, l or the corresponding glottalized sounds take the suffix -k', which is included in the duplication, and terminal -a.

yã'x'yak'a to give up now and then C II 22.16; snã'x'snak'a every day; tã'nox<sup>u</sup>tã'nokwa to pole canoe---C II 22.15 (tenew-); tsẽ'x'tsek'a to draw water (tsey-); hã'smx'hã'smk'a to eat---; k!wem'lx'k!wem!k'a to char---(k!wem!l-).

#### CAUSALITY

Causality is expressed by the element qas, on account of, a verb stem that might be translated by "to be the cause of."

With personal pronouns (see p. 251): qõ'loqwiladzã qas'e'n make a bird arrow for me! C II 176.5; lãsm'e'n x'e'ng'ãã qas I long for you III 25.1

With prenominal forms (see p. 259): qag'a'da g'a'xal!is!elak' on account of the one who is coming to the beach here C II 2.2; qãe'da si'siu on account of

the double-headed serpent C II 52.19; qãe'da ɛnɛmo'xʉɛm la q'wela' on account of the one who was now alive C II 24.24; - qão'xda mo'ts!aqex on account of these four sticks III 139.22; qao'x wi'sa for this boy C II 122.20.

With possessives:

(laɛmɛ'n) ʒɛ'ng'ãã qaɛ ɛ n o'mpaɛɛn I long for my father C II 74.1; qãe's gwe'x'si-dããsos g'a'xɛn on account of what you have done to me C II 58.10; - ã'ɛma le'sxɛalaq qaɛ nts g'o'kwɛx only advise him about our house C II 52.8; qão's gwãe'lasaqos on account of your state in the house R 710.3; qaɛ'n q'a'q'alalaene-ɛɛmlɛnloɛ on account of my watching you C II 436.21; qag'ɛn g'i'gãmek' on account of my chief here C II 345.33.

With following subordinate clause:

qaɛxg'ɛn wɛlɛlaɛmɛg'ɛnlaq for I heard it III 16.1; qaɛxs la'e do'xɛwalelaqɛxs g'a'xɛmãe for he saw him as he came C II 434.17; qa'xg'ɛn x'ɛsa'ʒek' qaɛ'n o'mpaxs yã'wix'ɛlãã for I have disappeared on account of my father when he gives a winter ceremonial C II 422.30.

#### PURPOSE

Closely related to the causalis is the expression of purpose, the finalis. When the causative has purely nominal constructions, we find in the finalis constructions similar to these used with the independent pronouns (see p. 257). The set of forms is:

1st person	<u>qɛn---a(ɛn)</u> C II 46.11
Inclusive	<u>qɛnts---a(ɛnts)</u> C II 38.24
Exclusive	<u>qɛnuɛxʉ---a(ɛnuɛxʉ)</u>
2d person	<u>qaɛs---ãos</u> C II 46.17, 172.19
3d person	<u>qaɛ---ɛs</u> (possessor different from subject)
3d person	<u>qaɛs---a</u> (possessor and subject the same).

It corresponds to a verbal stem with the suffix for absence: k'ɛ'lwɛnɛmɛnlaq qɛn gɛnɛ'ma I bought her to be my wife; but k'ɛ'lwɛnɛnlaq qaɛ'n gɛnɛ'ma I bought it for my wife.

The finalis is frequently used with verbs which are nominalized by the suffix -ɛɛ, in the second person by -ãos. In the first and second person the corresponding postnominal suffix may be added with object. C II 2.16, 20, 21.

The concept of purpose is often so weak that the finalis is hardly more than a connective:

wãdzãentsos qɛn p!a'xɛdeɛ go on that I may feel III 37.32; qɛn ɛne'k'ɛs and I say so III 453.24; ɛya'lagɛmɛnlas gwɛ'ldɛme qɛn g'a'xɛɛ I have been sent for by Woodpecker to come III 302.24; ...qaɛs la'os sãxɛɛ'd that you

go and take III 465.34; ...qɛn le'xsɛaleɛxɛnts xwɛno'kwɛx ... that I may advise our child here III 290.13; ...qɛn ɛe'k'ɛwɛsg'ada nɛxɛwɛne'k' that I stake this blanket III 292.3; l!o'p!edequ qaɛs hãɛmx'ɛi'dãosaqu roast this and eat it III 38.7; le'ɛlalaxɛs g'o'kwɛlote qaɛ g'a'xɛɛs he invited his tribe to come III 23.2.

#### SUBORDINATION, TEMPORAL AND CAUSAL

Subordination is expressed by -x which takes as endings the pronominal possessive demonstrative forms corresponding to the person of the subject, while the verbs take the corresponding postnominal possessive suffixes, except that in the first person, inclusive and exclusive, the personal pronominal elements may be omitted. The x is identical with the object x and follows the same rules as x when suffixed to preceding verb or noun.

1st p.	<u>-xg'ɛn-----ek'</u>	or	<u>-xg'ɛn-----eg'ɛn</u>
incl.	<u>-xg'ɛnts---ek'</u>	or	<u>-xg'ɛnts---eg'ɛnts</u>
excl.	<u>-xg'ɛnuɛxʉ---ek'</u>	or	<u>-xg'ɛnuɛxʉ---eg'ɛnuɛxʉ</u>
2d. .	<u>-xs-----ãaqos</u>		
3d p.			
1st p. vis.	<u>-xs-----ãk'</u>	or	<u>-g'axs-----ek'</u>
1st p. invis.	<u>-xs-----ãg'aɛ</u>		<u>-g'axs-----ãg'aɛ</u>
2d p. vis.	<u>-xs-----ãɛx</u>		<u>-ɛxs-----ãɛx</u>
2d p. invis.	<u>-xs-----ãaq!</u>		<u>-ɛxs-----ãaq!</u>
3d p. vis.	<u>-xs-----ãe</u>		<u>-ɛxs-----ãe</u>
3d p. invis.	<u>-xs-----ããɛ</u>		<u>-ɛxs-----ããɛ</u>

When followed by a vowel the terminal k' becomes g', in other words the ending is -eg' transformed into -ek' on account of the terminal position of g': xg'ɛn k'ɛ'ɛle'g'ɛnɛlasa na'ne when I was afraid of the grizzly-bears B 6.18; -xg'ɛn ɛno'lagãmaɛyeg'asɛn'ãe sa'sɛmsa--- for I was the oldest of the children of--- B 2.10; qaxg'ɛn le'ɛlaleɛg'ag for I shall invite them III 30.28 (see below).

When followed by a vowel or a syllabic m the second ã of the third person is omitted as in the verbs ending in -a: -xs t!o'xwãeda swa'ts!e for the dog marked a trail (in the snow) C II 14.16; -xs k!wɛdɛdzã'ɛyaoxda--- when sticks on a flat thing the--MS 17.21; qãe'xs q!ã'lɛlaɛmães o'mpe because his father knew C II 12.17; qaɛxs swa'ts!ães k!e'sɛo for the dog was his crest C III 262.18; -xs wɛ'nqɛlãeda xwɛp!a' that it was a deep hole III 10.14; -xs k!wa'ãe as he was sitting on a stone MS 17.15; yɛxs sãmsɛle'x'umãen sãbɛ'mpɛwɛɛ when my late mother stayed at home B 8.39; -xs g'a'xɛɛng'ãe when he came in his dream MS 17.19.

In many cases the demonstrative -ɛx is used in place of the second person -ãaqos: yɛxs la'ɛx ɛnek' when you said C II 161.17; k!e'ɛst!as a'ɛg'ilaxs lãe'x la'qag but you

do not go far inland when you reach it MS 3.12.

Temporal subordination is expressed by suffixing these forms to the governing word, or by making them independent by suffixing to the indefinite demonstrative yex-. Causal subordination is expressed by suffixing them to qa<sup>s</sup> (see p. 274). On the whole the alternate forms of the third person in the second column are not used as extensively as those of the first column, but some speakers prefer for the third person demonstrative third person (the last two forms) throughout the forms in -exs of the second column. For the first persons both forms are used with equal frequency.

The object of transitive verbs remains attached to the verb. We have not been able to find forms for the second person demonstrative of the third person object.

- xg'én do'xswalēleg'ol (when) I saw you  
-xg'én do'xswalēleg'agək' (when) I saw him who is here visible  
-xg'én mex'si'deg'ag'as (when) I struck him who is here invisible  
-xg'én wēlēlēg'ag (when) I heard him (distant, visible)  
-xg'én wēlēlēg'ag<sup>s</sup> (when) I heard him (distant invisible)  
-xs mex'si'dāāqosagək' (when) you struck him here (visible)  
-xs mex'si'dāāqosag'as (when) you struck him here (invisible)

For the third person subject, second person object the latter is often transformed into an indirect object.

- g'axs do'xswalēlek' lāl (when) this one saw you.  
-exs mex'si'dāex lāl (when) the one near you struck you.  
-(e)xswalēlāe lāl (when) he absent saw you.  
-exs mex'si'dāol when he struck you.

With third person, object or instrumental:

- xs q!eyo'laāq when she had obtained many R 296.3.  
-xs sex'si'dāāxa me'gwate when he spears the seal R 177.60.  
yexs ya'telaās he rattles with it CX 93.27.

With the suffixes -l future, -lax uncertainty, the forms are:

- 1st person -xg'én---e' - ek' or e - g'én  
 2d person -xs---e-āqos  
 3d person -xs---e-e, or e - a  
qa<sup>s</sup>xg'én le'elalel'g'ag for I shall invite them III 30.28; qa<sup>s</sup>xg'én he'menā<sup>s</sup>emēlek' III 36.9; qa<sup>s</sup>xg'én he'menā<sup>s</sup>emēl'g'én for I shall always III 52.33 [C II 430.26]; g'a'x<sup>s</sup>emsexs wa'x<sup>s</sup>edīaqos you come to take pity on me CX 232.37; qā'ixs le'laqos āe'dāāqal indeed when you will come back III 51.18; yexs so'dzak'anogwīlaqos when you will

have bad luck C II 84.7; -xs sā'm<sup>s</sup>ēle when he will play; -xs le'le when he will go III 33.15; qa<sup>s</sup>exs k'!eyā sele for there will be none III 52.17; -xs yā'wix'elīlaxa ts!ewē'nxē when he will give a winter ceremonial in winter C II 414.8.

yexs k'!e sselaxaqos when it would not be C II 38.22; -xs lela'xag<sup>s</sup> if you should go C II 386.5; -xs g's'l<sup>s</sup>melaxa if he should first C II 388.26.

After monosyllabic stems ending in a and after -x'de past, and -laxsd past irrealis the forms are:

Monosyllabic stems after -x de and -laxsd

- 1st person -xg'én---ēk' -xg'én---e-ēk' or e - g'én  
 2d person -xs-----āqos -xs-----e-āqos or -ex'dāx  
 3d person -xs-----āx'de C II 26.17 -xs-----ex'de

-xg'én lāk' āyo'selag when I understood.

-xg'én la'eme x'deg'axat! welo'l when I asked you MS 16.19; wax'e'x'deg'én I tried in vain C II 114.19; yexs g'a'xex'dāqos when you came; yexs g'a'xelaxsdāqos if you had come.

With the suffix -ol past, and -xāā also we find:

- 1st p. -xg'én---a - g'én  
 2nd p. -xs---a - āqos  
 3rd p. -xs---a - e, a - a  
-xg'én la'naxwao'g'én when I used to go MS 3.7; -xg'én g'a'lāo'g'én when I first; -xs g'a'xāo'āqos when you had come; yexs g'a'xā(y)olā<sup>s</sup>ēl when they had come it is said C II 28.10; -xs g'a'xāo'ē when he had come CX 200.17.

-xs la'āxāāqos when you now again C II 386.9.

With the suffix -xent, evidently, we find -āāxentqos; -xs xā'k!wemasāā'xentqos pāxālā' for evidently you are a strong shaman C II 54.20; syax'syēg'e'ssoenux<sup>s</sup>māāxentqos you have evidently something that is disliked CX 197.2.

Examples of temporal subordination:

-yexg'én la'laek' la'xa s<sup>s</sup>ne'ldze when I go south R 627.101; yexg'anuxu k'eā'sek' as we have nothing R 619.17; la e'k!axsda'axs la'āqos ...now it is hind end up when you...R 624.17; -yexs k'!e's<sup>s</sup>māe gwexstē'ndēg when he not (i.e., before) pours it out R 627.95; yu'laxs ne'snāgadāex you, as you are song leaders CX 157.27; yexs la'ex s<sup>s</sup>nek' when you said CX 161.17; yu'laxg'én bex'ewene'snakweg'os you, when I am possessor of your soul CX 202.17.

Causal Subordination: qa<sup>s</sup>xg'én he'smek' la'g'ixā for this was the reason<sup>35</sup> R 644.6; qa<sup>s</sup>exs he'smāāqos g'a'xe'ē for that is your reason for coming R 619.16; qa<sup>s</sup>exs g'a'x<sup>s</sup>māex la'xents ē'l<sup>s</sup>lax<sup>s</sup>yex for it came behind us

<sup>47</sup> Corrected.

R 628.18; ho'lela g'a'xen qa'xs e'k'āeda  
q!ā'lelāxa...listen to me for it is well to  
 know the ...R 623.6.

## NOMINAL FORMS

Nominalized verbs are used as declaratives, the nominalizing suffix -eš being followed by the post-nominal possessive corresponding to the subject:

1st person	-ek', -eg'ēn
Incl., excl.	-eg'ēnts, -eg'ēnušx <sup>u</sup>
2d person	-āāqos
3d person	-as

These forms are modified for future, past, uncertainty, etc. like those described on p. 266 ff.

sāmle'xweg'ēnmaxs la'e ha'nai'ēn  
xa'ewenem I stayed at home while my husband  
 went hunting CX 241.1; g'ē'ēmisen k'!a'ste'ndeg  
le'g'ēn ene'k'a and so first I throw it into  
 the water and I say R 628.10; ā'emeg'ēn  
do'xsēmeq I just saw him C II 78.30; g'ē'eme'g'ēn  
sa'lāsokū this is looked for by me; la'me'g'ēn  
lāe'xsd I wish to go C II 182.7; he'emeg'ēn  
aželaxsd ene'k'e I should just have said  
 III 33.21; sā'q!ame'g'ēn nege'žtewe'lex  
t!ex'ī'la'syas I shall just follow the trail  
 made by him C III 226.21; k'!e'seg'ēn  
se'axene'nux<sup>u</sup>...I have not the work (of...,  
 i.e., it is not my way to...); g'a'xeg'ēn  
sāe'sayoi I come to pray to you CX 203.38;  
g'o'kweleg'anux<sup>u</sup> lax te'gwexste we were liv-  
 ing at Te'gwexste CX 50.35.

ene'x'emāāqos sām'ladzatsox<sup>u</sup> you said  
 you had this for your playground C II 4.22;  
sā'emāāqos la waxe'tso's---only you have been  
 now pitied by---C II 62.15; k'!eā'sg'anemāāqos  
gwe'x'eidāās perhaps you have no way (i.e.,  
 cannot) C II 64.24; q!ā'lelag'anemāāqos  
wa'x'axg'anux<sup>u</sup> he'žāeg'anux'waxa emē'lxio  
 probably you know (without result) that we get  
 a chance at the mountain goats C II 110.21;  
g'a'xāāqos ha'ēnakwila la xen wa'ždem you came  
 quickly according to my word C II 38.21;  
lēmā'āqos swi'eloi'ēnakwelax...you are gradually  
 obtaining everything C III 224.2; la'āqos  
āxaxo'deg you take them R 622.61.

se'x'e māās wa'ždemasa g'i'gāma'eye g  
 good is the word of chief G. C III 204.22;  
g'ē'lemise swi'elg'alixā la'ase swi'ela  
hasmx'ei'da when they were all in the house,  
 they all ate R 790.44; ha'nai'ase mela'sema'eye  
Mela'seme was hunting CX 246.1; la'ālas  
ya'wix'ēide tek'!ā's then, it is said, moved  
 his belly C II 40.19; yu'dexusealasslāe'da  
legwa' in three parts, it is said, was the fire  
 wood C II 68.10; la'ālas la'xwelixē lēma'eye  
 then, it is said, stood up in the house Scab  
 C II 70.17; he'emāās g'iwā'la g'a'xen that was  
 what helped me; he'emāās g'ox<sup>u</sup> that is his  
 house; g'ēma'as it is this; he'emāāsa it is

that (invisible); so'emāās it is you C III  
 214.24; g'a'xāās ē'lkwas his attendant came  
 C II 2.1; lawē'žāelas te'qaxa long ago, it is  
 said, he fell down C II 78.21.

The form -ek' is used for the first  
 person: me'xelek' I dreamed C III 8.16, 20;  
 44.19; me'xeleg'a C III 26.21; he'ēng'ek'  
q!ē'lsale sāxa's dals that was I in my dream  
 anchored at Dals C III 32.29; hā'nū'lenoxweg'axa  
ēna'xwa g'ē'lgāo'masa I was a hunter of all  
 kinds of animals CX 41.3; a'iak' max'ts!a'lax  
qag'oē weyo'ilaxoi laxen else I might be ash-  
 amed if this should fail to obtain you for me  
 CX 5.3.

he'ēmele that will be CX 153.20;  
g'a'lāo'ž CX 153.37; āxē'xsedeg'axa g'o'kwa  
 III 52.28.

## LEŠW-

LEŠW- and, better: in company with, is  
 a verb. It is used primarily for connecting two  
 nouns: wa'xwide loē o'xsēm Wa'xwid and O'xsēm  
 C II 90.18; lā ts!ā'sa xegeme laq lēšwa  
t!e'seme then she gave him a comb and a stone  
 C II 396.2; yexwā'la lēwayux lēwo'xda mā'lisex  
 these were the salmon-weirs and the salmon-  
 traps C II 94.1; swi'elāe'a lēšwis ts!e'daq  
lēšwis g'ē'ng'ēnanem all entered with their  
 women and their children C II 38.18; lāeme'  
k!wa'žā lēšwis g'o'kwelot and he sat (in  
 council) with his tribe C II 22.4.

lā sāe'k'!a k'!ē'mē'žtsemdeq lēšwis  
sāwa'bāšye lēšwis so bāšye then he adzes its  
 surface finely at its bottom end at its end  
 R 69.69.

loē swi'elolax gwa'yis!ēslasaxsen  
so'mpax loē k'!e'ss whether I obtain all the  
 ways of my father or not C III 224.7 (I wished  
 to know about the shamans) loē sālā loē sālēm  
g'ē'ta' whether they were real or only made up  
 CX 1.3; qa'sa'em'žā'nawisents loē ya'yasēla  
 shall we perhaps walk or use a canoe C II 22.9.

## NUMERALS

The numeral system is decadic. It pre-  
 sents a number of peculiarities. The numerals  
 up to ten contain at least one loan word,  
ālebo' seven, taken from Nootka. In Bella  
 Bella the old word is retained. mo, four, is  
 common to Kwakiutl, Bella Bella, Nootka, many  
 Salish dialects and Qwileute.

## Distributive:

- |                                       |                                 |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. <u>ēnem</u> R 61.35                | <u>ēna'ēnem</u>                 |
| 2. <u>mā'ž</u> R 226.18; 608.20       | <u>māe mā'ž</u> R 59.48; 438.45 |
| 3. <u>yu'dex<sup>u</sup></u>          | <u>yās yudex<sup>u</sup></u>    |
| 4. <u>mo</u>                          | <u>māe mo</u>                   |
| 5. <u>sek'!a'</u>                     | <u>sē sek'!a'</u>               |
| 6. <u>q!al'ia'</u>                    | <u>q!ē q!el'ia'</u>             |
| 7. <u>ālebo'</u>                      | <u>ēš'ēbo'</u>                  |
| 8. <u>mā'žgwēnā'ž</u> R 182.28        | <u>māe mā'žgwēnā'ž</u>          |
| 9. <u>ēna'ēnē'ma</u> R 849.22         | <u>ēnē'ēna'ēnē'ma</u>           |
| 10. <u>lā'ēsto'</u> (or <u>neqa</u> ) | <u>lās'la'ēsto'</u>             |



The numbers within each ten from 111 to 189 are analagous to those within each ten of the first hundred, e.g.:

111. maʔtsogwegʻiwalasa ɛnem filling in the second decade (of 100) with one.  
 182. ɛnaʻɛnaɛnemxʻsokʻiwagʻiwalasa maʔ.

The hundreds from 200 to 900 are formed with the suffix -p!ɛnɛyagʻi times into woods.

200. maʻʔp!ɛnɛyagʻi R 232.8; 773.24; 3296.5; 3276.8  
 300. yuʻdexʻup!ɛnɛyagʻi  
 400. moʻp!ɛnɛyagʻi  
 500. sɛkʻ!aʻp!ɛnɛyagʻi  
 600. q!a!ɛp!ɛnɛyagʻi  
 700. ā!ɛboʻp!ɛnɛyagʻi  
 800. maʻɣwenaʻʔp!ɛnɛyagʻi  
 900. ɛnaʻɛnɛɛmap!ɛnɛyagʻi

The indefinite number between 201 and 299 is gʻāʻxʻsokʻāla being bundle between. The tens between 200 and 289 have the same suffix.

210. ɛnɛʻmxʻsokʻāla  
 220. hāmaʻɛʔtsokʻāla R 997.94; 1055.48.  
 230. hāyuʻdexʻusokʻāla  
 240. hāmoʻxʻusokʻāla  
 250. seʻkʻ!axʻsokʻāla  
 260. q!aʻ!iʻxʻsokʻāla  
 270. ā!ɛboʻxʻusokʻāla  
 280. hāmaʻɛʻɣwenaʻʔtsokʻāla  
 290. ɛnaʻɛnɛmxʻsokʻwagāla

The numerals from 201 to 209 are built on pattern of 101 - 109.

201. ɛnɛʻmme gʻāʻxʻsokʻawaɛyas  
 Those from 211 to 289 may be formed in the same way, p.e.  
 211. ɛnɛʻmagʻiwe gʻāʻxʻsokʻawaɛyas  
 but we find more frequently according to the pattern of 31 etc. and 111.

211. maʻmaʻɛʔtsokʻālasa ɛnem filling in the second decade (of 200) with one.  
 221. yaʻyudɛxʻusokʻālasa ɛnem  
 231. muʻmuxʻusokʻālasa ɛnem  
 241. saʻyakʻ!axʻusokʻālasa ɛnem  
 251. q!aʻq!a!ɛxʻusokʻālasa ɛnem  
 261. ā!ɛboʻxʻusokʻālasa ɛnem  
 271. maʻmaʻɣwenaʻʔtsokʻālasa ɛnem  
 281. ɛnaʻɛnaɛnemxʻsokʻiwagālasa ɛnem

The numbers 291 to 299 are counted as in the last ten of the third hundred.

291. yaʻyudɛxʻup!ɛnɛyagʻalasa ɛnem filling in the third hundred with one.

The indefinite numerals in the higher hundreds are formed in the same principle.

- 301 - 389. maʻmop!ɛnɛyagʻāla  
 401 - 489. saʻyakʻ!ap!ɛnɛyagʻāla etc.

For instance 310 maʻmop!ɛnɛyagʻalasa laɛsto

The last indefinite number in the first thousand is according to the general pattern counted as the tenth hundred.

900. laʻloxɛmxʻɛidalala and  
 901. laʻloxɛmxʻɛidalasa ɛnem

One thousand is loʻxɛmxʻɛid round thing is rolled up. The thousands are:

1000. loʻxɛmxʻɛid  
 2000. maʻʔp!ɛnɛxʻɛid (e loʻxɛmxʻɛid)  
 C III 82.21  
 3000. yuʻduxʻup!ɛnɛxʻɛid  
 4000. moʻp!ɛnɛxʻɛid  
 5000. sɛkʻ!aʻp!ɛnɛxʻɛid  
 6000. q!ɛ!ɛp!ɛnɛxʻɛid  
 7000. ā!ɛboʻp!ɛnɛxʻɛid  
 8000. maʻɣwenaʻʔp!ɛnɛxʻɛid  
 9000. ɛnaʻɛnɛɛmaʻp!ɛnɛxʻɛid  
 10,000. nɛgaʻp!ɛnɛxʻɛid; Distributive  
naɛʻnqap!ɛnɛxʻɛid  
 11,000. ɛnɛʻmagʻiup!ɛna Distributive:  
ɛnaʻɛnɛɛmagʻiup!ɛnɛxʻɛid  
 12,000. maʻɣgʻiʻup!ɛna R 1116.66  
māɛʻmaʻɣgʻiup!ɛnɛxʻɛid

The hundreds in the group 1100 to 1900 are formed with the suffix group -p!ɛnɛyagʻanāla at the side of - times into the woods.

1100. ɛnɛʻmp!ɛnɛyagʻanāla  
 1200. maʻʔp!ɛnɛyaganāla

The hundred between the thousands are built as follows:

2100. ɛnɛʻmp!ɛnɛyagʻigāla = one hundred between  
 2200. maʻʔp!ɛnɛyagʻigāla  
 2300. yuʻduxʻup!ɛnɛyagʻigāla  
 2400. moʻp!ɛnɛyagʻigāla  
 2500. sɛkʻ!aʻp!ɛnɛyagʻigāla  
 2600. q!a!ɛp!ɛnɛyagʻigāla (note accent)  
 2700. ā!ɛboʻp!ɛnɛyagʻigāla  
 2800. maʻɣwenaʻʔp!ɛnɛyagʻigāla  
 2900. ɛnaʻɛnɛɛmaʻp!ɛnɛyagʻigāla

The indefinite numbers over one thousand are:

- 1001 - 1089. gʻiʻnāla being at the side  
 2001 - 2989. gʻāʻxʻsokʻāla (lax maʻʔp!ɛnɛxʻɛid)  
 3001 - 3989. maʻmop!ɛnɛxʻɛidalala  
 4001 - 4989. saʻyakʻ!ap!ɛnɛxʻɛidalala  
 5001 - 5989. q!aʻq!a!ɛp!ɛnɛxʻɛidalala  
 6001 - 6989. ā!ɛboʻp!ɛnɛxʻɛidalala  
 7001 - 7989. maʻmaʻɣwenaʻʔp!ɛnɛxʻɛidalala  
 8001 - 8989. ɛnaʻɛnɛɛmap!ɛnɛxʻɛidalala  
 9001 - 9989. naʻnaqap!ɛnɛxʻɛidalala

The most generalized principles on which the system is built up may be indicated as follows:

- A.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1 - 10 \\ 100 \\ 1000 \end{array} \right\}$  Fundamental numerals
- B.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 20 - 90 \text{ Multiples of } 10 \\ 200 - 900 \text{ Multiples of } 100 \\ 2000 - 9000 \text{ Multiples of } 1000 \end{array} \right\}$
- C.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 11 - 19 \text{ (10 + units) units ahead} \\ 110 - 190 \text{ (100 +) 10s ahead} \\ 1100 - 1900 \text{ (1000 +) hundreds at side} \end{array} \right\}$
- D.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 21 - 29 \text{ (units) between (20 and 30)} \\ 210 - 290 \text{ (10s) between (200 and 300)} \\ 2100 - 2900 \text{ (100s) between (2000 and 3000)} \end{array} \right\}$
- E.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 31 - 99 \text{ the filling of the 4th to 10th} \\ \text{decade by units} \\ 111 - 299 \text{ the filling of the 12th and 30th} \\ \text{decade by units} \\ 301 - 999 \text{ the filling of the 4th to 10th} \\ \text{hundred by the numbers from} \\ \text{1 - 99} \\ 3001 - 9999 \text{ the filling of the 4th to the} \\ \text{10th thousand by the numbers} \\ \text{from 1 - 999.} \end{array} \right\}$
- 101 - 109 100 + 1 - 100 + 9  
201 - 209 200 + 1 - 200 + 9

In regular order this may be represented as follows, using the group numbers given above.

- A. 1 - 10 Fundamental numerals  
C. 11 - 19 (10 +) units ahead  
B. 20 2 round ones going up  
D. 21 - 29 (units) between (20 and 30)  
B. 30 3 round ones going up  
E. 31 - 39 the filling in of the 4th decade by units  
40 - 99 repeats the sequence B, E
- A. 100  
F. 101 - 109 100 + units  
C. 110 (hundred +) 10 ahead  
E. 111 - 119 the filling of the 12th decade by units (120 - 199 repeats the sequence C, E)
- B. 200 two times going to side of house  
F. 201 - 209 200 + units  
D. 210 (ten) between (200 and 300)  
E. 211 - 219 (the filling in of units) between (210 and 220) (220 - 299 repeats sequence D, E)
- B. 300 times three times going to side of house  
E. 301 - 399 the filling in of the fourth hundred by numbers from 1 - 99 (400 - 499 repeats the sequence B, E)
- A. 1000 round one begins to be rolled  
C. 1001 - 1199 (1000) having at the side lower number

- B. 2000 two thousand  
D. 2001 - 2099 (lower numbers) between (2000 and 2100)  
D. 2100 (100) between (2000 and 3000)  
E. 2101 - 2999 filling in third thousand by lower number

- B. 3000 three thousand  
E. 3001 - 3999 filling in the fourth thousand by lower numbers (4000 and higher repeat the sequence B, E)
- 2100 - 2900 - p!ɛnɛyag'igâla times into woods between Indefinite numerals:
- 11 - 19 g'â'g'iwala being ahead  
21 - 29 g'i'g'agâla being between  
101 - 199 g'i'k'sogweg'iu being bundle ahead  
201 - 299 g'âx'sok'âla being bundle between
- Indefinite derived from definite:
- 30 odd to 70 odd -- sgɛmg'ustâla  
80 odd -x'sok'wala (because formed from ninety)  
90 odd la'lak'ɛndala

The blanket count in the potlatch is by fives. The single blankets are counted ɛnɛm, maɛʔ, yu'dɛx, mo in every group of five. The multiples of five are:

- 5 ɛn'ɛmx'usuk<sup>u</sup> (one bundle)  
10 maɛʔtsu'k<sup>u</sup> R 840.1; 841.21  
15 yu'dux'usuk<sup>u</sup>  
20 mo'x'usuk<sup>u</sup>  
25 sek'!a'x'usuk<sup>u</sup>  
30 q!ɛl!ɛk'usu'ku  
35 â!ɛbo'kusuk<sup>u</sup>  
40 maɛʔgwɛna'ʔtsuk<sup>u</sup>  
45 ɛna'ɛnɛmsok!wa  
50 la'k'ɛnd  
55 ɛn'ɛmx'usogweg'iu (= 110)  
60 maɛʔtso'gwɛg'iu C III 302.29 (= 120)  
65 yu'dux'usogweg'iu (=130)  
70 mo'xsogweg'iu (=140)  
75 sek'!a'x'usogweg'iu (=150)  
80 q!â!ɛ!ɛx'uso'gwɛg'iu (=160)  
85 â!ɛbo'x'usogweg'iu (=170)  
90 maɛʔgwɛna'ʔtsogweg'iu (=180)  
95 ɛna'ɛnɛmx'uso'k!wag'iu (=190)  
100 maʔp!ɛ'nɛyag'i (=400)

In counting objects, classifying suffixes are added to the numerals

- =ok<sup>u</sup> person  
-sgɛm round object  
-tɔ!ag long object  
-xsa flat object  
-xla dish, spoon, cradle

These are generally placed preceding the suffixes -g'iu, -(g)âla of the numerical system up to 29, excepting, however, 20 which like all the other tens takes the classifier at the very end. This is presumably due to the original meaning of the ending -sgɛmg'ustâ round over up, which is no longer felt as a form suffix.

Instead of laɛsto ten, numerals with classifiers use nɛqa' straight.



	person	round object	long object	flat object	dishes
1	<u>ɛnɛmo'ku</u>	<u>ɛnɛ'msgɛm</u>			<u>ɛnɛmɛ'xla</u>
2	<u>ɛmɛɛlo'ku</u>	<u>mɛɛ'xtɛ'm</u>			<u>mɛɛ'xɛ'xla</u>
3	<u>yu'duk<sup>u</sup></u>	<u>yu'dux<sup>u</sup>ɛm</u>			<u>yu'dɛxwɛ'xla</u>
4	<u>mok<sup>u</sup></u>	<u>mo'sgɛm</u>			<u>mɛwɛ'xla</u>
5	<u>ɛk'!á'ku</u>	<u>ɛk'!á'sgɛm</u>			<u>ɛk'!á'xla</u>
6	<u>q!á!á'ku</u>	<u>q!ɛ!ɛ'sgɛ'm</u>			<u>q!á!ɛ'xla</u>
7	<u>á!ɛbo'ku</u>	<u>á!ɛbo'sgɛm</u>			<u>á!ɛbɛwɛ'xla</u>
8	<u>mɛɛ'ɣwɛnɛ'lok<sup>u</sup></u>	<u>mɛɛ'ɣwɛnɛ'xtɛm</u>			<u>mɛɛ'ɣwɛnɛ'xɛ'xla</u>
9	<u>ɛnɛɛnɛmo'k!wa</u>	<u>ɛnɛ'ɛnɛmsgɛmɛ</u>			<u>ɛnɛɛnɛmɛ'xlaɛ</u>
10	<u>nɛqá'ku</u>	<u>nɛqá'sgɛm</u>	<u>nɛqá'ts!aq</u>	<u>nɛqá'xsa</u>	<u>nɛqá'xla</u>
11	<u>ɛnɛmo'gwɛg'iu</u>			<u>ɛnɛ'mxsag'iu(xsa)</u>	<u>ɛnɛmɛ'xla'g'iu</u>
21	<u>ɛnɛ'mok'ála</u>	<u>ɛnɛɛnɛ'msgɛmgála</u>	<u>ɛnɛɛnɛ'mts!aqála</u>	<u>ɛnɛɛnɛ'mxsagála(xsa)</u>	<u>ɛnɛ'máx!agála</u>
31		<u>mɛ'musgɛmg'ustálasgɛm</u>			

In the class for flat objects, from 11 on -xsa is repeated at the end, if blankets are referred to. When other flat objects are

counted the terminal -xsa is omitted.

The ending for dishes is -ɛxla after vowels and m, n, l; -xla after other consonants.

## SYNTAX

## PARTS OF SPEECH

Strictly speaking there are only three classes of words: predicative terms, syntactic particles which define the function of the predicative terms, and exclamatory forms. Notwithstanding the occurrence of "nominalizing" suffixes there is no clear cut distinction between noun and verb. Any "verb" preceded by an article is a noun: yɛxá k!wɛs the one who sits on the ground; and any noun with predicative endings is a verb: ɛnɛ'k'ɛdɛ bɛgwa'nɛm that one said, it was the man, bɛgwa'nɛmɛdɛ ɛnɛ'k a it was the man he said. The two forms mean the same.

Stems are neither nominal nor verbal. A division may be made between stems of static and active meaning. Static: bɛk<sup>u</sup>- man, g'ok<sup>u</sup> house, ɛwá'las great; active: mɛx'- to strike with fist, nɛp- to throw a round thing, k!wá to sit, mɛx- to sleep.

When static stems take static suffixes they remain static: g'ó'gwá to be a house owner; t!ɛ'dzɛdzo flat stone; dá'doq!wá!ɛ!g'ɛs watchman; p!ɛ'ɣdɛ'mk'ɛn garment for flying. To this group belong many "nominal" suffixes, the meaning of which can no longer be ascertained: mɛt!ɛnɛ' horse clam (-!ɛnɛ); nɛk!wɛ'ɣ salal berry (!ɣ).

When static stems take active suffixes the stem may become subject or object of the compound: gɛg'a'dɛlku always having wives R 786.3; ɛwá'lasila to make something large (i.e., a great potlatch); bɛx'uts!á'liɣ men are in house; ɛwí'ɛlo! to obtain everything; há'ng'a'ɛliɣ a vessel comes to be on the floor; g'ó'x'ɛwá!is a house comes to be down on open ground C II 60.34; g'ó'x'ɛwá!isa to put a house down on open ground.

When active stems take active suffixes, they remain active: hɛɛm'x'ɛi'd to begin to eat; p!á'x'sod to stretch arms through; bɛxsi'dzɛnd to cut foot; dó'qɛwámas to cause to see.

Some active verbs with static suffixes retain their active character in so far as they take objects:

ɛwí'ɛwɛ!ɛnoxwaxá dzɛ'ngwats!ɛ!ɛ the box-maker (who makes) oil boxes R 519.37; tɛwɛ'ɛnɛnoxwaxá ɛmɛ'lxlo the mountain-goat hunter (who hunts) the mountain goats R 432.3. qáɛs ts!ɛ'x'dɛmɛxɛs mɛ'gwat for the singeing time of his seal R 451.9.

kɛ'ngwáslaxá tsa'k'ɛ use the future place for baking fern roots R 519.37; lax nɛg'a'saxɛs xɛɛ'lasɛwɛ at the place where his box that is being made is being steamed R 75.35; hɛ'ɛmɛs lá yá'loɛatseq that is a place of tying them together R 226.19.

lá'xɛs t!ó'xwɛ!qáɛyaɛnɛɣaxá ná'ɛɛ on account of his wading through the snow C II 20.17; hɛ'ɛmáá'xaxo! ɛnɛ'ɛnɛk'iles dó'x'ɛwá!ɛnɛ-ɣyaxá ɛámdɛ'ɛmá' that, behold, was what he meant, his seeing the sea-eggs C II 156.17.

má'maseq!wayuwaxá mɛɛq!wɛ' means of catching sea-eggs R 494.2; qáɛ'dá ɛmɛ'nyayuwɛ'xá l!axɛxsáɛyɛ for the means of measuring the bottom R 137.27.

lá'ɛmɛn k!ɛs l!ɛ!l!ɛsɛx gɛw'gwagawáɛyɛ I am not a forgetter of the ways CX 185.27.

nɛg'a'ts!áq the receptacle for steaming them R 529.65.

Others become static: k'a'sdɛmɛɣ place in house for shredding cedar bark R 127.42; ná'gats!ɛ drinking vessel III 20.10; q!á'k'ó-lanɛm obtained by obtaining a slave III 136.25; so'yápmut chips (refuse of chopping with axe).

Syntactic particles are dá, xá, g'a with their demonstrative forms g'áda, oxda, ɛdɛ;

xg'ada, xoxda or xwa, xeda more commonly xa; sg'ada, soxda, seda more commonly sa. These may be initial. The reason why they have been combined with the preceding words has been discussed before (p. 236 ff.). They function as demonstratives and indicate at the same time subject, object and instrumental.

Exclamatory terms are expletives like anana' expressing pain, wege' croaking of frog; sa surprise; ena contempt.

Here belong also vocative forms that lose their terminal a of declarative forms: ho'iel listen!, !a'qwag'il oh !a'qwag'ila! and the corresponding emphatic forms ho'elal', !aqwag'ilal'.

### THE SIMPLE SENTENCE

The general principles underlying the structure of the sentence have been discussed in the chapter dealing with the pronoun. It has been shown that on principle the simple sentence containing only pronouns is built up on the sequence: verb, subject, object, instrumental: xwes'i'de-g-s he struck him with it, where g is the pronominal object, s the pronominal instrumental. For our present purpose the demonstrative elements defining the positions as visible or invisible, near speaker, near person addressed, near third person, may be disregarded.

Examples of simple verbs with subject: g'a'x'men I came C II 8.12; wi'g'ilanes'en which way shall I go MS 3.3; e'neg'anux'u we have quarrelled (husband and wife) MS 3.38; g'a'x'ems you came C III 229.22.

Verbs with subject and object, or subject and instrumental:

ne'k'enlaq I said to him CX 12.19; R 714.25; ne'x'leseqe you will say to him MS 9.33; ga'gak'!enlo I shall try to get you to be my wife III 97.4; la'wadenlasek' I have this one for my husband (I am husband owner of him) III 97.20.

When the sentence contains nominal elements the pronominal representatives of subject, object and instrumental are replaced by the pronominal elements which are related to the pronominal forms. The subject which has no pronominal representative is expressed by -eda, a or e, the object by -xa or -x, the instrumental by -sa or -s. These are immediately followed by the noun which takes a connective a before the following pronominal or pronominal element. The structure of the sentence containing nominal elements is, therefore, as though the subject were inserted following the verb, the object after the pronominal -g (changed to -xa or -x), the instrumental following s (changed to sa or -s).

xwes'i'deda begwa'nemaq the man struck him; eyā'laqeda begwa'nemas the man sent him (eyā'laqa takes s for our object);

xwes'i'deda begwa'nemaxa g'enā'nemas the man struck the child with it; yū'seda lē'lqwalā-las'axaxa gwa'xnise the tribes ate dog-salmon with spoon III 133.34; qō't!a'ameda g'ō'kwasa qā'mxwa the house was full of bird's down C II 102.11.

On the whole the combination of the verb with both, object and instrumental, is avoided and, when the object is attached to the verb, the instrumental of the nominal forms of the personal pronoun (p. 258) is used.

qa's enā'xewidex q!o'q!o'nx'dās q!we'xe'dzā'elde yeses me'mx'de and he covered the past throat of his ugly brother-in-law with his (past) bed cover<sup>48</sup>; lā'len k!we'xedol yesg'a'da kwē'xayuk'u I'll strike you with this club C 26:202.84; -xs la'e xwelde'neq yeses nexx'ā'la k'!ā'wayuwa laq when he marks it with his straight-edged knife on it R 66.46; lā'xwē'xwēltbendeq yese's nexx'ā'la k'a'wayuwe laq now he marks each end with his straight-edged knife R 68.69; -xs la'e sm'ns'ideq yese's q!wax'ts!ana'eye when he measures it with his fingers R 146.5.

When the instrumental is attached to the verb, the direct object is changed into an indirect object:

dex'witsa tle'seme laq he drives it in with a stone R 77.75; la'eme' de'gweteweses pelpelqe laq then he drives (strikes) them on top with his hammer R 83.27; nā'xases kwē'xayu la'xes ts!a'eya he threatened with his club his younger brother C 26:202.86.

Since the objectives of the first person, the inclusive and exclusive, are missing, these forms always have indirect objects:

dzō'noq!wadzā q!ā'ze'ede g'a'xen really the Dzonog!wa carried me away C II 120.15; gwa'la he'k'!ala g'axen don't say that to me; g'a'xex'dex hamā'x'ts!ale g'axen he comes to make me ashamed C II 196.10.

### WORD ORDER IN SENTENCES WITH COORDINATE VERBS

Simple verbs with pronouns are comparatively rare in texts, because the auxiliary verbs xa, g'ax, gwal and the intransitive verbs corresponding to our adverbs (ā-, ā'la, k!e'es, lo'ma etc.) are generally used as coordinate verbs in connected discourse. Verbs not preceded by one or the other of these intransitive verbs occur only at the beginning of a new statement, not connected with what precedes.

len ts!ex'ei'da I awoke CX 245.16; k!e'es'en q!ā'lela I don't know.

<sup>48</sup>For the possessive forms see p. 259.

g'a'xen äe'saeyol I come to beg you to...  
 CX 231.34; - len ma'k'elag I am next to him;  
la'les na'naxemelag you will answer him;  
g'a'xemenuxu le'elalol we come inviting you  
 III 66.17; lä x'e'lts!ents he saws off with  
 it R 109.8.

The normal order of verb and nominal subject, object, instrumental and indirect object is the same as that of the pronominal forms. Since nouns may readily be verbalized, either by themselves or by means of suffixes the nominal subject may take initial position for purposes of emphasis, the predicate becoming a coordinate verb.

Following are examples of the normal order:

sne'k'eda begwa'nem g'a'xen said the man to me CX 241.23; - k!wäi'x'eläe xate'tsen la'xes g'okü Xate'tsen was sitting in his house C II 2.1; - do'xewalele q!a'neqelaxwax d'ede'xmot q!e'neme Q!a'neqelakü saw many toilet-sticks (New) C II 192.12; - do'xewalelax tek'!o's he saw deer (New) C II 200.23; - xwe'ngwade q!e'xwaq!anakwas o'emag'elise Q!e'xwaq!anakü had for her child O'emag'elise (Q was child owner of O) III 133.11; - k'e'x'e'deda be'begwanemas the men became afraid of him III 127.21; - kwe'xsideda begwa'nemaxa q!a'sases t!e'l-wagayu the man clubbed the sea-otter with his club.

Cases in which nouns are verbalized without a preceding auxiliary are rare:

qo'loseläe ts!ek!ü Qo'los it is said was a bird C II 80.12; - yikwi'x'eng'ek' this one (i.e., I) was parent of twins in my dream (=eng'a) C III 14.16.

Verbalized with a suffix:

xo'gwemgax'la'släeda g'o'kwela lax...it was the one named Xo'gwemga, it is said, who lived at...III 103.14.

The following examples seem to begin with a nominal subject:

k!wadzä'eya le'lanemsa l!a'se K!wadzä'se was obtained by inviting (guest of) by the bear C II 361.3; - ma'q!wans gega'des la'lanäi'x'alaga heron was wife owner of (had for his wife) woodpecker woman (New) C II 186.22; ts!e'k!wäoxda tsa'xalisela it was a gull that was running along the beach C 26:55.2.

In a third example the subject which consists of two nouns is summarized by he'em: o'emalal'emase lo's wi'g'ustâso'gwi'slakü, he'em g'el begwa'nemaxa qwe'saxa O'emalal'emase and Wi'g'ustâso'gwi'slakü, those were the first men in the distant past C II 96.1.

This is undoubtedly an enumeration of names or in explanation of words:

l!a'q'wag'isla, he'em xa'mä'x'besa kwe'kwekwe l!a'q'wag'isla, that is the highest head Eagle R 820.2; - mä'mtag'isla, yexs la'xwemalax sma'xweyalidze the Mä'mtag'illa, for they have for their head (chief) sma'xweyalidze R 825.93.

With preceding auxiliary the position of the subject is quite free, the noun with the auxiliary, when preceding the predicate, forming a clause coordinated with the following verb.

Order: Auxiliary verb, predicate, subject, object or instrumental:

la'eläe ya'q!eg'axeda äma'syexase then, it is said, spoke the youngest one C II 14.23; - lä äx'e'deda ts!e'da'qaxa xo'elq!we then the woman takes the dishes R 417.81; - g'e'l'emise g'a'xe la'ewenemas and so (when) first (i.e., as soon as) her husband comes R 250.4; - g'e'l'emise gwa'x ts!ex'elts'elmts'ewe x'o'msas as soon as finished being singed his head R 671.4.

Order: Auxiliary verb, subject, predicate, object or instrumental, indirect object. When the object is attached to the verb, the instrumental is separated from it and introduced by the independent yesa'. When the instrumental is attached to the verb the object takes the form of the indirect object laq, lax(a).

lä'da ts!e'da'qe do'qwalag then the woman watches it R 413.71; - ä'misa ts!e'da'qe la he'loxuseäla' la wewex'sealag and so the woman only now breaks in right size now breaks (round thing) it in pieces R 505.31; - he'x'sidaemise gene'mas la la'lalag and so at once his wife now goes to meet him R 405.1; - k!e'seläeda gene'me do'qwela not, it is said, saw (could see) the wife C II 60.22; - lä k'a'dedzotsa negeno'se k!wa'xlo's laq now he puts (the long thing on flat) the straightedge of cedar wood on it R 109.20; - la'eläe ne'kwel'agemaeye kwe'xetses kwe'xayu laq then, it is said, Night-Hunter clubbed him with his club C 26:205.204; - la'len kwe'xsedelol yesg'ada kwe'xayukü I shall club you with this club C 26:202.84.

When a verb has several auxiliary or qualifying verbs, the first one takes the subject pronouns while object or instrumental remain attached to the main verb:

mo'p!enxwas'es k!e's lo'balaleg for four days you will not touch him C II 174.13; - k!e'sxolents wex'e'm'xä'k!wemas' le'xsealax'ents enemo'kwex behold! not we will in vain (fut.) strongly (fut.) advise our friend C II 66.15; - lasments la'l o'xla'xa...we will go carrying on back C II 120.22; - lasme'n e't!edel ä'm'xidex'tsa kwa'g'u'x I'll make fun again of the Kwa'g'u'x.

In subordinate clauses the form expressing subordination is also attached to the first auxiliary or qualifying verb:

yexs lo'omäe e'k'a wi'lkwe when the cedar is very good R 61.37; - le'g'en wa'x yu'dexup!ena la do'q'wag for I went in vain those times looking for it III 29.29; - la'xa k!e'se nexwa'xa at the one that is not too near R 102.5.

## PRONOMINAL SUBJECT AND OBJECT

The transitive verb shows a much firmer cohesion between verb and object than between verb and subject. It has been shown before that whenever two coordinate verbs appear the second one being transitive, the subject of the complex becomes a suffix of the first, intransitive verb, while the second verb retains the object:

la<sup>s</sup>men sne'k'ol I said to you; - len  
na'nax<sup>s</sup>meq I answered him R 724.26; - e'ssas  
do'qwelaxa bex<sup>s</sup>wena'syax ga'nole did you not  
see the soul at night R 724.36.

In the Bella Bella dialect the same phenomenon appears:

wa'la<sup>s</sup>amnogwa la'xsola I go aboard with  
(to) you CV 22.9; - axno'gwa xwe'delxsex's-  
talola else I'll stir you up CV 22.25; -  
k'le'osls do'doq!walenla you will not look  
out for me CV 118.9.

The same phenomenon may be observed in a number of neighboring languages. Thus in Quileute<sup>49</sup> the normal order of transitive verbs with incorporated pronouns is stem, pronominal object, pronominal subject. A qualifying verb, however, attracts the subject:

hoyaso-'o-litc waci siya-gala certainly-fut.  
-you not-doing seeing-me.

The same tendency is found in a number of Coast Salish dialects. In Nanaimo we have:  
lã'x<sup>s</sup>ma'ã matsen<sup>50</sup> I see thee (-ãma thee,  
-tsen I) and e'tsen lã'x<sup>s</sup>ma'ã ma it is I see  
you.

The same usage is found in Lillooet:<sup>51</sup>  
ho'ik<sup>s</sup>kalap tupunc ye punch me; and  
tupunc<sup>s</sup>kalap (-kalap ye, -c me).

In Chehalis<sup>52</sup> the same firm relation between verb and object is found in subordinate clauses which are nominalized, the subject becoming a possessive pronoun:

me'xta en sã'xtse it is not my seeing  
you, i.e., I did not see you (en my; - tse  
thee; me'xta not).

We may feel the intimate relation between verb and object in those English verbs that imply a plurality of object, like: to scatter, to gather, to strew, to assort, combine etc; also to slaughter, to sow (seeds).

When used intransitively, the subject of these verbs becomes a plural. In many Indian languages the intimate relation between verb and object and the close correspondence between object of the transitive verb and the subject of the corresponding intransitive verb is emphasized by the identity of the objective pronoun of transitive verbs and the subjective

pronoun of static verbs; in other cases, of all intransitive verbs.

## APPOSITION

Nominal subject, object, and instrumental may be expressed as appositions introduced by x(a) or yex(a) for subject or object, by s(a) or yēs(a) for the instrumental. These forms are used for emphasis or, more frequently, when clarity requires repetition of the noun which is introduced as an afterthought.

k'le'ssslãe ya'wisnala, yexa dzo'noq!waga-  
bidaswe it is said she did not talk about  
moving, the little dzo'noq!wa woman C II  
74.28.

he'sel ãa'xwela<sup>s</sup>elase, yex xweno'kwasents  
g'i'gãmasē that, it is said, was the one  
he loved, the daughter of our chief  
C II 76.30.

...la'e le'gwe<sup>s</sup>xtodeq yex wa'x'semx'de  
le'xseala<sup>s</sup>yãses o'mpas when they missed  
following it, what was to have been the  
advice of their father C II 12.2.

la'slãe la'ts!olix la'xa g'o'gwix yex'e'da  
xa'xamala then, it is said, went into the  
house into the house (room) on the floor,  
these orphans C II 88.15.

...he'x'sida<sup>s</sup>em do'xwala<sup>s</sup>elaxes weg!wã'xs  
k!wãe ããe la'xa g'o'kwe, yex na'naqasi-  
elakwe C II 386.33 at once he saw his  
sister sitting on the floor in the house,  
that Na'naqasielaku.

...la'e le'slalaxes sa'semexa la'x'de  
xe'xelbo<sup>s</sup>ã then he called his children,  
those pretended to be dead C II 396.11.  
ãa'slãe da'debendxa le'swase yex k!wadzã'li<sup>s</sup>  
tse<sup>s</sup>was...then, it is said, they took by  
the ends the mat, the one that was sat on  
by them C II 396.13.

lax'da<sup>s</sup>xu<sup>s</sup>slãe ãaxts!o'ts la'xa kwawi'ãexa  
t!e'qwap!exlala then, it is said, they  
put them into the hole, the one with  
stones at the rear end C II 396.17.

Terms expressing time are also introduced by xa:

g'e'le<sup>s</sup>mise enax'sidxa gãa'la when day  
light came in the morning C III 144.20;  
la'slãe ãã'xswidxa gãa'la then, it is said, he  
arose in the morning C II 46.5; qãexs  
wi'xst<sup>s</sup>na<sup>s</sup>mãaqexa dzã'qwa for they launched  
them that evening C III 326.28.

## NOMINALIZED VERBS

Verbs preceded by pronominal elements are nominalized.

ãa'x'da<sup>s</sup>xu ho'qewelseda k!wa'lax'de then  
went out those who had been sitting (in  
council) C II 286.19.

le ya'x'sideda a'lã (they) gave up the  
searchers C II 164.17.

<sup>49</sup>Andrade Manuel, Quileute, in F. Boas, Handbook of American Indian Languages III: 279, J. J. Augustin, 1940.

<sup>50</sup>Report of the 60th Meeting British Association for the Advancement of Science, 683, 1890 (Reprint p. 131). It is the surd interdental.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., 686 (Reprint 134).

<sup>52</sup>Int. Jour. Amer. Ling. 8:107, 1933-1935.

la'slāe s'lt!ededa ya'swix'ēla lax tek'!ā's  
then become quiet the movement in his belly  
C 26: 157.57.

k'!e'ssles he'xq!alalex kwa'x'sitso you  
will not allow her being smoked C 26:193.  
90.

A whole clause may be nominalized by a preceding prenominal element:

yex do'gwe'xōā's lema'se the one who had been  
seen by Scab C II 62.3.

sne'x'slāeda (dexweqā' lax tek'!ā's) said  
the one {who had jumped out of his belly}  
C 26:158.81.

la'slāe sne'k'eda ts!ēda'qaxes (la'xā'swenem)  
then, it is said, said the woman to hers  
{who was now husband} C 26:192.44.

sne'x'slāeda dzo'noq!wagabidaswe (la'xa  
k!wase' la'xa swap) said it is said the  
little dzo'noq!wa woman {to the one sitting  
on the ground at the water} C II 52.10.

e'k'laqota'la'slat!a ge'xwestālaxa (wa'x'de  
t!at!ā'laq) he passed over, it is said,  
however Deer {those who tried to wait for  
him} C II 164.16.

la'sxāe q!a'laxa (snemo'xusma swa'bad  
ts!ēda'q g'o'kwela lax ge'ya) then it is  
said he knew the {the one who was water-  
owning woman lived at ge'ya} C II 166.13.

hā'ngwayāsa le'sila g'a'xen the curse of the  
{one who hates me} CX 195.1

spoke a slow good-looking young man R 626.64;

The demonstrative postnominal endings  
are attached to the attribute or, perhaps bet-  
ter, to the first word of the attributive  
complex, because we are not certain whether we  
have "a shaman who is a woman" or "a woman who  
is a shaman;" - "the thin things that are  
roots," or "the roots that are thin."

-xwa swa'lasex ts!ēx'q!o'lem this (2 p.  
demonstrative) great sickness CX 209.22,27.

-xwa q!wens'lax he'g'osox!gwanu'sxu be'ba-  
wešek' be'begwanema this (2d p. dem.)  
which often (2d p. dem.) causes accidents  
to us (1st p. dem.) secular (1st p. dem.)  
men CX 204.6.

g'a'me'seg'ada māe'mots!aqek' ts!ē'lk'!ēxsdesa  
kwe'kwe these (1st p. dem) four to each  
long ones (1st p. dem.) tails of eagles  
R 635.53.

he'semis la'g'ikāsox la he'gwe'g'iloxda a'yex  
begwa'nem that is the reason of this  
(2d p. dem.) now that (3d p. dem.) they  
(2d p. dem.) do thus the recent (2d p. dem.)  
men R 627.100.

dā'xwa sna'xwāqos ā'mē!emaxwa sna'xwa'mex  
qa's gwe'x'sdema look at these (2d p. dem.)  
all your (2d p. dem.) toys the (2d p. dem.)  
all (2d p. dem.) for you kinds of things  
CX 197.1.

#### ATTRIBUTES

Words that express a static condition,  
both nouns and verbs, can be used as attributes.

##### 1. Nouns

ts!ēda'q pexālā' a woman shaman CX  
109.39; 110.2; - ts!a'ts!adageme's xweno'ku a  
girl child CX 196.26; - q!ap!egwats!e g'okū  
assembly-receptacle house CX 92.21; - nā'walakwa  
yā'wix'ē'slats!e super-natural-power winter-  
ceremonial-receptacle (=house) CX 131.26; -  
pe!ā'layewe kwā'layu means of removing fins  
knife R 242.15; - smela'dzasye !!ē'sa skin  
which is the white side R 243.28; - āle'swinoxwe  
be'xswene'snukū the owner of a soul who is a  
sea-hunter R 714.31.

##### 2. Participial verbal forms

!o'bekū ts!ā'sne's roasted fish tail  
R 241.1; - x'ēlxū smē'lsmelq!ēge's dried goat  
meat X 42.22; - ts!o'kwe wa'xwēlawe washed  
water hemlock CX 205.23; - xwe'xwākwe me'imgwat  
the excited seal (society) CX 131.19.

##### 3. Static verbs.

wi'swe!e !!o'p!ek' thin roots CX 204.9;  
- xēsl(e') tāmi'nas dead squirrel CX 195.15,  
30; - ē!ē!kwēla k'a'dzēku bloody shredded  
cedar bark R 649.16; - o'gwe!ē!ēme begwa'nema  
another man R 716.70; - yū'dekwe be'begwanem  
three men CX 253.29; - q!ē'nema snē'mgese many  
Nimkish CX 253.22; - mo'kwe yāe'xwa le!ā'slen-  
oxwa four dancing ghosts X 39.18; - ya'q!ēg'a-  
xēda āwi'nagemala e'x'soxū he'zēa begwa'nema

#### INSTRUMENTAL AND OBJECTIVE

Transitive verbs with direct and indi-  
rect object can be looked at from two points of  
view. The object used in performing an action  
may be considered as the direct object, and the  
other object towards which the action is per-  
formed as the indirect object, or the object  
used in performing an action may be considered  
as an instrument with which an action is per-  
formed on an object. In English these points  
of view can occasionally be expressed: "he  
smeared it on his face," or "he smeared his  
face with it;" "he paid it to him" or "he paid  
him with it." In the intransitive verb, includ-  
ing passives of transitive verbs the two points  
of view appear in terms like "a scar is on his  
forehead" or "his forehead has a scar (on it);"  
"he is paid with it" or "it is paid to him;"  
"he was told about it" or "it was told to him."  
In Kwakiutl the prepositional phrases are more  
strictly indirect objects than in English since  
all are expressed by laq (literally: he goes to  
it) when the locative is away from the speaker  
or speakers, by g'a'xen, g'a'xents, g'a'xenu'sxu  
(literally: he comes to me, us) when it is to-  
wards the speaker or speakers.

Since Kwakiutl transforms the direct ob-  
ject g into the indirect object laq whenever  
the verb takes an instrumental s, these forms  
must be considered as substitutes for the direct  
object, or as a direct object attached to the  
coordinate verb la.

The specific content of our prepositional phrases is expressed in Kwakiutl by the locative suffixes. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that the typical forms of the two aspects described before are generally found with verbs with attached locative suffixes. The intransitive form "it has something on itself" has a medial character.

The distinction of these two aspects is fundamental in Kwakiutl. There is a painstaking distinction whether I talk about the face on which something is, or the something that is on the face; or about the berries which I pour into a vessel, or the vessel into which I pour the berries. "An island which lies in front of a village" and "the village that has an island in front of it" are meticulously distinguished. The two passive forms analogous to "it is paid to me," and "I am paid with it" require distinct forms.

Most verbs without locative suffixes govern the direct object: saxse'deq he takes it; le'e'slalag he invites him, etc.

There are, of course, numerous cases in which usage differs from ours: sne'k'eq he says to him; so'pag he whispers to him.

bās he leaves him; ts!ās he gives it; syala'agas he sends him; k'ie'ssles q'weno'st!e-qāla'xtsek' you will not use this often C II 182.20; ts!e'nkwes he was angry with him C 26:24.3; xwe'ngwades he had a child.

Sometimes we find forms in which, instead of the object q the indirect object laq is used. While often accepted, the direct object is considered the proper form: nep!e'd lax e. he struck E. C:26:134.11; lene'x'eid la'xes t!e'x'ela' he barred his door C 26:134.12; sne'k'e laxes xweno'ku he said to his child.

The number of cases in which the object used in an action is expressed by the instrumentalis is very large. In most of these we rather conceive the action as done to the object. We say "I pour water into the dish." The Kwakiutl prefers "I pour with water into the dish." On account of the use of the indirect object when the verb carries the instrumental, it remains doubtful whether in this case the dish should be considered psychologically as direct or indirect object.

In a limited number of cases the instrumental appears alone, without object. These agree in part with our concept of instrumentality: qasxs k'!e'ssae meqa'ses wexba' for he had not let go of his lance C 26:15.123; g'a'xsa q!a'sa he came with sea otters C II 102.24; lā sm'e'nsaitsa k!waxla'we then he measured with a cedar stick R 64.68. In other cases we should expect an object: lā hā'n'x'aitses hā'nai!em then he shot him (with) his arrow C 26:136.69; lā nepa'sa t!e'sem then he threw (him with) a stone C 26:136.71;

In those cases in which the object is not expressed we find often the point of view changing: lā pax'a'li'zas R 91.98; lā paxsa'li'zag

R 77.87 then he puts it down flat. In the former case we should expect lā pax'a'li'zas laq he puts it down flat on it. In the same way: qas g'a'xe'e hā'ng'ali'zas then he comes and puts down (with) it on the floor R 88.54; lā hā'ng'ali'zag then he puts it down on the floor R 78.91; le saxsa'le'lodeq qas k'at!a'li'zes R 67.53, lae'm saxsa'le'lodeq qas k'at!a'li'zes R 65.8 and he put it down; he'smenuxu la'g'ila sa'sem le'qelas le'gemsox therefore we just name (her) by this name R 714.20; le'qelax le'gemasa begwa'neme he named the names of the men R 726.70.

Even in two consecutive sentences: qas pents!ā'le'sa kweg'ekwe'ge'sne laq. sa'zmise gwa' pents!ā'lagexs la'e qo'tia and he pours (with) the burst salmon-roe into it. And so he just finishes pouring it into (it) when it is full R 236.9.

Normally when the object used in an action is expressed by the instrumental the object towards which the action is directed is denoted by laq for third person, lā second person, g'a'xen, g'a'xents, g'a'xenu'xu first person, inclusive and exclusive:

qas saxts!o'des la'xa xo'q!we and put it into a dish C II 356.15; k'a'gemli'zas laq he put (the dish) in front of him C II 356.18; C 26:151.135; la'slāe ts!ā'sa xegeme laq it is said, she gave him a comb C II 386.2; ne'xases gwa'gwasyaase laq he told him what he had planned C II 294.6; qak'ats te'gwig'end(k'as)es la'(k'ase)x sna'lāats!e and (indeed) she tied it (indeed) on the back of the gull (=daylight receptacle) C II 258.29; la'sme'ses le'qalales a'!asne'm g'a'xen and so you will name me (with) wolf C 26:24.17.

When the locative suffix contains a noun that is the object towards which the action is performed, the indirect object is often omitted. la'sme'da q!w'le'yakwe smo'xselasa legwa' and then the old man loaded the canoe (-xsla) with firewood C 26:14.66; le la'sto'xexsasa legwa' then he stood the firewood aboard in the bailing hole C 26:14.73; qas la'os la'negwi'xen and put me in the corner (-en here instrumental, see p. 233); qas le'beg'e'ndes and spreads it on her back R 197.9.

The indirect object is also omitted when the suffix of the verb contains the object: sa'se'mela'wis la ts!a'qap!esa begwa'nem and so, it is said, they threw each other with the man (i.e., threw the man at each other) C II 108.20.

#### -s Instrumental

In many cases the object used for a purpose is expressed by the instrumental where our concept is rather that something is done to the object. Examples are the following:

qas saxts!o'des la'xa xo'q!we and put it into a dish C II 356.16; - gweqas he poured it C 26:151.134; - k'a'gemli'zas laq he placed (the dish) in front of him C II 356.18; C 26:151.135; - bās he left

him C 26:177.81; - lasme'da q!we'leyakwe  
smo'xus lasa leqwa then the old man  
 loaded the canoe with firewood, or carried  
 aboard the firewood C 26:13.66; -  
le laesto'lexasa leqwa then he stood the  
 firewood aboard in the bailing hold  
 C 26:14.73; - la'elae ts!a'sa xeg'e me laq  
 it is said she gave him a comb C II 386.2;  
 - a'eme'la'wis la ts!a'qap!esa begwa'nem  
 and so, it is said they threw one another  
 with the man (threw the man to one another)  
 C II 108.20; - k!e'ssles q!wend'st!eqala'-  
xtsek' you will not use this often C II  
 182.20; - gak'ats te'gwig'end(k'as)es  
la'(k'as)ex ena'laats!e and she tied it  
 (indeed) on the back of the gull (daylight  
 receptacle) C II 258.29; - la'eme'la'wisa  
ne'xases gwa'gwa'syaa'se laq he told him  
 what he planned C II 294.6.

Instrumentals are not used with verbs  
 containing -o off or its derivatives -wex'tia,  
 -wex'to, -wex'ta, -wex'ts!o.

qwesā'la to peel off R 274.5; - āxo'd to  
 take off C II 10.31; - qāpo'd to remove  
 cover C II 254.33; - sē'lpod to twist off  
 C II 10:23; - qē'lx'od to pull off C II  
 158.7; - dzexo'd to split off CX 283.20.  
lex'swex't!a'la to roll out of woods C III  
 326.17; - āxwex'to'd to take out of canoe  
 R 97.79; C II 254.26; - sepwex't!a'lax'eid  
 to throw out of canoe R 281.6; -  
ela'p!eqols to dig out CX 204.17; -  
k!wak!wetegā to pry out several R 501.43  
 [R 119.10]; - āxwestē'nd to take out of  
 water R 120.12; 142.6; - k'ē'xwesta'la to  
 take (scum) off water R 430.49; -  
āxwex'ts!o'd to take out of R 175.21;  
 183.13; 220.7.

They are also not used with =g'ē'x  
sobe'xeg'end to chop out the inside R 58.27; -  
le'be'xene's to climb (a trunk) C II  
 428.6; - mex'et'o'd to knock at door  
 C II 262.31; - p!ep!elg'ē'lx!a'la to  
 pluck out at hind end R 606.10; -  
xwemdx'mala to set on fire C 26:128.173; -  
sabex'tse'md to scalp R 1016.90; -  
le'mg'ē'xexsa to wedge off from canoe  
 V 356.36; - k!wa'gē'xexsa to split off in  
 canoe V 356.34; - le'mdzex'to to scratch  
 C II 54.4; - te'mgwe'xexsa to chop out of  
 canoe V 357.8; - gē'lbex'ēn to climb III  
 127.14; - k'ē'xētala to shake off R 558.17;  
 - le'ge'x'tse'md to tap surface C II 60.33; -  
le'ge'x'ē'nd to slap body III 149.32; -  
xweldex'ts!ā'la to mark inside R 80.41; -  
xweldex'tse'nes to mark body R 65.109; 66.146;  
 67.165; - xweldex'tse'nd to mark body  
 R 160.30; - t!o'dzē'x'ē'nd to cut along body  
 (passive -so<sup>8</sup>) R 443.3.

Note: In the text a few cases are found  
 where the objective -g or -xa is used with verbs  
 containing -o. These were later corrected by  
 informants as undesirable forms.

When both instrument and object are ex-  
 pressed, the instrument has, of course, the form  
 -s:

qas de'gwe'x'ena'syees la'xa māe'x'ba'sye and  
 he hammers with it on the marking wedge  
 R 83.41 (corrected); also qas yex'ts!e'x'ē'n-  
de's la'xa l!o'psayule and he rubs with it  
 on the tongs R 299.18.

## PASSIVE

When the subject is emphasized by a de-  
 monstrative pronoun the predicate is expressed  
 by a passive.

hē'ēm āxē'x'sdesas that is what he  
 likes, lit. that is his liked one.

hē'emēn lō'ma āxē'x'sdesewe that is  
 what I like very much.

g'āsmē'n k!e'ss āxē'x'sdeso'k' this is  
 what I do not like.

yū'emēn āxē'x'sdesewox<sup>u</sup> that (near you)  
 is what I like.

hē'emak' āxē'x'sdesewe's that (invisible)  
 is what I like.

g'āsmē'k' āxē'x'sdesak' this is what I  
 like.

hē'smaes wel ā'sē'wos that is what was  
 asked by you C III 64.4.

yū'emēsents eā'em la negē'x'ēnō'sē'wox  
 this is our just now being followed (this is the  
 way we are just now following) C III 182.12.

When a noun is the subject it becomes  
 the subject of the passive:

hē'em qex'ēi'tsē'wēda g'ē'nā'nemasa  
ewa'ts!e that is the child bitten by the dog.

hē'emēn dō'gwe'x'eda ēx'pā'maxa that is  
 my seen one it is a good play, i.e., I have  
 seen a good play.

hē'eng'ek' q!ē'lsale āxā's dals in a  
 dream that was my anchoring the place Dals  
 (i.e., in my dream [-eng']) I anchored at Dals)  
 C III 32.29.

Compare:

hē'em qex'ēi'tso'ssa ewa'ts!e he was  
 the one bitten by the dog.

hē'ameda ewa'ts!e qex'ēi'deq that is the  
 dog that bit him.

la'em qex'ēi'deda ewa'ts!ēq now the dog  
 bit him.

## LOCATIVE SUFFIXES

Locative suffixes attached to verbs ex-  
 press a condition. For this reason they express  
 a passive when attached to active verbs.

hā'n'xēn to be shot in body (< hān-k'!ēn);

hā'n!ēxsd to be shot in backside  
 (< hān!-!ēxsd); - bex'sis to be cut in the

foot (< bex-sis); - te'gwex!a'we's to hang  
 on a tree; - k!ē'm'ba to be adzed at end;  
 - hā'n'x'ba to be shot at end; - te'gwix to  
 hang (be hung up) in house.

From these past participles are formed with =ku

hã'nl!exsdãã'ku shot at backside, p.e.

hã'nl!exsdeda ge'was the deer is shot in backside; q!a xa hã'nl!exdãã'ku ge'was he found a deer shot in the backside; - k'!ε'mlbãã'ku something adzed at the end.

These verbs are transitivized by the endings -nd, -d or -a:

hã'nɛ'nd(εq) he shot its body; -

bεxsi'dzεnd(εq) he cut his (another one's) foot; bεxsi'dzεnd he cut his own foot; - te'gwεxlo'd(εq) he hung it up on a tree; - te'gwiɛa(q) he hangs it up in the house.

In reduplicated plural forms the suffix without transitivizing endings may be used as a transitive verb.

hã'nã'nɛ'ba several shoot at an end, (or one at several ends); - ãxε'e'dxes k'!ε'mɛ'ayuwe qa's k'!ε'mk'!ε'mɛ'beεq he takes his adze and adzes the ends V 324.23; - be'bεxba(q) or bεxbe'nd(εq) to cut the ends.

Passives are also formed in regular ways from the singular transitive forms:

q!a'x'sidzεntsoε to be led to one's seat; - hã'nɛ'εntsoε to be shot in body; - k'!ε'mlbεntsoε to be adzed at end.

#### COORDINATION AND SUBORDINATION

Verbs expressing synchronous actions or conditions are used without connective conjunctions.

lã e'dzaqwa ya'q!εg'aɛe qa's εlas now speaking again spoke Qa'sε'εlas III 201.32; 234.43.

le na'naxεme sne'k'a she answered saying... C 26:42.165.

laεme' ãe'dãaga nã'εnaku la'xes g'oku now he went back returning to his house C 26:41.141.

lae la'xεwaɛxsa da'laxεs nεba'yu he arose in the canoe holding his war club C 26:41.107.

la'εlae k'!ε's nã'xsok!wεg'aɛ da'ɛside ge'xwεstãla then, it is said, wisely not made noise laughing Deer (he was not wise-laughing) C II 164.23.

lã sne'k'a dzo'xwaɛasa εnε'mts!age k'waxu'a'εwa than he said holding up one cedar stick.

lã ge'g'εliɛ ãe'dãaganaxwa k'a'k'εtod now it is a long time in the house going back from time to time having long thing between (for a long time she pulls (long thing) back and forth between) R 114.65.

-nã'εnakwa laxεs g'o'kwe wi'k'εlaxεs tayaxaεmanεme she goes home to her house carrying the cedar branches she has obtained R 115.11.

la'εlãe εnε'mxε'εnxela g'o'kwela la'xes ãxεa'se now, it is said, he was one year living at his place C II 62.25.

gwa'ɛεlaεεmεlawisox kwa'ɛkwεx'εido'xda ãwi'εnagwisεx and so, it is said, it was already beginning to burn this world C II 124.31.

he'εεmεlaxãa'wis la'g'iktsox ts!εto'xda t!ε'sεme(x) and so, it is said, it is also that (3d p. dem.) this is the reason they are cracked the rocks (2d p. dem.) C II 126.4.

laεmεs ãwi'lox wa'ɛdemaxsεnts g'i'gãmãsyax it is (2d p. dem. invisible) it is important (2d p. dem.) the word (2d p. dem.) of our chief (2d p. dem.) C II 138.19.

The verbs la to go, g'ax to come, gwa'ɛ to finish, and a few others are commonly used in this connection.

The verb la to go particularly has been so weakened that it may well be called an auxiliary verb which carries the subject pronominal suffix of the sentence:

laεmεn nã'εnakwεxsta I desire to go home C II 78.5.

la'εlãe q!wã'g'aɛe o'mpas then, it is said, his father cried C 26:80.27.

Nevertheless the feeling persists that la means a motion away from, g'ax a motion towards the speaker.

la'x'dεn e'k'!adzεlisaxεnts εna'lax.

g'a'xεmisen ga'gak'!anεmaxg'a...I went to the upper side of our world. And so I come having obtained by trying to get a wife this...

laεmεn la'l ne'ɛaxxεn o'mpaε---g'a'xεmλεn ha'εlabalax ãe'dãaga I shall go and tell my father.--I shall come back quickly C 26:80.20.

g'a'xεm wa'x'g'ada l!ãk' ne'ɛεlesa it comes without purpose this bear appearing on the opening C 26:80.42.

Both la and g'ax are used in transitive forms expressing the indirect object, g'a'xεn to me; g'a'xεnuεxu to us excl.; g'a'xεnts to us incl.; lãl to you; laq to him; laxa, lax (before nouns) to the. When the emphatic -k'as is used it stands before the pronominal object; g'o'kwaxãe g'a'lãse go'sg'imuxwe la'k'asεx xwεte'se they lived the first of the Koskimo at Xwete's C II 296.5 (Koskimo dialect).

Note: The second and third persons indirect object are always formed from la, because the motion is away from the speaker.

g'a'xεlãe εla'q ma'k'aɛa lax lεma'εe they come almost next (quite close) to lεme'ε C II 64.32.

laεmεn la'l do'xswidεxεn εnε'mwot I'll go and see my brother III 201.9.

laεmε'n do'qwεlaq I saw her CX 35.4.

laεmε'sεn hãwa'xεlo and so I pray to you CX 35.15.

g'a'x la'wεls he came going out of the house III 234.18.

g'a'x kwεsx'a'la he came splashing C II 44.15.



g'a'xsmen do'xswalelöl I came seeing you  
CX 35.13.

(compare: g'a'xsems qas g'a'xäos ho'lela  
you came that you came to listen III  
448.8).

g'e'lemise gwa'x hasma'pa and so first he  
finished eating (as soon as he had eaten)  
III 235.21.

le gwa'x ts!ex'a'g now he finished singeing  
them III 235.40.

It has been shown before that in coordinate verbs the first verb carries the subject suffix and that in transitive verbs the second verb retains the object. Practically all modifiers of verbs that are not suffixes are intransitive verbs. For this reason coordinate verbs appear with great frequency in Kwakiutl speech. Examples of these are:

k'lees not; lo'ma very; xe'nlela too much;

e't!ed again; ä'la really; ä just, only;

k'le'eslen gä'xal I shall not be long  
C II 34.13.

k'le'esemäe äe'x'sida'xaxes begwa'nemesaya-  
qos is not in the condition of getting  
well your manhood? C II 54.17.

...xs lo'mäe g'e'lt!a when it is very long  
R 195.23.

...lo'max'sid q!e'k'les they eat very much  
R 199.36.

xe'nlela swä'gvedzä too thick R 225.5.

ä'sem xe'nle'na'kwela it was just getting  
too much CX 28.34; 34.23.

...e't!ed t!a'sgemx'sid again he turned his  
face seaward C II 64.29.

ä'lael le'mxwa it is said it was really dry  
C II 68.9.

la'emäläe ä'lax'sid dze'lxweleda mo'kwe  
enemesma and then thus, it is said, really  
ran the four brothers C II 390.22.

ä'semsla wise yä'xaso'eses wi'wäq!wa and, it  
is said, she was just tamed by her brothers  
C II 396.33.

#### TENSE AND ASPECT

The verb without a specific tense suffix does not imply time. It is used in narrative as well as for the present tense. There are only three purely temporal suffixes: -l for the future, -o'x (we'x) for the remote past and -x'sid for the recent past. A fourth one, -x'de indicates that something has just gone out of existence. Comparison with Bella Bella shows that -x'de is by origin a demonstrative which expresses that something was present and has just gone out of sight. In Kwakiutl it corresponds in many cases to the plusque-parfait.

All other tense suffixes contain an aspect element: -ayadzewa'x used to be, or do, formerly; =a(y)ag'o'x it has been, or done, before (generally "once before").

Tense is expressed both in the verb and the noun.

-l future

sä'mädzälän I am going to play  
C II 142.8; xwä'xwalema'lenlaq I shall play  
cutting it C II 142.9; swä'x'sidadzät!älän lax  
gwä'xäatsen nä'qasye but how shall I do in the  
way of my mind? CX 32.32; dzä'swe'nles you will  
be a (silver) salmon C II 42.27; qä'lälän in-  
deed I shall C II 68.7.

When used in narrative it expresses the future in relation to the past: k'we'nslä he was going to sit under water C II 30.20; qasxs  
le'ma'e lö'sälälaxes g'ö'kwelotaxa gäälähs  
xe'nslä for now he was going to invite his  
tribe in the morning of the next day CX 62.10;  
la'emä' gwä'li'la leqwa' qö's g'äxi now the fire-  
wood was ready in the house when he would come  
CX 27.16.

Generally two coordinate verbs both have future forms: k'!e'sslän q!ä'k'aläq shall I not feel it? CX 5.34; sä't!edlents kwä'xalax-  
xents snemö'kwa's we shall again beat time (for)  
our friend CX 49.21; lä'lēs qiwä'lax'sidöl you  
will dress yourselves CX 62.22; snemö'xusemlēs  
lä'län paxälälöl you alone will be my future  
shaman CX 19.10; k'!e'sslän xe'nlela  
lä'estax'sidel lä'xen nä'walak!wēneslä's I shall  
not too much (fut.) begin to walk about (fut.)  
in my future quality of being supernatural  
C II 34.14; sä'semlän t!ex'usidzen(d)öl qenlös  
dö'xswale'xnu'xölös only I shall pinch your foot  
(fut.) if I should have anything that will be  
seen (i.e., if I should see anything) C II  
46.26; la'esms g'äxi gäälälä gäälälä'xstälax'gen  
mö'kwä'kä' sä'sema now you will come in the  
morning (fut.) and eat as breakfast (fut.) my  
four children C II 392.27; la'emä' k'e'xela'x  
g'ä'xla' eyä'syak'ilagä' nexwä'balax' g'ä'xents  
now will be afraid to come (fut.) the Evil-  
Making-Woman coming near (fut.) to us C 37.18.

There are, however, many exceptions to this rule: la'emä'sen lä'x'äxö'dex nä'sasayas  
sö'k!winasayasöx qen g'ä'xes äxä'la'zqes and so  
I shall go taking out the breath of his body  
and come holding it (fut.) CX 49.12; and by  
contrast in the preceding line: la'emä'sox lä'x'  
le'gadeltsen le'gemk' and so this one will go  
will have as his name this my name CX 49.11.

In subordinate clauses introduced by qas the future is generally expressed in the subordinate clause when it expresses or is conceived as future in relation to the main clause; sä'sem lex'le'lsaxents g'ö'kwelotax xe'nslä  
qents lä'lag'isä' k!wä'xax only invite our tribe  
tomorrow that we now (fut.) sit in council  
(fut.) CX 58.23; g'ä'xsems qas wä'xedeelos  
you come so that you will pity us CX 223.41.

There is, however, great variation in these expressions: sä'lag'asema yä'l!äläx qas  
wä'lemk'asemelos ö'k!ilax qas k'!e'sset!alos  
ö'dzeq!älax qas nexwä'lax'sidäos g'ä'xen  
only take care (fut.) and make an effort (fut.)  
to act well (fut.) that you may not (fut.) do  
wrong (fut.) and come near (pres.) me CX 243.20.

Here the last two are properly considered as synchronous; -xs yāwix'ēlēaxwa ts:lāwē'nxlēx qas' bā'xwetsāmi'xtsox (do not let them know) that he will give a winter ceremonial this (fut.) winter, so that they may remain uninitiated CX 58.15; lā'xswidēlēlag'as qas' g'ā'xeiōs gāa'xstala arise and come to eat breakfast C 26:166.408.

In by far the greater number of cases the subordinate clause does not contain the future: ēē'x'sēm'xlaxāanux' nā'qas'ye qasos snēx'i qas' la'ēos lē'lādēnukwenu'x'ū we should have a good mind (fut. be happy) if you should wish (fut.) to go and have us for your ceremonials C II 362.12; hē'x'sidasēm'wisōx q!wā'xsedēx qas' nēg'ē'x'sideē and so at once (fut.) this will grow to become a mountain C II 386.8; lā'LES k'!ē's lā' qas' hā'mats!āōs you will (go) not obtain(ing) that you are a cannibal dancer C II 428.3; lā'LES sāk'!ā'la'x'xēn ō'mpa qas' sāk'!ā'le'sxes q!ā'k'ō qas' k!wā'xseg'alasē you will ask my father that he ask his slave to sit in front of the house C II 438.14; las'emēn lā'x' lē'ēlāla'x'xēn k'!ē'dē'xā qas' g'ā'xlag'āōs dō'xswalēlagēs I shall go and call my princess that you (may) come to see her R 777.21.

las'ēm and las'mē's and now, and so now, which are commonly used as auxiliary verbs precede most verbal futures. Except in one or two cases they never take the future suffix.

las'ems nā'nax'eme'lo you will answer CX 6.27; las'emēn dō'qwa'masi'ōl I'll make you see CX 25.29; las'ems ā'lak'!a'lā' xā'k!wemas-sidel now you will really get strong C II 56.14; las'ems lā' g'ē'gwadēlēsen g'ō'kwagēn now you will be the house owner of this my house C II 58.10; las'ēm'k' g'ā'x' nē'x'idā'maslexents swā'las lā'das' now he will come (and) will show our great ceremonial CX 60.4; las'mē' lā'x' qā'tse'sta'xā pē'pexala lā'xēq now he will go and invite the shamans after this CX 63.18.

las'mē'sen lā'x'tsek' and so I'll go with this CX 70.21; las'mē's x'ēsēi'delen sā'semas' and so my children will disappear CX 57.28; las'mē'sen ēē't!edēl gwā'gwex'salal lax--- and so now I'll talk again about---CX 59.27; lā'x'das'xūmesox'ū lā' g'ē'g'ō'k!wā'x'nux'utsox--- and so ye will go and have for your camp this ---CX 60.28.

An exception is las'ēmlox qā'gelents snēmō'kwex g'ā'xents and now will (this) go among (i.e., join) us our frined CX 49.42.

sāl else, is not followed by the future: ā'las mē'xada'sx'ūlaxōl else you might be asleep C II 162.12; ā'len k'!eyā's nā'qa else I'll (have) nothing to drink C II 166.25; ā'las wiō'i lā'xes lā'lo!ase'swaōs else you will not obtain yours what is tried to be obtained C II 426.16.

The second person future subject has generally the emphatic form -ōl, except in the auxiliaries which have the regular form -es: las'ems ba'snē'nxēlōl you will be at the lowest

edge X 91.5; lā'x'ts lā'lanā'ilōl you will go as woodpecker C II 190.8; sā'ēmes yā'!ā'lōl you will just take care C II 66.3; CX 78.7 ladzē'ēms lā'xswi(d)lōl now you great one will arise CX 61.27; wā'g'ix' lā' hō'lēlalōl go ahead now you will listen CX 86.36.

When the noun expresses an object not yet in existence it takes the future suffix: qas' g'ā'xāos hō'lēlaxg'ēn wā'x'dēmlek' that you come and listen to this my future speech CX 57.21; gā'xaxs swā'lasaxāā'kwāe lā'dias indeed the Great-One-from-Above will be your ceremonial CX 90.28; hē'ēmis lē'gēm'xtse and this his future name R 965.11; lā'LES mō'p!ēnx-was'sles snā'la'āōs q!ē'qelax' then you will four times days (fut.) your future days (then you will for four days) purify yourself (fut.) CX 87.34.

#### -oX (-wēx) Remote Past

For the use of the two forms see p.

nēmā'g'aslisemo'xēn lēswō'xda nā'ng'āxs g'ā'lāō'xēx smekwē'mg'aslisas' at the same time I long ago (became a man) with the mountains when they first long ago were put down in the world C II 8.3; -xs g'ā'lāō'xēx snā'g'elisents snā'lax when long ago first light came into our world C III 156.17, 28; lā'slāe wāx' hāmsō'x' it is said without result she had been picking berries long ago C II 384.6; la'ō'xas'el qā'ssid lā'gēkwēmā'xas swā'las'wēlas'el l!ā'gēkwā' long ago, it is said, he went wearing a red cedarbark head-ring (his of olden times large, it is said, red cedar bark) C 26:43.13.

With nouns: sēk'!ō'kwē'x'ēlāe lēswā' ts!ā'ts!adagēmō'xā, yexā' nō'last!ēgēmā'syō'xā it is said long ago they were five persons with one long past girl, the long past eldest one C II 384.5; g'ā'xēng'as'ēn ō'mpōwē'xas in my dream my late father came C III 20.11; x'ēs'ns'wēx' yesterday III 31.6.

#### -x'sid Recent Past

This suffix does not occur often in the texts although it is quite common in conversation. It refers to recent past, a few hours, day or even weeks ago.

hā'ēlā gwē'x'se sāk'ē'dex'sid'xents g'ē'lx'sid'xents wā'ēmisas'ya but that one is like the one who took (past) first (past) our fish caught in the river C 26:160.184; lā'x'sid he went III 190.29; qā'ssid x'sid he started on a walk (gas-[x]sid-x'sid); sēx'sid'xents he started spearing.

With nouns: sāk'ēā'ssid'x place where he had been before III 42.4; lā'xēn wā'x'dēm'x'sid'xōl according to my former word to you C III 42.30; -xents lā'ēlene'mas'ēd'xents our former place of playing rolling C II 148.10.

-x'de transition from existence to non-existence

Aspects

yεxg'εn g'ē'k'!āēdzayex'dg'εnūōl for I have been in your insides C II 42.4.

The verbal form has often the value of a plusquelparfait: lasε'mlax'dεslāe wāx'tē'noxūtē'nokwa but now it is said they had without result been punting C II 22.15; εnēx'xs sá'cmēx'dεε mē'xas he said that he had only been asleep C II 110.18; -xa la'x'da hā'msaxa ũ!ō'ũ!εp!ēmase those who had been picking berries C II 384.12; sá'εmx'dεslāe t!ō'sēdbidoε it is said, he had only cut off a little C II 18.22; lasεmē'x'dāxolā q!ā'neqeεlak'ū sā'nēāneg'i-laxa sāvī'nak!wεsaε behold Q!ā'neqeεlak'ū had done mischief to the country C II 6.7.

With nouns: lāe x'εsēī'deda q!ē'nεmx'dε g'ō'kwēla when disappeared the many (who had been there) those living there C II 362.22.

The temporal suffixes are used much more frequently with nouns than with verbs. -x'de is not only used for recently deceased person or something recently destroyed as -ō' is for those dead or destroyed a longer time ago, but it is also applied when for some reason an old relation is discontinued.

-x'de is also used when the destruction is just occurring: sεk'a'xa bεgwā'nεmx'dε they speared those who had been men i.e., they speared (and killed) those who had been men C II 104.28; εē'nεmx'εidεx dā'dεlk'asdhεs they took away (what was no longer) their property C II 104.30; lasε'm hē'g'asεm sāxnō'gwadās sāvī'nagwisdās then they become only owners of their former country C II 104.32; g'ā'g'axel!a ũεlεlā'x'ax'dās ē'k'ilāēye la'e q!ā'laqεxs la'e εē'elē' ē'k'ilεx'dε they tried to come in those who had been relatives of ē'keleε when they knew that the late ē'keleε was now dead C 26:134.13; lasε'm lē'p!itses gεnε'mx'dε then he gambled away his wife (past, i.e., by losing her she became his former wife) C 26:195.172.

=a(y)ag'o' used to have been

yεkwī'la(y)a'g'o' one who has been parent of twin children before R 667.11; yā'qwāago' one who has given (in a potlatch) before C 26:43.205.

-ayadzεswa' used to be, used to do

l'ē'q!enoxwa'yadzεswa' one who used to be a canoe builder R 616.53; la'yadzεswa'εn I used to go long ago; εē'ndεqwa'yadzεswa' used to be mucus of nose M 373.12.

Probably both of these contain the modified element -wε' long ago, although they might also be compounds of a weakening suffix =swa' and =a(y)ak' and -ayas respectively.

The principal aspects express the simple state or action, continuity, and change from one action or state to another.

-a

Verbs in a express the usual single action or continuous state: εmεx'a' to strike with fist; hō'ielā to listen; q!wēla' to live; xεk'la' to stay away; mē'xa to sleep; lε'mxwa dry, to dry; xwε'lsa to be withered; gwē'nta heavy.

Stems of the type cvy contract with terminal -a to ā: dā to wipe; tsā to draw water; those of the type cvw contract to ā: tsiā to give; xā to split wood

x'εid momentaneous and inchoative

-x'εid expresses fundamentally the change from one state into another. It is most commonly used as inchoative in contrast with -a. It is identical in form with the tense suffix -(x')εid.

lā'εlāe sā'p!ededa εnō'lā, hā'εnakwēla sā'pa then, it is said, the elder brother(s) began to skin, they were skinning quickly C II 10.26; lā'εlāe p!εlā'εleda g'εnā'nεm lā'εlāe p!εlεi'daε then, it is said, (was able to fly) was flying the child. Then, it is said, he started to fly C II 98.8; sā'lax'εid ts!εx'q!a' he began really to be sick R 733.6; ts!εx'q!εx'εi'da he began to feel sick R 733.4; sē't!ed pεx'εi'd lā'xu lεgwī'εe. sā'εmise gwā' pεx'a'q he begins again to begin to heat on the fire. And so he finishes recently (he just finishes) heating it R 148.46; sō'p!ed to begin to chop R 145.9, sō'pa to chop R 145.11.

The suffix -x'εid may also be suffixed to other suffixes: lasεstax'εi'd to go into the water III 36.25; gεg'a'dεx'εid to begin to have a wife C II 80.15; hāsmg'ī'lax'εid to begin to give to eat C II 2.5; tē'kwet!idayu it is hung on body M 667.7; lāε'lεx'εid to be about to enter house C II 226.23; sāmxstō'xεwid (door) closes III 77.23; pō'sq!εx'εid to get hungry III 54.5; ō'dzεbax'εid to turn (something) the wrong way III 227.25; gwē'saxstεx'εid sound goes far away M 678.1; nē'εx'ī'εx'εid to show head III 143.10; wā'wal!εx'εid to be ready to pity III 33.6.

-x'εid is also used with verbs ending in -la expressing repeated or continued action: k!εpts!ā'lax'εid to begin the motion of putting (stones) one after another into III 192.39; gā'xstalax'εid to eat breakfast R 209.4; 262.53; gwā'gwεlx'ilax'εid to begin to make gum III 95.29; q!wēsiεlālx'εid to begin to squeeze all over III 40.7; qā'mxālx'εid to squeeze off by moving C II 114.26; ts!εx'q!εmā'lax'εid to begin to have face of one feeling sick R 725.54.

Frequently used with nouns: begwā nēm-x'sid to become a man C II 82.23; t!ē'sēm-x'sid to become a stone.

With numerals, followed by -āḫa it expresses "kinds:" snē'mx'sidaḫa one kind R 236.17; q!ē'x'sidaḫa many kinds C III 312.10.

Followed by -g'ustā: mō'xswid'ustāla four layers up (i.e., one on top of another) R 193.13; followed by -alalēla: mō'xswidalalēla at four places R 119.27; followed by -oyāla: sek'!a'x'sidoeyāla five (bundles) tied in middle R 368.7; also neqā'x'sida'xaliḫ ten (step) down in house R 837.19; maēḫē'daestala two kinds are in water CX 236.37.

Rarely followed by -ala after verbs: k'ā'k'oxswidala to get coql R 462.23.

An exceptional form corresponding to -x'sid in function is !k'!ēg'aḫ, the inchoative !k'!āla to make a noise: yā'q!ent!āla he was talking; yā'q!ēg'aḫ he began to talk R 625.40; seβelx'!ēg'aḫ to begin to sound like metal C II 86.22.

#### -ēla

The suffix -la is used both verbally and nominally. With verbs it expresses actions that imply multiplicity, repetition or continuity. It is used when the action is continued, when the same actor performs the same action several times, when several objects are handled in the same way, or the whole action consists of many parts: g'ō'kwēla to be living in a village C II 6.16; lē dō'xswalēlēda ts!ēdā'qax tēw!x'islakwax la'e lāē'ēla then the woman saw Tēw!x'islakw as he was entering III 24.1; uā'siwala to have sticking on forehead III 24.5; tsē'ts!odala to dip repeatedly into R 579.54; hō'gwexsela they go aboard singly R 211.10; dā'la to carry along R 130.20.

It has been stated before that -la may be followed by -x'sid.

-āḫa to be in the position of performing some action

mexā'ḫa to be in canoes (pl.) III 163.9; mē'nxwāḫa to be smiling C III 2.4; maēḫp!ē'naza (every time) two days CX 246.10; gḫ'ḫa (< gey-āḫa) a long time C II 60.12; sawā'qwaḫa being seated in summer seat R 310.7; sāqā'ḫa being open R 232.11.

#### NEGATIVE

k'!eā's gwe'x'sidāas there is no way = cannot; - k'!eā'sen gwe'x'sidāas dē'nxseda I cannot sing; - lē k'!eā's gwe'x'sidāats āxse'd la'xes le'xlegemiḫe he cannot take (one) of his family names R 787.31; - he'emisexs k'!e'sāe ts!ēsmānoxwa wax and that the river can never disappear X 228.38; - k'!e'sseg'en

snē'k'!enoxu I can never have said that.

With following negation "there is no way of not---"=must; - k'!eā's gwe'x'sidāāsos k'!ees dē'nxseda there is no way for you not to sing, i.e., you must sing; - k'!eā'sen gwe'x'sidāās k'!ees la nā'snakwa I must go home now, laē'm k'!eā's gwe'g'ixats k'!ees swwēna'lēda they have no way of not getting drunk R 551.42.

k'!eyā's k'!ees ha'smaenxg'ada yu'dex-widaḫak'xa neqḫ'la lēswa dza'qwa nothing is not (always is) the season of eating these three kinds, noon and evening R 327.3.

Emphatic positive statements are expressed by negative interrogatives e'ssāe g'ē'lt!āā isn't it long! i.e., it is very long; - e'ssēmas baq!wēḫsi'dāā are you not sleepy! i.e., you are very sleepy, or e'ssēmas baq!wēḫto'xswidāā are you not sleepy in the eyes!; - e'ssmāelents wḫ'g'il mo'mēslk'!alaxtsoq do we not go on talking gratefully to these R 790.51.

k'!eā's nobody, nothing; - laē'm k'!eā's l!ē'sna lasyu laq no oil is put in it R 425.22; - la k'!eā's o'q!wēseq nobody believes him R 730.50; - laē'm k'!eā's maēḫts!axk'!ētsexa o'dekwe sneg'ē'kū k'!ēni'ḫa nobody eats two spits of steamed chiton R 483.63.

ēla'qēem k'!es neqḫ'lag'ila it is almost (not) until noon R 327.11.

#### PLURALITY

Kwakiutl differentiates between a multiplicity of individuals and groups which have each individualities of their own, and plurality objects without individual characteristics. Human beings are considered as each having his or her own individuality and hence, when several are referred to, appear in plural form. The dog as a domestic animal with recognized individual characteristics, personified animals; objects which according to the social institutions of the Kwakiutl have unique characteristics, such as crests, names, and houses are distinguished by a class form and a form for individualistic plurality. Social groups, each of which has its own social characteristics, are also given individualistic plurality.

Objects segregated from others of the same class by specifying adjectives or predicated as having a certain characteristic separating them from others of the same class are pluralized. Either the adjective or predicate is given plural form, or the noun also is pluralized.

In contrast to the principle of separating by morphological devices groups of distinct individuals from single individuals or generalized classes, a pluralization of the subject of an activity is generally avoided, except in so far as actions performed by human beings (and objects possessed by human beings) may be

characterized by a special suffix, or as singular and plural are distinct concepts expressed by different stems.

1. Plurals of terms designating human beings: bē'begwanem men C 26:39.53; 156.2; ts!ē'daq women C II 38.19; C 26:156.22; III 194.25; g'ē'ng'ēnanem children C II 8.23; 14.22; C 26:156.23; q!welsq!wē'le'yaku old persons R 326.31; kaē'lk!wane old woman R 403.22; nō'nemas old men R 403.22; g'ī'g'ēg'āmes chiefs C 26:43.209; lō'laē'lgāmes princesses R 668.40; k!ē'sk!ede princesses C II 112.6; bebā'bak!wa warriors C 26:39.53; ēasyē'lku speakers C III 194.23; g'ī'g'ī lords, C II 88.25; ēa'ēadē (my) dear ones! C II 10.2; xā'xāmala orphans C II 86.14; wī'ūmp father and uncles C II 28.25; ēsēā's your---C II 30.9; ēsēanē's aunts C II 124.31; ēē'be'mp mother and aunts R 468.13; ēnō'ēnēla elder brothers C II 10.17; 14.28; ts!ā'ts!āsyā younger brothers C II 10.2; 16.21; wī'wāq!wa siblings of opposite sex C II 42.17; 140.5; gāgānē'm wives C II 76.22; 104.7; ēnē'ēnemō'ku friends C II 66.17; hā'nhān!ēnoxu hunters C II 96.9; bē'be'ēnagawēs those living farthest below C II 100.9; yū'ēmenuxu ēwāō'ts!ox these are our dogs C 26:84.171.

The usage for q!ā'k'o slave is variable: k'ē'l'xwitsoēlasa q!ā'k'o lō'ēlāeda q!ā'sa it was bought for slaves, it is said, and sea otters C II 102.21; g'ā'xsa q!ā'sa lē'ēwa' q!ā'q!ēk'o they came with sea otters and slaves C II 102.25.

Generally plural forms are used also for human beings with definite and indefinite numerals: mā'ēlō'ku g'ē'ng'ēnānem two children C 26:42.144; mā'ēlō'kwe lō'laē'lgē'māyās nō'mase two princes of the old man III 190.31; mā'ēlō'xū'ēlāeda q!ā'q!ēk'o two slaves C II 104.25 (but also mā'ēlō'xū'ēlāeda q!ā'q!ēk'o twenty slaves, in an enumeration of payments) C II 92.4 [86.1]; q!ē'nem q!ā'q!ēk'o C 26:43.203; q!ē'neme ts!ē'daq C 26:80.7.

A definite rule cannot be given for the use of absolute forms when a plurality of persons is meant. The less they are considered as individuals, the more as a collective group, the more likely we are to find the absolute form: what was carried (a stretcher) by four men (mō'kwe begwā'nem) C II 24.15; mō'xū'ēlāē genē'mas four, it is said, were his wives C II 108.6; mā'ēlō'kwe genē'mas two were his wives C 26:135.65; hōxē'wā'ā'seda begwā'nemāxa wī'na the men who were warriors went up on the roof C II 104.28; hē'gwē'x's q!ē'nemēda begwā'nem as though they were many people III 202.25; ēā'za begwā'nem future people C II 228.21.

2. Terms for animals and inanimate objects are rarely pluralized. Plural forms occur when animals are presented as human beings: memē'gwataēlaxol behold, they were seals! (personified) C II 64.15 (probably better

mē'ēmgwat); x'ix'ō'be Charitonettae (personified) C II 66.1, 9; gē'gā'wina ravens (personified) C II 116.22; g'ī'gāma'ēyasa māā'my'ēnox the chief of the Killerwhales M 666.4 (but also g'ī'gāma'ēyasa mā'xēnoxu M 666.3). In the majority of cases animal names, even when the animals are personified, are in the singular form: alā'ēlenoxu wolves C II 162 passim. In one passage we find a clear distinction between wolves as individuals and the wolves: lā'ēlāē q!ē'nema la ēnemā'dzaqwa gēmō't!aleda ēalā'ēnē'ma then, it is said, many wolves howled all at the same time R 744.50 le sē'nēndxa ēnā'la lē'ēwa' gā'nule gēmō'tēda q!ē'neme ēēalā'ēnē'ma then the whole day and night wolves were howling (singly) R 744.51.

In general, terms for animals conceived collectively have no plural form: hē'xā'ēlō'ē k!ē's k'ē'lemō'xda ēā'la'ēnema it would be right if it were not for the fear of the wolves C II 138.12; hē'x'ēidā'ēmlāwis ēāx'ēi'dēda k!ō'tēls at once, it is said, the salmon (plur.) jumped C II 172.29; mē'lxlō mountain goats (plur.) C II 110.22; dēstō'ēlexu dolphins C II 196.28; xwē'ldzos kelp fish C II 252.20; g'ī'gāma'ēyasa ēalā'ēlenoxu the chief of the wolves CX 57.17.

When accompanied by definite or indefinite numerals the absolute form is also used: mā'ēlō'xū'ēlāeda x'ō'be two ducks C II 66.1; q!ē'nemalaxō'ēda g'ē'la' behold! many grizzly bears C II 108.19; la mō'wēda k!ō'tēla mā'ts!ās four salmon were in it III 184.19; q!ē'neme q!ā'sa C 26:44.21.

3. Inanimate objects are given the plural form whenever, according to the social institutions of the tribe each member of the class has a character of its own: k!ē'k!ē'sō privileges (because all privileges are individually distinct) C II 104.9; g'āx lē'gades lē'le gēmas hē'kdzā'ēqu they came to have the names of the He'kdzāqu C II 84.13; lā'xū'ēwayu salmon weirs (individually important property) C II 104.9 (lā'xū'āyu) C II 116.12; q!ē'mq!ēmdēm songs C II 28.4; sē'xēwēda sē'sēwayu the paddles (individually self-acting) paddled III 203.40; wī'wa rivers C II 168.8; 174.29.

Many objects of daily use that are handled individually or are used individually by different persons are in plural form: lē'mlēmg'āyu wedges (a set of wedges consists of seven of different lengths) R 83.28; yū'dēxū'sēm lā'ē'lxē's three baskets R 214.44 [218.4]; mā'ēlō'xū'ēlāeda lā'ē'lā'ēbata two cedarbark baskets R 228.36; k'ā'k'ēts!ēnaq spoons R 424.14; 457.48; lō'ēlq!wē dishes R 427.40; lō'ēlēwē's mats R 191.53; hē'ēma lō'ēlēwās'ē lē'ēwa' sē'sēwayu g'āx ēāx'ēā'xīlē'mas the mats and paddles were put on the floor (singly) C III 232.8 (in the same way xēxēt'sēm boxes, lā'ē'lā'ēbat C III 232.5).

nā'ng'ē mountains appears regularly as plural (nēnēg'ē' several men of the name nēg'ē' Mountain).

Inanimate objects are commonly used in absolute form with plural meaning: sā'semela g'āē'x̄ xā'qa it is said only bones were on the floor C II 60.11; swī'slasmeda lē'lwelalae'ye lā'wudxes lā'me's, xes g'ō'xude, xes sãō'ku the whole tribe took off their posts, their post houses, their roof boards C II 40.6 [C 26:37. 81; 38. 106]; mā'sto harpoon shafts C 26:48.225; yū'dex'usem sē'wayu three paddles C 26:39.46; g'e'ltseme t!ē'sem long stones R 184.10; q!ō'dzedzewe's t!ēqa' current cakes R 572.8; nex'ewē's blankets C 26:42.163; 44.25; lex'sēm clover roots R 530.70; labēm pegs R 88.51.

There are a great many examples of the use of reduplicated plural forms for inanimate objects. The present usage is uncertain, but we are under the impression that the frequent use of plural forms is due to the influence of English. There are so many cases in which the absolute form is used and we have heard the reduplicated forms so often criticized as unidiomatic that we believe the old grammar would require the absolute form for all plurals in which the single objects are not individualized.

Examples of the use of plural forms for objects that cannot well be conceived as individualized: sāxē'dxa k'!ā'k'!ē'k'!obana she takes the old mats R 556.55 [R 421.62]; mā'xtseme nenā'gats!e R 333.33; na'ngats!e (more common) buckets R 572.4; mō'sgēme mē'menats!e four drums III 182.23; 205.13.

When humans, animals, or inanimate objects have individual characteristics in groups, distinguishing each group from others of the same class, plural forms are used. Evidently the fundamental concept is the same as that which requires the expression of plurality in distinctive individuals of the same class.

kwā'kwēg'u'x̄ the subtribes of the Kwag'u'x̄ R 1109.14; lē'lgwi'x̄da'sxu the subtribes of the Lē'gwi'x̄da'sxu; k'!ō'k'!wē'tela different kinds of salmon C II 174.18; ts!ē'ts!ēk!wē'mas different kinds of shellfish C 26:61.113; ts!ē'xts!ēk'u different kinds of birds R 622.48; q!ēq!ō'mās different kinds of crabs R 622.49; -xs sō'gweqā'lāe lā'xwa lae'lxas'eyex for it is different from these other kinds of baskets R 139.4.

Animal names used as designations for social groups are always in plural form: masā'mx'eno'xu killer whales CX 134.35; mē'semgwat seals R 753.57; gwē'gwedza sparrows CX 98.40.

-x'da'sxu plural of second and third persons of verb and possessives; applicable only to human beings

The suffix expresses plurality of the subject or of the possessor: hē'x'sida'sem yō'seidex'da'sxu at once they ate with spoons

R 579.64; lā'slāe gwā'x̄ hās'mā'pda'sxu then, it is said, they finished eating C II 172.28; lā'slāe dē'nxs'idex'da'sxu then, it is said, they sang C II 166.3.<sup>53</sup>

qas gwā'x̄āatses snemō'xuda'sxwe for the way of being of their friend C II 68.3; la'x'da'sxuse melāe l!ēlē'wex wā'x̄dēmasēs ō'mp-das'xwaq then, it is said, they forgot the words of their father to them C II 386.29; qas hē'xomalāos lā'g'āā lā'xes g'ō'xuda'sxwās that you arrive in time at your house C II 388.24; qaxg'ēn k'!ē'ssek' q!ā'lē'lxag'a ts!ē'x'q!ō'lēmx'-das'xug'as for I do not know the kind of their sickness III 173.22.

When followed by an object or instrumental, non-human, it pluralizes the subject: lā'a'slas lē'lx's'idex'da'sx'xes yā'syats!e then, it is said, they carried up their canoe C II 168.22; lā'slāe smō'xsax'da'sxusa lē'qwa' then they loaded the canoe with the firewood C II 170.20; lā'sāxō'dex'da'sx'xā s'wā'lasē tsē'xla again they take a large ladle R 757.40;

When followed by a personal object or instrumental, it pluralizes either the latter or the subject: lā'laxe hē'x'sida'sem lax hā'mx's'idex'da'sxol then he might at once eat you (pl.) C II 388.27; lā'xāe s'āxē'dxa k'ā'k'ets!ēnagē qas lās ts!ē'wanāē'sas lā'x'da'sxwēg then she takes the spoons and distributes them in order among them R 595.23; la'sēm k'!eyā's pō'x'ālayux'da'sxus now nothing is blown out by them R 584.39; qas g'ā'xāos hō'lē'lxag'ēn wā'x̄dēml'ek' lā'x'da'sxol and come to hear what I shall say to you (pl.) CX 57.21; qaxs q!ā'lē'lx'da'sx'wā'agexs k'!ēs'sāe sãō'msa for they know that he was not an ordinary person CX 78.15.

Plural implied by context  
or form of subject

When context or form expresses plurality of the subject the predicate has generally the absolute form:

las'mē' yexswi'deda mō'kwe ts!ē'daqa now the four women danced R 723.15; lās'mes lē'xēdzodeda lā'lexe'smī'xaxa pāxalā' and so beat time on boards those who beat time next to the shaman R 726.77; lā snā'xwas'em sō'xlā'laxes ...lae'lxas'ye all carry their baskets R 220.5; lā hē'laxa q!ēyō'kwe ts!ēdā'qa qas lās hā'msaq he hires many women to go and pick them R 211.3; la'sēm lāe hāzā'qe g'ī'g'āō'znukwas qe'lgwi'xaxa k!wā'x'lala then, it is said, the parents of the one who lies (sick) in the house pay "the one sitting on the fire" R 705.6; la sē't!ede g'ī'g'āō'znakwasa qe'lgwi'xē āxē'dxa mō'x'widāzā hē'smasya then the parents of the one who lies (sick) in the house take four kinds of food R 705.8; lā s'āxē'deda hās'yā'xaxa k'!ē'plā'slāe

<sup>53</sup>C 26:82.31 snē'x'da'sxwenu'xu thus we (excl.) say, is the only case we have found of -x'da'sxu with a first person; probably an error.

then the young men take the tongs R 434.39; ts!et!ā'loxda nae'ng'ex these mountains made sound of bursting C II 126.1; lā'g'ižtsox ts!etō'xda t!ē'sēmēx therefore these rocks are cracked C II 126.4; (this is the grave of our chief) enē'x'ēlaeda ts!ē'daq said, it is said, the woman C II 136.20.

There is great freedom in this usage; compare with the last example: enē'x'daexuēlāeda wī'wāq!we (thus) said the sisters; ts!ē'lxwa-sō'xda smaεmkālāxs q!wē'q!wēlq!wēltsemāe the crabapples of these islands [when they] are rotten R 213.17.

When the predicate is a verb expressing a condition the verb and sometimes also the nominal subject appear in plural form: lā wī'swēžba now they are thin at the ends R 250.83; lē'nēnxsem they are green R 593.2; enā'xwa qō'qwet!e yū'dexu'seme lae'lxē all the three baskets are full R 214.44; lā gwē'nsg-went!es gē'gēyagēse now their eyes are heavy R 199.38.

qaε pē'lspeleεsa pāa'kwe l!ō'p!ēk'a that (may) be thin the split roots R 117.36; sā'laεmāox yāē'x'oxs hā'nai!εmaqos these your really fast arrows C 26:83.176; lā lεslεkwē'da sā'psbaεyas the other ends are thick R 250.83.

When verbs expressing a condition appear as plural adjectives they are always re-duplicated, while the nouns of which they are attributes are sometimes pluralized, sometimes not:

qaεs lεp!ā'ližleεsa g'ē'lsq'ēldedzεwa žē'swaεya and she spread on the floor long mats R 751.30; ts!ēžts!ēk!wē' xāq short bones R 228.24; ts!ēžts!ēk!wa l!ē!lō'psayu short roasting tongs R 234.5; mō'ts!aqe wī'swēž xōku xεxmes four thin split (pieces of) pine R 230.28.

Transitive and active intransitive verbs are sometimes given plural forms. When the subject is human and the expression of plurality is required, the suffix -x'daεxu is used for second and third persons while the inclusive and exclusive are indicated by the plural endings -ents and -enuεxu.

qaε sā'lak!aleεs t!et!ā'xεεsa and she puts them really upright on the ground R 206.28; qaεs t!et!ā'xbendeεq and he puts stones on each end R 493.10; lā'xāe t!ē't!ēbentseε g'ō'g'ēyuwe lax swā'x'sbeε then he stops with his feet on both ends R 76.47; t!ēt!abεteweda q!wā'sq!waxεla bushes were covered to tops C II 14.14; gwāž dēdē'nxεla they finished singing C III 348.6; dēdag'ēlxūālxes hā'ēnai!εmaxs la'ē dzε'lasε widεxūdaεxwa they took up their arrows following them and ran C II 390.11; -xs g'ā'xāe yī'εyεpēmā'žes yāē'yats!e when their canoes were abreast C III 78.29.

t!εx't!εmag'εxs loops of cradle R 659.17; qεpεqε!a to be upside down on stone R 484.22; lā'x'daεxεlāe swī'εla qē'qet!edxes žē'žk!wisē they all spanned their bows C II 388.34; qa lāεs qēqenxālaq and they wore

them around their necks R 698.38; g'ē'leεmise swī'εla la qē'qenxālxaxa l!ā'gεkwe as soon as they all had their cedarbark rings around their necks R 721.64; qaεs qwē'qwēžtsemεεx yāē'žtsemεε and she unties the covers R 572.8.

Static concepts, used as verbs or adjectives, segregate one group from a larger class and have, therefore, plural forms. Generally the subject, or the noun to which they belong as attributes, does not take plural form:

g'ē'lsq'ēlt!a tεxεmē' long branches R 111.17; g'ē'lsq'ēlt!a dē'xwa long yellow cedar bark R 129.12; sē'sεex' g'ē'leεwa nice canoes (New) C II 310.6; mewē'xla sē'sεek' hā'māa'ts!e four nice food dishes R 718.14; wī'swēžε l!εmq!a thin yew wood (branches) R 154.8.

gεgalεkwe hēhā'εmyats!āxa q!ε'mdzεkwe hooked picking receptacles for salmonberries R 211.5.

g'ē'leεmise enā'xwa qō'qwet!e as soon as all are full R 211.35; lā lεslεkwē'da sāpsba'εyas now the other ends are thick R 250.83.

#### PREPOSITIONS

Almost all our prepositions are expressed by means of locative suffixes: ts!ε'mts!od to point into; swī'εlts!ā it is all in (it) R 401.24; q!ā'εgeε to walk among C III 240.30; g'ēlx'sā to crawl through; gā'xεq!a to step over. As shown before (p. 286) many are more specific than our prepositions, such as -dzo on a flat thing, -xtā on top of a standing long object, -ba at the end of a long, horizontal object; still others contain specific nouns: -x'ts!ana on the hand, -!a on stone, etc.

Exceptions are; g ay- to come from, g'ā'x'ēid la'xa sāwi'εnak!w se (coming) from the ground R 120.21; lax g'a'yaεnakwεlasasa yā'la at the place from which the wind is blowing R 597.22.

gwēy- to go towards: g'ā'bendεx wīžtāεyasa tεxεmaxs lae pax'sendeεq gwēyo'žεla lax sō'xlaεyas she begins from the thin (branch) point of the withe and splits it going towards its butt end R 112.28.

The indirect object "to" is also a verb: laq, lā! to him, to you (literally to go [to] him, you); g'a'xen, g'a'xents, g'a'xenuεxu to me, us (literally, coming [to] me, us).

laq is also used to express "one or several from among:" lā da'x'ēidxa sē'g'agwa lax xā'sεεwe wēna'gwēžā she takes a good one among the split pine R 113.43; lā sāxεē'deda ba'xbakwa'lanux'usi'wεya la'xes l!a'gεk'! then Ba'xubakwalanux'usiwe took some of his red cedar bark C II 34.6; enemo'kwe lax sa'semas one of his children C 26:156.3; enε'mts!aqe la'xa xwa'k!wēna one of the canoes C 26:27.48.

## VOCATIVE

Nouns ending in -a lose their terminal a; those ending in ε lose the ε.

smaxu o sma'xwa!; !a'qwag'il o !a'qwa-g'il!; āla'k'ilayugu o Ala'k'ilayugwa.

g'i'gāme o chief!; q!o'moyεwe o Q!o'moyāsyε.

When the vocative is shouted the ending -ā is added to the word. Those ending in -a change -a to ā; those in -ā accent the terminal ā; those in o change to -εwā; those in -εε and -εweε change to -asyā and -āsyā according to their behavior before vowels.

Siwidā o Siwid!; smaxwā o sma'xwa!; neg'ā o Neg'ā; q!a'k'εwā o slave!; g'i'gāmasyā o chief!; q!omoyāsyā o Q!o'moyāsyε.

## CANNOT

The idea of inability "cannot" is expressed by the phrase "to have no way to:" k'leyā'sεl gwe'x'εidāās lāku la'xes hala'yu it is said none was his way of being strong for his deathbringer C II 186.18; lā k'leyā's gwe'x'εidāās geg'a'deda begwa'nemasε wεq!wa' a man cannot have for his wife his sister R 1345.96; lak'leyā's gwe'x'εidāāse !a'qwag'ila

k'le'sεogwεlxia'laxa !ε'gεm now !a'qwag'ila cannot give away as a marriage gift the name R 1351.78.

## NEVER

Never, is expressed by the verb he'wāxa or more emphatically by the phrase "not to be one who has the quality of -": k'le'sεs k'!o'fεalits!enoxu you (a river) will not be one who has the quality of getting dry in the world (you will never run dry) C 26:4.156; -xs k'le'ssāe qo't!āenoxu mo'qwεlāsa ne'ts!a'syε for not is one who is full the stomach of the codfish (for the stomach of the codfish is never full) R 382.85.

## BEFORE

Before, is expressed by "when he had not:" k'le'ssmāāse B. B. had not come (before B. came) C II 388.25; k'le'ssεmεla'wise nego'εyodxa neg'ā'xs and so they were not half up the mountain when---C II 390.24; -xs k'le'ssēmāe ts!εp!i'ts before he dips it R 325.1; -xs k'le'ssēmāe hā'nx'lanā before they are put on the fire R 327.9; ganuεxu !ε'lanεmaxs k'le'ssēmāe hā'εmx'εi'daε for our guests before they eat C II 396.2.

## APPENDIX 1

## NOTES ON NEWETTEE DIALECT

Information on the Newetsee dialect is very fragmentary. Aside from poetry, the only available material are the texts C II 186-244, collected in 1894. Even at that time the dialect was being superseded by Kwag'už. The material contains many inconsistencies. Still, a number of characteristics may be recognized.

Terminal fricative k sounds are almost always substituted for k stops:

Newetsee

Kwag'už

<u>t!o'sεidεx</u>	<u>t!o'sεidεq</u> he cut it 213.18
<u>q!a'neqεslaxu</u>	<u>q!a'neqεslaku</u> name of culture hero 206.9
<u>g'oxu</u>	<u>g'okū</u> house 192.16
<u>εāwe'g'εx'</u>	<u>εāwe'g'εk'</u> the back here 194.15
<u>εεx'</u>	<u>εek'</u> good 202.9
<u>εnex'</u>	<u>εnek'</u> to say 210.2

The fricative is also retained when pronominal forms follow:

xweno'xwasents- , xweno'kwasents- the child of our 210.10.  
εne'x'εlāe q!a'neqεslaxwaq, εne'x'εlāe q!a'neqεslakwaq said q!a'neqaεlakū to him 206.17.

With other suffixes the terminal k stop reappears:

xwε'ngwad to have a child 212.20.  
εε'lkwaž he held out his tongue 214.18.  
ho'gwεs to go aboard, pl.

In Kwa'g'už many speakers change k stops when followed by consonants to fricatives. This has been described before.

The contractions of εya to ā and of εwo to ā are not as frequent in Newetsee as in Kwag'už. In this respect the dialect resembles the Bella Bella dialect. Examples are:

Newetsee

Kwag'už

<u>x'εya'qa</u>	<u>x'āqa</u> to spray water out of mouth 192.14
<u>nāε'snaxu</u>	<u>nā'εnakū</u> to go home 210.26
<u>hāεl'auxu</u>	<u>hā'l'oxū</u> 204.5
<u>lāo'l</u>	<u>lāi</u> to obtain 210.18
<u>ts!a'εga</u>	<u>ts!ā'qa</u> winter ceremonial



While Kwa'g'uʔ avoids long vowels before n, the ending -an is quite frequent in the Newetsee dialect, although it is not found regularly:

do'gweʔg'an it is seen by me 198.20;  
so'εemlen ts!ā'etsg'an yεsg'an ts!e'k!wegemʔek'  
only will be given to you my bird mask 210.4;  
ge'lag'aε gants εāxe'xg'ants āxso'ε come, that  
we (may) do ours that is being done 196.14;  
εā'εmex' εē'x'q!a'laq'ileg'an only I feel glad  
206.18; wi'εwag'ants our rivers 226.5.

The objective and instrumental forms of the third person demonstrative all seem to have the forms in -en:

yεxε'nts g'i'gāmāεya our chief 210.12;  
yεxεn xweno xwix C II 210.18; xents xa'axe our  
bones 200.17; εē'k!adzaεyεsents εna'lax the  
upper side of our world 210.5; xweno'xwasents  
g'i'gāmāεya the child of our chief 210.20.

Also: le'x'axents (lex'a-xent-s) you  
evidently are the only one.

The Kwag'uʔ suffix -εstend has generally a long a: tεxstā'nd to throw into water  
196.26; qāpstā'nd to pour into water 216.7;  
do'xustā'nd to stretch (line) into water 214.13;  
but also.

wi'εxustε'nd to launch canoe 222.14;  
232.29.

q!εmxūba'nd to bite off point 218.8;  
k!εlεmbā'nd to put at end of tongue 218.20;  
εāxbā'nd to put at end 218.21.

g'exlā'nd to put at hind end 210.25.

wā'āndzos go on! 204.13; 214.9, 17  
(wā'āndzos 204.3); ge'laāndzos give it to me!

202.8; 218.20; ge'laāns give it to me! 200.26;  
204.21; la'āndzos go! 214.23; 236.11.

εā'lān else I--200.5, 9.

do'gweʔan seen by me 208.21.

With short εn we find:

la'lēn I shall go 192.20; lε'nts!es to go down  
to beach 206.4; lats!εxstē'nd to push into  
backside 236.20; ts!εmxstē'nd to point at back-  
side 194.20; l!ε'ng!εxsdē'nd to poke into  
backside 202.15.

εna'laqants our world 218.13.

ma'q!wans 186.22, Kwag'uʔ: ma'q!wens  
C 26:1.19 (a name).

The form -x'de passing from existence  
to non-existence does not take following ā,  
but a:

so'εsdex'dants our past hammer 196.5;  
genε'mx'dāas his past wife 208.10, 16;  
ts!a'εyax'dasek' his past younger brother here  
228.28; dē'damalax'das his provisions 212.7;  
he ʔεεlayux'das her food 212.21.

The pronominal object is -xe instead  
of -xa; -se instead of -sa:

laxε g'εna'nem to the child 212.17;  
la'polaxε k!waxlā'εwe he went into the cedar  
196.18; εāxε'dxe lā'nut he took the wedge  
196.9.

tεxstā'ntse lε'ng!wāεε he threw into  
the water rotten wood 196.26; εāxε'tsoεse  
dε'stoεlux'u it was done by the dolphins 196.30;

It seems that qāoε takes the place of  
qoε if (?)

qāo' hē'εem laxoε if it is that one  
208.22; qāoε εma'εmayaxsalag'ε lislaxe a'da if  
what may have brought our lord 202.20.

## APPENDIX 2

## BELLA BELLA

The problems involved in the irregularities of the pronoun make it desirable to compare briefly the Kwakiutl and Bella Bella systems. A tabular summary of the Bella Bella systems. A tabular summary of the Bella Bella forms, similar to the one given on p. 258 follows.

In addition to the six forms of

Kwakiutl: near 1st, 2d, 3d person, each divided into visible and invisible, we find a form characterised by k'i which indicates "something that was in view but is no longer in view." In meaning it is related to -x'de which in Kwakiutl indicates "passed out of existence," while in Bella Bella it has the same meaning as k'i.

The series of pronominal demonstrative suffixes is missing. Instead the independent demonstratives are used.

## I VERBAL SUFFIXES

Independent Personal Pronouns		Pronominal Suffixes		
		Subject	Object	Instrumental
1st person	<u>nogwa</u> (I)	<u>-nogwa</u> , <u>-εn</u>	<u>-εnla</u>	
Inclusive	<u>no'gwants</u> (we)	<u>-ents</u>	<u>-εnents</u>	
Exclusive	<u>nogwaentku</u> (we)	<u>-entku</u>	<u>-εnentku</u>	
2d person	<u>qso</u> , <u>k'so</u> (thou)	<u>-(a)so</u> , <u>-(a)s</u>	<u>-ol</u>	-s with independent pronouns
3d person			<u>-q</u>	<u>-s</u>

## I a. INDEPENDENT DEMONSTRATIVES

	Visible	Invisible
Near 1st person	<u>g'aqu</u>	<u>g'atsqu</u>
Near 2d person	<u>gaug<sup>u</sup></u>	<u>gauxtsqu</u>
Near 3d person	<u>gequ</u>	<u>getsqu</u>
Removed from presence	<u>qk'equ</u>	

## II. DEMONSTRATIVE SUFFIXES

Demonstratives of	Pronominal	Postnominal	
		Common nouns	Possessive nouns and names
1st p. visible	<u>-k'</u>	<u>-g'axg'a</u>	<u>-g'a</u>
1st p. invisible	<u>-k'ts</u>	<u>-g'atsxg'a</u>	<u>-g'ats</u>
2d p. visible	<u>-ox</u>	<u>-(e)axu</u>	<u>-xu</u>
2d p. invisible	<u>-oxts</u>	<u>-(e)axtsxu</u>	<u>-xuts</u>
3d p. visible	<u>-e</u>	<u>-(e)axa</u>	<u>-a</u>
3d p. invisible	<u>-ets</u>	<u>-(e)atsxe</u>	<u>-ats</u>
Removed from presence	<u>-(a)k'i</u>	<u>(x'de)xg'a</u>	<u>-x'de</u>

## II a PRONOMINAL DEMONSTRATIVE SUFFIXES FOR SUBJECT, OBJECT AND INSTRUMENTAL

The pronominal endings of these are identical with those given in table II, the pronominal endings as given in the first column being suffixed to g- and s- respectively. The only exceptions are the objective 2d p. which has a labialized consonant in place of the o of the pronominal form -qux and -quxts and the objective and instrumental forms for "removed from presence" which are -qk'i and -sk'i.

## POSSESSIVE PRONOUN

The subordinate possessive forms of Bella Bella are

my qs, -eng; our incl. qents; excl. qentk<sup>u</sup>  
 thy -us  
 his -s

The independent forms are

mine nes  
 thine qaus  
 his as

which also take the demonstrative suffixes of table II.

## Transitive Verbs

The combined forms subject-object are given in the following table

## III Transitive Verb

	us	us	thee	him
	me	incl. excl.		
I	---	---	<u>-nogola</u>	<u>-nogwaq<sup>54</sup></u>
we incl.	---	---	---	<u>-nogwentsaq<sup>55</sup></u>
we excl.	---	---	<u>-entgola(?)</u>	
thou	<u>-sonla</u>			

	me <sup>56</sup>	thee
1st p. vis.	<u>-ag'ena</u>	<u>-eg'ola</u>
1st p. invis.	<u>-ax'tsena(?)</u>	<u>-ex'tsola</u>
2d p. vis.	<u>-ogwena</u>	<u>-ogola</u>
2d p. invis.	<u>-ogtsena(?)</u>	<u>-ogtsola</u>
3d p. vis.	<u>-eyena</u>	<u>-eyola</u>
3d p. invis.	<u>-atsena</u>	<u>-etsola</u>
removed from presence	<u>-ak'iyena</u>	<u>-ak'iola</u>

<sup>54</sup>The demonstrative positions for the third person

object are -qk', -qk'ts, -qu, -qu<sup>u</sup>ts(?), -ge, -gets, -qk'i.

<sup>55</sup>Demonstrative for 2d p. visible -soqu,

<sup>56</sup>For inclusive and exclusive substitute -enlents and enlentku for ena.

## III a POSSESSIVES WITH DEMONSTRATIVES

	my (1st form)	my (2d form)	our incl.	our excl.	they
1st p. vis.	<u>qs</u> -- <u>g'a</u>	<u>-g'ens</u>	<u>qants</u> -- <u>g'ents</u>	<u>qantx<sup>u</sup></u> -- <u>g'entx<sup>u</sup></u>	<u>-g'us</u>
1st p. invis.	<u>qs</u> -- <u>g'ats</u>	<u>-g'atsens</u>	<u>qants</u> -- <u>g'atsents</u>	<u>qantx<sup>u</sup></u> -- <u>g'atsentx<sup>u</sup></u>	<u>-g'atsus</u>
2d p. vis.	<u>qs</u> -- <u>ax</u>	<u>-aqens</u>	<u>qants</u> -- <u>aqents</u>	<u>qantx<sup>u</sup></u> -- <u>aqentx<sup>u</sup></u>	<u>-aq<sup>u</sup>s</u>
2d p. invis.	<u>qs</u> -- <u>axts</u>	<u>-aux<sup>u</sup>tsens</u>	<u>qants</u> -- <u>aux<sup>u</sup>tsents</u>	<u>qantx<sup>u</sup></u> -- <u>aux<sup>u</sup>tsentx<sup>u</sup></u>	<u>-ax<sup>u</sup>tsos</u>
3d p. vis.	<u>qs</u> -- <u>a</u>	<u>-ens</u>	<u>qants</u> -- <u>ents</u>	<u>qantx<sup>u</sup></u> -- <u>entx<sup>u</sup></u>	<u>-us</u>
3d p. invis.	<u>qs</u> -- <u>ats</u>	<u>-atsens</u>	<u>qants</u> -- <u>atsents</u>	<u>qantx<sup>u</sup></u> -- <u>atsentx<sup>u</sup></u>	<u>-atsus</u>
Removed from presence	<u>qs</u> -- <u>x'de</u>	<u>-x'dens</u>	<u>qants</u> -- <u>x'dents</u>	<u>qantx<sup>u</sup></u> -- <u>x'dentx<sup>u</sup></u>	<u>-x'dius</u>

## III b HIS

	1st p. vis.	1st p. invis.	2d p. vis.	2d p. invis.	3d p. vis.	3d p. invis.	Removed from presence
1st p. vis.	<u>-g'ask'</u>	<u>-g'ask'ts</u>	<u>-g'asx<sup>u</sup></u>	<u>-g'asx<sup>u</sup>ts</u>	<u>-g'ase</u>	<u>-g'asets</u>	<u>-g'ask'i</u>
1st p. invis.	<u>-g'atsk'</u>	<u>-g'atsk'ts</u>	<u>-g'atsx<sup>u</sup></u>	<u>-g'atsx<sup>u</sup>ts</u>	<u>-g'atse</u>	<u>-g'atsets</u>	<u>-g'atsk'i</u>
2d p. vis.	<u>-axsk'</u>	<u>-axsk'ts</u>	<u>-axsx<sup>u</sup></u>	<u>-axsx<sup>u</sup>ts</u>	<u>-axse</u>	<u>-axsets</u>	<u>-axsk'i</u>
2d p. invis.	<u>-axtsk'</u>	<u>-axtsk'ts</u>	<u>-axtsx<sup>u</sup></u>	<u>-axtsx<sup>u</sup>ts</u>	<u>-axtse</u>	<u>-axtsets</u>	<u>-axtsk'i</u>
3d p. vis.	<u>-ak'</u>	<u>-ak'ts</u>	<u>-ax<sup>u</sup></u>	<u>-ax<sup>u</sup>ts</u>	<u>-e</u>	<u>-ets</u>	<u>-ak'i</u>
3d p. invis.	<u>-atsk'</u>	<u>-atsk'ts</u>	<u>-atsx<sup>u</sup></u>	<u>-atsx<sup>u</sup>ts</u>	<u>-atse</u>	<u>-atsets</u>	<u>-atsk'i</u>
Removed from presence	<u>-x'desk'</u>	<u>-x'desk'ts</u>	<u>-x'desx</u>	<u>-x'desx<sup>u</sup>ts</u>	<u>-x'dese</u>	<u>-x'desets</u>	<u>-x'desk'i</u>

Since the pronominal prefixes are absent in the Bella Bella<sup>57</sup> dialect, -eda and -xa also do not function as pronominal elements. Nominal subject and object are defined by their position, the subject preceding the object.

g'i so'kwala o'mx'eidea q'ā'ndig'a'yase then o'mx'eid took his gun 138.21; - ene x'eile ābokwā'se la'ewenemas said, it is said, her mother to her (the mother's) husband 116.25; - tq'e'laēla xapkwā'xai gāne'mase the youth advised his wife 118.18; - hau'maēla k'le'nawalagaya wi'nayaxe the crab-woman asked the warriors 6.12; - xai'x'eide'la eno'aqawa ānx'i'taxe Noaqawa shaved pitchwood 10.4.

The subject rarely precedes the verb: - g'i ts!ū'mqā'laqsaēya ma'yolas ēwau'ts!em-ēnexwaxe then ts!ū'mqā'laqs gave birth to little dogs. 36.18; - g'i emenu'k pk!wa'la then one man said 84.19; - hā'lx'ainox<sup>u</sup> la'oude gāne'mx'dease a killer whale took away your (removed from presence) wife 104.26.

Sentences with nominal subject and with or without pronominal object or those with nominal object and pronominal subject are formally ambiguous because the pronouns representing the object, viz, subject, are rarely used. Thus we find:

wa'laēle ene'x'eisēla a'sdas then he said to Asdas 74.19; and wa'laēle ene'x'eisēla

gāne'mx'deas then his wife (removed from sight) said 32.2; - g'i pk!wa'la āūmpase he said to his father 124.8.

Ambiguous: la'k'aēla xap!a'yaxai it reached the child, or the child reached it 110.3; - ene'x'eile negwē'mpia'se said his future father-in-law, or said he to his future son-in-law 118.7.

There can be no ambiguity when the object is inanimate, or the verb exclusively intransitive.

g'i awa'ēla so'kwa ma'lo'kwas k!wese'lsdēm k!ēn then she took two wolf garments 46.6; - g'i so'kwala gwē'msase she took her ochre 36.9.

When necessary the object may be specified by the objective pronoun, he'q'āmēla dox'wa'yats q!wēla'g'ēli'laqe that was when q!wēla'g'ēli' saw him 134.19.

The instrumental is generally expressed by yes<sup>58</sup> or by suffixed s.

x'i'ix'ilaqe 'yes q!wēla'staēya'se he blew on her with his water of life 28.6; - tq'e'layuēna 'yes nāple'diā I was advised by the priest 150.2; - ya'xewideēlas le'bayuwase they gambled with his gambling sticks 76.14; - ts!wa'soēlas q!ātsk!wa'xe she was given meat 42.1.

When the object is a pronoun the instrumental is generally expressed by the suffix

<sup>58</sup>Bella Bella has an initial 'y with strong aspiration and slight sonancy. 'y'mas chief; 'yini's a place name.

<sup>57</sup>All references to CV.

s. This combination is rare in Kwakiutl:  
ana'lenogwo'las g'ag I pay you with that; -  
hafa q'ayoloqwenlas qants k'ensei'dayo'ats  
 it was sent to me by the one deserted by  
 us (our deserted one) 42.20.

The function of -xa in its various demonstrative forms is quite different from its use in Kwakiutl. In Kwakiutl its outstanding use is the identification of the object which follows the xa and that of introducing appositions. Its use at the end of the sentence is confined to the rare local laxa at that place or time, in place of the common lag. In Bella Bella it serves as a nominal identifying ending, used in nouns without possessive endings and differentiating between definite and indefinite common nouns and proper names. Thus it performs the function of the "vocalic" and "consonantic" prenominal forms of Kwakiutl, employing the same method of using the vocalic form for the definite, the consonantic form for the indefinite, adding, however, an additional form for proper names. As in Kwakiutl, the indefinite form is also used for nouns preceded by an adjective. The forms are:

Definite      Indefinite      Proper Names

1st p. dem.	-axg'a	-xg'a	-ag'a
2d p. dem.	-axu	-xu	-axu, -au
3d. dem.	-axe (-axai)	-xe (-xai)	-a, -eya

In Bella Bella the adjective precedes the noun as in Kwakiutl, but is followed by -s. I have not found this form in the closely related dialect of Rivers Inlet.

emeno'kwas tqwa'nemxe one man 86.13; 104.17 [124.6]; - mo'kwas xaixa'pkus qgene'mxe four young women 122.15; [108.9]; - ai'g'its kweli'sk'aanaxe nice beach 116.14; - wao'xso'is ewi'k'!enox'gwa some of these

late Wik'!enoxu 126.5. [134.23]; - q'le'k'ask'awas g'e'l'ewa a large canoe 140.14; - no'ag'elax'st!ox'sums tqwa'nem a middle-aged man 142.7; - wo'kwas tqwa'nem several men 148.28; - ai'k'as tqwa'nem-q'ala'emxe a handsome common man 44.12.

Nouns used as qualifying adjectives are used in the same way 'ya'pe wi'semwas xweno'xuse he sent his male child.

-axg'a, -axu, axai representing the three demonstrative positions are used as suffixes to nouns which have no possessive suffix. When the noun is preceded by an adjective the initial a is dropped as in the corresponding prenominal forms in Kwakiutl.

-axg'a; -la'ele q'a'n'zeits'ewela ewi'k'!enox'ox'axg'a then the ewi'k'!enoxu of olden times here were shot 128.6; g'i txela eno'ag'elak'enwas xexa'pgo'z'emene'xwixg'a then she told the eldest one of her late children 148.12.

-axu; g'a xptala la qanqu o'yala'asyaxu la ne'kukwaxai he came into this inlet now at night 128.12; ha, g'ilo'lelaxent he'emasax la li'sax'deaxu chief must have stolen this past food 26.22; emeno'kula q'a'ntkwa la asa'nowas le'eqaaxu one man was shot on the other side of the reef 138.18; qan q'a'ntayos !'a'k'aaux toa'todzisela la qants xwe'sigwesaxu that you shoot this bear that is walking down stream on this our far side 156.4; g'i !a'xweli'lela emeno'kwas xap'kxu then arose in the house one youth 138.4; wa'la'ele awi'la lao'! du'n'ase q'!o'm'enenakw'elag'elisaxu then he obtained the name Q'!o'm'enenakw'elag'elis 122.25.

-axai, -axe: kw'ele'lela no'mask'aauxai la ase'xualisas legwi'x'owaxai an old man was lying on the floor on one side of the fire 98.16; g'a'lem'ele a'qaso' g'o'kwelauta'se eyes wi'nayaxai' first, it is said was reached his tribe by the warriors 96.29; g'i do'x'ewa'ela'la ts!a'gayaxai then he saw a mountain goat 78.10.



Part II

GLOSSARY OF THE SUFFIXES

Because of the central position which the suffixes occupy in Kwakiutl, not only in the morphology but also in the syntax, a dictionary of the suffixes is given here as an appendix to the grammar.

The suffixes are listed alphabetically, the order of the alphabet being:

- ε, a, â, e(i), y, <sup>s</sup>y, â, o(u), w, <sup>s</sup>w
- h
- b, p, p!
- m, <sup>s</sup>m<sup>1</sup>
- d, t, t!
- s
- dz, ts, ts!
- n, <sup>s</sup>n<sup>1</sup>
- g, k, k!
- g<sup>u</sup>(gw), k<sup>u</sup>(kw), k!<sup>u</sup>(k!w)
- g, q, q!
- g<sup>u</sup>(gw), q<sup>u</sup>(qw), q!<sup>u</sup>(q!w)
- x, x<sup>u</sup>(xw), x, x<sup>u</sup>(xw)
- l, <sup>s</sup>l, <sup>z</sup>l
- l, l, l!

Initial vowels are preceded by a weak glottal stop. Since these occur with absolute regularity and are purely mechanical, they have been omitted in printing, (see Grammar page 207).

-εm, =εm, !εm and irregular;  
nominal formative suffix

- εm teXe'm cedar withes (teX-); t!e'sem stone (t!es-; se'Xe'm snake (seX-))
- =εm gwa'dem huckleberries (gwat-); sa'gwe'm fern root (sak<sup>u</sup>-); k!weye'm crew of warriors (k!wes-)
- !εm k!le't!em grass (k!let-); sa'ts!em spring salmon (sas-), a t!em sinew (at-)
- εm irregular: xetse'm box (xes); p!a'Xe'm wool (p!eXk-?); gwe'sye'm whale (gwek<sup>s</sup>); gene'm wife (gek<sup>s</sup>-); wa'Xe'm word, wish (see wax- to wish)

Reconstructed, stems unknown: sle'm berries of *Vaccinium orafolium*; ge'ts!e'm knife of mussel shell; aa'bembem sandpiper; sa'sem children of a couple

=εm diminutive, Reduplication 5

In most cases regular. Apparently words ending in -m cannot take these forms but take the suffix -bido<sup>s</sup> sing., εmenex<sup>u</sup> pl. instead, without reduplication.

A few words have the ending =εm<sup>s</sup> instead of =εm and do not weaken the terminal consonant. A few others beginning with a or ha introduce a glottal stop in place of the full reduplication.

1. ba'bagwem boy C II 94.3; 164.18 (bek<sup>u</sup>-, pl. ba'bebagwem); ts!a'ts!adagem girl C II 50.9; 164.19 (ts!eda'q, pl. ts!a'ts!adagem); ma'madem small horse clams (met-); dza'dzom or dza'xwembido<sup>s</sup>, small cohoes salmon (dza'x<sup>u</sup>); dza'dzom also: small pole (dzo'x<sup>u</sup>-); g'a'g'εlnem<sup>s</sup> little child (g'εnX-); sa'yobem<sup>s</sup> little adze (sop-, pl. se'sayobem); εwa'εwadzem little dog (εwas-, pl. εwa'εwawadzem); l!a'l!enyem little bear (l!ens-, better l!a'bido<sup>s</sup>, pl. l!a'εmenex<sup>u</sup>); ma'max<sup>s</sup>em little killer whale (max-); xa'lewem<sup>s</sup> little mat (Xex<sup>u</sup>-); dza'dzomeg'εm small pole for punting (dzo meg'aX).

2. A few words take reduplication and suffix added to the complete word: l!a'l!abadem small cedar-bark basket (l!a'bat); ga'gaxem a little while C 26:192.57.

3. With ε instead of reduplication: ā'εle'wadzem young spruce (āle'was); ha'εnem (pl. he'sha'εnem) small kettle V 333.30 (han- a vessel is somewhere)

4. Ending in a glottal stop, terminal consonant not weakened; l!a'l!axem<sup>s</sup> (also l!a'l!axembido<sup>s</sup>) small cedar-bark basket (l!ax- stiff) C II 360.19; la'laxem small basket (lex-) R 711.27; C II 366.3; xa'xatsem<sup>s</sup> small box (xes-, xetse'm); ts!a'ts!axsem<sup>s</sup> small roof board (ts!ex<sup>u</sup>se'm); k!a'k!εlxem<sup>s</sup> small thistle (k!ε'lxela); na'nesem<sup>s</sup> a grass; k!a'k!εnem<sup>s</sup> sedge.

=εm passive, instrument (see =ayu, -so<sup>s</sup>)

Used for passive of instrumentals in the same way as =ayu. There seems to be no difference in meaning but =εm occurs more frequently than =ayu after the suffixes =lX, -g'εls, -lis, =xs (ns, qa); perhaps also after certain end consonants le'lεm invited CX 19.9 (leX-). The

<sup>1</sup>In the glossary of suffixes these are treated as a unit as in some cases a suffix appears with or without an initial glottal.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 215 for metathesis; expected form g'a'g'εlnem.  
<sup>3</sup>Note voicing of initial g and z of stem.

use of =ayu with the above mentioned suffixes is exceedingly rare.

hanεmg'a<sup>s</sup>lilεm R 515.24 and hanεmg'-a<sup>s</sup>lilayu III 43.161 kettles put down on floor (han-εm-g'a<sup>s</sup>lilε=). =εm is never found with the forms -x<sup>s</sup>id, -nd, -od, always =ayu.

laεεm being taken in III 92.10, 192.11 (la=εl=); āxε<sup>s</sup>ldzεm put down on ground R 240.13; 777.18 (ax-g'εχ-!s=); k!wεnq!εgεm oil poured among R 417.79; 515.18 (k!wεnq-!qa=); habεndzεm to be dipped under water (hap=ns=); lawεldzεm to be taken out of house R 1009.36 (la-wεls=); k'ayolεm to be driven out R 803.30; 1098.9 (k'ay-wεχ=); εyalagεm to be sent III 102.36; 106.12 (εyařaq=).

With transitive stems: se!ε'm drill R 64.91; 165.63 (seχ-); k'ε!εm fish net C II 104.9 (k'ε!-); εmε'nyεm measure (εmε'nyayu more commonly used with same meaning R 64.85 (εmens-)); abεm peg R 74.22; 88.51 (lap-); q!εnεbεm means of wrapping around (q!εnεp-); k'ε!d'εm payment (means of buying) R 768.8; C II 86.2; 102.27 (also k'ε!wayu R 884.12, C III 98.2).

With intransitive verbs: ts!āngvεm means of making angry (cause?) R 716.78; C II 126.5 ts!εnk<sup>u</sup>-); ts!εnεm means of making sick R 648.16 (ts!εx'-); bεnyεm means of making ashamed C III 250.23 (bens-); da<sup>s</sup>εm means of making one laugh (reason, cause) (daχ-).

-!εm exclusively, according to the character of the stem or the context "real, really" or "just only, common."  
Stem Expansion 3f

A 1. c<sup>v</sup>c, E c<sup>v</sup>c mā<sup>s</sup>εnεm hit with fist and nothing else (mεx<sup>u</sup>-); wā<sup>s</sup>εlεm really in vain, futile (wεχ-); la k'!εm throw, pound with stone and nothing else (lek'-); bε'k!wεm Indian, real man (bεk<sup>u</sup>-); k'!ε't!εmak<sup>u</sup> plaited and nothing else, i.e., undecorated (k'!εt-).

A 2. c<sup>v</sup>m, R cεcεm εwe<sup>s</sup>εwe<sup>s</sup>εne'm really to hide (εwεn-); k'!εk'!ε<sup>s</sup>ne'mx<sup>s</sup>id to get really loose (k'!εn-); mεmε<sup>s</sup>lε'mx<sup>s</sup>id to get really twisted (mεl-); εmε<sup>s</sup>εmε<sup>s</sup>lε'mx<sup>s</sup>id to get really white (εmεl-).

Exceptional: q!wε'la<sup>s</sup>εm really alive (q!wεla')

A 3. c<sup>v</sup>y R c<sup>v</sup>c<sup>v</sup>y q!āq!ā<sup>s</sup>εyε'm really many (q!εy-); bεbε<sup>s</sup>wε'm really to leave (bεw-).

A 4. c<sup>v</sup>b E cεba swε'da<sup>s</sup>εm really cold (εwεd-).

A 5. c<sup>v</sup>c<sup>s</sup> E cεc<sup>s</sup>(a) xā k'!a<sup>s</sup>εm really to stay away (i.e., for good) (xεk'!-).

A 6. c<sup>v</sup>εm E cεc<sup>s</sup>(a) žā'slā<sup>s</sup>εm really dead (žε<sup>s</sup>l-); tsā<sup>s</sup>εmεmx<sup>s</sup>id it begins really to melt (ts!εsm-)

B 1. c<sup>v</sup>c R c<sup>v</sup>c<sup>v</sup>u or c<sup>v</sup> g'εg'ō'k!wεm a house and nothing else (g'ok<sup>u</sup>); ts!εts!ō'εlεm exclusively black (ts!ōχ-); t!ε!ā'q!wεm exclusively red (t!ε!ā!qwa<sup>s</sup>εm<sup>4</sup> exclusively cop-

per; t!ā'qu- red); g'εg'I'q!εm or g'āq!εm a real, thorough chief (g'iq-); xwεxwā'k!wεm just a canoe and nothing else (xwak<sup>u</sup>-); bεbā<sup>s</sup>wεm really to swell (bāx<sup>u</sup>-); pεpa<sup>s</sup>εyεm real flounder (pās-); q!āq!ā'!εm really to know; χεžā'k!wεm really strong (žāk<sup>u</sup>-); nenā ga<sup>s</sup>εyεm real bucket (nāq-as)

B 2. c<sup>v</sup>m R c<sup>v</sup>c<sup>v</sup>m g'εg'a la<sup>s</sup>εm very first (g'al-); q!aq!o'ma<sup>s</sup>εmx<sup>s</sup>id to get really rich (q!om-); xāxā'ma<sup>s</sup>εm really orphan (x-am)

B 4. c<sup>v</sup>b R cεc<sup>v</sup>b(a), c<sup>v</sup> εyε'yu'gwa<sup>s</sup>εm or εyāgwa<sup>s</sup>εm really rain (yogwa)

B 5. c<sup>v</sup>εm R cεc<sup>v</sup>c(a) εwe<sup>s</sup>wā'na'na<sup>s</sup>εmx<sup>s</sup>id to get really poor (wā<sup>s</sup>n-); εwewā'la<sup>s</sup>εm really to stop (εwa<sup>s</sup>l-); xεxā<sup>s</sup>εna<sup>s</sup>εm really naked (xā<sup>s</sup>n-)

C 1. c<sup>v</sup>m R c<sup>v</sup>c<sup>v</sup>m or c<sup>v</sup>m: g'εg'ε'lt!εm really long (g'εlt-) or g'εlt!εm; se se'mts!εm or se'mts!εm a mouth and nothing else (sems); pεpε'lpεlq!εm just a hammer (pε'lpεlq); lε!ε-m<sup>s</sup>wεm really dry (lεmx<sup>u</sup>-)

D c<sup>v</sup>c\*c E cεc\*c; p!ā'dεk'!εmx<sup>s</sup>id it gets really dark (p!εdεk'-); ts!āžk'εm really surprised (ts!εžk'a)

E c<sup>v</sup> R c<sup>v</sup>ca teta<sup>s</sup>εm really to wade (ta)

Pollysyllabic Stems āo'q!wε<sup>s</sup>εyεm really to believe (ō'q!wεs-); abā<sup>s</sup>εyεm real mother (abas-); āwa<sup>s</sup>εyεm real father (āwas-); wā'yo!εm really fail to obtain (wεyō'!); wā'yoq!wεts!εm or wā'yoq!wε<sup>s</sup>εyεm really not be believe (wεyō'q!wεs)

The forms bā'gwane<sup>s</sup>εm just an ordinary man, ts!ā'daq!εm just an ordinary woman, are not generally accepted; bεgwā'ne<sup>s</sup>mq!ala<sup>s</sup>εm and ts!εdā'q!ala<sup>s</sup>εm are preferred.

With other suffixes: lε!axa<sup>s</sup>εm really to go down (la'xa)

I εm R ā<sup>s</sup>εm-: a<sup>s</sup>mažt!ā<sup>s</sup>εm really to recognize

I s: sā'p!εm<soyap!εm exclusively by chopping; la<sup>s</sup>men sā'p!εmx<sup>s</sup>idεxg'ada lεqwa'k' I am using only an axe to chop this firewood.

-εm- plural of locative suffixes

The plural of most locative suffixes is formed by inserting -εm- preceding the suffix. In intransitive verbs it expresses plurality of the subject, in transitive verbs, that of the object. We have not found any examples of -εm- with -ō<sup>s</sup>yo middle, -g'ā'ga bank of river, -g'εg'a inside of hollow object, -g'it body, but with almost all other locative suffixes, excepting those designating parts of the body.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup>l!ā'qwa copper, never loses terminal a.

<sup>5</sup>The suffixes for hand and foot appear with preceding -εm which, however, is derived from -gεm face; q!εk'ε'mx<sup>s</sup>-ts!āna to bite tips of fingers X145.1; hε'wā'gεmx<sup>s</sup>ts!āna with straight ends of fingers; t!ō'pεmx<sup>s</sup>sidεnd to step on toes III 196.6.

Examples are: Intransitive: yep'e'mliž to stand in a row in house C III 244.13; de'xwemē'sta to jump about III 261.32; yā'-qwmg'aels to lie dead on ground III 22.12 (sing. yā'x'wēls); hayē'mg'elīž to do at once in house C III 328.24 (sing. hē'g'ēlīž); tē'-qemwāla to drop off C II 24.4 (sing. tē'qāla); kwā'xwemx'sā holes III 100.29 (sing. kwā'x'usā); lē'm'sta, (sing. lā'sta') to go into water; lā'mosta, (sing. lā'sta') to go up river; lē'x'emx'sā, (sing. lē'x'sā) to roll off from fire; g'iye'mbe's, (sing. g'i'be's) to be on point; lē'mxsa, (sing. lā'xsa) to go aboard.

Transitive: nē'xemxsa to pull aboard many III 348.4 (sing. obj. nē'xexsa); āxemā'xod to put down many R 252.16 (sing. obj. āxā'xod); t!ō'semwāla to cut off many R 1135.12 (sing. obj. t!osā'la); nā'semk'ē'yend to cover tops (sing. obj. nā'sē'yend); k'ēye'mx'sod R 170.53 (sing. obj. k'ē'x'sod) to carve through; āxmdzō'd, (sing. obj. āxēdzō'd) to put on a flat thing; axē'msgēmd, (sing. obj. āxē'md) to put on a round thing; mōkwemg'āa'lelod to tie above pl. obj. R 137.40 (mōx'walelod sing. obj. R 138.44); ēnā'k'amo'sēla to pass words from one to another C III 23.

The suffixes -lis, -liž, -ēls, ēla, -xēxs, on an open place, in the house, on the ground, on stone, in a canoe, also with preceding -g'ē- or -g'a's expressing movement or result of movement, form their plurals with -em-. The forms expressing position =is, =iž, -is, -ia (not including =xs) never take the plural -em- but reduplicate with insertion of x' following the first syllable.

Monosyllabic verbs in ā retain ā when the suffix begins with a vowel: lā'xa, pl. lā'maxa to go down; lā'ewiž, pl. lā'mawiž to go across; lā'tosēla, pl. lā'matosēla to go downriver; gwā'ēsta, pl. gwā'mēsta to turn down river.

-g'iu forms plurals with -em- when it means "bow of canoe," or "canoe heading," apparently not with the meaning "forehead." In these cases it has the form -ag'iu: gwā'g'iwaž, pl. gwā'mag'iwaž heading that way R 212.12; gwā'sag'iwaž, pl. gwā'semag'iwaž heading this way; g'ā'lag'iwaž, pl. g'ā'lēmag'iwaž leader III 8.6.

=ema, -ēma to play, a little, Reduplication 5

After voiceless consonants =ema, after vowels and voiced or glottalized consonants -ēma; always with a reduplication. Evidently related to =em diminutive (p. 301).

1. After voiceless consonants: dza'dzamedzema to play burying on beach C II 138.15 (dzem=es); ya'yawa'bema to play sailing about (yawap-); sa'sewema to play paddling (sex<sup>u</sup>-); k'!a'k'!ādema to play weaving mats (k'!at-); lā'lenema to play rolling C II 146.13 [148.10] (lex-); xwā'xwāema to play

cutting fish C II 142.9 (xwā-); lā'xawī'lema to play with fire (lēgwīž).

2. After vowels and voiced or glottalized consonants: wa'wāada<sup>ema</sup> to play having a sweetheart (wā'ad); ya'yenk'!ēma to play with sling (yenk'!); k'!a'k'!ēma to play carving (k'!a-); wa'wina<sup>ema</sup> to play war (wina); ya'yulasma to play shooting rapids and going down river with current; ta'teno<sup>ema</sup> to play poling canoe (tēno); dā'den<sup>ema</sup> to pull a little (dēn-).

Special meanings: ma<sup>ema</sup>mexmala to be sleepy; R 1185.23; ma<sup>ema</sup>mexmg'elīž to get sleepy in house; qa'qayema to learn to walk C II 94.22 (qas-)

Irregular formation: ma<sup>ema</sup>mex<sup>ema</sup> to pretend to be asleep; ma<sup>ema</sup>mex<sup>ema</sup>mx'<sup>ema</sup>id to take a nap R 1185.23 (mē'xabož a game, to play sleeping)

See also irregular forms under -!a to try to, to ready to

-!em<sup>ema</sup>ya cheek; (see -!os)

pe!ē'm<sup>ema</sup>ye<sup>s</sup>, cheek fin of halibut R 242.20; g'ēp!ē'm<sup>ema</sup>yend to tuck in cheek; a<sup>ema</sup>wē'mye<sup>s</sup> cheek (also a<sup>ema</sup>wo-dze<sup>s</sup>), side of bow of canoe C 26: 59.27; !!aq!wem<sup>ema</sup>ya red cheek (also !!a'q!os); ts!o'ēlēm<sup>ema</sup>ya black cheek; ha'n!ēm<sup>ema</sup>ya to be shot in cheek; --lē'm<sup>ema</sup>wem<sup>ema</sup>ya dry cheek (lēm<sup>u</sup>); lā'x<sup>u</sup>s<sup>ema</sup>m<sup>ema</sup>ya open sore on cheek (also lā'x<sup>u</sup>s<sup>ema</sup>aem<sup>ema</sup>ya, lā'x<sup>u</sup>sa); ēwā'dzo'wem<sup>ema</sup>ya wide cheek (ēwadzo)

-!emk'a one at a time; usually used with numerals in distributive form

ēnā'x'ēnem<sup>ema</sup>emk'a one at a time; ēnā'x'ēnem<sup>ema</sup>k'!wemk'a one man at a time; hāma'x'ts!aq!ē'mk'a two long things one at a time; ya'yu'dux<sup>u</sup>ts!aq!ē'mk'a three long things ---; q!ā'q!a<sup>ema</sup>mk'a many ---; q!ā'xq!ets!a-q!ē'mk'a many long things ---; awā'wā'ē'mk'a a large one at a time R 700.23; ā'm<sup>ema</sup>āma<sup>ema</sup>ya<sup>ema</sup>emk'a a small one at a time; hā<sup>ema</sup>ya'x<sup>ema</sup>ē'mk'a enough at a time; ho<sup>ema</sup>lā'ēl<sup>ema</sup>emk'a a few at a time

Irregular, and doubtful whether belonging here: nā'qemk'a right at the same time CX 39.38; 84,23; C 26:67.23 (nēq-)

ēwā'ēlēm<sup>ema</sup>k'a to try hard; ēwā'ēlēm<sup>ema</sup>x'sida<sup>s</sup> nē'x'ed<sup>ex</sup> pull hard

-ēs belonging to (see -dzēs)

g'ē'n!ēs--- children; ts!ēts!exēs--- winter ceremonial

Spirantizing terminal k<sup>u</sup> and q: bēxwē's--- man (bek<sup>u</sup>-); g'ō'xwēs--- house (g'ōk<sup>u</sup>); !!ā'!!axwēs--- region out at sea; gwā'ēnaxwēs to country down river (gwā'naq-); ts!ēdā'xēs ---woman (ts!ēdaq)



Irregular: ᵑnē'lx'ēs---up river, south;  
bā'xwēdzēs---secular season, person (probably  
bā'xwēs-dzēs)

All these examples can also be formed  
from the complete noun with the ending -dzēs;  
but not all with -dzēs can substitute -ēs.

=ēs continuously, all the time

-s after m, n

Stem Expansion 4

yēyē'xwēs dance all the time (yēx<sup>u</sup>);  
dēda'ēzēs laugh---; yēyēyā'g'ēs bad weather  
---R 253.14; 637.29; yēyēyō'gwēs rain---  
(yōy<sup>u</sup>); yēyō's wind---(yōx<sup>u</sup>); wēwō'gwēs  
bark---(wōk<sup>u</sup>); mēmō'xēs sleep---(mēx-);  
p!ēp!ēlxēs foggy---(p!ēlx-); lēlē'mxwēs dry  
weather---C II 334.5 (lēm<sup>x</sup>); q!āq!ō'gwēs  
calm---(q!ōq<sup>u</sup>); a'ēlē'xwēs sea hunting---  
(ālē'x<sup>u</sup>); ā'ā'mlēxwēs staying at home---  
(āmlēx<sup>u</sup>).

ēwē'wē'ns hiding---(ēwēn-); lēlē'ms  
scabby---(lēm-).

Irregular: nēnā'gēs drink---(nāq-).

-!ēs excelling in the use of senses,  
always in some bodily or mental  
condition (compare -q!ēs and -ts!ās)  
Stem Expansion 3f (Irregular)

A 1. cvc E cvc

gā'k!ēs impudent woman 4081.4 (gēk'-);

bā'k!wēs impudent man (bēk<sup>u</sup>).

R qēcāc :

p!ē'p!āq!ēs one with keen sense of taste  
(p!ēq-); ēmē'ēmos greedy to own property  
(ēmēx<sup>u</sup>).

A 2. cvm R cvmcā:

l!ē'l!ās forgetful CX 185.27; s!ē'nēyas ex-  
pert in planning (sēn-).

B 1. cvc R cvcvc:

dō'dēq!wēs one with keen sight (cf. dō'x<sup>u</sup>ts!ās  
prophet) (dōq<sup>u</sup>); mē'mts!ēs one with keen  
sense of smell (mēs-); p!ē'p!ēyo'ēs sensitive  
(p!ē'p!ēws < p!ē'p!ēx<sup>u</sup>ēs; < pēx<sup>u</sup>).

cvc stable:

lē'k!wēs liar (lēk<sup>u</sup>).

I v.

ā'wē'lq!ēs greedy, avaricious III 118.93  
(āwēlq-); ā'ē'xent!ēs always menstruating  
C 26:181.233 (ē'xent-).

=ēn, -ēn nominal ending

yā'dēn rattle (yāt-); k!wēxēdē'n  
square rattle (k!wēxēt-); hāno'n humpback  
salmon (hānx<sup>u</sup>); t!ēgwē'n flat bow canoe  
R 83.56; dza'xwēn olachen (dzax<sup>u</sup>); dzē'wē'n  
silver salmon (dzēx<sup>u</sup>).

Apparently compounded: lē'slē'n mosqui-  
to (lēs-); ts!ets!ēsg'ēn grizzly bear (ts!ēs-

small grizzly bear, pig); xēq!ēstē'n seaweed  
R 185.15, 292.2 (xēq-).

Doubtful: qēqē'tēn gulches; ts!ets!ēn  
rapids.

-ēne<sup>s</sup> to go to visit relatives or home

gēk'ēne<sup>s</sup> to go to visit wife (gēk'-);  
g'ō'kwēne<sup>s</sup> to go to visit father-in-law  
(g'ōk<sup>u</sup> house); ā'sēne<sup>s</sup>---father (āwas-);  
ābā'sēne<sup>s</sup>---mother; gā'gasēne<sup>s</sup>---grandmother;  
gā'gēmpēne<sup>s</sup>---grandfather; wēq!wā'sēne<sup>s</sup>---a  
sibling of opposite sex; nēgwē'mpēne<sup>s</sup>---parents  
or children-in-law; l!ē'tēne<sup>s</sup>---sweetheart.

=ēns found unexpectedly (see =ag'ēns)

Stem Expansion 2

cvc E cvc. bā'gwēs visitor III 150.42;  
154.32 (bēk-); pā'wēns found afloat (pēx<sup>u</sup>).

g'ā'wēns canoe found adrift (g'ēxā')

cvc stable: k!ē'wēns an escaped slave  
found X 8.42; 197.5 (k'ēx<sup>u</sup>); xē'ēmēns game  
found dead; xē'ēmē'nsēla to find---accidentally  
(xē'ēm-).

k!wā'ēns found sitting (only for devil-  
fish that is not under stones).

=ēnsa down in throat; (see

=ēnsa under water)

x'ēdē'nsēla to breathe in C 26:154.128;  
nā'qā'sēmēnsēla to eat without trouble CX 134.32  
(nēq-); lā'gwēnsa to push down into throat.

lē'ndzēm to go down throat; tō'bēndzēm  
speck in throat

=ēnsa under water, in deep water (see

=ēnsa down in throat)

x'ē'mē'nsa to snare under water;

yēnē'nsa to go down quickly into deep water  
(yēx<sup>u</sup>); nā'nagēnsa straight down into water  
(nēq-); gēyē'nsēla long under water R. 182.26;  
[C 26:86.37; 209.385; 214.86] (gēy-);  
hāyē'nsēla to go right down C II 6.2; lā'wēnsa  
to stand in deep water (lāx<sup>u</sup>); ē'wēnsa to go  
down slowly (ōy-); pē'lg'ēnsa flat thing sinks  
(pēlk'-); l!ēngē'nsa to poke under water  
(l!ēnqā'); ē'wā'ēlēsēlas draft of canoe, depth  
of water (ē'wā'ēl-).

ē'wā'ēwādēsēlas length of time of stay  
under water (ē'wā'ēwas-).

-ēnts!ēs down to beach

nēq'ēnts!ēs straight down to beach (in  
front of houses) III 138.35; lē'nts!ēsēla to  
go---III 252.11; hō'qwēnts!ēs to go---pl. III

179.21; dze lxwents!es to run---; tã'odents!es to take---III387.8 (tew-od-); q!wεlex nts!es to come back to life C 26:98.167.

-εng'a in a dream (see -x'st!ãak<sup>u</sup>)

laεng'a in a dream it was seen that I went X 173.40; q!e nεmεng'a many in a dream C III 32.1; g'o'x<sup>u</sup>εng'a a house in a dream C III 32.1; t!εx'εlaεng'ãsa εwa'lasεng'a g'o'kwa the dreamed of door of the dreamed of large house C III 32.10; la'εng'ex xwe'gats!e in a dream at; xwe'gats!e (a place) C III 35.17; qa'εng'εnaxg'εn k'ε'ã<sup>ε</sup>i deg'as for in my dream I was afraid of them C III 34.26.

-(ε)nx, edge of a flat or long thing

ts!ε'mε'nxend to melt at edge; mεx'ε'nxε<sup>ε</sup> continually striking edge; mεx'ε'nxend to strike edge once (mεx'); awε'nxε<sup>ε</sup> edge; lε'nxend to go to edge, to reach edge; q!ã'pεnxend to hit edge; yε'lεnxend to rub edge; apsε'nxε<sup>ε</sup>, other edge (aps-).

Words generally retaining a: !la'sεnxε<sup>ε</sup> outer edge R 515.25 (!las-); ã!ε'nxε<sup>ε</sup> land edge (of canoe) C III 44.3 (ãl-)

Special meaning: superlative i.e., youngest, noblest, etc.: ts!ã'εyεnxela youngest brother C II 322.9 (Kos); εyãk'εnxε<sup>ε</sup> worst; εnã'lεnxε<sup>ε</sup> farthest up river, also most valuable, noblest

-!εnx season

εãx'εnx work days of week, working season; ts!ε'mε'nxε<sup>ε</sup> season of melting (ice); ts!ã'q!εnx winter dance season (ts!ãq-); x'a'εmaεnx year of scarcity of food CX 284.40; ts!o'εyεnx, ts!o'ts!ε'yεnx season for digging (ts!os-); wa'εyεnx spawning season X 166.29 (was-); εma'εyεnx which season? (mas-); dza dze'εwεnx olachen season (dzax<sup>u</sup>-); ts!ε'εwεnx winter III 18.3; also; wash time (ts!ox<sup>u</sup>-); ma'εyul!εnx season of giving birth; w!wa'εmets!εnx fishing season CX 284.39 (wa'εmis-); he'εnx summer (stem?); -ãa'εyεnx fall (stem?); apsε'yε'nx next or preceding year R 194.5; 200.6; 744.41; qwεε'yεnx next or preceding season.

gwa'gwaxsi'laεnx season for fishing dog-salmon (= gwagwax'εnx); la'g'a'εlits!εnx season of arrival on beach.

With numerals except "two," "three," "eight" it takes the form -x'εnx. The exceptions are probably due to the consonantic endings of these numerals: εnε'mx'εnx one winter, one year; mo x'εwεnx four winters, years; sεk'!a x'εnx five winters, years; q!ã!εx'ε'nx

<sup>6</sup> cv<sup>ε</sup>m stems retain terminal a.

six winters, years; nεqã'x'εnxela ten winters, years; ε'wa'xax'εnxε<sup>ε</sup>las number of years C 26: 91.20.

ma'εã'ε'nx two winters, years;  
yu'dεx'εwεnx three winters, years

-εk'sa see =ax'sa

-εqã out of a hole.  
See εwεqã; also under o.

(=)εxsta mouth, outward opening

Stem expansion (la)

(=)εxstala to talk about

Often with Reduplication (5)

A 2. ts!ã'maxstend to point at mouth (ts!εm-).

A 3. da'yaxstend to wipe mouth (dεy-); gwa'yaxsta to turn one's mouth III 71.33 (gwεy-a'waxstε<sup>ε</sup> mouth of kelp bottle, inlet, etc. III 155.26 (ãw-))

All other stems unaffected: yεgεxstε<sup>ε</sup> knitting for mouth of net V 486.2 (yεq-); ãwxεstale<sup>ε</sup> foam at mouth on water C II 128.2 (ãx<sup>u</sup>-); kwe'sx'εxsta to be splashed on mouth (kwe'sx:); εwedεxsta to be cold at mouth (εwed-); gwεdaxstend to untie mouth (of vessel) (gwεd-); hak!waxstala to retain in mouth (hak!u-); ts!õx'εxsta to be black at mouth (ts!õx-); hεãxstãliã right for opening in house III 178.20 (hεã-); g'i'sεxstala teeth at opening III 249.6 (g'is-); kwa'xstala to sit at opening (kwa-)

=εxsta is used with a number of meanings

1. Opening in any object, mouth of animal: hãk!wa'xsta'la to retain in mouth (to take home dishes from feast after eating); q!ã'xwεxstax'ε'id to put mouth out of water C II 30.27; bεsnk'!o'dεxstε<sup>ε</sup> lower lip R 446.1 605.58 (bεsn-k'!ot=).

2. To eat, meal: ha'εlamaxsta to eat quickly pl. C III 328.29 (ha'εla-); ha'εmanodz-εxstε<sup>ε</sup> to eat at side of III 117.23 (to be given marriage feast); gãa'xstala to break-fast (gãε-); nεqã'laxstala noon meal; dza'qwa'xstala evening meal.

3. Opening of inlet, bay, room, house (with =iã, =is): mã'g'εxstã<sup>ε</sup>liã close to door of house X 5.38; k!wa'xstã<sup>ε</sup>liã to sit by door of room X 9.14; nεgεxstã<sup>ε</sup>li's middle of bay (outside) III 153.38; εmegwεxstã<sup>ε</sup>li's round thing in entrance of bay III 153.29.

4. =εxsta(la) to talk about, to speak, voice, often reduplicates (5) (see -x's'ã'la, -!xsd); bεgwεxsta man's voice, to talk bravely (bεk<sup>u</sup>-) (see bεk!wε'xsd sound of man); ε'g'εxsta to speak nicely, mouth good (εk'-);

hā'dzegwexste<sup>e</sup> to talk back, tantalize, mock (hadzeq<sup>u</sup>-), also hā'dzextax<sup>s</sup>id to start making noise III 161.22, C 26:44.16, 81.48, 165.399; ēyā'x'p!axsta to be a scold CX 276.41 (ēyāk'-p!a=); lōmaxsta to say much; āwī'axsta to talk big, big talker; hā'eyamud-exste<sup>e</sup> to imitate speaker C 26: 103.38 (hā<sup>s</sup>yamut).

-g'ē'x'xstala: ēwi'g'ē'x'xstala to talk about everything; ēnā'xwē'xstala to talk about all things.

ēya'ēyag'ē'xstala---bad things; ā<sup>s</sup>wā'ē'xēd'xsta(la)---foolish things (ēā'xeta); l!a'l!aqwaxsta la---copper C 26:38.3; nā'nag-exste<sup>e</sup> to speak in a proper way, to talk interest in speech (neq-);

gwā'gwēltaxstala to talk about fire; g'ā'g'ē'nā'xstala---children; sā'yenaxstala<sup>7</sup>---plans; mā'mā'eg'ē'xstala---sockeye salmon.

-ēla; -āla continuative

After stems ending in voiceless consonants -ēla; after all other stems, -āla.

mēx'ēla to strike continually, to drum; -dēxwēla to jump up and down; -k'ēpēla to carry in arms; -dēx'ēla to open and shut eyes continuously; -wēsēla to rub herring spawn.

pēnā'la to pour a liquid into a vessel; -xwēnā'la to tremble; -tsiā'la tide is running; -tsiēmā'la to point continuously; -tsā'la to draw water continuously; -mē'la'la to carry fire C 26:42.184.

Suffixes ending in vowels, y, w, m, n, l and in sonants or glottalized consonants take the form -āla.

g'ē'lt!ēx'ā'la to have long end R 362.21; -āxēwāla to have on forehead (-[g']iu-āla); -mō'gwēx'āla (<mogwēx'ēyāla) to have tied over head; -āxētā'la to have on top (<āxētāwala); -lā'xwēmā'la to have standing in front; -āxēnā'la to have on body; -lā'labēndāla to go from end to end; -hānx'sēāla to take off from fire; -āxā'p!āla to have on nape of neck; -ē'l!āp!āla to stand behind neck pl. C III 170.25.

A number of suffixes, the fundamental form of which ends in k', q, or x, drop their terminal a before -ēla; qā'qēla to have one walking among (qas-!qa); -āxā'xēla to take down one after another R 273.89; -gwa'gwāaq-ēla to go north habitually (gwa-aqa-).

It is worth noting that -aqa and -axa take irregularly the suffix -od instead of -nd; ā'l!aqodala to go past inland C II 198.24; -āxā'xod to take down (see pp. 320-321).

A number of others lack the forms with terminal a and require terminal -ēla, =e<sup>e</sup>, =ēnd (which see): nā'gēk'ēla to drink after---R 339.27 (naq-ēk'-ēla); q!ē'k'!ēqēla to carry in

lap R 656.16 (q!ē'k'-ē-q-ēla); g'i'k'!ēlgēnd to put in lap V 478.25 (g'i'k'!ē-[g'ē]k-q=ēnd); -!x's<sup>e</sup>ak'ēla, -!x's<sup>e</sup>ag'ēnd into the woods.

Compare also =abo, =apēla under; -!bo, -!pēla chest.

The suffix -la is used both verbally and nominally. With verbs it expresses actions that imply multiplicity, repetition or continuance. It is used when the idea expressed is that the same actor repeats the same action a number of times, several objects being handled in the same way, or the whole action consisting of many parts.

gwēx<sup>a</sup>'xēxsa to pour into canoe (once) R 214.39; gwēx<sup>a</sup>'xēxēla to pour into canoe one after another R 214.41; hō'gwēxēla to go aboard, several singly R 211.10; -dā'g'ēlx'āla R 211.7; de'dag'ēlx'āla R 212.16 many take along (lit. at hind end) many (baskets); hām't!āla many pick berries into many (baskets) R 212.22; ō'x!ōsde'sēla to carry on back up the beach, one person, an action conceived as requiring many steps R 215.54; ō'x!ae'lēla to carry on back into house (like the preceding example) R 215.54; axiā'la to put on top of fire R 522.100 (wet wood); k'!ēpwełts!ā'la to take out with tongs one after another R 522.10; -l!ō'pēla to roast (many salmon) C II 46.13; q!ā<sup>s</sup>nāxēla to soar down C II 74.10.

In many cases the meaning of the forms in -la expresses continued action. Whenever the action is momentaneous, like to throw, to strike, to jump, continuation implies repeated action. There are, however, other forms in which a continued action or a state is emphatically continued by the addition of -la.

dā'xā to be in a position of holding; dā'xāla to continue to be in a position of holding.

Many verbs and nouns do not occur in absolute form without the ending -ēla. Examples are:

Verbs: ā'nqwēla cloudy; ē'axēla to work R 60.74; ē'lkwēla to bleed C II 130.23; ē'sēla to wait; wēlēla to hear; hā'sēla to be loud; ts!ēx'ēla to be sick.

Nouns: ē'mekwēla moon (ē'mek<sup>u</sup>- round thing is somewhere); l!ē'sēla sun R 94.11 (l!ēs-); k'!ō'tēla salmon R 223.6 (k'!ōt- to stand on edge); k'!ē'lxēla thistle; q!wāqēla Sebastodes sp. R 392.53; q!wā'sq!wēx-ēla bushes R 200.15; 1220.68; k'!ētēla wattling; kwa'x'ēla smoke; p!ē'lxēla fog; p!āxāla shaman; yā'gwik'ēla bracelet (=having wood worms on back); -t!ēx'ēla door.

It is applied often in a nominal form, expressing "what is used for---:" sēk'ēla what is used for spearing C 26:27.58; qēx'ēla---putting rings on R 701.49; qēkwēla---collapsing, deadfall; q!ēk'ēla what is used for biting (proboscis) R 206.14; k'!ētēla---weaving; do'kwēla---trolling, trolling line; sa'pēla---skinning, skinning knife ts!ēma'la---pointing, first finger; k'!ā'tēla---

<sup>7</sup>Initial g of stem becomes y.

painting R 236.15; - laxela basket in use R 197.28.

Contrasting with the suffix -e<sup>s</sup>, the thing that is somewhere, -ela expresses to have something somewhere:

k'!ā'temā'la to have a painting on the front R 817.1; k'!ā'teme<sup>s</sup> the painting on the front R 817.8; - !ā'xwemāla to have someone standing at the head R 825.93; !ā'xweme<sup>s</sup> the one standing at the head R 825.94; - !ō'gwāla to have a treasure R 820.67; C II 32.6; !ō'gwe<sup>s</sup> a treasure C II 8.12; - qā'qela to have one walking among others; qā'ge<sup>s</sup> person walking among others (qas-qā).

Also: !ā'wayāla to have a salmon weir C II 112.16 (!ā'wayu-ala); q!ē!alaso<sup>s</sup> it is had by six R 59.46; yāe'yudēxwelaso<sup>s</sup> it is had by each group of three R 59.51; 360.6

A large number of suffixes require the ending -la: -!ēlāla moving about; - !ēlāla above (-g'a<sup>s</sup>alēla, -g'ēlēla); -wāla, -āla; - kwela; - x'dzekwela layer; =nakwela gradually; =elix'ela to do nearly; =lela to be about to---; - x'sokwela somewhat; - ēāla deserted; - k'!ala continued noise; --menqwela some; - g'ila to make; - x'sila to take care of; - syala to go to look for; - ēmāla to go with; - watala to carry; - x'dela past optative; - dēlxela; - a<sup>s</sup>mala to quarrel.

-ela to live at; used with place names

syēxela' to live at syēli's; se<sup>s</sup>ewi'tela to live at se<sup>s</sup>wi'd; tsa'xisela---tsaxis; qā'loqwela---qā logwis; he gēmsela---he gēms; xwē'lkwela---xwēlk<sup>u</sup>; - xwē'mdasēla---xwēmdasbe<sup>s</sup>; o'dzā'elasēla---o'dzāēlas; g'ō'kwela---a house, village.

-!ēla to order, cause an action;  
Stem Expansion 3g

A 1. cvc' E cvc' or ceceō': yā'!ēla to order to tie (yēi-); !ā'p!ēla---spread (!ēp-); k'!ā'ēlela to tell to shake off berries (k'!ēx-); q!wā'ēlela' or q!wēq!w'ēlela' ---scratch (q!wēx-); yā<sup>s</sup>wēla' or yēye<sup>s</sup>wēla' ---dance (yēx<sup>u</sup>-).

A 3. cvw R cvcu: yēyu<sup>s</sup>la' to call for wind.

B 1. cāc' R cvcāc': q!wēq!wā'ēyala' to tell to cry (q!wās-); q!wēq!wā'ēwēla' to order to emerge (qwax<sup>u</sup>-) C II 36.1; dēdā'ēlela' to make laugh (dā<sup>s</sup>x-).

cāc', cōc' R cvcvc' or cāc', cāc': se<sup>s</sup>ē<sup>s</sup>wēla', sā<sup>s</sup>ē<sup>s</sup>wēla'---paddle (sēx<sup>u</sup>-); q!wā'!ēla---stop noise (q!wēl-); dēdō'q!wēla', dā'q!wēla---see (dōq<sup>u</sup>); pepō!ēla, pā'!ēla---satiated.

B 4. cvb R cvc<sup>s</sup>vba or c<sup>s</sup>vba. syē<sup>s</sup>yū'gwasēla or syāgwasēla to call rain (syūg<sup>u</sup>-).

C 2. cvmc' stable: k'ē'!ēwēla---to buy

(k'ēlx<sup>u</sup>-); pē'n<sup>s</sup>yēla---blister (pēns-); (dē)dē nx<sup>s</sup>ēla---sing (dēnx-).

D. cvc\*c E cac\*c: ā'sx'a<sup>s</sup>la---sneeze (asx'a'); kwa sx'a<sup>s</sup>la---to splash (k!wēsx'-).

E. ca R cvca tēta<sup>s</sup>la to order to wade (ta); k'ēka<sup>s</sup>la to order to carry a dish (k'a).  
Polysyllabic: yēyā'q!ēnt!ēla---speak (yāq!ēnt-).

With special meaning: k'ēk'ē<sup>s</sup>lēla' to try to frighten (k'ēx-) synonym k'a'k'alē<sup>s</sup>ma (from k'ēlē<sup>s</sup>m fear).

Initial y: hāyū<sup>s</sup>yēla or yēyū<sup>s</sup>yēla to make eat with spoon (yus-).

Initial m; hamē xēla or mā'xēla---sleep (mēx-).

-els outside.  
(see under -!s, -o)

-elg'ēs one who does an act for others, or one whose duty it is to do a thing

xō'ēl<sup>s</sup>g'ēs sprinkler X 4.8(xōs-); sē'xwēl<sup>s</sup>g'ēs paddler (sēx<sup>u</sup>-); xē'kwēl<sup>s</sup>g'ēs(ē'ml) sweeper (mask) III 389.25; qā'sēl<sup>s</sup>g'ēs invitor (qās-); k'ēl<sup>s</sup>g'ēs dish distributor (k'a-).  
dā'doq!wā'lēl<sup>s</sup>g'ēs watchman C II 61.2; III 466.36; hā<sup>s</sup>mēx'silēl<sup>s</sup>g'ēs cook (takes care of food); !ā'!awayūx<sup>u</sup>silēl<sup>s</sup>g'ēs one who takes care of a salmon weir for others C II 6.10; dā'dāa'lēl<sup>s</sup>g'ēs someone whose work it is to take objects for witchcraft CX 275.19; dā'dalēl<sup>s</sup>g'ēs one who takes gifts in potlatch for an absent one.

=elk<sup>u</sup> having the habit of

hā<sup>s</sup>mē'lk<sup>u</sup>, pl: hē<sup>s</sup>mēlk<sup>u</sup> eater; nā'gēlk<sup>u</sup> having the habit of drinking (nā'xēs drunkard) qā'yēlk<sup>u</sup> having the habit of walking about R 638.30; 641.97 (qas-); tēlk<sup>u</sup> having the habit of wading (ta-).

ānē<sup>s</sup>gēlk<sup>u</sup> often getting fuel (ānēq-); gēg'a'dēlk<sup>u</sup> constantly changing wives R 786.3 (gēk'=ad=ēlk<sup>u</sup>);-- qā<sup>s</sup>yēl<sup>s</sup>gwalats!ē what makes one want to walk about (qas=lk<sup>u</sup>=?).

See also āyēlk<sup>u</sup> chief's attendant.

-elqēla, -elx<sup>s</sup>ēd to think of (see -!ēq)  
Stem Expansion Irregular (Type 3?)

A secondary form for -!ēqēla, used in a limited number of cases.

A 1. cvc' E cvc': nā'qēlqēla (or nē'naq!ēqēla), nā'qēlx<sup>s</sup>ēd to feel at ease (right) C III 218.29; III 439.39; X 5.4 (nēq-); sā'k'ēlqēla to think of spearing (sēk'-); hā'pēlqēla (nickname) to think of body hair.

A 3. cvy E cāy: gā'yēlqēla (or gē'gāēqēla) to have in mind a long time (gēy-);

gwā'yelqela to think thus (gwey-); q!ā'yelqela to think of many things (q!ey-).

B 1. cvc' R cā'cvc': nā'noxlqela not to know what to do C 26:98.169 (nōx-); wā'wos-  
elqela to think about one's own poor condition R 849.10 (wī'wots!eqela to feel like pitying somebody); ēma'ēmaxwelqela or ēme'ma'eweqela to think of giving potlatch.

Without reduplication: he'xe'lqela to feel right; ē'k'elqela to feel good (ēk').

C 2. cvmc' R cā'cvmc': bā'banselqela (or bē'nbants!eqela) to think of being ashamed.

Initial y: ā'lē'xwelqela (or ē'ālē'-  
ēweqa) to think of sea-hunting (āle'x-); ā'wī'lqela to feel something to be important (āwīl-); o'dze'lqela to feel uncomfortable, uneasy (ōdz-) R 766.96; C II 322.1.

Initial y: ēyā'k'elqela (or ēyāq!ē'qela) to feel badly C 26: 119.14.

Polysyllabic. tā'wix'elqela to think about mountain-goat hunting.

Special meaning: ēnā'ēnemeyē'lqela to think about one thing.

-!ēlxela, -!ēlx<sup>ē</sup>id, -!ēlxaxa kind of, "-ish"  
(see -dēlxela)

ē'k'!ēlxela kind of clear day; ēyā'k'!-  
ēlxela---bad weather R 203.47.

-a, (-!a very rarely)

This is the most common formative suffix used with almost all active and static verbs and also, though less frequently, with nouns. It expresses the simplest statement of the meaning of the stem, as do'qwa to see; lē'mxwa to be dry, to dry; ts!ē'lqwa to be hot; yexwa to dance; me'xa to sleep; lo'ma to be very ---; ge'lt!a to be long; got!a to be full?

A list of monosyllabic stems that appear without any formative ending will be found in grammar p. 216.

With terminal -ey of stem contracted to ā: tsā to draw water; ēnā to string beads, fish; dā to wipe; k'!ā to carve.

With terminal ew of stem contracted to ā: ts!ā to give; tā to attack; xā to split.

Some stems consist apparently of a single consonant: la to go; da to take; k!wa to sit; !a long inanimate object stands; wa river.

Among the suffixes there are 107 ending in -a (including 31 ending in -la). The rest end in consonants.

A few of the static verbs which occur without a may take a transitivizing -a:

ām closed, tight (fundamental stem ām); ā'mxa to cover up a hole.

a'yo's to know how to speak a language well; a'yo'sa to explain.

te!q<sup>u</sup> soft; te'lqwa to put soft things somewhere.

k!weng wet; k!we'nga to pour oil over something.

xēl to be dead; xēla to die.

g'el first (adverbial); g'a'la (verbal)

!lop ripe, cooked; !lopa to roast

A number of suffixes with static meaning become active or transitive when used with terminal -a. These are the locatives =!x on the floor; =!s on the beach; (=)xs in a canoe and =!s on the ground; =a into the house; -o's from one to the other. !a'sto xexsa leqwa he placed upright in the bail-hole the fire-wood; !a axdza'molizās she sits it down in front of them in the house; !ā's, pl. !a'lo'sēla to go from one to the other; !ā'ssa to put from one to the other.

-[g]it body as a whole, megweg'it to be all over body; megweg'ita to put all over body.

-[x]s<sup>ē</sup> in two of its own accord, !ax's<sup>ē</sup> a thing is in two parts; !a'x's<sup>ē</sup>a it is cut in two parts or it is off the fire.

Like static verbs some nouns ending in consonants may take the suffix -a and assume an active or adjectival meaning. gwems ochre, gwemsa to paint with---; yasek<sup>u</sup> tallow, yasekwa to put tallow on; yax thin liquid, yaxa to melt (trans.); te'! bait, te'! to bait hook; t!ēls fruit of Viburnum; t!ēlsa to pick ---; dzam<sup>ē</sup> breast, dza'm<sup>ē</sup>a child sucks; ts!xl<sup>u</sup> crabapples, ts!xlwa sour, or to pick crabapples, ts!ap!ax yellow cedar, ts!ap!axa to pick---; qwex flour, qwexa to be greyish; !āq hemlock sap, !āqa to get---; !lop ripe, cooked, !lopa to roast.

Some of the nouns ending in -a have parallel verbal forms. From these stems may be reconstructed. In some cases the derivatives are formed directly from the stem while others with a specialized meaning are derived from the nouns.

pe!a'! fin (pe!-); tek'a'! soil (tek'-); dze'qwa soil (dze'q<sup>u</sup>-); gwa'ēna elbow (gwa'ēnaq- to bend); leqwa fire wood (leq<sup>u</sup>- fire); !!aqwa copper (!!aq<sup>u</sup> red); wa river (also to flow); ba!a albatross (also to measure by arm stretches); xē'wa sea-egg (xē'x<sup>u</sup> to eat---); ēnela goose (ēnel- to fly, Kos).

With specialized meaning: !!a'gwil<sup>x</sup> red floor of house; !!a'qwāil<sup>x</sup> copper in house; !egwi'x fire in house, !eqwa'ix firewood in house.

Many nouns with terminal -a retain their -a in derivative forms. Many of these are names of animals.

we'xga' a sea bird; pe'k'!a marmot; metsa' mink; (ma'wak'a sealion, BB); ma'ēme'sa panther; ma'dag'ila grizzly bear (name in myth, -g'ila maker); t!ē'nxa a sea bird; se'yo'k!wa widgeon duck; dze'sa cape pigeon; dze'nomaga catfish (ga woman); ts!ē'sqwa (Nak) sparrow

(ts!e'sqwane Kwak); ts!o'na thunderbird;  
 ts!o'ts!aga chickadee; g'ela' grizzly bear;  
 g'alexwits!a water ouzel; g'o'maga catfish  
 (ga woman); k'!e'm'wa young land otter;  
 k'!a'da mud flounder; kw'e'ma' bullhead;  
 kw'e'na' mink (New); k!w'e'm'e!a bullhead;  
 go'la trout; gw'e'dza sparrow; qel'sya plover;  
 q!a't!a a sea mollusk; q!a'sa sea otter;  
 q!a'q!awa a fish; q!e'dza a fish; q!e'la mos-  
 quito (Kos); xa'wa fur seal; xwa't!a wren;  
 !!a'k!wa a water spider(?); !!o'psega a large  
 deep water clam.

There are others, however, with differ-  
 ent meanings: o'sma chieftainness; weq!wa  
 brother, sister; ha'syamuta sign; p!e'zq!a  
 palm; wa'za musk bag of land otter; me'nga  
 war canoe; me'lx'a patch of seaweed; de'na  
 sandstone; te'xa hemlock leaves (Kos); se'sya  
 hair; se'lt!a little finger; ts!a'ya younger  
 sibling of same sex; ts!e'x'a boiled blood;  
 e'no'la elder sibling of same sex; k'a'ema  
 wing cut off; k'!a'da third finger; geg'a  
 stone against which players throw in lek'a;  
 ga'wa head of devil fish; q!o'ma thumb;  
 q!w!elqwa hermaphrodite; x'a'sma scarcity of  
 food; xwa'ta testicles; x!qwa' brains;  
 !!a'x'ima spoon Kos.; !!e'na oil.

!a, -!a'slod on rock  
 see = !x, = !s etc. page 328

This suffix behaves like the above with  
 the exception that it becomes active by the ad-  
 dition of -'ela or -'elod; not by means of termi-  
 nal a as the others.

-qwese'ela'laq laxa tes'emaxs peels it  
 off rock; -x'ex'alod'eq to spread them on stones;  
 axa'slod to put down on rock,

-!a ear (see =ato)  
 Reduplicates with insertion of s  
 in first syllable

A 1, 2, 3, 4. c'vc R c'vsc'vc: h'ash'q!a'  
 ear is swollen (h'aq-); dz'esdzek'!od to rub ear  
 (dzek'-); es'se'x'od to put into---X 124.23  
 (ax-).

besbe'eno'd to fit ear on (a carved fig-  
 ure) (ben-); ts!ests!e'mo'd to point at ear.  
 desde'syo'd to wipe ear (dey-).

swes'wedaa' ear is cold (wed-).

B 1. c'vc R c'vsc'vc: e's'ap!od to pinch  
 ear (ep-); e'sats!a abalone ear-ornament  
 (as-); t'e'stekiwa ear pendant C III 304.29  
 (tek'-); ga'sgal!a hooked ear-ornament (gal-);  
 wa'swek'!a earring (wak'-); mo'sma'sla woolen  
 ear-ornament C II 118.17 (mox-); la'slets!od  
 to push behind ear C II 172.28 (las-);  
 !o's'ek!wa having ears standing up (!ok'- un-  
 known meaning); t!a'st!ek!wax'sid to lay ears  
 back (t!ak'-); ts!o'xts!e'la black eared  
 (ts!ox-).

ts!a'xts!e'maq!a ear-ornament C III  
 304.30 (ts!a'emaq! icicle, ts!e'm- to melt).  
 G. as'ala'la'sa dentalia ear-ornament  
 (ala la) p!e'sp!ayo ear C II 120.1

-!a to be ready to---, to try to---,  
 to try to get---, to be ready to get---,  
 Reduplication 5

Requires reduplication with a. In stems  
 ending in m, n, l the stem vowel does not change.  
 In all others, including those in s changed to  
 sy, l changed to lx, and x' changed to en under  
 the hardening influence of -!a, the short  
 vowel e is strengthened and becomes short a:  
 t!a't!e'ma' to be ready to sew with  
 cedar twigs (t!em-); k'a'k'e'na---to scoop up  
 (k'en-); g'a'g'e'la---to crawl (g'el-);  
 kwa'kw'e'la---to lie down pl.  
 la'laq!a---to slap (leq-); la'lap!a---  
 to spread (lep-); k'!a'k'!at!a---to weave mat  
 (k'!et-); tsa'tse'sya---to draw water (tsey-);  
 e'na'ne'swa---to aim (enew-);  
 pa'pasya---to soak (pes-); x'a'x'asya  
 ---to disappear; q!wa'q!wa'sla---to scratch  
 (q!w'el-); q!a'q!a'sla---to carry in arms  
 (q!el-); qa'qas'na---to put on ring (qex'-);  
 ma'mas'na---to strike (mex'-); ya'yas'wa---to  
 dance (yex'-); aa'we'sya---foam (ax'-).

Those with fixed terminal a or with  
 terminal sonant or glottal add the suffix -a.  
 Terminal -a changes to -e'sya; -!e and =e to  
 aa; verbs in -es to -as'ya; terminal -o to  
 -es'wa.

swa'swi'slaa' to try to do entirely  
 R 531.99; ma'mak'ax'aa' try to get near  
 (ma'k'axa); la'ladaa' to get a ceremonial  
 (lad-); gwa'gwadaa'---to untie (gwed-);  
 mama'slaa'---to hunt with torches (me'l-);  
 xa'xak'!aa'---to stay away for good;  
 xwa'xw'dzaa'---blubber (xwedze'); xa'loq!waa'  
 ---dish (xo'q!we); k!wa'k!wats!aa'---hide  
 (k!wets!e); la'lasgema'sya---to follow  
 (la'sgemes); ta'tene'swa---to pole (te'no);  
 ma'me'swa---to get four (mo-).

Nouns in -es change to -as'ya.

la'axwas'ya' to try to get in rank  
 (lit. standing place, la'xwe's); ha'smas'ya'---  
 food (has'me's); qa'qax'ema'sya'---head-ring  
 (qex'eme's);

Certain stems with initial s change  
 this to y;

sa'yak'!a to be about to spear (sek'-);  
 sa'yats!a to try to get spring salmon (sas-);  
 sa'yak'!aa to try to get five (sek'!); but  
 sas'ena to be about to plan (sen-).

Nouns with monosyllabic stems are al-  
 ways used with these stems, not with the com-  
 plete noun.

g'a'g'as'wa to try for steelhead salmon  
 (g'ex'-); gwa'gwek'!a to go whaling (gwe'sye'm,  
 stem gwek'-); ga'gak'!a to woo (gene'm wife;  
 stem gek'-); xwa'xwak!wa to try to get a canoe

(xwa'k!wena, stem xwak<sup>u</sup>-); p!a'p!elxsa to try to get blankets (p!e'lxelxasgem, stem p!elx-); l!a'l!osla to try to get elk (l!awe'ls, stem l!ewel- ?); swa'swasya---dog (swa'tsle, stem swas-); k!a'k'otsia---dry clams (k!o'mats!e, stem k!os-); t!a't!ets!a to try to get stones (t!es-) M 674.19

but

ma'megwat!a to try to get seals (me'gwat, no shorter form in existence) R 840.4; ma'meseq!wa sea-eggs R 491.2 (mese'q); wa'wodzεsma---pity, to plead CX 199.19 (wo'dzem); k'a'k'alεsma---to frighten (k'elε'm).

The numeral nine, εna'εneεsma, lit. to try to get one, takes a second reduplication with -a and forms εna'εnaεneεsmaa to try to get nine.

tsa'tsenwa to try to become fat (tsenx<sup>u</sup>-), not to try to obtain fat, tsε'nxweε); āā'lsya to try to become meaty (āls-, not to try to obtain meat ā'ldze).

Stems beginning with a vowel retain the accent on the stem syllable whenever it has the accent in unreduplicated form.

āā'sweεya to try to get foam (āx<sup>u</sup>-); āā'yāa to pay shaman (ay-); āā'lsya to go to get sea-slugs (āls-) R 475.1; āā'mxsa to try to make watertight (āmx-) R 96.47; 235.33; āā'mt!a to try to get sea-eggs (āmt-); āā'sx'a to be about to sneeze; āā'xstεsma to try to open door; āā'lesya to try to search; āo'syaa to try to do slowly R 117.20; āo'k!wεsna to appropriate for one's self (own or others property), stem o-k!εn; o'k!wend to keep for one's self); āo'x!aa to be about to carry on back; ae'k!a to try to do well R 58.34; 59.69.

Stems that have no accent on the first syllable have long accented a, but usage is not certain.

ā'ayaa to be about to pay a shaman R 731.63 also ā'āya (ay-); ā'ās!a to try to make firm, secure; ā'āxsa also āāxsa to be about to take; ā'āyu'ts!a to try to understand; ā'āmak!a to try to defecate.

Irregular are:

aεwεlx'εsya to try to show plainly (awεl-x'εs); aεwa'xεtεsma to joke someone (ā'xεta).

Stems beginning with x have l in the stem syllable.

x!lak!wet!a to try to pull tight, strongly (xεk!wεta to pull tight) R 71.34; 654.20; ha'ya'xεmk!a to try to get there in time R 307.57; 467.79; 1118.19 (he'xεmk'a).

When applied to compounds which have a unit meaning the whole complex is treated as a unit.

dza'dzεlxwεlts!a to try to run on ground (dzεlx<sup>u</sup>-εls); dza'dzek'ustεsma to try to hoist sail (dzεk'-ustā); l!a'l!apustεsma to try to climb up (l!εp-ustā); l!a'legεmō!a to try to obtain a name (lεq=m-ol);

swa'swalasol!a to try to obtain something large (swalas-ol); swa'swisolol!a to try to obtain everything (swis-ol) C II 10.31; - k!a'k!-esεol!a to try to get crest R 978.74; 1003.13; la'lā!a to try to obtain (la-ol) C II 252.13; R 154.6; 163.17; l!a'laxwa'εyaa to try to get rank (lax<sup>u</sup>-εε); āā'mxεsma to try to play (āmx-εm); āā'mxq!εnsma to try to play with (see q!εno p. 362) (āmx-q!εno) R 647.75; - g'a'g'alaq!a to try to pass first (g'al-aqa) C II 10.14; g'a'g'iqaq!a to try to pass others in rank as chief (g'iq-aqa) R 841.26; k!wa'k!wasgεsma to try to sit on a round thing C II 158.27; l!a'lax<sup>u</sup>stolts!a to be about to stand at door (lax<sup>u</sup>-sto-lε) R 990.33; āā'xstε'wa to try to open (ax-sto) CX 39.23; ba'bak'εsma to be about to meet (bεk<sup>u</sup>-o) R 707.42; na'nāqεsma to try to meet (nεq-o); k'a'k'εmqεsma to try to meet close together (k'εmq-o); k'a'k'ixtεsma to try to catch a round thing with pole or net (k'el-sεm) III 102.26; l!a'l!atεsma to flirt (have face of prostitute) (lεt-gεm); na'no'xεsma to bother (no'xεm); na'naqεmk!a to try to be just in time (nεq-εmk'a) R 1178.37.

Compounds ending in a retain the a.

da'doxswa'elāā to try to discover (do'xswa'elā); wa'wεlεlāā to try to hear (wεlεlā); na'naqεlāā to try to straighten (na'qεlā) V 345.21; l!a'l!āā to try to get a sweetheart.

Conversely when the tentative meaning is a unit other suffixes are added at the end of the complex:

gā'gεmsyāats!e basket for gathering fern fronds (gεms-a-ats!e) R 536.32; na'nets!aenox<sup>u</sup> one who fishes for red cod (nes!-a!-enox<sup>u</sup>) V 332.2; gā'gak!āats!e wooing canoe (gεk'-a-ats!e) R 955.77; gā'gak!āenes the wooing C III 280.3.

With -ayu only one a is retained (see -ayu);

āā'mt!ayu means of getting sea-eggs R 494.1; gwa'gwek!ayu means of getting whales C III 252.1; na'nets!ayu hook for catching red cod V 332.18; q!a'q!aεlayu tried to be carried in arms; t!a't!aq!wayu harpoon shaft R 302.7.

Probably the suffix a is dropped, for when followed by -x'εid the terminal a is also dropped:

la'lol!εx'εid to begin to try to obtain C II 224.11; x'a'x'εq!εx'εid to begin to try to start a fire C II 248.33; gā'gaq!εx'εid to begin to woo R 901.19; 1080.2; wawεldzεswax'εid to try to succeed C II 22.77; dzadzots!εx'εid to begin to look for cockles C III 38.15.

For position, compare:

wā'wixεlεs!a to try to lift from floor (wiεx-g'εl-ix) C III 266.9; mā'mεxεalalix to get ready to sleep in house C III 72.11.

The suffix expresses primarily that a certain object to be attained is still incomplete and uncertain of completion. This is indicated by reduplication with a which implies

in many cases that the concept expressed by the stem is not fully realized, as in the diminutive, or "to go to look for." With active verbs -!a may generally be translated by "to be ready to, to be about to, to endeavor." Stems that may be used with a static, or an active and static meaning always receive an active meaning:

ewa'swalats!a to try to make large;  
ya'yelk!wa to try to hurt (ye'lkwa to be hurt).

With the suffix -la it means "to be ready to:" xwā'xwasyala to be ready to whip (xwes-); ma ma'nala to be ready to strike with fist (mex'-); ya'yaswala to be ready to dance (yex<sup>u</sup>-); ta'taswala to be ready to meet (to attack) R 1056.67.

With the past passive participle =k<sup>u</sup> it may be translated as "should be made so and so:"

āe'k'!āak<sup>u</sup> what should be well made R 694.5; āe'mx'āak<sup>u</sup> it should be made watertight R 299.66; a'ēslāak<sup>u</sup> what should be made firm R 399.42; ba'bē'nāak<sup>u</sup> what should be fitted R 299.57.

A few verbs have an unusual meaning or form:

na'naq'ema to get the right thing; (also normally "to try to fit on face"); na'nuxwe'ma to make forget (no'xwa to mix, no'xwemx'ēid to forget); χa'yenge'ma to make forget [R 1038.77] (χēna' to miss, χē'ngemx'ēid to forget).

From nouns in -es derived from active verbs the form in -esya means "to give someone work of a particular kind to do:"

k'!a'k'āpe'sya' ---to cut with scissors;  
ya'yāpe'sya' ---to weave; k'!ak'!atē'sya' ---to write; ga'gelse'sya' ---to paint; swa'swēlk'ē'sya' ---to bend a box.

=(a)asno a long stretched out object and attached to something.

=aaenwee line (-aasno-es);

=aaenut to put at end of line or long object; (see =asno)

q!ē'lsdzāasne anchor line V 487.33, q!ē'ldzaenā'sye R 512.41, q!ē'lsdzāasnut to tie on anchor; - seg'āa'sne harpoon line V 493.19; - ba'kwēlāāsne fish line V 481.38 Kos; - ma'g'āasne line next to hook V 486.40; q!edzāā'eno' stems of currant; - seg'ēa'snut to put spear point on spear; - χēma'senut to tie at end.

!ā'gaa'sne fish line V 485.10 (see !ā'gayu hook); tse'naa'enu stick on which fat is heated; - mo'gwaasne rope C II 38.8; - mo'gwasnut to tie up canoe; - tse'ltse'lwaasno stems of crab-apple; - qwe'la'snut, qwe'lāasnut to untie canoe line C 26:38.14.

-āaqa to go in a certain direction  
Reduplication 5

hā'yāāaqa to go the right way (heχ-); āso'dzāaqa---the wrong way (ōdz-); bā'ba'snāaqa ---down R 465.33 (bē'n-); āe'k'!āaqa to go up (ēk'!-); gā'gā'yāaqa to go, extend crosswise R 907.51 (gē'y-); gwā'gwasāaqa to come this way (gwas-); qwā'qwesaqa to go that way (qwēs-); gwā'gwāaqa to go north, down river R 643.36; 1107.55 (gwa); enā'enalāaqa to go south, upstream X 228.14; 3974.5 (enāla); !ā'!āasāaqa to go seaward C 26:152.27 (!āas-); āā'āaqa to go inland (āi-); nā'naqā'aqa to go straight along (neq-).

Weakening t: ha'yāχ'!odāāqa to turn to the right (anticlockwise<sup>8</sup>); gā'gē'mx'!odāāqa to turn left (clockwise); āe'dāaqa to return (et- again)

-āē'sēla to do to each in order  
(see -ana'sēsa, -anaqa, -esēla)

lā'ēsēla to go along people in a row (!a); t!sa'wā'sēla to give to---(ts!ēw-); yā'qwā'sēla to give to---(yāq<sup>u</sup>-); yā'qantā'sēla to talk to each one of people sitting in a row in order;

-ayadzēswāχ used to be, used to do

le'q!enoxwāyadzēswāχ he used to be a canoe builder R 616.53; g'o'x<sup>u</sup>demsayadzēswāχ it used to be a village site; - q!olostālayadzēswāχ it used to be a spring; ēma'xwēlag'ēlisayadzēswāχ ēma'xwēlag'ēlis long since dead; layadzēswāχēn I used to go; leqayadzēswāχēn wax<sup>u</sup> I used to try to build canoes; χē'ndēqwayadzēswāχ used to be mucus of nose M 373.12

=a(y)ag'oχ to have been

yekwī'lā(y)a'g'oχ one who has had twin children before R 667.11; le'gāag'oχ one who had made a canoe; yā'gwāa'g'oχ had given away before C 26:43.205; le'ēlāa'g'oχ it was after he died; ye'χgwāag'oχēn I was hurt once before; mā'ēyū'āagolēm he had been born R 989.25; lēn mō'p!ēnxwās nā'nakwāa'g'oχā four days after I came home.  
mē'xāag'oχēn I am through sleeping;  
kwē'mdaag'oχēn I am through smoking.

<sup>8</sup> The concept is based on the turning of the right shoulder, the stationary left. Therefore our "turning to the left."



-ayak in surface water; see (-amak);  
sometimes with a reduplication

q!a'q!exayak driftwood on water (a mythical place) C 26:215.133; 219.292;  
ts!a'ts!elk'ayak feathers on water (a mythical place) C 26:219.295; ae'g'isayak sand on water (a mythical place) C 26:219.96; pa'paxwayak to float on water C 26:82,105; - k'!a'k'!emxwayak hemlock needles on water (k'!emx<sup>u</sup>).

Without reduplication: ts!o'xhax'sew-ayak (also ts!o'xhax'siwe<sup>s</sup>) charcoal on water (a mythical place) C 26: 219, 294; - ho'x<sup>u</sup>hokwayak ho'x<sup>u</sup>hok<sup>u</sup> on sea; - ta'yaqwayak a small kind of octopus.

For all these excepting ta'yaqwayak one informant (D.C.) prefers the suffix -amak.

=ayu  
=syu instrument, passive (see -so<sup>s</sup>, -em)

Following vowels, m, n, l, y, w, it is -syu although it is somewhat irregular in its behavior

#### 1. After stops and spirants

qena'yu lasso III 36.31 (qex<sup>-</sup>);  
bexa'yu knife CX 231.6: so'bayu ax R 145.5;  
la'wayu fish trap R 159.17 (tax<sup>u</sup>); se'wayu paddle R 128.65, 70 (sex<sup>u</sup>); q!a'layu instrument for plaiting and splicing (q!ax<sup>-</sup>);  
mε'nyayu measure R 137.27 (mεns-); hās'ma'yu fork III 26:39; x'εs'ma'yu snare; yεnk!a'yu sling.

Exception: g'ax'syu what is used for coming C II 262.33; yu'xwayu snare C 26:55.10 (yux<sup>u</sup>).

q!ε'n'syu thread, but q!ε'na'yu needle (q!ε'n-).

#### 2. After m, n, l, y, w, and vowels

t!ε'm'syu material for sewing wood;  
xel'syu strainer; (according to informant DC xelayu could be used but is not as good);  
tse'syu instrument for drawing water; εnosyu medicine for rubbing (εnεw- to aim).

Exceptions: q!ε'na'yu needle (see above);  
wεna'yu drill (wεn-); q!wεla'yu means of life (q!wεla-); hāla'yu means of death.

With other suffixes: qassidayu to be made to start i.e., to be taken along (qas-(x')s'id=); t!ε'm'syalasyu beating of time C II 184.15 (t!ε'ms-(k')!ala=); q!wεqa'xasyu brilliant light (q!wεq-ala=); ya'pālasyu the tying (yεp-(g)o-a'ala=); nanets!āayu hook for pulling up red cod V 332.18 (nes-!a=); āamt!āayu means of getting sea-eggs R 494.1 (amt-!a=)

With words having transitive form in od: axεma'xosyu to be taken down, pl. R 296.79 (ax-εm-axa=); εlap!εqosyu to be dug up among R 322.2; la'wosyo to be taken off (la-o=) R 57.12, 671.2; qwεso'syo peeled off (qwεs-o=); ts!εqa'xosyu to be thrown down X 87.28 (ts!εq-axa=); k'a't!a'le'osyu to be put up R 137.23 (k'at-(g'a)alεla=).

With suffixes with terminal m, n, l:  
la'loxεm'syo ball (means of rolling); degεm'syu towel (dεy-gεm=); pε'n'syεlyu means of blistering CX 220.8 (pεns=εlyu).

=x!ā'syu name of

q!wεl'syagwεx!ā'syu old man's name (q!wεl'syak=x!ā=); g'εn'x!ā'syu child's name; g'igεx!ā'syu chief's name.

In women's names as āyugwa or āogwa:  
wilx'stasilayugwa; kwε'nxwelayugwa thunder woman; !alililayugwa whale spouting in house woman.

In contrast to -so<sup>s</sup> the passive of direct and indirect object, -ayu is the passive of the instrumental.

With many verbs there is great freedom in the alternate use of object or instrumental. In a term like "to pour water" water may be considered as object of action or as instrument with which the pouring is performed.

lā tse'x'itsεswa q!ε'nεme swa'pa qasεs lāsε gwεxεā!εxsεlayu la xa xwa xwagwεme now is drawn much water to be (used for) pouring (into the canoe) into the small canoe R 433.19.

qasε k'!εp!ε'dayuwe la'xa x'i'xεma'la t!ε'sεma and it is taken in tongs and put on red-hot stones (i.e., what is taken is considered instrument of the action) R 516.5.

..xs la'e swi'εla āxa'maxyā qasε āxdzo'dayuwe<sup>s</sup> la'xa swa'dεkwe..when it is all (used for) taking down and (used for) putting on a (flat) dressed skin R 296.80.

ā'εεmεla'wis k'!ε'lg'ap!εntso<sup>s</sup>, yεse's he'εmal-axoq hā msp!εxε. ā'εεmεl q!wa xbidεswa la k'!ε'lg'ap!εndayu la'xa g'εna'nεm it is said it was just plaited in the neck, with, behold! that what was to be a cannibal pole. It is said, it was a little (piece of) hemlock now (used for) plaiting in the neck of the child C II 17.

la āxεε'tsεsweda ε'ε'mg'ayuwe qasεs t!ε'l'x'wid-āyuwe<sup>s</sup> laq now is taken the wedge and it is used for beating on it R 296.82.

Compare the use of instrumentals with verbs with two objects.

-!asyawe<sup>s</sup>, -!asyāla left over (see -g'isawe<sup>s</sup>, -awe<sup>s</sup>, -āla)

k'!ē'ts!asya'we<sup>s</sup> left over (k'!ē<sup>s</sup>); ē'ts!asyawe<sup>s</sup> what is left over to be done or used CX 280.24 (εss-); x'i'q!asya'we<sup>s</sup>, x'i'xx'εq!asyawe<sup>s</sup>glow left after burning R 244.63; 258.61 (x'i'q-); g'isya'syawe<sup>s</sup> pl. g'i'g'εsyayawe<sup>s</sup> [corrected] R 589.73 what is

left to be done (g'ey-); snemō'k'wasayawes one person left C II 22.25; ḷa'ḷwasayawes left standing.

snemō'k'wasayāla to leave one behind C II 24.20; ḷā'ḷwasayāla to leave standing.

-sawē, -sāla, left behind  
(see -ḷasayawes, -ḷasayāla, -g'isawes)

A 1 cvc: tsa'k'awes left after chopping (tsek'); dzak'awes---rubbing (dzek').

B 1 cvc R cvcvc: g'ī g'exawes fillings (g'ix-); ts!o'ts!awes cuttings (ts!ōs-); sē'yask'awes left after butchering.

C 1 cvmc sē'myak'awes left after trying out oil (sēmk'-); hā'mx'sawes food left over.

With local suffixes -s, -is, -ix, -xs, -a; smegwī'ḷsāla to leave round thing in house, smegwī'ḷsawes round thing left in house (smek<sup>u</sup>=ix-); smegwexsā'la to leave round thing in canoe (smek<sup>u</sup>=xs-); hānī'ḷsāla to leave box in house C III 90.18 (hān=ix-); g'āē'ssāla to leave behind on beach (g'ēy=is-); g'isssā'la, g'isssā'wes to leave, left on ground (g'ey-!s-); k!wāē'ssāla g'ēnā'nem he left the child sitting on the beach C 26: 157.43; k!waxsawes left sitting in canoe; ḷ!ēlsāla to forget that something is left on ground (ḷ!ēl-); ḷ!ēlē'ḷsawes forgotten in house; mē'xssāla to leave asleep on ground (mēx-); smek!wa'syāla to leave round thing on rock; smek!wa'syawes round thing left on rock.

Exception

nē'nx'āla he walks alone; yexen nē'nx'āla the one who walks with one.

-a'ewiḷ across

This suffix contains the element -ix, on the floor of the house, although it is used as an equivalent for across, without relation to place. In Bella Bella we find -a'ewis, across on the ground, -a'ewiḷala across on rock.

smā'ewiḷ canoe carrying load across III 131.23 (smew-); la'ewiḷala III 244.32; la'ewiḷ III 95.15 to go across; ts'ewiḷala to wade across (ta-); g'ēlqaswiḷala to swim across; -nē'msaswiḷala canoe goes across; do'kwaswiḷala pl. do'kwemaswiḷala to stretch across C II 34.24; hā'ewiḷala, pl. hā'maswiḷala to go right across C II 34.24 (hey-); tāo'daswe'lem taken across C 26: 151.157; gwā'ewilas place of crossing this way (gwey-a'ewiḷ-as); gwa'saswiḷala to cross this way.

=abedze<sup>s</sup> calf (of leg)

a'ewa'bedze<sup>s</sup> calf of leg III 360.40; a'dabedze<sup>s</sup>, pl. a<sup>s</sup>da'bedze<sup>s</sup> sinew at heel; t!ēnā'bedze<sup>s</sup> to have pains in calf (t!ēx'-).

=abo, =ap(ēla) underneath, bottom

sēba'bod to throw long thing under; to repeat word III 469.30; bēgwa'bolis man underneath, men of later generations; bē'nāā'bāsye underneath R 204.13; bē'nāā'boda'la to lead along underneath C II 14.11; x'ēsmaā'boda'la to form loop underneath R 141.38; sāsla'bod to make bottom firm; ts!ēsma'bod to point under R 405.12; sāxā'bod to put under R 662.79; sēsāxā'bod---under several places; lāā'bod to go underneath C II 50.14; k'āā'bod to put dish under something R 452.42; dō'gwabod, pl. dō'dēgwabod to look under; ḷa'yabod to push bar under R 774.36 (las-); sē'wabod to paddle underneath; t!ēlt!ēldza'pa to slice repeatedly under one side R 250.95 (t!ēls-); lē'mwap!ed to get dry underneath C 26:93.6.

q!wēla'abo'dayu, pl. q!wē'q!wēlāābodayu put under alive C 26:182.293; ḷ!ē'ssāā'bāsye heat underneath R 262.51; lēqwē'lāābāsye a fire made under R 234.51; wāā'pila to flow under C 26: 78.99; ḷā'xapela, ḷā'xabāslis to make a feast of the long underneath root of cinquefoil R 544.5; dō'dēq!wa'pa to look on bottom of stones R 506.3; sāswā'bosx'ās underside (chin) of canoe V 353.21; 359.4 (o=abo=sx'ā-e<sup>s</sup>); ēnē'mp!ēng'ap one span at bottom R 57.20.

Meaning: The forms with =abo refer to the thing that is below while =apēla refers to the thing that has something below. However it is not always evident from the text and in many cases depends on the point of view of the speaker: ḷa'wabewes the person that stands underneath; ḷā'wabod to stand below R 272.77; ḷā'wapela the thing that has a person standing below it (ḷax<sup>u</sup>-); k!wāā'bewes sitting underneath, lower bladder of halibut line V 478.9; k!wāā'pila to have something sitting underneath; t!ō'gwap narrow bottom of canoe (basket) R 140.12; tsē'nabod to light a fire under; R 287.40; 1044.6; tsē'nap to burn off bottom (of canoe) C II 298.11; III 348.27; ts!ē'nabek<sup>u</sup> burnt off; bē'nāā'boda'slae t!ēx'ēlā's la'xa wa it is said the trail led along under the water C II 14.11.

Used idiomatically: sēba'bod to repeat word III 469.30; snē'g'abod to say after some one else; to say in between (yes, yes); nē'dzapela (to make pulled under) to kill someone after death of relative R 1380.67; 1363.1; nē'dzabāsye those for whom revenge is taken; nē'dzabem R 1366.75 means of revenge (nē'dzgm R 1382.21); q!āya'sbewē'sg'ēli'ḷ to talk meanwhile (under) '30.515 T; to interrupt;

tō'syεswā'pela'syo to be taken along under ground (song word) R 916.31.

-ap! each other, one another  
Stem Expansion 2

A 1. c'vc' E cāc': wā'lap! to question one another R 1138.74; C II 90.7 (wεl-); nā'pap! to throw---with stones X 6.23 (nεp-); p!ā'sap! to potlatch---R 784.7; mā'x'ap! to strike---(mεx'-).

A 2. c'vm E cām: ts!ā'map! to point at---(ts!εm-); bā'lap!---foolish (bεl-); g'ā'nap! ask---for more (g'εn-).

Exception: swā'snap! to hide from---(swεsn).

A 3. c'vy E cāy: dā'yap! wipe---(dεy-); ts!ā'wap! to give---(ts!εw-); C II 156.20; bā'wap! to leave---(bεw-).

A 4. c'vb E cāb: gwā'dap! untie---(gwεd-).

A 5. c'vcs E cācs: xā'k'!ap! (a game, arrows shot into trees; whoever gets one of the arrows that fall down keeps it) (xεk'!-); x'ā'smap! to snare---(x'εsm-).

B 1. c'vc stable: yā'qwap! to potlatch ---C III 110.21 (yāq<sup>u</sup>-); snē'k'ap! to say to ---; k!wē'lap to feast---(k!wεl-); l!ō'lap! to scold (l!ōl-).

B 5. c'vcs stable: gwā'snap to test---(gwa<sup>sn</sup>-).

C 2. c'vmc' stable: hā'nulap! to shoot --- (hām-); g'ε'lap! to grasp---(g'εlq); l!ε'nqap! to poke (l!εnqa').

E cv E cā'sy: dā'syap!ala to take from each other (da); lā'syap! to go from one to another (name, privilege) R 1354.29 (la).

#### Polysyllabic Stems

aswε'lqap! several covet the same thing R 1050.35 (aswεlq-); lε'nεmap! to take from each other C III 254.26, III 121.13; l!a'syap! to exchange M 679.1 (l!a'syo-);

#### After other suffixes:

q!a'lap! to know each other CX 57.11; la'xwεlap!ot friends to each other III 267.37; lās'sap! to go from one to other mutually C 26: 52.120 (la-ōs-ap!); naxs'sayap!a half and half R 223.8, 237.32; gwemyasap! to give first potlatch to one another R 825.0; smewe'g'a'sya'p! to be piled on one another R 252.30 (smew=eg'e-); do'qwa'za'p! to watch each other R 436.3; dā'g'aa'p! to take hold of each other; swa'swislo!ap! to try to get all from each other; saskwe'lap! to give seal feasts in rivalry R 460.15; xεk'!a'xap! to stay away from each other C III 290.6.

With a reduplication "to rival each other:" ya'yax'ap! to beat each other in speed C II 146.7 (yεx'-); dza'dzεl'xwap! to race run-

ning; ga'gεlqap! to race swimming (gεlq-); g'a'g'igap! to vie in rank (g?) C II 90.19 (g'iq-); xa'lokwap! to try strength against each other C 26: 175.11 (xok<sup>u</sup>-); k!wa'k!welasap! to vie giving feasts III 397.16 (k!wεl=as-), also k!we'lap! to feast one another.

Irregular reduplication: l!ε'l!εsap! to hate each other (l!εs-); gwε'sgwε'sna'p! to ask one another to pay debts C III 346.14; te'tεk!wa'lap! to joke one another C III 144.3 (also te'k!walap!).

=ap! nape of neck, behind

ā'swa'p!e<sup>s</sup> nape of neck; ba'wap! to leave behind for a while R 422.20 (bεw-); l!a'ap!εlis to stand behind on beach III 247.37; sne'gap!e<sup>s</sup> to say after the speech of someone R 914.2; qa'yap!εnd to walk behind someone; g'ayaa'p!εnd to come from behind C II 310.22; a'l!āa'p!e<sup>s</sup> behind (the neck of) a mountain R 738.6; C II 386.23; ā'mxap!e<sup>s</sup> back stop of a trap R 161.49; gās'yāa'p!e<sup>s</sup> crosspiece in neck III 38.25; la'ap!εnd to go behind.

-a<sup>sm</sup> suffix for names of plants;  
Reduplication 5

ya'yεlqa<sup>sm</sup> Symphoricarpus racemosus (yεlq- eyes are sore); k!a'k!εa<sup>sm</sup> Scirpus (k!εa- to gather Scirpus); gwa'gwεlta<sup>sm</sup> fireweed (Chamerium angustifolium; gwεlt- fire); qa'qεmxwa<sup>sm</sup> Enyophorum (qāmx<sup>u</sup>- bird's down); ga'gex'a<sup>sm</sup> Galium Aporine L. (gex'- to stick like burrs); dadeqa<sup>sm</sup> white moss (deqa to wipe anus); k!a'k!aqwa<sup>sm</sup> (Chamaenerium; k!εq<sup>u</sup>- small sticks stand up; used for small throwing sticks in game); dza'dzeqwa<sup>sm</sup> Opulaster capitatus (dza'gwεm forked end of spear); ha'dzapa<sup>sm</sup> Achillea asplenifolia; pa'pesasma a medicinal plant (pe'ts!ala to whistle); k!a'k!osa<sup>sm</sup> Struthiopteris spicans (k!os- to fold); k!wa'k!wata<sup>sm</sup> Populus balsamifera L.; l!a'l!opa<sup>sm</sup> a plant (l!op-); ma'mā<sup>sm</sup> leaves.

-asmenqa to make the motion of an active without performing it, to make motion from a distance. Reduplication 5

sā'yak'a<sup>sm</sup>menqa to make motion of spearing (sek'-); mā'māx'a<sup>sm</sup>menqa---striking (mεx'-); ts!ā'ts!εma'smenqa---pointing (ts!εm-); x'ā'x'a<sup>sm</sup>menqa---lassoing (x'εsm-); kwā'kwεxa<sup>sm</sup>menqa---striking with stick R 1216.80 (kwεx-); dā'doqwa<sup>sm</sup>menqa to look from a distance pl. dēda'doqwa<sup>sm</sup>menqa (doq<sup>u</sup>-); dā'da'smenqa to make motion of taking (da); q!wā'q!wεmta<sup>sm</sup>menqa ---poking (q!wεmt-); yā'yaq!εnta<sup>sm</sup>menqa pl. yeyā'yaq!εnta<sup>sm</sup>menqa---talking (yāq!εnt-).

-amenqwela some are---,  
some are doing something  
Stem Expansion 2

A 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 cvc E cāc yā'xwamenqwela-  
la pl. yāē'xwamenqwela some are dancing (yex<sup>u</sup>);  
ts!ā'kwamenqwela---short (ts!ek<sup>u</sup>); t!ā'p-  
amenqwela---broken (t!εp-); xā'ā'samenqwela---  
disappeared; ts!ā'x'amenqwela some parts of body  
are painful (ts!εx<sup>u</sup>); swā'namenqwela---hiding  
(swen-); q!wā'lamenqwela---alive (q!wεl-);  
tsā'yamenqwela---drawing water (tsey-);  
bā'wamenqwela, bā'menqwela---leaving; xā'w-  
amenqwela---split (xew-); xā'k'!amenqwela---  
have disappeared for good (xek'!); gwā'd-  
amenqwela---untied (gwed-).

B 1, 2, 5 cvc stable; l!ō'pamenqwela  
---cooked (l!ōp-); xā'samenqwela---rotten  
(xās-); g'ā'xamenqwela---are coming R 752.34  
(g'āx); ē'k'amenqwela---good (ēk');  
syā'k'amenqwela---bad (syak'); da'szamenqwela  
---laughing (da'sz); wā'slamenqwela---stopping  
(wāsl-).

C 1 cvc E cāc; sa'x'ts!amenqwela---  
agree (sεx'ts!-).

C 2 cvc stable; k'!εlx'a'menqwela---  
unripe, raw R 269.2 (k'!εlx'); hā'msa'menqwela  
---picking berries; g'ε'ltamenqwela---long.

E la'menqwela some are going (la-).

=a<sup>s</sup>ma old and useless

lεdasma old hat; q!εdzasma old shirt;  
lε xa<sup>s</sup>ma old basket; k'!obasma old cedar-bark  
blanket; εmo'gwasma old white blanket;  
p!εlxasma old blanket (p!εlx-).

-amas to cause;  
(see -g'ila; and -o<sup>s</sup>so)

In stems of the type cvc the accent  
falls on the first vowel of the suffix:  
tεpa'mas to cause to be broken; zεla'mas to  
kill (to cause to die) C II 32.12; III 39.1;  
smεla'mas to cause to be white. In all other  
stems the accent is on the stem: po'samas to  
make something swell; syε'mzamas to make some-  
thing burst.

After stems or suffixes ending in o,  
εy, εw, the initial a of -amas combines with  
these forms. Apparently the initial a of the  
suffix is lost. bek'o'mas to lend a canoe  
C II 86.10 (bek'o-amas); da'dεgomas to cause  
fight, to take hold of each other C 26:136.93  
(da- go-amas); tsāmas to cause to draw water  
(tsey-amas); la'wāmas to cause to be off  
(la-wā-amas);

After stems and suffixes ending in a  
only one a is present: t!a'mas to fell tree,  
i.e., cause tree to lie (t!a-amas);  
swi<sup>s</sup>laxa'mas to cause all to be down R 226.24  
(swi<sup>s</sup>l-axa-amas); āqa'zamas to cause to be open  
R 90.81 (āq-aža-amas).

-amas is used with both active and  
static verb stems, not with nouns (see -g'ila).  
It is usually followed by an object: gwa'zamas  
to cause to finish R 94.11; 209.1; syā'k'amas  
to cause to be bad R 1218.24; -zεla'mas to  
cause to die, i.e., to kill C II 32.12; pl.  
R 1225.68; tsā'mas to cause to draw water.

In some cases the genitive is used in-  
stead of the object: do'qvamatses...lax...he  
showed his...to...R 1235.80; le naqa'matsa  
tsε'nxwae laxes lεlanεme he gave fat to his  
guests X 159.34.

It occurs frequently with verbal deriva-  
tives: -amas is not added to words which end  
in nominal suffixes (see -g'ila) nεla'zamas to  
cause to lie on back i.e., to turn over R 272.64;  
279.83; 568.99 (nεl-aža-amas); ha'εlag'ustā'mas  
to cause to be quickly up R 81.11 (ha'εla-g'ustā-  
-amas); swi<sup>s</sup>laxa'mas to cause all to be down  
R 226.24 (swi<sup>s</sup>l-axa-amas); q!wa'x<sup>s</sup>idamas to  
cause to grow III 18.11; 77.8 (q!wax-x<sup>s</sup>id-amas);  
bεgwa'nεmx<sup>s</sup>ida'mas to cause to become a man,  
to transform into---C II 158.8 (bεgwanεm-x<sup>s</sup>id-  
-amas).

-amak' on surface of water  
(see -ayak', which is used more rarely)  
Reduplication 5

yā'yaxwa'mak' to rise out of sea danc-  
ing (yex<sup>u</sup>); t!ā't!ak'amak' dirt on surface of  
water (t!ek<sup>u</sup>); syā'syak'amak' rubbish---  
(syak'); t!ā't!εkwamak' curdled blood---  
M 706.2 (t!εk<sup>u</sup>); qā'qasamak' to walk R 1137.43;  
C 26:222.104.52 (qās-); gā'gesamak' jelly fish  
(ges- mushy); gā'xwamak' foam--- (āx<sup>u</sup>);  
l!ā'l!oxwamak' in--- (l!ox<sup>u</sup>); nā'namak' snow---  
C II 22.16 (na<sup>s</sup>ye); gā'lkwamak' blood---M  
706.2 (ālk<sup>u</sup>); tsā'tsεlxamak' hail---.  
qwā'samak' or qwā'samé berry bushes  
bloom III 299.6 (qwās- berry bushes bud).

=amala along bank of river  
Stem Expansion 2

nā'gamala to go straight---R 117.10  
(nεq-) compare nā'qamala to go straight in  
middle of river; nā'gεmala snow on face of  
mountain; nā'qεmala to pay attention);  
tā'zts!amala to warm oneself--- (tεzts!-);  
kwa'sx'amala to splash--- (kwεsx-); ts!ā'mamala  
to point---; tsā'yamala to draw water---;  
swā'damala cold---.

qā'dzamala or qā'yamala to walk---  
R 942.75; 1181.48; CX 221.15 (qās-); syā'g'amala  
to be bad---; ε'g'amala to be good---;  
ha'msamala to pick berries---; tā'mala to wade.

-a<sup>s</sup>mala to quarrel about

k'!ε'lkwa<sup>s</sup>mala to quarrel about digging  
stick (also a place name); so'pa<sup>s</sup>mala to quarrel

about axe; g'ε'ldasa<sup>s</sup>mala---box; - ha<sup>s</sup>ma<sup>s</sup>ya<sup>s</sup>ma<sup>s</sup>-la---food; da<sup>s</sup>la<sup>s</sup>mala---money (da<sup>s</sup>la<sup>s</sup>).

=ad to have, having (see--nuk<sup>u</sup>)

=ad is generally used as a stem suffix while -nuk<sup>u</sup> is a word suffix. In a number of cases =ad attached to the stem, or -nuk<sup>u</sup> attached to a nominal form of the same stem are used as synonyms. le<sup>s</sup>wad R 961.26 also le<sup>s</sup>ewenuk<sup>u</sup> C III 294.16 to have a mat (le<sup>s</sup>x<sup>u</sup>); q!<sup>s</sup>la<sup>s</sup>gwad R 1094.15 also q!<sup>s</sup>ak<sup>u</sup>onuk<sup>u</sup> III 102.22 to have a slave (q!<sup>s</sup>ak<sup>u</sup>);

=ad does not seem to be used after l, m, n; -nuk<sup>u</sup> being used instead (even in the case of stems i.e., g'<sup>i</sup>lnuk<sup>u</sup> belonging to ancient times, ancestors R 1247.61).

1. With verbal stems: k'!<sup>s</sup>ela<sup>d</sup> place for shaking off huckleberries R 209.2; 210.10 (k'!<sup>s</sup>ε<sup>x</sup>); q!<sup>s</sup>e<sup>s</sup>q!<sup>s</sup>ād or q!<sup>s</sup>eq!<sup>s</sup>ead having many (q!<sup>s</sup>y); yagwad to have a gift R 750.9 (yaq<sup>u</sup>); q!<sup>s</sup>ε<sup>s</sup>mdad having a song R 766.1 (q!<sup>s</sup>ε<sup>s</sup>mt).

2. With nominal stems: geg<sup>s</sup>ad having a wife (gek<sup>s</sup>) C II 186.22; 194.22; nagad song leader (=having a mind nāq-) R 698.19; 893.41; semyad having a mouth (sεms-) CX 174.10; awa<sup>s</sup>wad having large ones R 213.4 (awo-); na<sup>s</sup>walagwad having supernatural power R 856.52 (na<sup>s</sup>walak<sup>u</sup>).

In place names: dza<sup>s</sup>wad having olachen =Knights Inlet R 92.36 (dzax<sup>u</sup>); tsεlwad having crabapples (tsεlx<sup>u</sup>).

With terms of relationship: ā<sup>s</sup>yad having a father R 464.13 (awas-); aba<sup>s</sup>yad having a mother R 852.68; 1204.11 (abas-); negwe<sup>s</sup>mbad or negwa<sup>s</sup>yad having parents-in-law (negwas-); xwe<sup>s</sup>ngwad having a child (xwenk<sup>u</sup>); but sa<sup>s</sup>semnuk having children (sasεm pl. children of a couple).

With words with derivational suffixes: tsa<sup>s</sup>x<sup>s</sup>modad having sea-egg shells R 614.23 (tsak<sup>s</sup>-mut=); mε<sup>s</sup>mx<sup>s</sup>tsa<sup>s</sup>ladza<sup>d</sup> to have shame (max<sup>s</sup>ts!<sup>s</sup>-alas=); medze<sup>s</sup>dzad having whistles R 1011.75; 1209.29 (mes=is-); qa<sup>s</sup>yadzad having a walking place, words of a song CX 9.34; X 6.12 (qas=as=); dεx<sup>s</sup>εmlad CX 252.27; 256.13; also dεx<sup>s</sup>εmlnuk<sup>u</sup> CX 253.12, 15 to have owl mask (dεx<sup>s</sup>-(g)εm<sup>s</sup>); q!<sup>s</sup>welād life owner (saver) CX 198.2; 214.14 (q!<sup>s</sup>wela=ad).

We have a single example in which -nuk<sup>u</sup> and -ad are used together in the same word āxno<sup>s</sup>gwad, pl. exno<sup>s</sup>gwad owner R 220.21; 223.18; 1218.30 (āx-nuk<sup>u</sup>=ad).

The idiomatic uses of =ad and -nuk are illustrated by the following: qas<sup>s</sup> g'oladāsas gwe<sup>s</sup>x<sup>s</sup>sdεmnukwa he<sup>s</sup>māomas that you may be a lunch owner of some kind (having a kind) of food.

ts!<sup>s</sup>la<sup>s</sup>yawad ready to make up mind (ts!<sup>s</sup>la<sup>s</sup>sa<sup>s</sup>); (see ε<sup>s</sup>gwat).

=ato, ear; - (appears to refer to external ear but is not rigidly adhered to; (see -!a);

ts!<sup>s</sup>εgwa<sup>s</sup> to short-eared (ts!<sup>s</sup>εk<sup>u</sup>); εwedāa<sup>s</sup> to to have cold ear (εwed-); ts!<sup>s</sup>εmaa<sup>s</sup>tod to melt away something in ear (ts!<sup>s</sup>εsm-); mena<sup>s</sup>tod to strike ear (mεx<sup>s</sup>-); yεna<sup>s</sup> to to hear quickly (yεx<sup>s</sup>-); ts!<sup>s</sup>εma<sup>s</sup>tod to point at ear (ts!<sup>s</sup>εm-); dεsya<sup>s</sup>tod, pl. dεsdεya<sup>s</sup>tod to wipe ear (dεy-); āswa<sup>s</sup>tawε top of ear, ear (āw-); - ne<sup>s</sup>xatod to pull ear (nεx-); εna<sup>s</sup>watod to cover ear (na<sup>s</sup>x<sup>u</sup>); he<sup>s</sup>latāla to hear distinctly (he<sup>s</sup>x-); - k'ε<sup>s</sup>lgatod to lick ear (k'ε<sup>s</sup>lq-); sε<sup>s</sup>lbatod to twist ear (sεlp-); k!<sup>s</sup>wεmεlāa<sup>s</sup> to to scorch ear (k!<sup>s</sup>wεmε<sup>s</sup>x-).

q!<sup>s</sup>welāa<sup>s</sup>tāla to hear plainly; - gwā<sup>s</sup>saatāla to turn ear this way III 81.43; ox<sup>s</sup>āa<sup>s</sup>tāsyε back of neck; - he<sup>s</sup>z<sup>s</sup>k'odatāse right ears III 105.5 (hε<sup>s</sup>x pl. -k'lot-ato-ε<sup>s</sup>); swa<sup>s</sup>x<sup>s</sup>sodatāse on each ear III 223.2 (swax<sup>s</sup>-k'lot-ato-ε); gεsmx<sup>s</sup>odatāse left ear (gεsmx<sup>s</sup>-k'lot-).

dasdāa<sup>s</sup>tod to take hold of ear (either one or both); q!<sup>s</sup>εsq!<sup>s</sup>εg<sup>s</sup>atεswak<sup>u</sup> hitting in ear (see -!a ear for reduplication with insertion of s).

-atus down river

neqa<sup>s</sup>tosεla, pl. neqema<sup>s</sup>tosεla straight down river; da<sup>s</sup>tosεla, pl. damatosεla to take down river; qa<sup>s</sup>satos, qa<sup>s</sup>satosεla to start walking---R 948.20; qa<sup>s</sup>dze<sup>s</sup>tosεla to be walking (qas=[g<sup>s</sup>]ε<sup>s</sup>); qε<sup>s</sup>mxwatusεla bird's down drifts III 154.30; 243.10, 14.

With =g'ε<sup>s</sup>l: se<sup>s</sup>wε<sup>s</sup>to<sup>s</sup>εla, sexweto<sup>s</sup>εla to paddle---; teq<sup>s</sup>εtos to drop---C II 338.9 (teq=[g<sup>s</sup>]ε<sup>s</sup>); ge<sup>s</sup>εg<sup>s</sup>ε<sup>s</sup>tos to come down---crossways CX 255.23 (gey<sup>s</sup>); q!<sup>s</sup>weng<sup>s</sup>ε<sup>s</sup>tosεla, (q!<sup>s</sup>wεna<sup>s</sup>tosεla) often down river.

Also with the meaning "down from above"; we<sup>s</sup>gεltosa to push a long thing---(weq<sup>u</sup>) CX 255.21; - qεbe<sup>s</sup>εto<sup>s</sup>sa to overturn CX 255.34 (qεp-);

Note: - The suffix -āla (-wāla) on the water, is also used to express "down river" and "out of inlet."

da<sup>s</sup>wāla to take off or down river; dze<sup>s</sup>lx<sup>s</sup>āla to run---mean the same as da<sup>s</sup>tosεla and dze<sup>s</sup>lxwatosεla.

-anεm nominal suffix; irregular

g'ε<sup>s</sup>na<sup>s</sup>nεm child (g'ε<sup>s</sup>nl-); begwa<sup>s</sup>nεm man (bek<sup>u</sup>); g'a<sup>s</sup>weq!<sup>s</sup>anεm clams (g'a<sup>s</sup>weq-)

=anem, obtained by ; - (see =inet)

se g'a'ne m, (se g'i'net) obtained by spearing (sek'-); x'esma'ne m obtained by snaring (x'esm-); axa'ne m obtained by work C II 26.11; III 27.22; sena'ne m---planning III 278.65 (sen-); wa'ne m fail to obtain 3914.6 (we y-); ts!a'ne m obtained by giving (ts!ew-); le'gwane m obtained by lying C 26:38.11 (lek<sup>u</sup>), -se'wane m---paddling (sex<sup>u</sup>-); qa'yanem---walking (qas-); -sna'ne m---aiming (nox<sup>u</sup>); tes wa'ne m---attacking (tox<sup>u</sup>-); ha'nanem---shooting (han-); -k'e'lwane m---buying (k'e'lx<sup>u</sup>-); ha'myanem---berrying (hams-); sa'ne m, sa'x'sidanem obtained by stretching (sa-).

be k'a'ne m canoe lent C III 164.11 (bek'o'); -la'lanem obtained (la-ol-ela=anem); denxelā'ne m obtained by singing (denx-ela=anem); geg'a'danem obtained by having a wife (gek'=ad=anem); q!a'k'oqanem obtained by obtaining a slave (q!ak<sup>u</sup>-ol=anem); q!a'q!ak!wanem obtained by trying to get a slave.

-ana perhaps, maybe

k'e'ssana perhaps not; sma'ssanawis what perhaps C II 10.2; 30.30; smadzāa'nawis what indeed perhaps III 11.12; 196.24; la'na C 26:163.318; la'nae'm probably; C II 10.12; la'se'mxanawis evidently also; la'g'elslaxs-a'nawis may be doing on ground III 95.20; g'i'g'ae'qala'na'laēda swa'ts!e maybe the dog had in mind C II 20.5.

-ānasēsa to do to each in order  
(see -āsesēla, -anaqa)  
Stem Expansion 2

qa'panasēse la to pour (upset) to each one in order (qep-); ts!ā'wanasēse la to give--- R 438.44 (ts!ew-); gwa'yanasēse la to awaken--- (gwe y-); yā'qwanasēsa to give to each in order; ha'slanasēsa to do each thing quickly (hasl-); xe'lqanasēse la to throw blankets to--- (xelq-); yā'q!entanasēse la to talk to one after another; ts!ak'!ānasēse la, ts!ak'!ānaasēse la to tell news to---.

-anaqa to act so as to extend over  
several in order  
(see -anaēsa, -āsesēla)  
Stem Expansion 2

mā'x'anaqla to strike one after another (mex'-); na'panaqla to strike - C 26.40.65; wā'anaqa to ask---C III 82.18 (wel-); ts!ā'ts!ēmanaqa to point---(ts!em-); ts!ā'w-anaqla to give---(ts!ew-); hā'wanaqa to pile

up one over the other, two canoes connected by a platform.

B 1. cūc' stable or cū'cvc': pā'panaqa to lay boards flat over several things (pa); k'ā'k'atanaqa to lay long things---(k'āt-); dā'doqwanaqa to see (visit) several on one trip (dōq<sup>u</sup>-).

dē'qwanaqla to drive in with hammer in order (deq<sup>u</sup>) V 356.32; dō'qwanaqla to look at in order (dōq<sup>u</sup>-).

k'!ē'lak'anaqa to strike several with one stick after another.

=anes(?), !anes names of animals

ba'gwanes skate; met!a'nes horse clam.

=ano instrument

Passive parallel to =ayu with suffixes that form transitives in -end.

wese'g'ano belt (wesek'-); se'k'!agano staff (sek'aq-); -han'ano kettle (han-x'la=); k'!wa'qaxsano splitter III 141.13; t!e'lwagano club V 478.24; de'g'idano body wiper R 670.89 (dey-g'it=).

ax'sta'no to be put into water R 110.40; 449.61; ax'wsta'no to be taken out of water R 255.24; la'sta'no to be put into water; ha'nx'sano kettle is put on fire R 423.43; x'ex'la'no put parallel on side of fire (clams) C 26:115.5; x'ex'us'a'no (clams) taken away from fire C 26:115.5.

=asno nominal (plant names) (see =aasno)

Attached to stems forms plant names: x'eg'a'sno Argentina occidentalis Ryd R 533.6; x'o'gwasno lily plant (x'ok<sup>u</sup>); -ts!e'nasnu stem of elderberry (ts!e'x'ena); -t!eq!wasno cinquefoil; q!wendzasno lupine plant (q!wens-).

-anoma to come to

has'ma'noma to come to eat; āxa'noma to come to do; -ts!ēma'noma to come to point; yexwa'noma to come to dance; q!a'nomalag'elis to come to find in world M 709.6 (q!a-); -se'xwanoma to come to paddle; q!ā'mtanoma to come to sing; -de'nxanoma to come to sing; -he'noma to do on purpose; -xa'wisanoma to come on purpose to be angry.

-(a)s, -(a)dzes side of flat thing;  
-asaḷa, -asēla to have on side

This suffix appear generally in its nominal form -(a)dzes. With =no side, it

occurs often as =nos side of round long things (see =no).

Stems of the type cy and cyc take accent on last syllable excepting those ending in unglottalized m, n, l. Stems of the types cvc and cvmc have the accent on the first syllable. A very few words appear without a. It is doubtful whether this is the suffix -a of the normal verbal forms since it appears also in words that have no terminal a.

ts!kwasdze short side; bēsna<sup>s</sup>dze under side (bēsna<sup>s</sup>dze'nd); lasdze'nd to go to the other side; q!ēna<sup>s</sup>dze<sup>s</sup> side where sewed; lēma<sup>s</sup>dze<sup>s</sup> scabby side; smēla<sup>s</sup>dze<sup>s</sup> white side; ts!o'ā<sup>s</sup>dze<sup>s</sup> black side; q!ē'mā<sup>s</sup>dze<sup>s</sup> meat side of fish; g'ē'lta<sup>s</sup>dze<sup>s</sup> long side; a'mosadze<sup>s</sup> decorated side.

sne<sup>s</sup>ldze<sup>s</sup> up-river side, south side. l!a<sup>s</sup>sdze<sup>s</sup>li<sup>l</sup> outer side in house III 63.22; swa<sup>s</sup>x<sup>s</sup>sdze<sup>s</sup> both sides; qwe<sup>s</sup>sdze<sup>s</sup>slis far side III 68.5; āpsa<sup>s</sup>dze<sup>s</sup> other side III 59.16; ē'k!<sup>s</sup>otdze<sup>s</sup> upper half; ō'sgemdze<sup>s</sup> front of body or hill; bēs<sup>s</sup>nk!<sup>s</sup>otdze<sup>s</sup> lower half.

swa<sup>s</sup>x<sup>s</sup>asela to have both sides (front and back); mo'mekwasela to have tied on in front and back; g'ē'lgēlsasela to have paint on in front and back; a'mosasela to have one side decorated; asmosasela to have both sides decorated; g'ē'lta<sup>s</sup>sela to have a long side; g'a'g'ēltasela to have a long handle.

e'k!<sup>s</sup>asa<sup>z</sup>a to have flat side up; bēs<sup>s</sup>nasa<sup>z</sup>a to have flat side underneath; odzasa<sup>z</sup>a flat thing wrong side up (wrong side of blanket); he'zasa<sup>z</sup>a flat thing right side up.

-as (nominal) tree (Kos, BB); Irregular

s<sup>m</sup>o't!as Abies grandis, Lund. (s<sup>m</sup>o<sup>s</sup>me<sup>s</sup>x<sup>u</sup>de Kw.); dē'n<sup>s</sup>yas red cedar BB (dēns-); dē<sup>s</sup>was yellow cedar BB (dēx<sup>u</sup>-); k!<sup>s</sup>o'ā<sup>s</sup> oak; po<sup>s</sup>xwas willow, Menziesia ferruginea (po<sup>s</sup>x<sup>u</sup>- to blow) CX 222.16, 29; q!wax<sup>s</sup>as hemlock tree R 152.4.

=as place of; Stem Expansion la

Used only with verbs.

A 1. cvc: nēg<sup>s</sup>a<sup>s</sup> place for steaming (nēk<sup>s</sup>-) R 75.35; 529.65; āx<sup>s</sup>a<sup>s</sup> place R 131.16; 185.16 (āx-); pēwa<sup>s</sup> place of floating (pēx<sup>u</sup>-).

A 2. cvm>cāsm: t!ā<sup>s</sup>mas place of sewing with cedar withes (t!ēm-); gwā<sup>s</sup>nas place where debt is paid (gwen-).

A 3. cvy>cāsy: tsā<sup>s</sup>yas place of drawing water (tsēy-); q!ā<sup>s</sup>yas place of many R 220.7; 256.23 (q!ēy-); bā<sup>s</sup>was place of leaving R 774.39 (bēw-).

A 4. cvb>cvbā: yā<sup>s</sup>x<sup>s</sup>sidā<sup>s</sup> place of melting.

A 5. cvc>cācā: hāsmā<sup>s</sup> place where one eats (hāsm-); hāk!wā<sup>s</sup> place of staying away C II 320.3 (hāk!<sup>u</sup>-).

B 1. cvc: qā<sup>s</sup>yas, qā<sup>s</sup>dzas place of walking; sne<sup>s</sup>g<sup>s</sup>as---speaking (person one speaks to); C 26:204.165 (snek<sup>s</sup>); s!ā<sup>s</sup>bas---digging (s!āp-); sē<sup>s</sup>was---padding III 129.32 (sēx<sup>u</sup>-).

C. cvmc: hā<sup>s</sup>n<sup>s</sup>as place of shooting (hān<sup>l</sup>-); dze<sup>s</sup>lwas---running (dze<sup>s</sup>l<sup>u</sup>-); ā<sup>s</sup>mlas playground C II 4.11, 144.17.

D. cvc\*c tē<sup>s</sup>ts!ā<sup>s</sup> place where one warms oneself (tē<sup>s</sup>ts!-); kwēs<sup>s</sup>x<sup>s</sup>ā<sup>s</sup> place of splashing (kwēs<sup>s</sup>x<sup>s</sup>-).

E. ca: q!ā<sup>s</sup>a<sup>s</sup> place of finding R 118.3; 197.6; lā<sup>s</sup>a<sup>s</sup> place of standing (of mast) V 353.31.

With suffixes ending in vowels, sonants or glottalized consonants the same rules prevail as found after stems of these types:

lā<sup>s</sup>xwā<sup>s</sup>ā<sup>s</sup> standing place III 42.1 (lāx<sup>u</sup>-ā<sup>z</sup>a); s!ā<sup>s</sup>stā<sup>s</sup>a<sup>s</sup> place of going into water III 34.3 (-stā-); swa<sup>s</sup>sgembā<sup>s</sup> length at end R 58.33 (-sgem-ba-); l!ā<sup>s</sup>l!ets!ā<sup>s</sup> place of trying to sun (l!ēs!<sup>s</sup>-!a-); sne<sup>s</sup>m<sup>s</sup>xā<sup>s</sup> place of one flat thing R 505.12 (-xsa-); nē<sup>s</sup>x<sup>s</sup>a<sup>s</sup>lā<sup>s</sup> place where one gets on rock C 26:206.267 (nēq-g<sup>s</sup>x!<sup>s</sup>-!a-).

yā<sup>s</sup>lōdā<sup>s</sup> place of tying together R 226.19 (yē<sup>s</sup>l-go-d-); āx<sup>s</sup>ē<sup>s</sup>dā<sup>s</sup> place where one takes (-x<sup>s</sup>ē<sup>s</sup>d-); swā<sup>s</sup>dzeq!<sup>s</sup>exsdā<sup>s</sup> size of bottom R 531.4; 542.70 (-dzeq!<sup>s</sup>xsd-as); nā<sup>s</sup>pap!ā<sup>s</sup> when they throw stones at one another R 969.79 (nēp-ap!<sup>s</sup>-as).

Suffixes of other types are treated like the stems of corresponding type: lā<sup>s</sup>bēdas place of going in III 8.12 (-bēt-); g'ā<sup>s</sup>yo<sup>s</sup>as place from which one obtains III 26.22; g'ā<sup>s</sup>ē<sup>s</sup>las bedroom (g'ēy=i<sup>l</sup>-).

-ēla is treated like the type cvc (not like cvm): gwa<sup>s</sup>bē<sup>s</sup>las north end III 60.29 (ba-l-); g'ā<sup>s</sup>yas<sup>s</sup>nakwē<sup>s</sup>las place from which one comes III 8.11.

Nouns in -ē transform -ē to -ā<sup>s</sup>yā: āx<sup>s</sup>bā<sup>s</sup>yā<sup>s</sup> place where something is on end (-bē<sup>s</sup>-); those in -ā<sup>s</sup>ye form -ā<sup>s</sup>yā: āxdā<sup>s</sup>ē<sup>s</sup>yā<sup>s</sup> place of being on a flat thing R 231.23.

The suffix !s, outside, with =as becomes e and with =as forms -ās: g'o<sup>s</sup>k!wās<sup>s</sup> house place on ground C 26:218.259; ē<sup>s</sup>q!<sup>s</sup>as place of witchcraft (ēq!<sup>s</sup>-!s=as); nāq!<sup>s</sup>ās place of song leaders in woods (nāq!<sup>s</sup>-!s=as); q!ē<sup>s</sup>mt!ās place of singing; but also k!wēts!<sup>s</sup>ēdza<sup>s</sup> place of sitting on ground (pl.)

Meaning: While this suffix designates primarily place, it also has many derived meanings such as time, size, number, way of. It occurs in conjunction with many other suffixes.

Place of: swā<sup>s</sup>lā<sup>s</sup> place of stopping; lā<sup>s</sup>dza<sup>s</sup> place where person stands on ground R 617.4; 1069.53 (lā<sup>s</sup>-!s=as); yē<sup>s</sup>lgwas place where hurt; x<sup>s</sup>ē<sup>s</sup>ndzas nose (place of sniffing);

<sup>9</sup> g'o<sup>s</sup>kwās house on roof (g'ok<sup>u</sup>-g'ās).

swā'snas hiding place; xwē'la'swāas spawning place 3925 DC; g'a'ya'slas place for suicide (where something happened C 26:71.3 D); !l'ewā's place where one eats after journey 3974.12.

Measure, size; swā'sge'smas length CX 173.5 pl. swā'ssg'e'smas; swā'selabēdas depth R 68.76; 80.46; 82.12; swā'g'idas thick and roundness pl. swā'g'idas; swō'gwas pl. swi'swogwas thickness (wok<sup>u</sup>); swā'sxāas number III 40.43, pl. ā'xāas; swā'dz'exse'sstāas width around R 163.7; swā'layas size X 161.25 (swā'las) pl. ā'wāas or āwā'wāas C III 238.31 (āwō'); swā'swi'dzas length of time on ground X 161.11; swā'sla'zāas distance C 26:136.91, pl. ā'sla'zāas.

With hē'smis, time of: swā'swas'elilas time of moving in house C III 190.14; dex<sup>u</sup>'seq!āas time of jumping over CX 276.33; hē'smis'en bā'swas that was the time of my leaving R 774.39; syā'q!eg'a'slas time of speaking C 26:215.122; enē'g'as time of speaking; tēt'ps'āas time of breaking R 510.43; āx'mdāas time of putting on face C 26:57.6.

Way of, condition: gwā'zāas way of being III 26.8, 40; ō'dzaxāas uneasy feeling R 857.74; gwē'x'siddāas way of doing III 436.16; ē'g'as good way C 26:115.2, 4; gwā'gwē'syāas intentions C 26:206.241; wa'sneqāas annoyance R 884.22; 1332.15; swā'slāzāas condition V 357.17; āsmē'las misfortune, wrong R 905.10; CX 178.31; gwē'x'sas kind of thing (Nak '30.347 =Kwag. gwē'x'sdēm); gwek'laslas way to speak C III 56.7; g'a'ya'slas cause of death; way of killing D (also place of---); yewe'las way of dancing in house (traditional) C 26:88.119 (also place).

Miscellaneous examples: qā'yas words of a song; k!wē'las feast C III 56.2; host C III 56.6; dze'nāas man to whom you owe loyalty, attractive place R 498.9; 1094.27; g'ā'x'g'āg'as action (place from which you start every time); k!ā't!āas stone receptacle for painting; g'ō'las place for lunch C 26:193.107 (g'ēwe'lk<sup>u</sup> travelling provisions); sneg'asnok<sup>u</sup> to have someone to whom one talks C 26:204.165.

-asde dried meat of; Stem Expansion 2

bā'kwāsde dried human flesh R 1226.83; III 32.1; pā'lasde dried fins R 248.44; 375.1, 2; mā'tasde meat of horse clams (mēt-); dza'xwāsde meat of silver salmon (dze'x<sup>u</sup>-); - g'a'xwāsde meat of steelhead salmon (g'ēx<sup>u</sup>-); gexwāsde dried deer meat (gex<sup>u</sup>); sa'sasde dried spring salmon; hā'nxwāsde dried humpback salmon (hanx<sup>u</sup>).  
mā'leqasde dried halibut head R 248.42; 371.1; x'ā'kwā'syasde roasted mussels III 157.10 (x'ēk<sup>u</sup>-); smē'lqasde goat meat (smē'lqo mountain goat); pēx'i'tasde dried kelp fish R 401.16, 19, 23 (pēx'-(g')it-asde); dē'mp!axsde'syasde dried salt-taste-tail end (halibut tail) R 248.52 (dēm-p!a-lxsde-asde)

=ats!e receptacle (box, dish, house, canoe etc.); Stem Expansion 1a

Stem and word suffix; probably a compound of =as and -ie; follows the rules of =as.  
nēgwats!e salal berry canoe R 206.19; basket R 205.8; - hāsmāa'ts!e food dish R 516.9; pā'ts!e dish of shaman CX 2.33 (pēs-); ts!ats!e wash basin R 544.11 (tsēx<sup>u</sup>-); q!a'smats!e box for mending (q!ēm-); tša'syats!e dipper R 283.49 (tsēy-); - g'a'syats!e receptacle into which to put something (g'ēy-); na'gats!e bucket (naq-); k!a'dzats!e or k!a'yats!e spoon basket 4296 (k!as-); kwats!e chamber vessel R 77.81; 94.5; syēnk!āats!e sling box (syēnk!-); dē'nyats!e receptacle for cedar bark (dēs-); tsē'lwats!e crab-apple box (tsēlx<sup>u</sup>); q!wāā'ts!e wedge bag (receptacle for several standing) R 60.3; 82.24.

Exceptions: k!wāts!e canoe C II 296.10; 308.8 Kos.; wi'nāats!e war canoe III 129.25 (win-).

The following examples illustrate special uses of the suffix: bāts!e womb R 632.30 (bēx<sup>u</sup>-); was'a'ts!e gorge C II 14.10 (wa); q!wāā'ts!e wedge bag (receptacle for several standing) R 60.3; 82.24; - ya'yats!e travelling canoe R 97.78; 129.11 (ya-); swē'sla'ts!e box-makers house R 87.22; - k!wāts!e canoe C II 296.10; 308.8 Kos. (k!wa-); - snā'gwats!e window (snā'qwēla); - ts!ēx'q!āats!e sick-house R 719.37; - swā'xats!e pipe (swax- smoke, H); swā'xwēx<sup>u</sup> to smoke; - q!wā'sya'lats!e gall of beaver, bear; castorium R 636.6; (?) dēndza'ts!e dance hall (from English "dance").

q!wayalats!e gall of beaver, bear; castorium (probably does not belong here).

=ag'ensa to happen to meet someone while ---ing (see =ens)

t!ē'g'ag'ensa---lying on back (t!ēk'-); hā'sma'g'ensa---eating; gē'lgag'ensa---swimming (gēlq-); qā'yag'ensa---walking (qās-); sē'wag'ensa---paddling (sēx<sup>u</sup>-); ā'mlag'ensa---playing (āmł-); mē'xag'ensa---asleep (mēx-); ē'axālag'ensa---at work.

-!ak' disposition

e'x'sak'a of a kindly, willing disposition (ek'-); dē'l'snak' to get damp easily R 281.23 (dēlx'-).

zā'wi'ts!ak' of angry disposition; quick tempered (zā'swis).

ō'dzēgē'smak' of jealous disposition (ōdz-gēm!ak'); syak'!ēlq!ak' easily downhearted (syak'-ēlqa!ak'); eb'!ē'q!ak' of happy disposition (ek'-lēq-); yā'k'!ēq!ak' of evil disposition (yak'-!ēq).



=ak'a to happen

-o'dzak'a to happen wrongly = to die (odz-); q!ä'k'a to discover III 348.13 (q!a), to begin to feel.

=äk'a see =äx'sa

-ak<sup>u</sup>, -akwela at intervals of time or space (see =k<sup>u</sup>)

s<sup>n</sup>exwäa'k<sup>u</sup> close together, qwē'sääk<sup>u</sup> far apart, hē'äak<sup>u</sup> right distance.

s<sup>n</sup>exwäa'kwela it occurs at frequent short intervals of time; qwē'säakwela pl. qweqwē'säakwela---long---; hē'äakwela---right---; q!wēlääkwela to bring back to life every time CX 19.11; t!ä'kwela tree falls over entirely.

=ak<sup>u</sup> beforehand, in advance see (=k<sup>u</sup>)

-agaw(e<sup>s</sup>), agod, agox<sup>s</sup>wid, agāla, more, extreme refers to relative position of two (-q, -ge<sup>s</sup> for more than two)

b<sup>e</sup>na'gawes furthest underneath R 780.13; q!agawes more R 563.80, 576.94; CX 202.31 (q!ey-); gwa'gawes extreme north end (gwa-); a'lagod to go farthest inland; e'k'lagod to go higher X 179.32; a'lagawes later one R 64.81, 1198.92; g<sup>e</sup>m<sup>s</sup>xa'godala to be at extreme left R 1239.67; awa'gawes between two things.

swa'lasagawes larger; äwi'lagawes more important R 1152.6; äma'syagawes smaller R 189.26, 211.40.

swa'swalasa'aga'wes one a little larger; b<sup>e</sup>snē'lagawes moving furthest below R 907.40 (b<sup>e</sup>sn = [g'] eī-agawes); he'k'!otagawes on right side; g<sup>e</sup>smxo'tagawes on left side.

ts!ēda'qagawes girl (the other a boy); b<sup>e</sup>kwa'gawes boy (the other a girl); b<sup>e</sup>xk'!ot-agawes boy among twins of opposite sex R 713.10; ts!ēda'xk'!otagawes the girl among twins of opposite sex; (ts!ēda'q!age a woman among men).

=aq crotch;

p<sup>e</sup>l<sup>a</sup>gēs anal fin (p<sup>e</sup>l=aq=e<sup>s</sup>); ts!ēda'q split in crotch = woman (folk etymology?) III 52.9; äswa'ges crotch, hollow on butt of tree CX 275.17 (o=aq=e<sup>s</sup>); g'i'g'aga'la to have teeth in crotch III 96.17 (g'ik'-); ts!o'bage<sup>s</sup> tucked in crotch X 175.6 (ts!op-);

Special meanings: se'wages anal fin III 390.35 (sex<sup>u</sup>=aq=e<sup>s</sup>); -äwa'gexi<sup>e</sup>s small of back V 490.32 (o=aq=x<sup>u</sup>ä); he'k'!odages anal fin (right side in crotch III 390.34 (he'k'-!ot-

=aq=e<sup>s</sup>) s<sup>n</sup>labage<sup>s</sup> open crotch (spread legs) C 26:117.37 (s<sup>n</sup>lap=aq=e<sup>s</sup>); p!a'p!e<sup>s</sup>waq!a to be about to feel crotch (p<sup>e</sup>x<sup>u</sup>=aq-!a); p<sup>e</sup>swago's<sup>e</sup>yewe<sup>s</sup> float on crotch in middle (p<sup>e</sup>x<sup>u</sup>=aq=o<sup>s</sup>yo=e<sup>s</sup>).

-!aqela -!ages to carry along;

hasnā'qela to carry along kettle (hän-) hāsna'ges kettle carried along; sō'p!aqela---an adze (sop-); g'ō'slaqela---food (g'ōx-); ha'm!aqela---gun (han-); lāa'qela to take along, lāa'ges something taken along; g'a'x<sup>e</sup>aqela to bring along.

m<sup>e</sup>lm<sup>e</sup>lgwe<sup>s</sup>ma'qela to carry (along in case needed) (m<sup>e</sup>l'qwela to remember) C 26: 210.407; da'dak'!aqela to take hold fighting; to insult someone; handle roughly.

-aqa, -aqela, -aqod, to pass one

dā'qa to take the one following the next (i.e., pass the next one) (da); gā'xaqa to step over the next one to the one following (gax-); q!ē'ā'qa to pass a child being carried to the person passing the nearest one (q!ēx-); b<sup>e</sup>xā'qa to cut the one following the nearest one (b<sup>e</sup>x-).

p!ēl'ā'qa to fly past, p!ā'p!ēl'aqela---back and forth (p<sup>e</sup>l); y<sup>e</sup>x'ā'qa to pass quickly, yā'yax'aqela---back and forth (y<sup>e</sup>x'); wē'ā'qa to pass on its own accord (wēl-); haya'qa, III 18.1, haya'qela III 172.18; hā'qa to go right past (hēy-); lā'qa to go---(la); mā'qa to swim---(ma- New); qā'saqa to walk---(qās-) C II 346.20; dze'l<sup>x</sup>waqa to run---(dzēlx<sup>u</sup>-).

a'laqodala to go past behind (a-) C II 198.24.

-aqanud, -aqenwe<sup>s</sup>  
(combination of -aqa pass and =no side?)

ā'laqanud to go behind houses, inland; l!ā'saqanud to go in front of houses, seaside. qwesā'qenwe<sup>s</sup> far side; gwasā'qenwe<sup>s</sup> near side; e'k'!aqenwe<sup>s</sup> side above; b<sup>e</sup>snē'qenwe<sup>s</sup> side below; gwā'qenwe<sup>s</sup> direction (thus pointed out) R 261.35; 1120.71.

=aq<sup>u</sup> ?

e'g'aq<sup>u</sup> good one R 113.43 (ek'-)

-aq!ēs back and forth;  
Stem Expansion 2

sa'k'aq!ēs to spear back and forth (sēk'-); na'paq!ēs to throw ball back and forth C 26: 193.100 (nēp-);

No other examples found. The following are said to be Newetee: kwa'sx'aq!es to splash---; ts!ā'maq!es to point---; g'ā'laq!es to crawl---; ma'laq!es to carry fire---; sē'xwaq!es to paddle---; da'yaq!es to wipe---

=āx'sa, =āx'sala, (=āk'sa, =ak'sala); weakens stops only; also -ek'sa, -ek'sala away without definite aim  
Stem Expansion 3b

There does not seem to be any difference between the weakening and indifferent forms and usage varies.

A 1. cvc' E cāc' In the weakened form the a is short, accent on the last syllable: plā'tak'sa, plā'tex'sa to fly way (pl!el-); gwā'qak'sa, gwag'ek'sa to pour away (gweq-); xā'qwak'sa, xag'wek'sa to pick up many round things; xwā'tak'sala, xwad'ek'sala to cut carelessly, beyond mark; l!ā'qwak'sala to break off carelessly (l!eq<sup>u</sup>-); ā'xax'sala to do any kind of work R 673.16; 691.5.

pā'xwax'sa, pa'xwex'sa to float away C II 36.7 (pe<sup>u</sup>-); k'ā'xex'sa to run away for fear (k'ēl-); dā'xwax'sa, da'xwek'sa to jump away (de<sup>u</sup>-) q!ā'xex'sa to carry away on arms (q!ēl-).

A 2. cvm E cam: pā'nak'sala to pour into anything (pen-); swā'nak'sala to hide anywhere (swen-); g'ā'lax'sa to crawl anywhere (g'ēl-).

A 3. cey E cāy: dā'yak'sala to wipe off anywhere (dey-); snā'wak'sala to aim--- (snew-).

A 4. cvb E cab: gwā'dek'sala to untie in any way (gwed-).

A 5. cvsc E cāsc: xāk'!ax'sa to lose something and never find it (xek'!-).

B 1. cvc' R cvcvc': qeqā'sak'sa, qeqā'dzek'sa to walk away, or farther than intended; wewā'k'ak'sala to bend in any way, wewā'g'ex'sa to bend beyond intention (wāk'-); ts!ets!ā'gex'sa to drift away (ts!āq-); g'eg'ī'qāx'sala to give like a chief to everyone; ā'ō'dzax'sa to go off from regular path 4071.7;

cec' E cāc'. sā'xwax'sa to paddle away C II 266.28; C 26: 72.20; sā'xwas'sala to go astray in fog; sā'xwax'dzem paddled away with; swā'g'ek'sa, swā'k'ak'sa to carry long thing away on shoulder (swēk'-); t!ā'x'āk'sa, t!ā'x'ek'sa, t!ēt!ē'x'ek'sa, t!ēt!ē'x'ak'sa to carry round thing away on shoulder (t!ēx'-).

But lē'qax'sala to call names in any order C III 56.7 (leq-); snē'k'ax'sala to talk about nothing; hē'yax'sala to be careless.

C 1. cvc\*c' R cvcāc\*c': gegā'sx'ak'sa to carry away on fingers (gesx'-).

cvc\*c' E cāc\*c': kwā'sx'ak'sala to splash carelessly (kwesx'-); ts!ā'tx'ak'sala to squirt carelessly (ts!etx'-).

C 2. cvmc' stable or cāmac': k!wē'lpak'sala, k!wā'lap'ek'sala to pluck off berries carelessly (k!wēlp-); t!ē'mqak'sala, t!ā'maqak'sala to pin--- (t!ēmq-); gē'mxak'sa, gā'maxak'sala to carry a bundle away on arms (gēmx-); gē'lqax'sa, gā'laqak'sa (la) to swim away---

Also R cvcvmc': (dze)dze'l'xwek'sa, dzā'la'xwak'sa to run away (dzēlx<sup>u</sup>-); be'nsak'sa, bebe'ndzek'sa, to be ashamed on account of trifles.

E cv stable lā'x'sala to go away somewhere C II 16.14; 3953.11.

Polysyllabic words: yā'wab'ax'sala to sail away (yā'wap-); ts!ā'daq'ax'sala woman of common rank (cf. ts!ēdā'xsā, ts!ēdā'qex'sā); bā'gwan'emax'sala man---

Initial w hāwā'ldemx'sala, hā'wa'ldemk'sala to gossip.

Initial m hāmā'x'ts!ax'sa to walk away for shame III 316.32.

Initial y hā'q!endex'sala C 26: 105.16; 3959.4; yā'q!endex'sala to talk drivell.

With other suffixes: qā's'idex'sala to take a chance starting to walk C II 16.15; qeqā'dzax'sel'sela, qeqā'sax'salag'elis to take a walk outside; q!ā'yodāx'sala to talk much of no consequence.

Special meanings: s'yā'xwex'sa deluge C 26:30.2; gā'g'adax'sala to have a wife of common rank; gē'lak'sala come and take your chance!; hālā'g'exsala go and take your chance C II 16.15; nēn'wa'k'sawise he did not go near; smā'smayax'salag'elis what are you doing around here? C 26: 4.122; ts!ā'daqax'sala common woman; g'a'nan'emax'sala common woman.

-axa, -axela, -axod down

nēqā'xela to beat straight down CX 109.21, 132.21 (nēq-); wē'za'xod to bring down in vain R 727.10 (wēl-); ts!ēma'xa to point down (ts!ēm-); snā'xa to aim down (snew-); wā'xa not to reach down (wey-); k'a'xa to take down dish (k'a-); q!wē'mx'axela to rush down III 196.37 (q!wēmx'-); o'x'axela to carry bundle down on back R 105.15 (ox-).

With -d it forms -axod and with =ayu it forms -axo<sup>s</sup>yu. The plurals are formed with the suffix -em: āxa'xod to take down R 128.10; 225.10; ye'za'xod to (let) down hair C 26:40.87; ts!eqā'xo<sup>s</sup>yu to be thrown down X 87.28 (ts!ēq -axa = ayu); āxema'xo<sup>s</sup>yu to be taken down, pl. R 296.79 (āx - em - axa = ayu) q!ā'snāxela to soar down C 26: 167.455 (q!ā'sne).

Special meanings: be'kwa'xa man of lower rank R 751.12, 971.25; hā'maxa (hē - em - axa) steep places pl. C 26: 59.36, 82.129, 221.71; hā'xela to go down CX 272.13; la'xod to sell (la - axa - d), la'maxelax'sid to sell pl. obj. C 26: 182.283; laxo'syu sold (la - axa - ayu); l!ā'qwxod to give away coppers III 84.2; he'xaxāā<sup>k</sup> brought down safely C II 360.34;

he'xaxa to have success hunting; swä'maxa what luck in hunting.

-!axsem woman

g'ig'eq!axsem chief woman; ne'nwaxsem wise woman; äle'swaxsem wife of sea hunter R 638.22; -

g'o'xg'ekwelot!axsem women of tribe; za'wits!ets!axsem žawits!is woman; semxolidex'waxsem Se'mxolidex<sup>u</sup> woman; - o'yäläidex'waxsem O'yäläidex<sup>u</sup> woman; dze'ndzenx'q!a'xsem Dze'ndzenx'q!ayu woman; äwi'k'!em'saxsem real Äwik'!enox<sup>u</sup> woman; la'swaxsem woman of interior (la'xolis Chilco-tin) tribe C 26:54.206.

=ala to do in return  
Reduplication 5

nä'nabala to throw round thing back (nep-); sä'yabala to return the first marriage gift C III 274.31; 276.8 (sep-).

yä'yawala to meet dancing on shore visitors who are coming in canoes (yex<sup>u</sup>-) C 26:67.19; ts!ä'ts!awala to stab back (ts!ex<sup>u</sup>-); ts!ä'ts!emala to point in return (ts!em-); ts!ä'ts!äla (ts!ä'ts!awala) to give back (ts!ew-); tsä'tsäla (tsä'tseyala) to dip water in return (also to dip right away) (tsey-); k'ä'k'ala to return dish with food (or to give right away) (k'a); slä'slagwala to answer shouting (s!aq<sup>u</sup>-); kwä'kwexala to strike back (kwex-); tä'tegwala to return a joke (tëk<sup>u</sup>-) III 24.9; syä'syalagala to send back (syälaq-); plä'p!e'wala to return kindness C 26:155.173 (p!ex<sup>u</sup>-); k'!ä'k'!a'ala to throw back flat thing (k'ä!-); gä'genalala to return threat (genes'ä); gä'gala to try to please R 726.71; C 26: 120.52 (gäs1-).

da'daala to take secretly CX 38.9(?)

-!ala to join in (may also mean "ready to"  
for this meaning see tentative -!a)  
Reduplication 5

nä'nap!ala to join in throwing stones (also ready to---); !!a'! !s'wala to eat with new arrivals R 1142.65; C III 160.13; kiwa'kiwe'slala to join in feast; la'leslala to invite someone whom one meets C 26:76.12; hä'na!ala to join in shooting (also ready to); la'slala to meet R 215.53; 217.36; 405.2; 820.66; 1099.45; sya'syalaq!alaya regularly employed messenger (syalaq-).

ha'smek!ala to eat with one (hasm-ek' (?); sma'smox ts!ala to help load canoe C II 170.22 (sme'w=xs-).

-alas material for

k'a'salas material for shredded cedar bark, for making spoons R 126.19, 28; te'xalas material for bait R 152.3; 179.21; se'xwalas material for paddle V 496.5; pe'lqalal material for hammer;

dä'ä'las shovel-nosed canoe<sup>10</sup> R 1213.16 (daž-); ts!ewatalas, k'!o'kwalas material for bracelet.

=alitem to die of (see -sdana)  
Does not weaken glottals

megwa'lisem to choke to death V 428.20; hasma'lisem to die of eating (too much); k'ela'lisem to die of fear (k'el-); na'galisem to die of drinking R 1363.8; q!wa'yalisem to die of crying III 367.35 (q!was-); ts!e'lgw-alisem to die of heat; xwe'lyalisem to die of depression (xwels-); ma'x'ts!älisem to die of shame R 1103.16; CX 274.27; lexä'lisem to die of coughing; - x'ng'äa'lisem to die of missing too much; meso'dzalisem to die of greediness for food,

ts!ex'q!a'lisem to die of feeling sick (ts!ex'-q!a=); na'q!exsdalisem to die of thirst (naq!exsd=); - a'laqnodalisem to die inland C II 158.15 (a!-aqa=no-d=); - wi'ex'ena'lisem to die of drowning.

The suffix most frequently used with stems expressing feelings and activities, not so much for objects which cause death (see -sdana).

-!až easily; Stem expansion 2

ts!ä't!až easily splitting (canoe) (ts!et-) (ts!e'ts!at!e'ma what can be split, "splittable"); tä'p!až easily shattered (t!ep-); wä'k'!až easily crushed (wëk'-); t!ä'k'!až easily soiled (t!ek'-); kwä'k'!až---burst (kwëk'-); ts!a'žk'!až---surprised (ts!ek'-); da'yäž---rubbed off (dëy-); gwa'daaž---untied (gwed-); ts!a'smäž---melted; xä'ewaž---split (xew) (xë'xäwema wood that can be split);

All other stem types unchanged: x'iq!až ---catches fire easily, inflammable (x'iq-); k'ö'q!waž---broken (k'öq<sup>u</sup>-); ye'm'laž---burst (yemž-);

Also as a nominal suffix: g'eg'ö'k!waž camp R 533.10; CX 72.18; C 26:124.18; k!wet!ä'ž blanket (New) C II 190.17; 234.17; sma'ts!až what kind of thing; që'xaž driftwood (probably does not belong here, because x is not glottalized).

<sup>10</sup>Explained as "material for spreading (daž-) because these canoes of Rivers Inlet are not spread. Presumably folk-etymology.

-aʎa continued position

swenaʎa to be in hiding III 161.2; snexwaʎa to be near III 8.5; x'esāʎa those who have disappeared X 103.9; k'waʎa to be seated (particularly a meeting for discussion) III 7.11; 8.1; gwāʎaʎa being ready III 8.4; seʎtaʎa being quiet C II 78.33; 70.18; ʎaʎa to be steering towards a definite point C 26; 72.25; 205.204; 213.24; standing.

ʎxaʎas place where things stay R 660.48; 661.67; swaslaʎas stopping place R 99.25; ʎqāʎamas to cause to be open R 90.83; beʎngemāʎa having face downward, looking down CX 274.9 (beʎn-gem-).

-aʎa a little more, somewhat  
Reduplication 5

A 1 strengthens stem ʎ.

A 1 cvc: yāʎaxwaʎa to dance a little more C 26; 25.19 (yex-); ʎāʎakwaʎa a little thicker R 135.23 (ʎekʰ-); k'!āʎk'!asaʎa to slacken---(k'!es-);

A 2. cvm: k!wāʎk!welaʎa to pick off---(k!wel-); pāʎpelaʎa---thinner (pel-); wāʎwenaʎa to drill---(wen-).

A 3. cvy: dāʎdāʎa to wipe---(dɛy-); xāʎxāʎa to split---(xew-).

A 4. cwb: wāʎswadaʎa---colder (wed-)

A 5. cvc: bāʎbaʎnaʎa---farther underneath.

B 1. cvc: wāʎwakʎaʎa to bend---V 324.4 (wākʰ-); slāʎlaqwaʎa to shout---(slāqʰ-); yāʎyaqwaʎa to give---(yaqʰ-); smāʎsmelaʎa to torment---C II 54.26 (smēl-); swāʎswiʎaʎa---thinner (swiʎ).

B 3. cvy: yāʎyāʎa wind blows---(yaw-).

B 5. cvc: sāʎseq!aʎa to eat---dry herring spawn (seq!-); q!āʎq!oʎyaʎa to rub clothes---

C. cvmc: dāʎdenxaʎa to sing---(dɛnx-); māʎmendzaʎa to cut---kindling (mendz-); tāʎtemkwaʎa to chop---(temkʰ-).

D. cvc: māʎmaxʎts!ala to be---ashamed (maxʎts!-); taʎyaʎts!aʎa to warm oneself---(teʎts!-).

E cv: sāʎsaʎa to stretch---(sa).

Polysyllabic stems and after other suffixes: naʎnomasaʎa getting old (noʎmas); p!aʎpladɛxʎstāʎa darkish C 26:201.50 (pedɛkʰ-sto-);

qwāʎqwesgʎiʎaʎa to go---farther (qwēʎsgʎila); bāʎbaʎnaʎagaweʎa a little farther below R 625.25 (beʎn-aʎa-agaweʎa); ʎeʎkʎ!egʎilaʎa to go a little higher (ekʰ!-gʎila-).

Initial ʎ: ʎāʎlakʎwitaʎa a little tighter (ʎāʎk!wita).

Initial ʎ: ʎāʎlemqaʎa---more proud (ʎlemq-).

-aʎgʎiweʎ, -aʎgʎivala (see -[gʎ]iu)

-eʎ, =eʎ, -!eʎ nominal ending

Nouns derived from active verbs are normally formed with the suffix -eʎ, designating a thing made by the action expressed by the verb:

kʎaʎteʎ a painting R 458.57; 806.29; t!oʎseʎ what has been made by cutting, a cut; soʎpeʎ what has been chopped out R 82.18; xweʎlteʎ a mark, groove R 85.67; qweseʎ what has been pulled off R 121.38; haʎsmeʎ food III 32.29.

A few static stems form nouns in the same way:

naʎqeʎ mind; !aʎseʎ seaside towards fire R 425.29 (Kos. whale blubber C II 258.28); tseʎnxweʎ fat, R 94.16; 358.32.

With =eʎ ʎnweʎ could (anxʰ-); ɛʎldzeʎ flesh R 104.6 (ɛls-); xwedzeʎ blubber R 751.15 (xwes-); ʎaweʎ foam R 292.24 (axʰ-);

Others are formed with =e, q!aʎlawe worm (q!ɛlxʰ-).

Quite a number are formed with -!eʎ: swaʎts!eʎ dog C II 10.4 (swas-); k!wets!eʎ hide R 104.12 (k!wes-); neʎts!eʎ red cod R 253.2 (nes-); ʎek!weʎ Polypodium R 196.14 (ʎekʰ-); ʎeʎsweʎ mat (lexʰ-); -xʎaʎts!eʎ low tide III 79.20; naʎ!eʎ wolverene III 31.14.

Others with -!e: k!oʎsmats!e dried clams R 474.43 (k!oʎsmes-); ʎbʎg!we dish (ʎoqʰ-); aʎ!e inland R 57.2 (al-).

Quite irregular are: kʎaʎsneʎ hoop III 296.37 (kʎɛnxʰ-); -q!waʎsneʎ lupine R 198.1 (q!wens-); -!aʎyeʎ black bear R 654.15 (!ɛns-).

Suffixes taking the nominalizing -eʎ and ending in -s, -kʎa, -qa have the last consonant softened before -eʎ:

oʎnodzeʎ side of long thing (-nos-); q!wet!oʎdzeʎ scar on cheek (-os-); ʎmʎq!ɛdzeʎ remarkable thing R 1129.83 (q!ɛs-); gʎɛmxaʎdzeʎ left side of canoe III 208.10 (-xs-); oʎxsiʎdzeʎ foot of mountain (-sis-); oʎk!wɛdzeʎ branch side of tree V 344.15 (-k!ʎes); adabidzeʎ sinew at heel (-abis);

ʎxgeʎ what is among; seʎwageʎ anal fin III 390.35 (=aq crotch); sneʎnk!eʎgeʎ thought R 769.33 (-!eq);-

neʎgeʎgʎeʎ midnight (=straight in back) C II 48.1 (=ekʰ-); oʎxsegʎeʎ outside house front III 272.4 (-xsekʰ).

Suffixes taking the nominalizing -eʎ and ending in other consonants before a do not change their terminal consonant:

oʎbeʎ point III 126.23 (-ba); kʎedziʎbeʎ nose ornament C II 156.13 (-!ʎba); nuʎnaxsde wolf tail III 279.13 (-xsda); benkʎ!oʎdexsteʎ lower lip R 446.13 (-xsta); oʎx!eʎ stern of canoe III 127.23 (-x!a); heʎlobaʎts!aneʎ servant X 65.10 (xʎts!ana); oʎnuʎemeʎ temples (=side of face) III 31.40; beʎneʎnxweʎ lower edge R 99.42; -ɛʎ!xʰsɛmeʎ bloody surface (-sgem).

Suffixes ending in o (u) change the o to aw; or with preceding vowel to w. In some cases aw is contracted to â.

bɛˈsnaˈgawes lowest R 780.13 (-ago);  
swaˈbiu!xaˈwes saliva (=i!xo); qɛnxaˈwes neck-  
ring III 36.30 (-!xo); k!waxlaˈwes cedar wood  
III 130.17 (-!xo).

nɛgoˈsyasye middle III 266.28 (=osyo);  
smɛk!wɛbáˈsye heart R 454.70 (-!bo);  
ɛnaˈlanáˈsye south side III 272.3 (=no);  
g!igabáˈes lower chief III 151.26 (=abo);  
oˈxtásye top III 126.3 (-xto); naqoˈsstaˈsye  
middle between eyes III 168.13 (-!sto).

=dzo without accent forms -es:

odzáˈsye surface; aloˈdzɛwes Orion III 387.13.  
g!aˈlag!iwes leader III 8.6 (-g!iu);  
oˈx!siwe mouth of river III 29.3.

Monosyllabic (stems usually not known)  
ɬosle nephew; dzáˈle cockle (dzos-); ts!e!eˈs  
spruce root basket; xaˈswe loon; ts!aˈwes  
beaver.

There are numerous other nouns ending  
in -e or -es which apparently contain another  
suffix which cannot be analyzed. In some cases  
the stems are known. The majority of these  
words are plant and animal names:

-ɛle; adɛˈmgwɛle sand hill crane;  
t!oˈmɛle a fish; waˈxwaxwɛleˈs thrush; basɛleˈs  
side fins of a fish or porpoise; bɛk!wɛleˈs  
trunk of body (bɛk!-).

-ale; goˈlale salmon berry (New);  
q!ɛk!laale fruits of *Chamaepericlineum unalash-*  
*kense* (q!ɛk!a to gather---); q!ɛ!mlale meat of  
fish (q!ɛmt-); wɛsaˈle small barnacle;  
hoˈq! waˈsle *Glaux maritima*.

-awe; haˈtsawes dolphin; baˈq!wɛlaˈwe  
bat (bɛq!wɛt sleepy); paˈpesaˈwe plant (pɛs-)  
also paˈpesaˈma; k!ɛ!sɛdɛlaˈwe king fisher  
(k!ɛ!daˈwe New); k!wɛk!waxawes great inventor  
(k!wɛxa).

-esm near-by; usually in combination  
with locative suffixes

swɛneˈmes to hide outside, near-by;  
g!ɛ!ɛsmes an animal standing near another on  
beach C 26:68.26; - ɬaˈxwɛsma to stand near-by  
on rock; - ts!aˈts!ɛwɛsmiɬ giver in potlatch  
(ts!ɛw-); - k!wáˈsmɛɬ to sit near-by on floor  
R 673.18 (k!wa-esm-iɬ); snaˈɛnekˈesmiɬ to tell  
standing near, announcer; yaˈyaq!ɛntesms  
speaker outside (standing next to chief) C III  
266.4; ɬaˈgwalems to wail near-by outside  
CX 276.24.

haˈwasesmis counter on beach (hos-);  
gweˈsme (ɬax snaˈxˈsid) nearly (daylight)  
R 950.56; towards (day) CX 46.35; 51.43; 54.32;  
- q!áˈsmɛɬ to watch in house (q!a-) CX 120.18.

-!ema able to be---; ---able; Stem expansion 7

A 1. cvc R cecac: bɛˈbaxˈema can be cut  
CX 226.8 (bɛx-); tɛˈtáp!ema breakable (tɛp-);

bɛˈbák!wema able to endure CX 220.41; 244.21  
(bɛk!-); xɛˈxai!ema can be crushed (xɛl-);  
dzɛˈdzáxˈsɛma can be split (dzɛx-); kˈɛˈkˈaˈsɛma  
able to be afraid, able to be feared (kˈɛɬ-);  
smeˈmáˈswema desirable (smɛx!-); k!ɛ!k!ɛts!eˈ-  
má!ɛn ɛneˈkˈa I could not help saying it  
(k!ɛs-);

A 2. cvm R cvmcá: bɛˈnbáema can be  
fitted (bɛn-); sɛˈlsáema can be drilled (sɛl-);  
bɛˈlbáema can be forbidden, obedient (bɛl-)

A 3. cvy R cɛˈcá, cɔˈcwá: dɛˈdáema can  
be wiped (dɛy-); swiˈswáema how could it be  
done? (swɛy-); gwɛˈgwáema can be awakened  
(gwɛy-); xɔˈxwáema can be split (xɛw-)

A 4. cvb R cecɔb(á): gwɛˈgwɛdáema can  
be untied (gwɛd-)

A 5. cvc R cecvc(s): xɛˈxák!áema  
liable to stay away for good;

A 6. ts!eˈts!aˈsmáema can be melted  
(ts!ɛsm-)

B 1. cvc R cvcác: dɛˈdɛq!wema can  
be pounded (dɛq!-); t!ɛ!t!á!sɛma can be soaked  
(t!ɛɬ-); báˈbɛˈswema can swell (bax!-);  
hoˈháts!ema countable (hos-); lɛˈlá!sɛma roll-  
able (lɛx!-); ɛneˈnk!ɛmawisɛˈs he cannot be  
told, i.e., obstinate (ɛnɛk!-)

C 1. cvmc R cvmcvmc: t!ɛˈmt!ɛmq!ema can  
be pinned; k!ɛˈlk!ɛ!lxˈsɛma (fire) can be ex-  
tinguished (k!ɛ!lx-); xˈɛˈlxˈɛ!t!ema can be  
saved (xɛlt-); dɛˈldɛ!ɛ!sɛma can get damp  
(dɛlx!-).

E cv R cvcv: táˈtáema can be waded (ta);  
dáˈdáema can be taken C II 60.3 (da); (lɛn es  
daˈdáemanuk) I could not help myself)

Exceptional: q!ɛˈq!áema able to be  
found (q!a)

Irregular and polysyllabic: t!ɛˈt!á!mɛl-  
q!wema (a chief) against whom one can talk  
(t!ɛ!mɛlq!-); smaˈsmɛlek!wema can be chewed  
(máˈlek!-); ɔˈq!wɛts!eˈma credible (ɔˈq!wɛs-);  
wiˈwɛyoq!wɛts!ema unbelievable C 26: 130.278  
(wɛyoˈq!wɛs-); ɛˈsɛyuts!eˈma intelligible  
(áyü s-)

hɛˈsmáema edible (hásm-); háˈs!áema can  
be done quickly (há!s!a-); hɛˈs!áema liable to  
hesitate (há!l-).

-!emas, -!ema classes or characteristic  
condition of things (see -!omas)

Stem Expansion 7

also -emas in one case (see -omas)

A 1. cvc R cecác: lɛˈlak!emas things  
hammered; sɛˈyak!wemas carved meats (saˈk!-  
to butcher)

A 2. cvm R cvmcá: gˈɛˈlg!áemas quad-  
rupeds R 748.42

A 3. k!ɛyáˈs wiˈwáemas no no kind of  
thing (everything) (wɛy-)

A 5. cvc R cecvc (á): ts!eˈts!ɛk!wá-  
emas birds (ts!ɛk! with inserted ɬ, see p.  
C II 208.27)

B 1. cvc R cvcvc: ts!eˈts!ɛk!wemas.  
shell fish C 26: 61.113 (ts!ɛk!-); noˈnɛˈwɛmas

berries (as food) (sno<sup>x</sup>- blue berries);  
q!wa'q!wex<sup>s</sup>e'mas R 149.3 plants.

E. cv R cvcv: ma'māemas all kinds of fish.

Irregular: swi'swe<sup>s</sup>lmas every kind of thing.

Singular: ʔa'k!wē'mas strong C II 50.17, 120.26; ʔa'lok!wē'mats!a to try to be strong C 26: 158.73; wā'!emas weak III 25.2; ō gwēq!ē mas different kinds (of salmon) C 26: 124.22; X 228.35; enema'x'ets!e'mas of the same kind.

There are a few cases in which the suffix appears as -!ema: ne'nax<sup>s</sup>wenayāe'ma something that can be used as a blanket CX 279.27; hē'smāēma one edible thing; mō'k!wema four pairs C 26:32.189; ne'ng!ema liquor; yā'q!wema gift C III 98.23, pl. yāē'q!wema or yā'q!wema

With retention of suffix -a of stem -emas: snas<sup>s</sup>ē'nxwaemas all kinds of things C II 120.22 (not snas<sup>s</sup>ē'nvemas)

-ts!emas, probably -es!emas something of the kind belonging to

ē'k'!aba'lats!ē'mas (airship) of the kind that belongs high up (ek'!-balas-); ʔak!wema(s)ts!emas meant to be very strong; gwē'sna'kwelats!ē'mas meant to be handled thus '30.635 T (gwēy-nakwēla-as); gwe'g'!lats!emas the way it is meant to be '30.634 T (gwēy-g'ila-as-); gwāzāats!ē'mas such, what kind, the way it should be C 26:55.9 (gwēy-aʔa-as-); mo'x<sup>s</sup>enxelats!ē'mas four years; snā'ts!ē'mas what is it supposed to be? hē'ts!emas of the kind belonging to that privilege R 684.48; C II 60.23; C 26:55.12; also g'ats!ē'mas; yuts!ē'mas; k'!ests!emas of the kind not belonging to C 26:55.17; swax'sanewets!e'mas meant to belong to both sides C 26:55.11 (swax's-no-)

=ed owner;

This suffix is strictly nominal and is frequently used in forms of address and in names. Its meaning becomes clear when compared with the suffix =ad. For example: q!a'gwad means "to have a slave;" q!agwid slave owner, master, i.e., he who has (me) for a slave; or xwē'ngwad "to have a child;" xwē'ngwid child owner, parent, i.e., he who has (me) for a child.

ā'myaxed praised one, i.e., owner of praise CX 53.24; 172.5; se'wid owner of paddling, to whom people paddle (name) (sex<sup>u</sup>); mo'dzelid having a chieftainness (with the title mo'dziʔ) R 776.4; le!eged name owners (name of numaym); be'x<sup>s</sup>wena'syid soul owner R 724.43; g'ē'nliid father (g'ēnʔ-); k'!ele'd feared, i.e., it which has me as one being afraid CX 225.31 (k'ēʔ-).

-e<sup>s</sup>nak<sup>u</sup> stem suffix

awi'snagwis country III 142.4; C II 6.20 (aw=e<sup>s</sup>nak<sup>u</sup>=is); -a!e<sup>s</sup>nagwis country inland C II 50.2; -a'!e<sup>s</sup>nak!wes ground inland; gwā'snak<sup>u</sup> south side III 142.6; X 3.11 (gwe-); qwe'se<sup>s</sup>nak<sup>u</sup> far country III 11.2; C II 38.25 (qwes-); awi'snak'āla islands (aw-e<sup>s</sup>nak<sup>u</sup>-āla); -nā'snak<sup>u</sup> to go home (ʔla-e<sup>s</sup>nak<sup>u</sup>).

=ina, =inas nominal suffix

gwā'swina raven III 46.13 (gwax<sup>u</sup>-); tamī'nas squirrel (tēms-).

-!ene<sup>s</sup>, also -ene<sup>s</sup> and retention of suffix -a; abstract noun, denoting quality or condition;

be'k!we'nes body C 26:145.87 deed in a potlatch; quality of man R 752.47; 871.27; 1102.96; (be'k<sup>u</sup>); lae'nes the condition going to---C II 66.12; q!ae'nes finding X 4.36; -me'x<sup>s</sup>ene<sup>s</sup> sleeping C II 62.13; k'!e'ets!enas<sup>e</sup> aōmsda<sup>s</sup>xwa not being ordinary people (k'!e<sup>s</sup>s-); k'o'q!wene<sup>s</sup> condition of being broken (k'oq<sup>u</sup>); -k'ē'l!ene<sup>s</sup> fishing C II 104.1; k'ē'm<sup>s</sup>yaene<sup>s</sup> the surrounding R 1165.84 (k'ēmy-).

be'gwa'ne<sup>s</sup>me'ne<sup>s</sup> manhood R 730.56 (be'k<sup>u</sup>=anem!ene<sup>s</sup>); ts!ēda'q!ene<sup>s</sup> womanhood; do'gwaʔaene<sup>s</sup> what was seen C II 336.14 (dox<sup>u</sup>-aʔa!ene<sup>s</sup>); g'o'k!wets!ene<sup>s</sup> quality of house on ground C II 58.22 (g'ok<sup>u</sup>-!s!ene<sup>s</sup>); e'x'sok!wene<sup>s</sup> quality of being pretty R 791.75 (ek'-sok<sup>u</sup>-!ene<sup>s</sup>); se'x<sup>s</sup>widaene<sup>s</sup> paddling (sex<sup>u</sup>-x'sid!ene<sup>s</sup>); e'g'i<sup>s</sup>lene<sup>s</sup> quality of good luck.

With retention of -a: yāʔaene<sup>s</sup> taming R 944.32 or yā'slene<sup>s</sup>; xosaene<sup>s</sup> sprinkling R 943.6.

= inet obtained by (see = anem)

t!egwī'net obtained by spearing CX 201.27 (t!ek<sup>u</sup>); seg'i'net obtained by spearing R 224.37 (sek', also seg'a'nem); -do'gwinet obtained by trolling (dok<sup>u</sup>); k'ē'xinet obtained by scraping X 179.9, 14 (k'ex-); hā'ninet obtained by shooting (hānt-, also hā'n'anem).

-enek'aʔa, on top of one another (see = eg'e<sup>s</sup>)

=e<sup>s</sup>no to do to one passing by

nebe'snod to throw stones at someone passing by; mene'snewe to strike at someone---; mene'snā'syēn, mene'snewek'en I strike--- (mēx'-) do'de<sup>s</sup>nod to speak---C II 258.21 (dot-) to speak, Kos); yā'q!andē'snewe<sup>s</sup> the one who talks to people passing; yā'q!andē'swesō<sup>s</sup> to be

talked to---; hā'na<sup>u</sup>e<sup>s</sup>nē<sup>s</sup>wa to shoot game that passes by (hā'na<sup>u</sup>e<sup>s</sup>nē<sup>w</sup>en, hā'na<sup>u</sup>e<sup>s</sup>nē<sup>w</sup>ek' I---, hā'na<sup>u</sup>e<sup>s</sup>nē<sup>w</sup>as you---); hā'āna<sup>u</sup>e<sup>s</sup>nē<sup>s</sup>wa' a numayma; sa'sabe<sup>s</sup>nē<sup>s</sup>wa to throw at---.

-e<sup>s</sup>nā with, to join in (see [g']e<sup>s</sup>nā)

-!enox<sup>u</sup> a person who does an act habitually, professionally; an habitual action; tribal name;

A person who does an act habitually, professionally: g'et!e<sup>u</sup>nox<sup>u</sup>, pl. g'i'sg'et!enox<sup>u</sup> carver; swe<sup>s</sup>le'nox<sup>u</sup> box maker; k'em<sup>s</sup>yaenox<sup>u</sup> surrounder CX 106.39; k'!e'm!<sup>u</sup>enox<sup>u</sup> expert at adzing C III 332.5; - se'xwilaenox<sup>u</sup> paddle maker V 496.4; āle<sup>s</sup>wenox<sup>u</sup>, pl. esāle<sup>s</sup>wenox<sup>u</sup> sea hunter R 174.5; 175.13; ts!ex'q!āenox<sup>u</sup> invalid C III 30.22, 29; !a'!l!en<sup>s</sup>yaenox<sup>u</sup> bear hunter CX 186.3; 190.41; (!l!ens!<sup>u</sup>!-!-enox<sup>u</sup>); nēwe<sup>s</sup>lenox<sup>u</sup>, pl. ne'nēwe<sup>s</sup>nox<sup>u</sup> house-story teller C III 256.18 (nus=1X-!enox<sup>u</sup>); lawāenox<sup>u</sup> he who takes off R 1176.11.

An habitual action: swi<sup>s</sup>lāenox<sup>u</sup> thing that is always getting empty C 26:163.286 knowing how to finish work (swi<sup>s</sup>l-a-!enox<sup>u</sup>).

When used with k'!e<sup>s</sup>s- not, it means "never," "cannot:" k'!e'yas<sup>s</sup> nāe'nox<sup>u</sup> day never comes III 393.13 (na-!enox<sup>u</sup>)New; k'!e<sup>s</sup>s q!welts!enox<sup>u</sup> never gets rotten R 657.39; k'!e<sup>s</sup>s q!o'xswidāenox<sup>u</sup> never gets calm R 627.84; k'!e<sup>s</sup>s baxwe<sup>s</sup>ts!enox<sup>u</sup> cannot become secular (baxwe<sup>s</sup>-!enox<sup>u</sup>).

Tribe (tribal names): Dza'wadē<sup>s</sup>nox<sup>u</sup> III 7.1; 60.35; - āwi'k'!enox<sup>u</sup> tribe of back (country); Q!o'<sup>s</sup>me'nox<sup>u</sup> rich tribe; smae'nox<sup>u</sup> what tribe C II 158.9; gwāe'nox the kind of tribe R 951. 76.

=ēs inside of body (see -!es, -k'!āēs)

g'e'ldes with long breath, able to go a long time without food (g'e<sup>u</sup>lt-); ts!egwī's short breath, getting hungry quickly (ts!ēk<sup>u</sup>); sme<sup>s</sup>gwī's round thing in stomach (sme<sup>s</sup>k<sup>u</sup>); sme<sup>s</sup>gwī'k<sup>u</sup> having put round thing into stomach (sme<sup>s</sup>k<sup>u</sup>=s=k<sup>u</sup>); s'yā'g'is something bad in stomach (s'yak'-); ts!ex'ts!ene's tired feeling, pain in stomach (ts!ex'-); ts!ex'eli'sela stomach ache (ts!ex'-).

=!s in an open space, on the beach (see =!X)

-!es inside or outside of stomach (see =es)

s'yā'k'!is bad--- (s'yak'-); g'e'lt!es pl. g'e'ls<sup>s</sup>g'elt!es long belly (g'e<sup>u</sup>lt-);

ts!ēk!wē's short belly (ts!ēk<sup>u</sup>); ts!ē<sup>s</sup>nē's (hair) singed off on belly (ts!ēx'-); pe'n!<sup>u</sup>!es stout belly III 50.15; ts!ē<sup>s</sup>nē<sup>s</sup>ela' pain outside of stomach (ts!ēx'-); sme<sup>s</sup>k!wisela' to have round thing in front of belly (sme<sup>s</sup>k<sup>u</sup>); g'āedzē's what lies against belly; g'āē's to be inside of body CX 269.17 (g'ēy-); g'āē<sup>s</sup>ela' to have inside of body (g'ik'!ā<sup>s</sup>esela' to having lying against belly); q!ē'x'q!āes many in body (q!ēy-); q!ex'q!ā<sup>s</sup>esela' to have many things in mind; q!āē'sela' to have many things in front.

-esela in succession, in regular order (?) see -āesela

t!ebe<sup>s</sup>esela to step into a dry slough; dabe<sup>s</sup>esela to tow into an inlet; dapālesela to tow out of inlet (da'pāla to tow out of inlet, also: tow is anchored); ā'lole'sela going inland C 26:161.200; kwa'xswē<sup>s</sup>t!alesela smoke goes out to sea 26:160.155; p!elxesela it is foggy, p!elxesela a little foggy C 26:39.37; kwane'sela it is foggy; se'sexwēle'sela to paddle about C 26:46.120; denwe'sela rifle C III 2.18.

=ek'a, =ek'ela; =eg'es; =eg'end back

=eg'es (=ek'a=es) refers either to the back directly or it may mean the thing on the back, or the thing following another: -

āwe'g'es back; se'leg'es back of snake C II 192.3; - āde'g'es back sinew; qwe'qweg'es or qwe'qwedzeg'is outer coarse bark of dēna's; na'geg'is what you drink after a meal (see na'gek'ela below); hā<sup>s</sup>me'g'is eating someone else's food; lā'g'ayenlo<sup>u</sup> I am following you (la-eg'e-enl-ol); o'xle<sup>s</sup>ge<sup>s</sup> load on back (irregular, because l is not weakened.)

=ek'ela, =e'k'a to have something on back, or following; - na'gek'ela to drink after meal; !a'qwik'ela to have copper on back C 26:72.26 (!lāq<sup>u</sup>); p!ē'ldzek'ela to have moss on back R 82.6; gwēgwe<sup>s</sup>g'k'a to pour out on back R 503.99; lā'k'ela to have post on back C 26:218.265; lāk'ela to have (someone) following (oneself) R 575.72; - o'xle<sup>s</sup>ge'ela, pl. o<sup>s</sup>xle'k'ela to carry load--- C II 324.24, Kos; ts!ēda'gek'ela to have a woman behind oneself (prompting husband in potlatch, helping in fishing).

With other suffixes: - !a'sek'a<sup>s</sup>ā being with back seaward or towards fire; gwa'sek'a<sup>s</sup>ā having back this way C 26:121.115; - pa'peqewēk'a<sup>s</sup>ā flat things piled up (one on top of other) R 262.56 (paq-go-ek'-a<sup>s</sup>ā), sme<sup>s</sup>we'g'endala to pile up something R 252.26; leweg'end to press on back C 26:166.417 (le<sup>s</sup>xwa'); - q!eweg'a<sup>s</sup>las pond behind C III 30.15 (q!o=eg'e ala=as); - t!ebe'g'al<sup>is</sup> to keep back down beach R 433.26; - pene'g'ag'a<sup>s</sup>els to warm back outside C II 142.16 (pe<sup>s</sup>x=eg'a-g'a<sup>s</sup>els).

Specific meanings: !εbe'g'es mould R 107.75 (!εp to clamp); nege'g'es midnight III 85.27 (neq-); sa'leg'asyayo dirge C III 76.3; t!a'gwig'es tally keeper C III 56.1, 10, 18; t!εne'g'es back door R 1247.68 (t!εx'-); !εne'x'sid to bar door C II 262.28; 392.20 (!εx'-); !ε'leg'end to invite someone besides someone you have already asked C II 194.14 (!εl-); !ε'legweg'es to disobey R 686.85; !ε'lgwik'a to miss way; not to take after parents (all !εq<sup>u</sup>- to miss); na'nageg'a to obey III 25.3; 26.13; 262.2; ha'yeg'es to imitate C 26:178.125; pāk'εla double interest R 1026.12 (pa- flat on back); k!we'g'essos to have sitting behind C II 28.16; do'gwig'es to look back and imitate deeds of ancestors; to watch what others are doing; dogwig'a'sliχ to see newly-weds R 780.8, 10; swen'swek'a to sneak behind something when hunting; secretly C 26: 122.24; gwa'gwεlek'a to finish eating CX 136.21.

Questionable: dene'k'a to cut a strip of blubber R 456.10, dene'k'od to cut off (with any kind of knife).

-!εq, -!εqεla in body, mind; to think of;  
Stem expansion 7. (Synonym of -εlqa)

A 1, 3, 4, 5 cvc R ceqac': xwē'xwāt!-ε'qεla to think of cutting (xwēt-); g'i'g'āt!-ε'qεla---wood-work (g'εt-); gwe'gwεqεla---awakening (gwey-); g'i'g'æx'id---being somewhere; sno'snae'qεla---aiming (snew-); x'1'x'æsmæ'seqεla---snaring (x'εsm-); χe'χs'εlā-εqεlā to feel like dying, to want badly III 63.14 (χεs1-).

A 2. cvm R cvmcā swe'nswæ'qεla---hiding (swen-).

B 1. cvc R cvcvc: ho'hwets!εqεla---counting (hōs-); ts!o'ts!ets!ε'qεla---digging roots (ts!ōs-); yo'yets!εqεla---eating with spoons (yōs-); sne'nk'!εx'id to resolve X 127.41 (snek'-); dō'dεq!wex'a'liχ to consider in house 3984.12; q!a'q!εp!ε'qεla---of hitting C 26:151.151 (q!ap-); hē'sleqεla to depend on.

C 2. cvmc: R cvmcvmc: qε'mqemt!ε'qεla---singing (qεmt-); q!ε'!q!ε!εwex!εla---coiling (q!εlχ<sup>u</sup>); yε'nyenk'!æqεla---using sling (yεnk'!-).

E cv R cācā: sa'sæqεla---stretching hand out (sa); ya'yæqεla---giving up III 76.27 (yax'sid)---using sling (yεnk'!-).

Initial y: syā'k'!εqεla to feel bad; yālaq!εqεla---proud (yālaq-); yā'q!weqεla to think of giving presents.

Initial w: wā'tεla---leading (wat-).

Initial h: he'smæqεla---eating.

Irregular: le'læqεla---going (la); de'dasleqεla to laugh in mind R 841.25 (dal-); χe'l'swiqεla to desire with (χεlχ<sup>u</sup>-); he'sle'qεla to feel certain C II 310.9; χe'lwits!εqεla---angry (χa'wis); he'mε'sne'qεla to feel always X 187.38; o'dzεgεme'qεla to think of something that makes one ashamed.

-!εxsd to desire;

sεp!ε'xsd to wish to throw (sεp-); ts!ε'sma'e'xsd to wish to melt (ts!ε'sm-); ax'se'xsd to desire to give or take R 223.13; 673.18 (ax-); yε'swe'xsd to wish to dance (yεχ<sup>u</sup>-); ts!εye'xsd to wish to draw water (ts!εy-); ts!ε'swe'xsd to wish to give (ts!εw-); la'e'xsd to wish to go (la-); se'q!æxsd to desire herring spawn R 425.24 (seq!-); qa'ts!εxsd to want to walk CX 239.22 (qas-); k!wε'm!εaxsd to want to scorch (k!wεmεl-); dzε'lwεxsd to want to run (dzεlχ<sup>u</sup>-).

wā'χdεmεxsd word one wants to say CX 102.13; hā'mats!æxsd to desire to be a cannibal C II 34.4; wā'χdεmuk!wεxsd to say something R 1019.23 (wā'χdεm - nuk<sup>u</sup> - !εxsd); gεg'a'dæxsd to desire a wife C II 126.16 (gεk' = ad - !εxsd); q!ε'mdzεkwē'læxsd to desire to give a salmon-berry feast R 211.2 (q!εms = k<sup>u</sup> - g'ila - !εxsd).

-exia see -xia dish

-!εlāla here and there;  
Stem expansion 3a

A 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, cvc E cvc: wā'!εlāla to question here and there R 716.77; C 26:35.47 (wεl-); p!ā'!εlāla to fly about R 724.32; g'a'p!εlāla to tuck in here and there R 380.12 (g'εp); yā'x'!εlāla (also yεyεx'ilāla) to go about quickly C II 64.25 (yεx'-); k'ā'χ!εlāla to be afraid (k'εχ-); sna'm!εlāla to turn one way R 282.17 (sne'm); ts!a'm!εlāla to point here and there C II 180.3 (ts!εm-); gwa'y!εlāla to do thus here and there (gwey-); sna'w!εlāla to aim---snew-; ts!a'w!εlāla to give---(ts!εw- C II 82.8); gwa'd!εlāla to untie here and there; ts!a'sm!εlāla to melt here and there.

B cvc stable or R cvcvc: we'qwi!εlāla to push to and fro (weq<sup>u</sup>-); sna'xwi!εlāla to be in every way R 956.13; C III 230.10; o'χ!εlāla to bend own body this way and that way, to go out of straight path visiting here and there (ōχ-).

do'dεqwi!εlāla to look here and there C II 32.16; III 459.32 (also dō'qwi!εlāla C II 8.25) (dōq<sup>u</sup>-); qā'qāsi!εlāla or qā'si!εlāla to walk about; hō'si!εlāla to count various things, hā'was!εlāla to count equal amounts of things C III 278.27 (hōs-); nā'nekwi!εlāla to travel about at night CX 13.33 (nek<sup>u</sup>-); la't!ilāla to split boards here and there.

Irregular: ā'swā'χ!εlāla to go about in a lively way (āχ-); mā'maχtsi!εlāla two-minded CX 18.19.

C 2. cvmc\* stable, R cvmcvmc or cā'mac\* pe'lk'!εlāla flat, thin object moves about R 414.9; C II 292.15; sme'nsi!εlāla to try this and that R 78.92; C II 292.15; te'mkwi!εlāla to chop here and there.



me'lmelsi:lāla to turn head here and there R 619.11 (me'ls-) reduplicated forms rare. sā'lati:lāla or se'lti:lāla to take it easy moving about (selt-); ts!a'lasilāla or ts!e'lsilāla to give small amount of food during period of scarcity to everyone (ts!e'ls-); dzā'lxwi:lāla or dze'lxwi:lāla to run about R 1172.29 (dze'lx<sup>u</sup>-); q!wā'max'i:lāla to rush about (q!wemx'-);

C 6. stable: gen<sup>s</sup>wi:lāla to add together (gen<sup>s</sup>w-); ye'nk'!i:lāla to throw sling stones here and there (ye'nk'!-).

D. cvc\*c E cvc\*c: kwā'sx'di:lāla to splash here and there (kwesx'-).

E c<sup>v</sup> stable: ts!ā'si:lāla tide flows to and fro; q!ā'si:lāla to carry about R 618.19; C II 84.35 (da); lā'lā'slas place where one goes about.

With polysyllabic stems: xā'sbexwi:lāla to make noise here and there; ō'gwēqi:lāla to change form now and then R 606.5 (ōgwēq-); gwā'snaqi:lāla folded here and there, as blankets in bundles R 195.25; q!ā'losi:lāla zigzag (q!ā'los-).

With other suffixes: ma<sup>s</sup>xp!e'nk'i:lāla two spans around here and there R 140.3; āe'dāqilāla back and forth R 61.28; C II 76.18; gwā'bi'i:lālas from end to end; ne'x'sawi:lāla to pull through back and forth; swā'x'sgemi:lāla to turn face both ways R 790.48; lā'vadi:lāla to have husbands here and there; nā'ge'ktā'syilāla, pl. nā'gmgē'ktā'syilāla to do the same R 499.18; 553.32; nā'xsi:lāla to hesitate C II 16.27 (ne'xs half); ne'nk'!eqi:lāla to think about this or that; ha'li:lāla to move about quickly R 733.0 (ha<sup>s</sup>-).

mā'g'isi:lāla to waver, change mind R 524.41 (derivation?)

=eleq(a)la; = eq nearly; like:

for colors = elēxsem (= eleq - s[glēm])

A diminutive of quality (see -!elxēla, =deq, -xdala, -xdāleqaḏa)

This suffix often occurs as -xdāleqaḏa. The same stem may, however, take = eleq(a)la. There is no apparent difference of meaning in the two forms.

Both forms found: smēleqaḏa, smēlx[']-dāleqaḏa whitish R 285.81; !iā'gweleqaḏa, !iā'x<sup>u</sup>dāleqaḏa, !iā'x<sup>u</sup>dēlexsem reddish; dza'dzeleqaḏa, dza'dzeqēla R 734.37, dza'sdāleqaḏa bluish; ts!o'leqa, ts!o'lēlqaḏa, ts!o'lēlexsem; ts!o'xdāleqaḏa blackish.

= eleq(a)la: !nxleqaḏa, !nxlelexsem greenish, light green; lo'beq!ala it sounds hollowish (lop = eq[k']!ala) C 26: 79.136; kwē'ndzeqēla black clouds appear, sign of rain; dza'gweleq, dza'gwelegē'snakwēla nearing evening R 224.23; a'lgweleq blood color; q!ē'ldzeleqaḏa like grease, greasy, oily.

ha'beleq eyelashes?

-[x]dāe'leqaḏa: k'e'īdāe'leqaḏa a little afraid R 1224.37; CX 18.3 (k'e'āḏ-); pie'sdāleqaḏa hardish; q!wēla'xdāleqaḏa a little life left; sa'laxdāleqaḏa half blind; sālāxdāe'leqaḏa, sālāqāḏa half blindness of a drunken person.

=!ḏ; =!s; =!s, =!a, =xs

=!ḏ on the floor, in the house (= !ḏba on the nose); =!s in an open space; specifically: on the beach; or more generally: in the world; also on the bottom of the water; on the bottom inside the body (see -k'!āes), = !s on the ground outside of the house; =!a on rock, on stone; = xs in a canoe.

When the verb is static these suffixes are attached to the stem, rarely to the word with formative endings.

=!ḏ

begwi'ḏ man of the house R 275.36 (i.e., one of the men of lower rank belonging to the chief's ne<sup>s</sup>me'ma; legwi'ḏ fire of the house C II 72.14; ya'wabix sail (curtain) in house R 894.56; ma'wix sacred room (=tied in house, max<sup>u</sup>-); ma<sup>s</sup>li'ḏ husband who has two wives; ma<sup>s</sup>le'lem two wives of one husband (=two in house, ma<sup>s</sup>ḏ); q!wē'lsyagwix old man of house C III 140.6; ya'q!ēndix speaker of house C III 348.25; newi'lem family (house) story (nos=ix=xm); apsi'ḏ one side (i.e., party) of house R 437.7; ne<sup>s</sup>ma'ix to live together in house C 26:120.280; ha<sup>s</sup>ni'ḏ vessel is on floor R 103.28; !a'wix (person) stands on floor III 47.28; !ai'ḏ (post, pole) stands on floor C 26:14.106; k!wāi'ḏ, C II 62.15 pl. k!wēdzi'ḏ C II 72.19 to be seated on floor; ne'gwi'ḏ it is light in house (ne'naq<sup>u</sup>-); ne'wix all are in house.

As word suffix: begwa'ne<sup>s</sup>mix man of house C 26:90.190; ya'wapemlix sail (curtain) in house R 893.1; 1005.49; !e'g<sup>s</sup>mix family name R 1074.17; k!wēdzewix the flat thing to sit down on in house R 756.23.

=!s

!iēma'is beach R 72.60; e'g'is sandy (good) beach III 60.21; dze'g'is clam beach; - q!āswi's pond on beach C 26:197.270; q!āwis shallow beach; q!abegwi's shell beach (Kos); !iā'sagwis seaside beach; t!ē'dzēxigwis stony beach; me<sup>s</sup>gwi's round thing is on beach CX 190.20; hā<sup>s</sup>ne's vessel, canoe is on beach R 189.25; ha<sup>s</sup>wi's taboo shed on beach (ho-) ne'āi's light on beach C 26:34.6; t!k'pāe'sēla stepping along beach (t!ē'bes to step in beach, stationary).

=!s bottom of sea: begwi's merman III 441.24; ts!ē'ges sea monster III 212.17;

kwe'gwis eagle of sea bottom; māe's fish stationary in water C 26:82.114.

=is bottom of body: ts!εgwi's with short breath, somewhat hungry C 26:214.83.

=is world: !a'sodis land in direction of ocean C 26:72.25.

## -!s

!e'ts!εs sunshine on ground C 26:126.95; o'dza's wrong ground R 725.59; ge'x'gas's pl. to be long outside C 26:13.42; qo'9's pond on ground; εmo's's to be piled up on ground; me'xmεx'ε's to sleep outside C 26:122.7; !ā'sdza's place of standing on ground (!ax<sup>u</sup>-!s=as); !a'swε's tree (Nak) (!ax -!s).

## -!a

εmekiwa' round thing is on rock; gε'sya' a long time on rock C 26:104.7; t!ε'p!a rock covered by water C 26:145.72; ya'q!wa to lie dead on rock III 154.12; k!wāa' to sit on rock III 102.31; q!wε's!aa alive on rock; hā'sna' vessel is on rock R 200.11; nek'!a' mountain on rock C II 336.9; mo'p!εnxwa'sts!a four days on rock C II 338.19.

=xs, does not influence spirants

oxs inside of canoe V 345.13; k!waxs to sit in canoe III 97.9; t!εgwε'xs clover roots aboard C II 64.3; wε'snxs herring aboard C II 64.6; nεgε'xs middle line of canoe V 363.41; he'k'!ota'xdze's star-board; gε'smxo'taxdze's port; !a'saxdze's seaward side of canoe; dεxwε'xs to jump aboard (dεxwε!ε'xs to jump being aboard).

With terminal a (with the exception of -!a) these suffixes are active or transitive (see also =εl, -g'it):

da'g'εli!axa xāts'ε'm he took the box from the floor C II 58.30; !a'balisaxa dze's!a'xe he went to the end of the lake C II 420.1; g'i'g'āelsax nεx'wεna'syas he put down on ground his blanket C II 422.13; g'o'x<sup>u</sup>ε'saxes g'ok<sup>u</sup> he built his house on the ground C II 82.22; !a !εx'wεlsa'xes g'ok<sup>u</sup> he made his house have a fire on the ground C II 48.27; xε'ng'āelsaxes nεx'wεna'sye he took off and put down on the ground his blanket C II 426.8; !a k!wεdzεdzo'li!axa t!ε'x'ts!εwεsa they sat down on the settee C II 394.31; āxswε!t!a'-li!aq he took it out C II 398.18; !ag'ā'gεli-saxa dze's!a'xe it stood on shore of lake C II 406.11; - k!wa'g'āgεlisaxe wa he sat down on bank of river C II 382.1 (N); - āxsema'lisaxa dεg'is'ya' to have on the surface on the ground the graves C II 42.29; k!wanwε'lasax g'o'kwas he sat on side of the house of C II 124.9; da'g'a'sli!axen g'i'g'aga'syas's he put

down the one in which I am C 26:14.85 (also 77, 81); !a'sto'zεxsa !εqwa' he placed upright in the bail-hole the firewood C 26:14.73; nεpse'gwil'as he threw it across in the house C 26:135.39; k'!o'qwεli!axa !εxa'sye she picks up from the floor the basket R 72.59; !a āxza'smo'li!as she sets it in front of them R 309.13; !a k'a't!ali!axes k'!εp!a's!āā he puts down his tongs R 73.92.

There are apparent exceptions to this rule: εwi'swālag'εli!xox q!wε!ε'x'dε'sxwaq you have done everything to your late uncle C 26:139.227; k'!εgwε'lsxa hā'msp!εq he pulled the cannibal pole out of the ground C II 436.25; !a ts!εxε'lsxa xεgε'ma he threw the comb on the ground C II 390.27; !a k!wa'g'ε!p!εqεg'εli!axa she sat down on pole in house C II 76.2; !ā !ε'qwεli!axa !a !o'pts!ā !εxa'sya she puts aside the new empty basket R 577.18; qa'sg'a'xε's gwa'li!a and they come to be ready on floor R 581.42:

There is a series of forms expressing verbs of position which end in -ali!x, alis, ā!xεs. These are presumably derived from -ā!a=i!x, -ā!a=is, -ā!a=xs etc.: k!wā'gεmal!x to be seated on a round thing in a house; k!wε'gεmli!a to sit down---C III 228.27; nā'xwεmal!x to be a cover of a round thing in the house R 570.23; k'a'gεmli!ε!a to put dishes before---R 570.42; k!wā'dzāli!x to be seated on a flat thing in the house; k!wadzō'li!a to sit down---; k!wadzā's!āā to be seated on a flat thing on a stone; k!wadzō'slod to sit down---; k!wa'sstā'zεxεs to be seated in water in a canoe; k!wa'sstā'g'āā!xεs to sit down---.

When these suffixes follow another suffix they are in most cases preceded by ! (=!x, =is), ε!s (-!s), ε! (-!a), and z (=xs), which in all probability is derived from z since =xs is one of the suffixes that does not weaken spirants.

## -li!x, -li!xε!a, -li!a

!ā'stali'zε!a to go around in house (!a-(s)ε'sta-li!x-ε!a); o'stāli!x place at door C II 68.30 (aw-sto-li!x); !aa'p!εli!x (inanimate object) stands at nape of neck C III 72.29 (!a-ap!-li!x); !a'xwεno'dzεli!x (man) stands at side C III 96.29 (!ax<sup>u</sup>=nos-li!x); o'ba'sli!x end of something in house; mε'ndzoli!a to strike flat thing with fist (mεx=dzo-li!a); k!wā'gεli!x to sit among C III 242.22 (k!wa-!qa=e-li!x); nεqa'xali!x to speak plainly, straight down; gεna'lali!x to hold in arms in house.

Stems with the suffix -ε!a drop the -a and end in -li!x: ya'swix'ε!a to move in house C II 74.33 (ya'swix'ε!a); - !o'qwεli!x house dish C II 366.18 (!oqwε!a contents of dish); doqwεli!ε!a to look about in house C II 74.11 (doqwε!a); - bεkwεli!ε!a man moving about in house (bεkwε!a); - ts!eda'qali!ε!a woman--- (ts!eda'qε!a); - !ε'x!εqwεli!x to make mistake in house R 615.37; 1074.24; 1214.37; -

āwe' lqāli'x to ask for more; a'xeli'x last in house R 1132.43 (a'xela); e'kweli'xa to clear house R 899.62; CX 102.19; ne'xnāqāli'x to hit straight, do right in house C III 266.13 (neq-); ne'xeli'x to move in house III 311.34; q!ene'peli'xa to fold up (mat) in house R 264.12; q!exeli'xa to lift on arms from floor 2209.5; x'a'sgweli'xa to open (speech) in house.

These suffixes follow certain suffixes without the insertion of l:

-x'sta down to ground: lax<sup>u</sup>sta'sela to push down (trees) C II 48.23; C 26:160.181 (lax<sup>u</sup>-); do'x<sup>u</sup>stāe'xela to beware of floor (to look ahead before saying anything) C II 312.22; do'x<sup>u</sup>stāe'x to look down on floor (Kos.) do'x<sup>u</sup>stali'x (Kwa); ts!a'k'emstāe'x not to be able to go to sleep; g'ax'stae'x to go to bed early.

However, we have axsta'li'x to be flat down on floor; g'ista'li'xamas put on bare floor; axsta'li'x on floor in house C III 230.20; laxstāe'ls; tex stels dropping down on ground; lax<sup>s</sup>sta'elis (tree) stands near water, beach C 26:77.43; l!elsta'lis to push into water on beach.

sem near by: kwāsmes to sit near by on beach C 26:2.37; g'o'kwemi'x stay in house 3962.3; hān'esmas canoe waits for on rock; ba'xwetsāsmi'x still ba'xwes CX 58.16.

q!a'q!ame'x to notice C 26:14.108; hawase<sup>s</sup>mis counter; ts!ats!e'swe<sup>s</sup>mi'x; na'nāqesmi'x person who gives advice 3755.3; ya'yaq!entesmi'x speaker C 26:122.28; sna'snek'e-mi'x to tell standing near 3777.1.

When static, suffix does not need -x:  
apso'di'x one ride in house R 83.29; 112.30; 115.14; swēdasnegwi'x cold corner in house R 111.14; 115.12; 116.13; 148.56; npse'gwi'xās to throw across house C 26:135.39;

-ixba outside of nose, point of land;  
(see -genisbe<sup>s</sup>)

lene'xbes to steer at a point of log (lex'-); awi'xbes point of land M 682.1; gwa'wi'xbes raven nose III 129.41 (gwax<sup>u</sup>-); k'e'dzi'ibe<sup>s</sup> nose ornament C II 156.13; k'edzi'ibala to wear R 625.55; māe'xband to mark end R 81.58; ā'e'x<sup>s</sup>ax'id (rope) at end breaks C 26:91.11.

-e<sub>i</sub> astonishing!

sā'e<sub>i</sub>a is that you? III 149.12;  
e's(s)dzāe<sub>i</sub>lak behold (not) this III 198.37;  
e's(s)dzāe<sub>i</sub>lak ye'lkwa he did get hurt!  
e's(s)dzāse<sub>i</sub> ye'lkwa you did get hurt! (note position of pronoun 2d person); es<sup>s</sup>māe<sub>i</sub>o<sup>s</sup>  
la'a is this one not going to go? C II 182.10 (indeed! he will go); e'sae<sub>i</sub>a e'x<sup>s</sup>emā is'nt that good? C III 254.4; e'sāe<sub>i</sub>en ā'em mesela'q didn't I desire it? C II 150.12; e's<sup>s</sup>mase<sub>i</sub>

lo'gwalaq did you not get it as a treasure? C 26:45.64.

=e<sub>i</sub>, transitive =e<sub>i</sub>a, into house;  
into mouth (see =e<sub>i</sub>!xo); into inlet

qebe'la to pour into (mouth) CX 204.37;  
gwege'la to pour water into mouth; āxe'la to take into house; -lāe'li to go into house III 12.6; 20.3; sne'g'e<sub>i</sub>lela to talk into house C III 248.31; dewe'li to jump into house III 14.8; l!eng'e<sub>i</sub>la to poke into house V 349.5; swi'elae<sub>i</sub> all into house III 21.2; 26.18.

Meaning: Most frequently =e<sub>i</sub> means into the house, but it may also be used more generally to signify into the interior: lāe'li to go into the house III 12.6; 20.3, or into the inside of firewood C II 68.11,12; āxe'la to take into house, or to put into mouth R 436.92; qebe'la to pour (it) into mouth CX 204.37; yo'lāe'lela canoe drifts into inlet; -da'belesela to tow in to beach; aswi'lela place inside near door C III 72.3.

With the suffix -!xo neck, it forms =e<sub>i</sub>!xo which always means in or into mouth: ts!ege'li!exod to throw into mouth III 359.13; -smale'li!xo white in mouth; -swa'bel!xawes<sup>s</sup> saliva (swap=e<sub>i</sub>-!xaw-e<sup>s</sup>); -he'le!xawes<sup>s</sup> mouthful X 157.20; -aswe'li!xawes<sup>s</sup> inside of mouth.

-e<sub>i</sub> going along; occurs most frequently with -!s on ground and -!a on rocks

Without -!s, or -!a: ba'sne'lela the next underneath R 677.95.

With -!s, -!a: lāe!esela to go to all houses C III 326.29 (la-); ne'le!esela to tell in all houses 3981.1; gwa'ye!esela to go from house to house waking people C III 328.23; gelpel!esela to pull canoe up river by holding on to bushes; dze'lxwe!esela to run from house to house, or along bank of river.

qa'se!ala to walk along rocky shore C II 116.6; se'xwe!ala to paddle along rocky shore C II 132.23; ā'se!ala child's term for father (father along rocks); nā'le!ala to hunt in canoe in daytime along rocks C 26:201.28 (na-e<sub>i</sub>-!a); nekwe!ala to hunt or travel in canoe at night along rocks C 26:152.7.

=yus always; sometimes with reduplication or stem expansion

This suffix has been found only in names and is said to mean "always engaged in---"  
ts!a'geyus always throwing away (ts!eq-); ts!a'geyudzemga (g'is<sup>u</sup>lak) woman made to be cause of always throwing away; la'geyus always throwing coppers (lek'-); asma'weyus always giving potlatches M 340 (smax<sup>u</sup>-); hā'neyus sky keeps on showing openings in clouds on horizon

M 339 (ha'x'-); hä'xwēyus always dancing M 350; t!e'qwabēyus always having stones on fire; ne'nēyudzēnga always cause of daring woman III 50.32.

-syak', -syag'a, -syak'ēla back into woods;  
- with = iž back into room or behind  
curtains (see -x'ssak' from which  
it does not appear to differ)

la'syak', la'syag'a to go into woods  
C II 50.5; C 26:149.67; la'syag'i to go inland;  
la'syak'ēlis to go---C 26:158.103; g'ēl'syag'a  
first who went---; g'ēl'syak'ēla animals (crawl)  
go---;

la'syak'ēliž to go back of curtain, to  
re-enter room (done repeatedly) CX 149.42  
(same as lats!āliž III 386.6); da'syak'ēliža to  
carry behind curtain R 927.74, 76.

-o a doubtful suffix

Nouns ending in o: ts!ēxo's lincod  
(stem tsex-); la'mo perch (lēm̄x<sup>u</sup> - o due to  
softening of x<sup>u</sup>; with terminal e la'sma'swe);  
yek'o' halibut hook (yek'-); q!ā'k'o slave  
(q!ak<sup>u</sup>); k!ā'momo hemlock needles (k!ēm̄x<sup>u</sup>);  
yēbēlo' coarse twined cedar-bark basket (yēp-).  
asyo hand; hāsmo' pigeon; hāmo'smo  
butterfly; xāmo'mo backbone; hā'lo or hā'no a  
fish; pēk'o' coiled Thompson basket (loan word);  
ma'sto harpoon shaft; g'o'gwesyu feet; k!ē'sō  
privilege, crest; l!ēxo' open-work weaving.

Probably with other suffixes:

xo'q!wabāno brisket (xoq<sup>u</sup>-abo-no); asmaxō'  
brant goose (am-axo closed throat); ts!ē'gwēno  
egg R 361.12 (ts!ēk<sup>u</sup>!- bird, gull); ts!ē'žts!i-  
eno cats cradle.

In address in children's speech a'tso,  
ga'tso grandfather; hā'do grandmother; in a  
formula, a'g'a'sno master!

In a number of suffixes -o occurs as  
terminal; =abo, =ato, =ō'syo, =!bo, =ts!o, =dzo,  
=ssto, =ayu, etc.

Verbs ending in -o: e'sasyo to beg,  
pray; yā'lo to give up for lost; hāx'o' to  
howl; he'gweso to have an accident; te'no- to  
pole; g'a'syo- to ask in marriage; k'a't!o fair-  
ly good; k!ē'lsō to beg; ge'ts!o to beg;  
q!wa'žxo every; ē!ēxo' to cough; ē'k'o. to bor-  
row; l!ā'syo to change.

-o, -wā negative, off, away from, out of.  
Stem suffix; sometimes alone but usually  
followed by other suffixes. -od, -āla,  
-ō'syo, -ēswak<sup>u</sup> (-o-k<sup>u</sup>), -āmas (o-amas),  
-wāla-, -wāmas (-wā-amas), -swe!s

Derived from o are the forms - swežts!o  
(-swež-ts!o) out of; ---sweždzo (-wēž=dzo) off  
from flat object; ---wē!s out of house (see

-ē!s outside) swesta out of water; as well as  
the following suffixes which are not free -  
sweqā out of hole, enclosed space from among;  
-swešdes up from beach (-swesta=es); -swežt!a  
out of an enclosed place; ---swežtā out of canoe.

o after stops, y, w and sometimes after  
l, m, n: - sopāla to chop off V 345.18; āxo'd  
to take off C II 10.31; 177.20; ge'lx'od to  
pull out with fingers C II 158.7; t!o'sō'syu to  
be cut off CX 215.10; ēnemo't take off one;  
mewo't take off four (mew-).

Special meaning gagasod to sing grand-  
father's song C III 128.20; - q!ē'q!ēyod to  
talk C 26:71.8; 115,1; ---ā'lod to sing real  
song; ---g'a'lāla to speak first.

-wā after vowels (a) and sometimes  
after l, m, n: la'wā to go off V 491.24; ---  
la'wāmas to take off III 441.32 (see la'wut  
below); la'wēs'wak<sup>u</sup> R 400.3 lawā=k<sup>u</sup>; ---k!wē'lwāla  
to pluck out CX 282.34; - p!ē'lwāla to pluck  
off; ---t!osēm'wāla to cut off pl. obj. R 1135.12;  
- dawāla to let go V 478.21; - sawāla water  
out of III 134.12

Exceptional: la'wut to take off (see  
lawāmas); swi'slā all off R 168.13; 243.40  
(swila).

-swežts!o out of; ---sweždzo off from  
flat object; -wē!s out of house; -s[w]ē!qā  
out of hole from among; -swesta out of water;  
-swešdes up from beach; -swežt!a out of an en-  
closed place; -swe!ta out of canoe.

These suffixes all have the form -swe-  
after stops and affricatives; dēx<sup>us</sup>wē'qa' to  
jump out C II 40.28; lēs'swežts!ā' to climb out;  
āx'swežts!od to take out R 175.21; lē'ž'swežt!-  
ā'liž to call out of room III 187.29;  
seps'swežto'd to throw long thing out of canoe  
R 97.75; ga'sx'wēžtod to pick out of canoe with  
fingers (gasx<sup>u</sup>žtod R 242.9).

o after l, m, n, y, w with accent on o  
in cvc stems: hano'qāl's vessel comes out of  
ground X 35.31 (hān-sweqā-ls); q!wēno'sstala  
often out of water; g'a'loktā first out of  
canoe III 359.24; g'ēla'možts!ā pl. creep out  
of C 26:68.23 (g'ēl-ēm-swežts!ā); k!ē'yožts!od  
to carve out of V 332.24 (k!ē'y-); smo'žts!āla  
to carry out III 55.33, 40; 56.3; - smā'žtod to  
unload canoe X 103.26 (smew-).

After vowels: a and o usually form ā,  
although often an o replaces the a of the stem:  
- lāqāliž out of hole in house C II 24.3  
(la-sweqā-liž); - ložts!āliž out of in house III  
194.31 (la-swežts!ā-liž); - lā'sta out of the  
water III 356.6 (la-swesta).

swi'swežts!o all out of C II 366.14.

=ō'syo, =ō'syod, =ō'syala middle;

nēgo'syāla to be half full; nēgo'syod  
right to middle III 141.7 (nēq-); ts!ē'smo'syod  
to melt in middle (ts!ēsm-); qēno'syod to put  
ring around middle (qēx'-); ts!ēmo'syod to  
point to middle (ts!ēm-); dā'syod to take in

middle (da-); lā'syod to go to middle R 670.17 (la-); g'o'kwosyo middle of house III 248.28 (g'ok<sup>u</sup>); - mo'g'osyod to tie in middle III 370.13 C 26:68.10; (mok<sup>u</sup>); kwa'wo'syo hole in middle V 353.31 (kwa'x<sup>u</sup>); hā'n<sup>u</sup>osyod to shoot in middle (hān<sup>u</sup>); qe'ndzosyod to adze in middle (qens-).

o'syāsye middle III 273.23.

=oma always (see -!ema); probably not Kwa

sya'g'omawis wa'ldemaqos your word is not bad; syag'oma always bad; ławidzoma always angry; ai'g'oma always good.

-!omas classes of things (see -!emas)

Usually occurs as collective: ma'mao'mas fish X 228.36; III 110.26; g'e'g'ak'lo'mas woman's property C II 92.28; q!wa'q!wex<sup>o</sup>omas bushes C 26:124.22; (q!waq!wex<sup>o</sup>emas C 26:125.66).

Singular: he'smaomas (any) food C II 366.13; C III 70.14; (hēsmađema edibles); he'lomas pl. he'lo mas something that is good C 26:45.75; 162.239.

Irregular: g'ε'lg'đomas animals (crawlers) C II 208.28; - g'a'g'omas shadow C II 164.21.

-osmala

he'x<sup>o</sup>mala to be in time III 15.10; ha'ya'x<sup>o</sup>malaa to try to be in time R 76.64; wi's<sup>o</sup>mala not to be in time III 25.9.

-od (see -x<sup>o</sup>id)

-!od to bring, lead;

With verbs: p!ā!o'd to lead someone flying (p!ā!-); q!ε'slo'd to bring child on arms (q!ε'x-); q!ε'smo'd to bring disgrace, to put to shame C III 246.10; tāo'd to bring (tew-); - da'smodala to take off (with pl. obj. R 935.33; k'ao'd(ala) to collect remains of feast and send it to someone in dish R 760.98; 775.53; se'swod to guide someone home in canoe; qa'syod, qa'syodala to take someone along walking, to lead song, swi'k'iod to bring long thing; t!ε'snod to deliver CX 162.1 (t!ε'x-); g'a'xamodala to bring one at a time; to give marriage present C II 306.26 Kos; ha'mt!od to carry child on back somewhere; gε'mxsud, gε'mxsodala to take blankets somewhere.

With nouns: hasma'syod to bring food to someone; swa'paod to bring water to someone;

l'qwao'd to bring firewood to someone; !ā'wqao'd to bring a copper to someone III 110.3; o'x!āod to deliver pack.

smo't!osyu food taken home after it has been delivered R 435.62.

- ot (see -wet)

- ot sound (?)

gemo'ta wolf howls; q!āyo't to talk; tsε'smota la noise melts away, to be silent CX 120.1, 132.32; he'motela to abuse: lo'motela hollow (?) noise R 1279.9 rumbling noise; aesnot!a to try to scold husband R 742.8.

-os a doubtful suffix

tsa'k'os fern root (tsak'-); t!εx<sup>u</sup>so's cinquefoil root (t!εq<sup>u</sup> with suffix -sos?); ma'yus raccoon (mas=os striped cheek?).

syā'tos a small amount; wa'galos rainbow; wa'waxtos relatives; hā'xos a berry; pāo's a fishtrap; met!o's kidney fat; qe'slos a berry; qo'los thunderbird; xo'slos salmon weir; xwε'ldzos Hexagrammus superciliaris; !ā'k'os crosspiece of halibut hook.

-!os cheek

q!wet!o'dze<sup>s</sup> scar on cheek (q!wet -!os =e<sup>s</sup>); hāp!o'dze<sup>s</sup> hair on cheek (hāp -!os =e<sup>s</sup>); ts!εsmo's to point at cheek (ts!εm-); smε'slo s white cheek (smεl-); ts!ε'smao's to melt away on cheek (ts!εsm-); !ā'q!os red-cheeked (!āq<sup>u</sup>); - e'p!odzεnd to pinch cheek (ep -!os = εnd); - a'swo'dze cheek (o -!os =e<sup>s</sup>).

-os from one to other

In contrast to -!islāla which means to go back and forth several or numerous times -os refers to a single action.

dadεxwamo'ssela pl. to jump from one to the other (dεx<sup>u</sup>); kwa'los levirate = to lie from one to the other (kwεl-); ts'eyo'ssela to dip from one to other, R 771.71 (ts'ey-); dā'ss to give from one to other (da-); lā'lo'ssela to continue to go from one to other R 1358.15 (la-); ε'qo'ss to give name over from one to other R 853.78; CX 55.28 (εq-); g'i'qo'sdzεk<sup>u</sup> chief's place given over R 1352.87 (g'iq- -os =k<sup>u</sup>); sne'k'o'ssela to tell from one to other (mother to daughter) (snek'-); g'a'xo'ssa to come from another (canoe) CX 279.34 (g'ax-); gwa'yo'ssela to worry R 710.3

= o<sup>s</sup>so to cause unintentionally;  
(see amas)

ʔe<sup>s</sup>lo<sup>s</sup>so to cause someone to die;  
q!wela<sup>s</sup>so to save someone; ho<sup>s</sup>go<sup>s</sup>so to make  
someone vomit; q!wā<sup>s</sup>yo<sup>s</sup>so to unintentionally  
make someone cry; ye<sup>s</sup>lgo<sup>s</sup>so to make someone be  
hurt; he<sup>s</sup>g<sup>s</sup>u<sup>s</sup>so to cause injury without meaning  
to; g<sup>s</sup>o<sup>s</sup>lo<sup>s</sup>so traveling provisions are gone;  
syemlo<sup>s</sup>so to make hurt accidentally.

-usta up river (see swesta out of water)  
-usdes up from beach (-ust(a)=es)

-usta

When the short vowel is retained the  
suffix may mean "out of water." However, this  
form may also be used for "up river:" na<sup>s</sup>xw-  
usta<sup>s</sup>la, pl. nenaxwustala straight up river  
[nex<sup>s</sup>westa<sup>s</sup>la straight out of water or up  
river] (neq-); pl. ya<sup>s</sup>x<sup>s</sup>emustala quick up  
river [ye<sup>s</sup>x<sup>s</sup>westa<sup>s</sup>la quick out of water or up  
river] (ye<sup>s</sup>x<sup>s</sup>-): na<sup>s</sup>pwustala to throw up river  
[ne<sup>s</sup>p<sup>s</sup>westa<sup>s</sup>la stands and throws out of water]  
(ne<sup>s</sup>p-).

g<sup>s</sup>a<sup>s</sup>lostala to crawl up river (g<sup>s</sup>ε1-);  
q!wa<sup>s</sup>nustala, q!weno<sup>s</sup>stala often up river, or  
out of water; welwesta<sup>s</sup>la up river by itself,  
or out of water---(wε<sup>s</sup>l-);  
tā<sup>s</sup>stala to wade up river (ta-);  
dā<sup>s</sup>stala to take up river, or out of water (da-);  
hāmx<sup>s</sup>westala to rush up river, or out of water.

te<sup>s</sup>nostala to pole up river R 213.21.

See -atus down river for comparison  
with -usta up river. The form =ε<sup>s</sup>xtose<sup>s</sup>la is  
comparable with -ustala. We have not found  
the form =ε<sup>s</sup>xtala for up river, only for into  
water (see -ssta); q!weno<sup>s</sup>stala, q!wa<sup>s</sup>nustala  
often up river; q!weng<sup>s</sup>ε<sup>s</sup>xtose<sup>s</sup>la often down  
river (according to informant q!wena<sup>s</sup>tosε<sup>s</sup>la  
is not good usage)

-usdes up from beach

lā<sup>s</sup>sdes to go---III 211.15; syex<sup>s</sup>wesdes<sup>s</sup>  
tide comes up beach III 184.13; o<sup>s</sup>xlosdesε<sup>s</sup>la  
to carry up from beach X 162.11; tā<sup>s</sup>sdes to  
step out of water (on beach).

-ogwi<sup>s</sup> as expected;

lā<sup>s</sup>gwi<sup>s</sup> meant to go; sne<sup>s</sup>k<sup>s</sup>ogwi<sup>s</sup> to  
intend to say; it was foretold that he would  
say; g<sup>s</sup>a<sup>s</sup>xogwi<sup>s</sup> meant to come (g<sup>s</sup>ax-);

lā<sup>s</sup>wanemogwi<sup>s</sup> (lax<sup>s</sup>=anem-) (clams,  
berries) that as expected have been gathered  
(he knows before hand he will get---).

lā<sup>s</sup>gwi<sup>s</sup>ε<sup>n</sup> lā<sup>s</sup>xā qwe<sup>s</sup>sot I meant to go  
the the other side.

=ok<sup>u</sup> person:  
(see numerals, grammar)

sne<sup>s</sup>mo<sup>s</sup>k<sup>u</sup> one person III 12.9; 17.6 also  
friend; mas<sup>s</sup>lo<sup>s</sup>k<sup>u</sup> two persons III 48.21; - g<sup>s</sup>ino<sup>s</sup>k<sup>u</sup>  
how many persons; q!eyo<sup>s</sup>k<sup>u</sup> many persons; -  
ho<sup>s</sup>lalok<sup>u</sup> a few persons; alε<sup>s</sup>bo<sup>s</sup>k<sup>u</sup> seven persons  
R 890.30; mas<sup>s</sup>lo<sup>s</sup>kwila to take two husbands; ʔε<sup>s</sup>lāk<sup>u</sup>  
strong men C 26:188.232; swa<sup>s</sup>latsayuk<sup>u</sup> stout man  
R 1182.64; ame<sup>s</sup>ksayuk<sup>u</sup> small man.

-ok!wema pair; with numerals

s<sup>s</sup>k!<sup>s</sup>l<sup>s</sup>k!wema five pairs; mas<sup>s</sup>ʔgwena<sup>s</sup>ʔ  
tsεm-g<sup>s</sup>ustāk!we<sup>s</sup>ma 80 pairs; q!āyō<sup>s</sup>k!wema  
many---s; hō<sup>s</sup>lalok!wema---fews; s<sup>s</sup>ne<sup>s</sup>mō<sup>s</sup>k!wema  
one---; g<sup>s</sup>ε<sup>n</sup>ō<sup>s</sup>k!wema how many---s.

-lox<sup>u</sup> price;

lao<sup>s</sup>x<sup>u</sup> price, value; lao<sup>s</sup>xwεla to have  
a price; - sma<sup>s</sup>se<sup>s</sup> laox<sup>s</sup>waxox what is the price  
of this?; q!a<sup>s</sup>syox<sup>u</sup> it is high (many) priced.  
sne<sup>s</sup>mxgε<sup>s</sup>mox<sup>u</sup> the price of one round  
one (dollar); ho<sup>s</sup>la<sup>s</sup>lox it is cheap (few  
priced); nexsεā<sup>s</sup>syao<sup>s</sup>xwe<sup>s</sup> that costs half a  
dollar.

-āla, -wāla on the water, either stationary  
or moving on one spot without reference  
to direction (see -εε<sup>s</sup>);

After vowels and n, m (l) -wāla, other-  
wise -āla; medial k<sup>u</sup> sounds are transformed by  
this ending into corresponding anterior sounds.

sme<sup>s</sup>k<sup>s</sup>ā<sup>s</sup>la island (sme<sup>s</sup>k<sup>u</sup>-); pe<sup>s</sup>x<sup>s</sup>ā<sup>s</sup>la to  
drift (pe<sup>s</sup>x<sup>u</sup>-) also pe<sup>s</sup>x<sup>s</sup>ālag<sup>s</sup>ite<sup>s</sup> C 26:39.31;  
ha<sup>s</sup>nwāla canoe adrift; k!<sup>s</sup>ε<sup>s</sup>nwāla unsteady  
canoe; ʔε<sup>s</sup>mwāla canoe at anchor; ge<sup>s</sup>wāla long  
on water C II 160.22; CX 171.43; lā<sup>s</sup>wāla  
standing on water (post) C 26:215.149; III  
348.27; tie<sup>s</sup>wāla hemlock branches are on water  
R 185.20; lā<sup>s</sup>wāla C 26:13.34; lā<sup>s</sup>wāx<sup>s</sup>ε<sup>s</sup>id to go  
on water C 26: 178.105, 119; yaqāla dead body  
adrift (yaq<sup>u</sup>-); lā<sup>s</sup>xāla to stand on sea (per-  
son) C 26: 180.209, baby born feet first  
(lax<sup>u</sup>-); ε<sup>s</sup>lk<sup>s</sup>āla blood on water (ε<sup>s</sup>lk<sup>u</sup>-);  
q!ε<sup>s</sup>lsāla to be at anchor R 255.22; CX 42.19.  
āwi<sup>s</sup>ε<sup>s</sup>nak<sup>s</sup>āla islands (o-ε<sup>s</sup>nak<sup>u</sup>-āla).

=olεm nominal suffix;

ālo<sup>s</sup>lεm ballast III 311.25 (ā<sup>s</sup>l- firm);  
ʔε<sup>s</sup>lo<sup>s</sup>lεm death III 244.22 (ʔε<sup>s</sup>l-); q!ā<sup>s</sup>lo<sup>s</sup>ε<sup>s</sup>lεm  
not known C 26:73.46; me<sup>s</sup>mg<sup>s</sup>olεm canoe caulking  
III 285.23 (mek<sup>s</sup>-); tia<sup>s</sup>syolεm canoe cover pro-  
tecting against sun (t!<sup>s</sup>ā<sup>s</sup>y-); mo<sup>s</sup>ε<sup>s</sup>loεm song  
of thanks (mo<sup>s</sup>ε<sup>s</sup>l-); sma<sup>s</sup>swolεm property to be  
moved C 26:159.115 (sma<sup>s</sup>x<sup>u</sup>-); ma<sup>s</sup>x<sup>s</sup>ts!<sup>s</sup>olεm  
cause of shame (name of a copper) R 670.9;  
wa<sup>s</sup>wadzolεm food given by man to his son-in-law

III 152.1 (wa'wadz-); - q!a'yaxolɛm cause of surprise C 26:37.80; 43.193.

ts!ɛx'q!o'ɛm sickness III 284.18 (ts!ɛx'-q!a); - ga'gak'!oɛmk'!ala song of trying to get a wife III 69.19 (gak'-!a-oɛm-k'!ala).

gas'lo'ɛm objection, reproach III 451.27.

=olaq

ts!olo'laq black horn spoon (ts!oɔ-); ɔ!o'laq new spoon, disk (aɔ-). See also k'a'ts!ɛnaq spoon (k'as-) which implies a suffix -!ɛnaq probably related to =olaq.

-ole suffix for fruits of plants

qo't!xole' *Arctostaphylos* R 218.1 (qot- to gather---); !ɛq!ɛxole (a<sup>s</sup>maxole) (*New*) *Distegia* (*Lonicera*) *involutata*; ax<sup>u</sup>so'le hellebore R 175.8 (ax<sup>u</sup> - name of plant); ha'bxsole *Ribes echinatum*; k'ɛsp!o'le *Ribes laxiflorus* (k'ɛsp!a taste of---); a<sup>s</sup>maxole (*New*); basbole rose bush.

-oɔ nominal

q!a'q!anuɔ blanket sewed of marmot skins (q!ɛn-); wa'doɔ kelp (*Nak.*) (wat-); wa'wngɛnoɔ island with deep water all around (wɛnq-); kwa'g'uɔ tribal name (kwak<sup>u</sup>-); wɛna'gweɔ fir (wɛnq<sup>u</sup>-).

=oɔ made exclusively of---, done exclusively with---, completely  
Reduplication 5 see -[x']deq, -go.

smā'smɛloɔ painted exclusively white (smɛl-); !ɛ!l!agoɔ---red (!ɛ!q<sup>u</sup>-); ts!ɛ!ts!oloɔ---black (ts!oɔ-); !ɛ!l!ɛmgoɔ made exclusively of yew (!ɛ!mq<sup>u</sup>-); da'dɛwɛɔ---yellow cedar (dɛx<sup>u</sup>-); t!ɛ!t!edzoɔ---stone, also name of a conifer (t!ɛs-); k!wā'k!wagoɔ---red cedar wood (k!wāq<sup>u</sup>-); xwā'xwe<sup>s</sup>loɔ---quartz (xwe<sup>s</sup>l-).

!ɛ!sɛ!la<sup>s</sup>uɔ sun has risen completely (!ɛ!sɛ!la); smɛkwɛ!la<sup>s</sup>uɔ moon---.

dā'dɛwɛxoɔ only cedar withes being used C 26: 91.6; 202.78 (dɛwɛ'x<sup>u</sup>); dā'daloɔ only with money (dā'la = dollar); ā<sup>s</sup>ɛ'x'ts!ɛmoɔ only with abalone (ɛ'x'ts!ɛm); xā'xax<sup>u</sup>medzoɔ only with fir; !ɛ!l!ɛ!gɛwoɔ only with red cedarbark (!ɛ!l!gɛk<sup>u</sup>); p!ā'p!alɛmoɔ only with wool (p!ā'ɛm); !ɛ!l!l!aqoɔɛg'ɛn a potlatch is given to me entirely with coppers (!ɛ!l!qwa).

syā'syax'dzoɔɛla to be invalid;  
ā<sup>s</sup>ɛ'x'dzoɔɛla<sup>s</sup>masa are you well (= ɛ'x'smasa).

-uɔ, -wuɔ (-wɛɔ) remote past, word suffix. (See grammar)

Used with both nouns and verbs.

ɛa'swɛnɛmuɔ late husband; xwā'k!wɛnoɔ former canoe; se'wayuwoɔ former paddle; q!a'k'ɛwuɔ a dead slave; k'!a'lot!oɔ dead porpoise.

g'o'kwɛlotswɛɔ dead tribe III 142.9; o'mp<sup>s</sup>wɛɔ late father; ā's<sup>s</sup>wɛɔ your late father III 142.16; - g'o'x<sup>u</sup>dɛmɛsswɛɔ late town site; hāma'lak'awa<sup>s</sup>yuɔ the late Hāma'lak'awe<sup>s</sup>; !o'ɛ!sɛ<sup>s</sup>yuɔ late nephew;

ɛɛ'ns<sup>s</sup>wɛɔ yesterday III 31.6; gɛyo'x<sup>s</sup>wɛɔ long ago; g'a'x<sup>s</sup>wɛɔɛn I came long ago; g'a'la<sup>s</sup>yuɔ first long ago (g'a'lāuɔ); !o'māoɔ long ago very much III 113.16.

=āɔ ugly

bɛgwo'ɔ ugly man C II 274.25; ɛwa'yāɔ ---dog C 26:119.11 (ɛwas-); mɛlā'ɔ---old sock-eye salmon R 239.1 (mɛɔ-); ɛya'g'āɔ bad thing, bad fellow (ɛyak<sup>u</sup>); g'o'gwāɔ miserable house C 26:43.5 (g'ok<sup>u</sup>); xwā'gwāɔ old canoe (xwak<sup>u</sup>-); g'ɛ'nlāɔ, pl. g'ɛ'ng'ɛnlāɔ ugly or badly behaved child (g'ɛnɔ-).

ɛlɛ'lx<sup>s</sup>ɛgāɔ wide inside C 26:20.113 (ɛlex-); t!ɛ'g'ɛ!k'ɛdzāɔ real ugly one lying on back in house C II 274.25 (t!ɛk'ɛ!ɔ-k'as=āɔ).

=oɔ, =oɔɛ (ɛa) continued motion in a certain direction; indifferent; =oɔ alone weakens.

bɛ<sup>s</sup>no'ɔɛ'la to go downward III 127.4; to be in downward direction C II 12.27; 160.9; ɛ'k'loɔɛla to go up C II 102.4; 124.7; ɛna'loɔɛla to go upriver III 125.7; C II 8.19; gwa'soɔɛla to approach III 8.3, 11, 9.9; gwā'ɔɛla to go down river C II 24.9; !ɛ!a'soɔɛla to go seaward; hayo'ɔɛla to keep right on C 26: 136.110; - g'ayoɔ coming from one of a group (g'ayolas, pl. g'ayɛmolas place from which one comes) R 79.25; 91.98; 100.2; 109.1; 122.53); g'ɛ'ldoɔ lengthwise R 87.11; [65.20]; (g'ɛlt-); ts!ɛg'o'ɔ short way R 65.21; 67.48; 87.10; 261.38 (ts!ɛk'-); -

-ol to obtain,

āwo'l to get (āw-); w!o'l not to get III 459.34 (wɛy-); lā!l to obtain III 38.21; 59.34; - hayo'l to get at once; q!ɛyo'l to get many III 139.36; lo'pot to obtain nothing; sw!ɛ!ol to obtain all R 190.38; he'ɔ<sup>s</sup>ol to obtain enough V 324.28; mɛto'l to obtain horse clams; gɛk'o'l to obtain a wife; xwā'k'ol to obtain canoe; p!ɛ'lxol to obtain blanket; la'lo!ɛx'sid to try to obtain C 26: 118.91 (lol-!a-x'sid); lā'lɛlanɛm obtained;

gwe'gwayo'leqela to think to be able to C 26: 166.436; ba'bakweyola to try to get soul CX 272.9.

-swē- negative (see -o-)

-wut, -ot fellow; after fricatives and k sounds it takes the form -swut (see Grammar), the k stops becoming fricatives.

bexswu't fellow men CX 179.6; III 50.23 (bek<sup>u</sup>-); gex'swu't fellow wife (gek<sup>u</sup>-); hasmu't fellows in eating; hāyo't rival III 248.12 (hey-); lāt to go with (la-); g'i'xswut fellow chiefs C 26:102.1 (g'iq-); gwe'sswut, or gwe'ts!emut head sparrow fellow; ā'mā'swut play fellow R 1122.25; C II 148.6; also asma'xālot C 26:163.403; - kwelo't to lie down with X 5.16; 201.8;

g'o'kwelot tribe, tribe fellows (g'ok<sup>u</sup>-ela-); tsia'x'ālot fellow in sickness (ts!ex'-(g)āla-); snema'snakwelot coming at the same time C 26:48.204 (snemasnakwela-); snema'g'ustālot one of same age (snema-g'ustāla-); snema'ixswut house fellows (snema=ix-); - snema'laswet of same size as (snema=as-); sneme'mot tribe fellows III 133.2; xa'xwelaplot loved friend III 267.37 (xa'x-ela-ap!); swen'swewegoxwidot fellow met secretly (swen-gō-x'sid-).

Exception: snem'wot fellow 377.00 (snem-) also snem'wewot  
With inanimate object: snamax'seyot g'i'ldas a box which is always taken along (snem-x'sā-).

-wels out of house (see o and -els outside)

la'wels to go out of house C II 124.16; le'xewels to beat time going out C 26:66.12; smō'welsa to carry load out of house C 26: 194.148 (smā'lēls to carry load being outside); swi'slawels all out; yexewels to dance going out of door (yexewels to dance being outside); dzel'xwels to run being outside; (dzel'xwels to run out of doors); qā'sewels to walk out of house (qā'selsēla to walk on ground).

Compare -sweqā and -eqā; according to our informant either is correct.

-wēx- (see o and -(g')ēx-)

-wenek'aā, āgwenek'aā one on top of another (perhaps a compound of -ēk'ēla on back)

A 1. ōvc' E cāc': hā'qwenek'aā to lie on belly one on top of another R 245.84; to

stand in rows on top of one another C II 164.10; smā'k'ewenek'aā round things are---; qā'pewenek'aā, qā'pewenex'sid vessels upside down are---; nā'xewenek'aā to stand back to back; lā'pewenek'aā or lā'pewek'aā mats piled up.

A 2. ōvm stable: hā'n'sāgwenek'aā vessels are---;

A 3. ōvw R cōcāc': smō'smagāwenek'aā piled up (smew-).

B 2. ōvc R cāc'vc: pā'paqwenek'aā flat pieces piled up R 280.99; k'ā'k'ātewenek'aā long objects piled up.

E cv R caca: k'ak'agwenek'aā.

-wis only in names

sa'yawis to eat one kind of food; ānx'ānwisa to blacken eyebrows; smā'x'mewisā giving potlatch in world; snā'wis only one; lā'l!ēx'ewis several whales on beach.

-wis and so;

It expresses a weak causal connection; general compounded with -sm as -smis, but separated from it by -ēla it is said, and similar suffixes.

smas'sā'nawis what could it be? C II 10.2 (-ana perhaps); lā'ē'm'slawis (la-ēm-ēla-wis) and so it is said.

-wist!a literally: and so on its part, emphasizing. ts!o'x'towist!a very black; q!a'q!eq!aak<sup>u</sup>wist!a very much put among; ānsyawist!e that has no meaning at all.

-swesdes up from beach see o, -usta (?)

-swesta out of water see o, -esta

-sweqā out of hole see o, -eqā, also -wels

q!o'x'qā, q!o'x'wēqā water wells up out of---, ax'sweqō'd X 89.27 or ax'saqō'd.

ēla'p!eqols to dig out CX 204.7;

ne'xsweqod to pull out CX 204.7, 204.8.

k!wak!weteqā to pry out R 501.43, [R 119.10]; swi'sloqā all taken out R 501.44.

-sweldzo off from flat object see o, dzo

-swēxtā out of canoe see o

-swēxt!a out of an enclosed space see o

-swelts!o out of see o, -ts!io

=swat successful see (-ts!anas)

ē'g'ē'ls'wat expert R 166.17; 177.57; 290.15; 292.4 (ēk'); syāg'ē'ls'wat inexperienced R 177.60; 290.11; 292.1; 586.24 (yak'-);



hē'xaswatēn I hit right C 26:41.109.131 (hēx);  
ē'gwat having wrong ideas C II 14.24 (lēq<sup>u</sup>);  
k'lē'ss šāwī'lagwī'lagwat not considering any-  
 thing as important, indifferent.

ēg'e'ls'watsokwēla somewhat expert  
 R 122.5.

-swatēla to carry; (see nkwēla)

lēxswatēla to carry basket; - k'a'swat-  
ēla---spoon; sop'swatēla---axe; ha'n'x'watēla---  
 gun.

na'gas'watēla---a bucket.

-beta in, into hole

dēx<sup>u</sup>beta' to jump into hole III 99.1;  
 365.19; ts!ēnx<sup>u</sup>betend to pay out rope into hole  
 C 26:203.100 (ts!ēnk<sup>u</sup>); o'betala inside a hole  
 C 26: 214.62.

he'x'betamas to cause to go right into  
 (he'x'-bet-amas); - mo'dēnbeta to be four finger  
 widths deep V 351.8; swa'slabetalilas depth of  
 hole in floor III 207.15 (swa'sla-beta-li'x-as)

-bes fond of, devoted to

A 1. ōvc stable or ōvca; also rarely  
 R cevc: p!ēsbes, p!ēsā'bes fond of potlatching  
 (p!ēs-); nēpbe's (or nāpeyū's) fond of throw-  
 ing stones (nēp-); lēx'be's fond of playing  
 stone-throwing game (lēk<sup>u</sup>).

ye'x<sup>u</sup>be s or yī'ye'x<sup>u</sup>bes pl. yis'ye'x<sup>u</sup>be's  
 fond of dancing. All other examples form  
 plural with ce reduplication k'i'k'ā'x'bes pl.  
k'e'k'ik'ā'x'bes coward (k'e'x-).

A 2, 3 ōvm, ōvy stable: swē'nbes fond  
 of hiding (swēn-); tsē'bes---drawing water  
 (tsēy-).

A 5 ōvc<sup>s</sup>, ōvcā: x'ēsma'bes---snaring  
 (x'ēs-); mēs'la'bes---hunting by torchlight  
 (mēs-).

B 2. ōvc stable ōvca R ōvcvc: sē'x<sup>u</sup>bes  
 or sē'sē'x<sup>u</sup>bes---paddling (sēx<sup>u</sup>); k'ē'x'bes or  
k'ē'k'ē'x'bes---fishing (k'ē-); dō'x<sup>u</sup>bes or  
dō'dēx<sup>u</sup>bes---trolling (dōk<sup>u</sup>); qā'sbes or  
qā'sabes---walking (qās-); smā'x<sup>u</sup>bes or  
smā'xwabes---potlatching (smāx<sup>u</sup>); dā'desbes  
 ---diving (dās-); swā'sbes---dogs (swas-);  
mē'mxmes sleepy head C 26: 183.17.

B 5. ōvc<sup>s</sup> stable: sē'q!abes---eating  
 dry herring spawn; irregular dēda'sā'be's fond  
 of laughter CX 276.38.

C 2. ōvmc R ōvmcvmc or stable:  
ge'lgelxbes---swimming (gelq-); k!wē'mtbes---  
 smoking (k!wēnt- to suck); hā'nēn'x'bes---hunting  
 (hān-); ā'mē'ā'x'bes---playing (ām<sup>x</sup>);  
g'e'ng'e'nābes---children;

Irregular: xwē'ny'xwbes---one's own  
 children.

D. ōvc stable: te'x'ts!ēbe's---warming  
 himself (te'x'ts!-).

E. nā'bes fond of (eating) snow (nāē)  
 Polysyllabic stems and stems with suf-  
 fixes: ā'mlēx<sup>u</sup>bes---staying at home; ālē'x'bes  
 ---sea hunting; āba'sbes---mother; ā'sbes---  
 father; g'ō'x<sup>u</sup>bes, g'ō'kwax'ēlbes---staying in  
 house.

gwē'syō'bedze's favorite, a choice object  
 C 26: 199.352; R 955.87.

-ba end of long horizontal object.  
 (see -bala)

lēx<sup>u</sup>ba' pl. lē'slēx<sup>u</sup>ba' thick-pointed;  
e'x'ba sharp (good-pointed) R 157.5; pē'pēx<sup>u</sup>ba  
 flat-ended V 324.23; - la'ba it is finished  
 (gone to the point) C II 80.11; q!wēlba' C II  
 106.3; dō'x<sup>u</sup>ba to see point III 91.32.

āx'be'nd to put on end; dzēx'be'nd to  
 rub end III 193.9; be'n'end to fit to a point;  
ts!ēsmbe'nd to melt at point; da'b'end to take  
 hold of end III 15.7; mo'x<sup>u</sup>end to tie end III  
 136.40; sa'b'end to stretch over end, to overdo  
 III 18.1; - t!ē'msbend to ring up on telephone.

l!ē'l!ēx<sup>u</sup>bala to have sea-lions at ends  
 X 71.6; q!ē'mg'embala to have barbs at end III  
 103.24; - g'a'l'abala to have a leader; mo'x<sup>u</sup>-  
bala to have tied at end III 89.15; te'tēx<sup>u</sup>-  
bala to have hanging at ends III 89.43.

o'be's pl. o'sbe's point III 126.23;  
wi'be's not up to end; a'f'be's landward (rear)  
 side of house III 51.10; l!a'sbe's seaside  
 (front) of house III 56.8; g'a'l'abe's leader  
 III 31.12; 92.17; x'i'x'be's fire burning at end  
 of something; - mo'x<sup>u</sup>be's something tied to end;  
mo'x<sup>u</sup>ba'syas place where something is tied to  
 end.

nēx'ba'za being straight at end;  
l!a'sba'za pointing seaward III 162.42; gwe'ba'za  
 end pointing that way; gwe'balix end pointing  
 that way in house; gwe'ba'slix that end in  
 house; nēx'bag'elix C III 222.15.

Special meanings: (see -bala)

a'l'abala pl. a'sl'abala' to go far into  
 woods; to hug shore in canoe travel; a'l'εbala  
 landward wind; snē'l'abala wind blows up river;  
l!a'sabala to go far out seaward; l!a'sbala  
 wind off shore; l!a'sbalis (log) pointing out  
 seaward (from l!a'sba'za); l!a'sba'slis seaward  
 end (of a log) (from l!a'sbala); gwā'ba'za  
 (>gwe-a-ba-la) to go near; nu'yēmba'ze wa'z'demas  
 his speech is a myth; nu'yēmbale wa'ldemas his  
 speech has a myth back of it; āx'ba'za it is on  
 the point; āx'ba'lis it is on the point on the  
 beach; āx'ba'la to have something at the point;  
āx'ba'slis it has something at the point on  
 the beach; gwa'baslix in feast, seat at side  
 nearest to door.

da'bala spear III 29.42; pēx<sup>u</sup>ba'la  
 rafter X 71.7; ha'sl'abala to be quick III 31.4;  
 41.22; se'n'end to make end whole, the whole  
 day, season III 36.35; 112.6; se'n'bendēn'εq  
 make it whole; he'x'ba'x'ē'id to turn the right  
 way III 227.25; o'dzēbax'ē'id to turn the wrong  
 way III 227.25; - snē'mp!ēnbala (to have at the

end at one time) to kill all at one time III 38.33; lā'bala to touch III 148.25; e'wabend to go around a projecting point; to begin at the beginning; wa'tba'ts!ane led by hand; he'be to die at once (being killed) C 26: 127.162; nu'yembali the one who has story; nuymbasli the story itself.

-baqwela blazing fire

See -qwap; used in few words only; ne'xbā'qwela to have a blaze going right up; q!ē'baqwela or q!ē'qwapela big blaze; ē'x'baqwela good fire; ɣa'x'baqwela bad fire; k'!εlō'pba'qwela whirling blaze (k'!εlp- to twist).

-bala---on the way, while going along (see -ba)  
Usually Reduplicates 5

k'!ā'k'aɔbala to beckon---(k'!εl-); lā'ax<sup>u</sup>bala to stand a little while and go on C III 250.13; 252.17; qā'qeɔbala to call a little while and go on (qēɔ-); snā'snobala to aim---(snεw-); dā'dεnxbala to sing---(dεnx-); yā'yεnk'!εbala to throw with sling---(yεnk'!-); ha'εmsbala or ha'masbala to pick berries--- X 205.10; dā'dabala to take---III 209.40; yā'yaq!εntbala to talk---(yāq!εnt-).  
asnē'xbala to get fire-wood---R 181.58; 484.26; ā'ɔbala to hurry---.  
qwē'sabala to go away, qwē'sbala tide, wind move away; gwā'sabala to come towards, in direction towards subject C 26:103.33; III 24.7; ā'lābala to walk in the woods; ā'lεbala wind blowing inland; l!ā'sabala to go along far at sea; l!ā'sbala s.w. wind.

-bido small, singular (see mεnex<sup>u</sup>, pl.)

Word suffix:

ama'bido very small C II 176.12; ame'sgemalabido a nice little man; wa'bido little river X 161.13; a'datsabido father! - begwo<sup>s</sup>ɔbido ugly little fellow; snεxwa<sup>s</sup>ɔa-bida<sup>s</sup>we quite near III 30.6; l!a!axεmbido little bag C II 142.10.

-!bo; -!p(εla) chest

-!bo designates the object that acts or is on the chest; -!p(εla), the chest that has a certain attribute, or to act on the chest.  
te'k!wεbewe what is hanging on the chest; tek!wεbod(εs) to hang (something) on the chest R 210.24; 216.17; te'k!wεbosyu(s) the chest is hung (with it) R 214.30; te'k!wεpela(q) to have (something) hanging on the chest R 208.10; 212.17; la'xes te'k!wεpelaena'ya(xes) at her having hanging on her chest (her) R 215.47 [R 220.8].

obā'sye chest; obā'lis bank of river C II 50.4; labo'lis to walk to bank of river C II 50.4; hāq!wεbā'sye chest of seal (chest lying on chest) R 695.15; he'ɔk'!ot!abā'sye right side of chest C II 48.16; gεsmxo't!abā'sye left side of chest C II 48.17; swa'dzεq!abε<sup>s</sup>was width of chest C II 84.27; smεk!wεbā'sye heart R 454.70; 695.18; t!εq!εbā'sye C X 222.21 lower end of sternum; l!εma'k!wεbā'sye III 175.18 sternum.

lεmo'bo chest is dry (lεmx<sup>u</sup>-); smεslbo' chest is white; mεnbo'd to strike chest with fist (mεx'-); k!wεmεlabo'd to scorch chest; (k!wεmεla'pela the chest is scorched).

hā'nq!apela to have in fold of blanket on chest C II 132.28; ts!εnspela to have pains on chest C 26:107.75 (ts!εx'-); āxεapeli'ɔ to have something on chest in house; āxεabā'εliɔ the thing on chest in house.

-boɔ(a) to pretend

Word suffix:

q!wa'saboɔa to pretend to cry III 155.34; ts!εx'q!a'boɔa to pretend to be sick III 278.26; swi'εlaboɔ---finish III 260.33; - a'lāboɔ---search R 910.9; ha'yaɔp!a'ɔtεwaboɔa ---see distinctly C III 252.8.

-pela to think one can  
See [ts!ap]

-poi into hole (Koskimo)

kwεlpo'liɔ to lie down in room X 207.22; te'xpoi to fall into hole C II 196.5, 6, 16; la'poi to go into hole C II 196.17; gāpo<sup>as</sup> place from where one goes into a hole R 613.1, 12 (gεy-poi=as).  
o'poiɔ inner room X 207.23.

-p!εn(a) times

When followed by a suffix with initial consonant, -p!εn; when followed by a suffix with initial vowel, n, m, or l that does not influence the preceding consonant, -p!εn, but not quite regular.

snε'mp!εna once; snε'mp!εng'εɔtos to go down river once; snε'mp!εnx'sεag'i to go once into woods; snε'mp!εnxwa<sup>s</sup>dziɔ to stay in house one day; snε'mp!εnx'sεqa to go over and across once; snε'snεmp!εng'ila to make many things at the same time; snε'mpaneɔ to go in once (=εl); snε'm-p!āniɔ to stay in house one day (=iɔ); snε'mp!εnalisεm to try once and fail.  
snε'mp!εniεlāla once, here and there (-iεlāla); snε'mp!εnaxa to go down once (-axa); snε'mp!εnε'nkwela to carry all at

once in hand (enkwεla); snε'mp!enaqa to go past once (-aqā); snε'mp!ena'noma to come to do once (-anoma); snε'mp!enaswiχ to go across once; snε'mp!enoι to get all at once (-oι); q!e'plene'ssta many times around (-[s]e'ssta); snε'mp!enut (to take all out at once (-ud)); snε'mp!enatos to go down river once (-atos); snε'mp!ena'-q!εs to go once along whole village.

snε'mp!εsnas place of doing once (=as)

snε'mp!en#exsta to want all at one time;

snε'mp!asnabod to put underneath once.

Not following the rules given:

snε'mp!ene'k'εla to take on back once

(=ek'εla); snε'mp!enamās to cause one to

do once (-amas); snε'mp!enanem gotten all

at once (=anem).

-p!enk' fathom, span;

a compound of -p!en times, and -k'

ε,εbo'p!enk' laxents q!wa'q!wax'ts!-  
ana'syex seven spans at our fingers R 110.34;

-snε'mp!enk' laxents ba'lex one fathom  
R 100.4.

-p!a to taste; combined with other suffixes;

la, -ssto, -exsta used for sense feelings.

q!εsp!a' meat taste; e'x'p!a good taste; syax'p!a bad taste; q!a'χp!a rotten taste; tsε'lxup!a bitter taste; gwe'p!aas the kind of taste.

syax'p!εxsta to scold (= bad taste in mouth).

-p!ala to smell,

bεχp!a'la man's smell III 124.15;

k'!ε'lp!ala copper smell III 67.28; syax'p!ala

bad smell III 352.14; χa'x'p!ala strong smell

III 67.27; k'!e'χp!ala smell of salmon

(k'!eχ- slime); swa'sp!ala smell of dog;

a'εsnε'mp!ala--- of wolf; hasmā'sp!ala--- of

food; gwe'p!a'slas place of such smell III

67.26; !a'qwap!ala smell of copper III 67.27;

q!a'χp!ala to stink (spawn); q!a'nexp!ala

smell of Q!a'neqe'slak<sup>u</sup> III 95.21.

syax'p!εxt!a'lag'εlis the whole beach  
stinks seaward C 26:49.267.

-p!aχto' to see (-pa-εsto)

εwe'lp!aχto to see plainly C II 48.3;

R 176.45; ha'yaχp!aχte'swa to try to see plain-

ly C III 252.8; syax'p!altāla to see bad

things C X 271.13; e'tp!aχto to see again;

masχp!ε'np!aχto to see twice; swi'slp!aχtaslak<sup>u</sup>

seen by all; ma'x'p!aχto to see near by

R 1122.34; χε'mp!altāla to be indistinctly  
visible.

-p!eg'a thigh

qe'qεx'p!eg'εs leg bands III 811; -

qεx'p!εg'εnd to tie around leg III 89.37;

o'p!eg'εs shin.

-p!eq stick, tree

se'lp!eq handle of drill; εna'x'p!eq

potlatch pole; totem pole III 143.40; hā'msp!eq

cannibal pole M 691.4; ya'wap!eq (yāla wind);

!a'p!eq R 101.21 mast; se'ndεp!eq flag-staff

(sεnde'syu from English Sunday).

k'!εtεla'p!eq watch-pole III 196.30;

!ε'nεnχp!eq to peck pole C 26:7.85; p!εχp!egεnd

to fly to pole C 26:7.84; yeχp!ε'gεndala to tie

to a stick III 158.32; q!we'q!wεlap!ega'lidzεm

people put up on beach III 158.34; ya'q!εntp!eq

speakers pole III 186.33, 39.

-sm A verbal suffix indicating that the  
subject has been referred to or  
thought of before

k'!ε'lax'sitsεswa wāō'χ'udās la'smē'  
swi'swε'sla the others were struck, and they  
were all (dead) C II 84.26.

(He though he had only slept.)

lasε'm dō'xswaεlaxa q!ε'nεm k!wā'χa g'ε'lg'ā-

ōmasa's then he saw many animals sitting C II

110.18.

(He was just struck on the head by Mink)

"hē'smen k!wē'x'six'de" "That was what I planned;

(referring to what he had done) C II 148.20.

lasε'm hē'g'εl pax'sitso'sse wi'χba'sya

and now that is first split, its thin end

R 117.32.

(They were steering for Hē'χ'sas.)

lasε'm lāl sālε'χswaχxa q!ā'sa lāq They were

going to hunt sea-otters there C II 352.19.

lasε'm yes, then he did; he'sεm it is

said.

Often with -wis and so (see -wis)

-mes, εms Nominal Suffix

In names of plants, derived from the  
term for the fruit, bark or other part used.

-ems or -sms after vowels, m, n, l and  
glottalized consonants; -mes after other con-  
sonants.

After vowels, m, n, l and glottalized

consonants: sa'laedana'sεms fern plant (Poly-

stichum munitum); lεgo'sεms strawberry plant;

sa'q!wa'sεms maple tree; q!a'q!ane'sεms

Crataegus rivularis; ax'uso'le'sεms hellebore;

!εq!εxo'le'sεms Distegia involucrata;

ga'gɛlɛwəsɛms fir; x'o'kwɛmɛms lily; sa'gwɛsɛms fern; p!ɛlɛ'ms moss (p!ɛls-); lɛq'ɛms old fruit and leaves dropping off.

After consonants: dɛ'x<sup>u</sup>ɛsɛms yellow cedar; t!ɛ'mx<sup>u</sup>ɛsɛms gooseberry bush; po'xwasɛms Menziesia; t!ɛ'lsɛms *Viburnum pauciflorum*; tɛgwɛɛɛmɛ's capberry bush; gɛ'lxɛms rosebush; ɛ'no'x<sup>u</sup>ɛsɛms huckleberry bush; q!ɛ'mdzɛx<sup>u</sup>ɛsɛms salmonberry bush; xɛ'x<sup>u</sup>ɛsɛms pine (bark tree); dɛnɛ'sɛms red cedar III 78.1; lɛ'xɛms hemlock tree; l!a'x<sup>u</sup>ɛsɛms alder (red tree); hɛsmo'ɛms barberry bush.

-sɛn, -mɛn young of animals (Kos)

k!ɛ'k!ɛ'sɛmɛn childless woman;  
qɛlxɛsmɛ'n (new) egg; g'iqamɛn full blooded chief.

-mas

gɛ'mas old, dried salmon (gɛy-);  
tɛx'ma's gall, bile (tɛx'- bitter).

-mɛs useless part; nominal suffix

g'ɛwɛ'sɛmɛs frost R 194.16; epsom salts CX 217.10; tɛ'lxɛms hailstones III 121.24; k!ɛ'lx<sup>u</sup>ɛmɛs urine of male CX 275.13; ɛsmɛs urine of female R 668.44; ɛ'xɛntmɛs menstrual flow C 26: 181.232; tsɛx<sup>u</sup>mɛs rain drop; yugwɛmɛs rain water.

-modɛm (see -sɛmut, -mut)

tɛsnx<sup>u</sup>modɛm too fat (useless) R 246.96;  
lɛ'x<sup>u</sup>modɛm too thick; l!a'sɛyak'amodɛm too thin;  
pɛ'lmodɛm too thin (paper).

-sɛmɛnɛx<sup>u</sup> small, pl. (see bido's sing.);

Word suffix.

g'o'x<sup>u</sup>sɛmɛnɛx<sup>u</sup> small houses; ts!ɛ'dax<sup>u</sup>ɛmɛnɛx<sup>u</sup> small women; sɛ'xwasɛmɛnɛx<sup>u</sup> small ones paddling; -sɛnɛ'nɛ'mgɛsɛmɛnɛx<sup>u</sup> little Ninkish III 135.34; bɛ'xwɛsɛmɛnɛx<sup>u</sup> little secular ones CX 84.13.

-sɛmɛs (-sɛm-wɛs) and so

Contracted from sɛm-wɛs and so; see sɛm and -wɛs; often separated by other suffixes: g'ɛ'lsɛmɛs lɛ'g'ɛɛ laq as soon as she arrives there (lit. and so first she arrives there) R 111.4; hɛ'sɛmɛs qɛs pɛldzɛwɛs and so that it is thin and flat R 117.40; hɛ'x'sɛɛɛsɛmɛs lɛ'wɛs and so at once, it is said; lɛsɛ'ɛmɛs lɛ'wɛs ɔ'sɛmɛlɛ qɛ'sɛɛ and so, it is said, ɔ'mɛɛ started C II 290.9.

-sɛmo, -sɛmɛlɛ moving in company

q!ɛ'sɛmɛlɛ many walking together R 769.38; C 26:29.60; ɛ'sɛ'k!ɛ'sɛmɛlɛ to go up together CX 280.14, 34; ɔ'dzɛ'sɛmɛlɛ moving in a wrong way together CX 281.9; R 657.24; CX 280.14; q!ɛp!ɛ'sɛmɛlɛ to go together C II 430.22; sɛwɛ'sɛlɛ'sɛmɛlɛ all go together R 987.81; C II 108.22; wɛɔ'x<sup>u</sup>sɛmɛlɛ several go in company III 44.19; 45.1; hɛ'sɛlɛsɛmɛlɛ lɛ'gɛ mouse III 11.12; sɛwɛ'lɛsɛmɛlɛ all go together on sea R 964.83; wɛɔ'x<sup>u</sup>mɛlɛ several go in company on sea.

With =g'ɛɛ- continued motion:

gɛ'lg'ɛɛɛsɛmɛsɛyɛ wake of canoe; kwa'x'ɛɛsɛmɛsɛyɛ smoke of house drifted away C 26:160.156; kwɛ'x'ɛlɛsɛmɛlɛ the house from which smoke drifts away; k'ɛxwɛɛsɛmɛsɛyɛ smell left behind by automobile; tsɛ'ɛwɛg'ɛɛsɛmɛsɛyɛ water dripping from pail while going along; sɛyɛ'g'ɛɛsɛmɛsɛyɛ bad things left behind R 735.58.

-mp relationship

ɔmp father R 464.13 (ɛwɛs-); sɛwɛ'sɛmp fathers and uncles, ancestors C II 28.25; ɛbɛ'mp mother R 666.70 (ɛbɛs-); ɛbɛ'mp aunts and mother III 468.13; nɛgwɛ'mp pl. nɛɛ'ngwɛmp parent- (child-) in-law III 133.22 (nɛk<sup>u</sup>-); gɛ'gɛmp pl. gɛɛ'gɛmp grandfather III 134.2; p!ɛ'lwɛmp husband's sister, woman's brother's wife; g'ɛnp, pl. g'ɛg'ɛ'ɛnp (g'ɛs-) Kwa; g'ɛ'nɛmp Nak. man's sister-in-law, woman's brother-in-law.

In derivatives and possessive forms the suffix -mp is generally lost: ɛs your father R 709.78; ɛ'sk'lot father's side; ɛ'sɛnɛs to visit father; ɛbɛs your mother CX 76.1; ɛbɛ'yad having a mother C III 50.9 etc.; yɛs ɛ'sdɛsɛxos your (pl.) father.

-sɛmut, after stems with terminal sonant or glottalized consonant -mut useless, refuse (see -ɛsɛwɛs); Reduplication 6C

A 1. cɛc R cɛc, accent on second syllable (2d consonant surd):

q!ax'sɛmu't piece bitten out CX 277.33 (q!ɛk<sup>u</sup>-); ts!ax'sɛmu't hair singed off R 607.10 (ts!ɛx<sup>u</sup>-); ax<sup>u</sup>sɛmu't waste scum (ɛx<sup>u</sup>-); sɛyax<sup>u</sup>sɛmu't high water mark (sɛyɛx<sup>u</sup>-); ax'sɛmu't waste left after some work (ɛx-); tap'sɛmu't broken pieces (tɛp-); ax<sup>u</sup>sɛmu't new tracks C 26:96.81 (ɛx-); q!wax'sɛmu't marks left from scratching (q!wɛx-); t!ax'sɛmu't dirty cloths, t!ɛ't!ax'sɛmut pl. (t!ɛk<sup>u</sup>-); sɛnax'sɛmu't stones discarded after steaming (sɛnɛk<sup>u</sup>-).

A 2. cɛm R cɛmɛ:

k'ɛ'nk'ɛmut what is left after scooping up (k'ɛn-); sɛ'lsɛmut what is left after drilling (sɛl-); wɛ'nwɛmut refuse of drilling (wɛn-).

A 3. c̄vy R c(e,o)ce followed by unglottalized -mut

dē'demut refuse of wiping (dēy-);  
xo'xemut refuse of splitting wood (xēw-)

A 4. c̄vb E c̄ābē followed by unglottalized -mut gwa'demut left after untying (as a piece of string) (gwēd-)

A 5. c̄vc̄s R c̄vc̄vc̄sē  
ts!εts!εsmemut left after melting (ts!εsm-); hā'samut rest of food (hāsm-)

B 1. c̄vc̄ R c̄vc̄ac̄'  
k!ā'k!āx<sup>u</sup>smut shavings C 26:127.141 (k'ax<sup>u</sup>-); xwā'xwāx<sup>u</sup>smut remains of fish cutting (xwā-<sup>u</sup>); qā'qās<sup>u</sup>smut tracks R 743.25; CX 47.2 (qās-); k!ā'k!āp<sup>u</sup>smut gnawings of mouse (k!āp-); ts!ā'ts!āes<sup>u</sup>smut old eel-grass R 72.96 (ts!ās-); ts!ō'ts!āx<sup>u</sup>smut charcoal R 94.20; 651.51 (ts!ōx-); ts!ē'ts!āx<sup>u</sup>smut clam shells (ts!ēk<sup>u</sup>-); tē'tāx<sup>u</sup>smut remains of bait V 478.10 (tēx-); g'ō'g'ax<sup>u</sup>smut deserted remains of house III 146.42; swā'ssmut < swā'swās<sup>u</sup>smut useless dog C 26:146.143; yū'yas<sup>u</sup>smut what is left after eating with spoons (yūs-).

Also xō'xwēxk!emut shells R 148.41; 183.13 (xōx-)

c̄vc̄' appears also without reduplication: kwā'x<sup>u</sup>smut smoke left over C II 248.18 (kwāx<sup>u</sup>-); dzō'ssmut or dzō'dzas<sup>u</sup>smut cockle shells (dzōs-); t!ē'ssmut discarded stones; smā'mut food taken home from feast; ē'x<sup>u</sup>smut good ones left over

B 5. c̄vc̄s E unchanged or c̄vc̄vc̄sā followed by unglottalized -mut

sā'q!wemut left after peeling bark (sāq<sup>u</sup>-); (sē)sē'q!āmut---eating dry herring eggs; āmā'swemut deserted village (smā'swa to move); q!wēq!wā'slemut embers (q!wā'sl-)

C. c̄vmc R c̄vmcāc followed by glottalized -smut; yē'nyāt<sup>u</sup>smut knawings (not of mouse) III 130.19 (yēnt-); qē'nqas<sup>u</sup>smut chips (qēns-); x'ē'lx'at<sup>u</sup>smut sawdust (x'ēlt-); k'ē'mk'at<sup>u</sup>smut leavings after cleaning berries (k'ēmt-); k!ē'mk!āx<sup>u</sup>smut chips made by adzing (k!ēml-)

C 4. c̄vmb R c̄vc̄vmbē followed by unglottalized -mut: mēmē'ndzēmut leavings after cutting kindling wood.

C 5. c̄vmc̄s R c̄vc̄vmc̄s followed by unglottalized -mut: k!wēk!wē'mēlm<sup>u</sup>smut remains of burning

D. c̄vc̄'c̄' E c̄ac̄'c̄' followed by unglottalized -mut: kwāsx'emu't left after splashing (kwēsx'-); tsatx'emu't left after squirting (tsēt<sup>u</sup>-)

E. With bisyllabic stems:

āmā's<sup>u</sup>smut rejected because too small (āmā's-); hō'la<sup>u</sup>smut rejected because too few; mā'mām<sup>u</sup>smut old leaves R 518.27 (note -smut after m)

Initial s s̄vc̄ Many of these change initial s to y in the second syllable: sā'ku<sup>u</sup>smut < sa'yak<sup>u</sup>smut left after digging fern roots (sak<sup>u</sup>-); sō'yap<sup>u</sup>smut chips R 1009.34 (sōp-); sā'p<sup>u</sup>smut < sā'yap<sup>u</sup>smut left after

skinning (sāp-); sā'q!wemut < sā'yāq!wemut (also sēsa'q!wemut) left after peeling bark (sāq!<sup>u</sup>-); sē'sāx<sup>u</sup>smut, sē'yax<sup>u</sup>smut, sē'nax<sup>u</sup>smut (n < x) leavings after peeling sea-grass sēx<sup>u</sup>-); sē'myax<sup>u</sup>smut leavings after trying fish oil (sēm<sup>u</sup>-); sē'nyax<sup>u</sup>smut leavings after peeling bark (sēnq-).

As shown by the preceding examples s does not necessarily change to y in all verbs. Some verbs never change s to y:

sēsax<sup>u</sup>smut refuse left after butchering (sās<sup>u</sup>-); sēsē'q!āmut left after eating dry herring spawn.

Two examples, tse'tsax<sup>u</sup>smut or tse'nax<sup>u</sup>smut leavings after melting tallow (tsēx<sup>u</sup>-) and sē'nax<sup>u</sup>smut leavings after peeling sea-grass seem to be formed by a replacement of ts and s by the following x and weakening of the misplaced x: sēsax<sup>u</sup>smut < sē'x'ax<sup>u</sup>smut < sē'nax<sup>u</sup>smut; tse'tsax<sup>u</sup>smut < tse'x'ax<sup>u</sup>smut < tse'nax<sup>u</sup>smut.

Besides words beginning with sa changing s of the second syllable to y, a few others follow the pattern of sā < saya:

tsā'x<sup>u</sup>smut leavings after eating sea-eggs (tsak<sup>u</sup>- cf. tsax<sup>u</sup>smut leavings after cutting brush (tsēk<sup>u</sup>-); sēyā'x<sup>u</sup>smut to be refused on account of badness (sēyak<sup>u</sup>-)

Initial w, n Exceptional reduplications: hā'wī'nemut left after war; nē'n<sup>u</sup>smut left after drinking (nāq-).

-d see -[x']<sup>u</sup>id

-dē'sma see -[x']dē'sma

-den finger-width; with numerals, also with other stems

sne'mdenxsā one finger-width through V 491.6; ma'x<sup>u</sup>dē'nxsā two finger-widths through V 491.3; mae'modem each four finger-widths wide V 367.19; yae'yudex<sup>u</sup>dēnislāla three finger-widths everywhere V 490.15;

la'xden width of flat hand without thumb V 38.7, 24; la'q!wēden shoulder-blade R 453.55; 1134.81; t!ēx'ēx<sup>u</sup>dē'n ladder C II 104.19, 26.

-dēgwox see -x'dēq

-dēq<sup>u</sup>

x'ē'ndēq snot; kwē'sdēq saliva C II 86.6; CX 275.12

-dēlqwa see -[x']dēlqwa

-dɛlxɛla, -dɛlxɛid, -dɛlxɛʔa kind of,  
(see -!ɛlxɛla)

ex'dɛ'lxɛla kind of clear day;  
sɣā'x'dɛlqɛla---bad weather: R 187.39; ʔnx<sup>u</sup>dɛ'-  
lxɛla---cloudy; sɣwɛdɛ'lxɛla---cold; ts!ɛlx<sup>u</sup>dɛ'-  
lxɛla---hot.

gā'x'dɛlq!wālagas woman talking in a  
kind of womanish way (gɛk'-dɛlq-k'!ala-gas,  
note -dɛlq instead of -dɛlx).

-dana worth, to be satisfied with;  
with numerals

sɛf'ɛmdana to eat one 30.644; worth one;  
mas'ɛda'na worth two; mo'dana worth four;  
sɛk'!a'dana worth five; q!ɛ!a'dana worth six;  
q!e'dana to eat many, worth many.

### =deq

mɛ'ng'ɛdeq blood near backbone of  
killed fish, rust color (mɛnk'-); sɣā'g'ɛdeq  
intestines (New. -sɣā'x'sɣɛg'ix Kwa.)  
ʔlgwɛdeq blood color.

-tāsye (=tɛswe) to do a thing while doing  
something else, particularly walking  
or moving; does not affect  
spirants (ɣ, x<sup>u</sup>), except s

sɣɛxwɛtāsye dancing as she came III  
435.20; sɛne'g'ɛtɛswe C 26:60.53; III 285.6;  
X 147.5; sɛne'g'itāsye V 478.18 to say while  
---; da'sɛɣtāsye to laugh---das'ɣtɛwe's III  
284.5; !lo'ɣtāsye to be angry while---C 26:  
120.82; q!wa'dzɛtāsye to cry---; dɛ'nxɛtāsye  
to sing---III 355.15; yālagwɛtāsye singing  
meanwhile a sacred song.

nɛgɛɣtāsye to repeat C 26:73.52;  
naqɛ'mg'ɛɣtāsye pl. (nɛq=[g']ɛɣ=); ha'smɛlag'-  
itāsye to eat walking III 134.2, 7.

-!ta meaning doubtful (perhaps implies  
an intensification of an act  
or condition)

k'ɛp!ɛta' arm goes around several  
times, almost choke; ɣɛk!wɛta' tight fitting;  
kɛk'!ɛta' to eat too much (kɛk'- berries  
burst); t!ɛ'lwɛta clubbing (t!ɛlx<sup>u</sup>-);  
x'ɛ'lk!wɛta to make a single coil in basket-  
making; all of these declined by informant DC.

kɛn'syata to be steamed R 532.24  
(kɛns-); kɛn'swɛta thumping noise (kɛnɣ<sup>u</sup>-);  
ɣalɛswɛta to play house (mats) (ɣɛx<sup>u</sup>-);  
k'lo'k!wɛta to scorn, consider of low rank  
(k'lota insufficient).

The following may also belong here al-  
though their derivation is not known: ma'yata

to regret an act; mɛts!ɛta' to heal up; ʔ'lwata  
to scratch, rub off skin with fingers R 603.13;  
xwɛ'nata it gets in a mess (mushy); o'mata  
soothing; qɛg'ɛta' to chatter with teeth  
(=qɛg'ɛlō'tɛla); xwɛno'tɛla to shiver (xwɛna'la  
to shake).

-t!a, on (his) part; but; - word suffix

he't!a but that III 33.23; sne'x'slat!a  
it is said he, on his part, said C II 10.2;  
k'!e's'slat!a it is said, he on his part did not  
III 8.10; k'!e'ts!ɛm'slawis ʔ!at!a but he on  
his part, just, it is said, not at all X 4.21.

The difference between -t!a and -!a  
appears in the following example: lā'!aɛn  
lāxa'da, lā't!aɛs laxō'xda I on my part will  
go there, you on your part will go there (pos-  
sibly to another place near by).

-!s on ground (see =!ɣ etc.)

-sɛm see -sgɛm

-s'sa'naɣ body part

q!waxs'sa'naɣ wood part of gun;  
dzɛx's'sa'naɣ iron pot, barrel of gun R 743.30;  
x'i'xs'sanaɣ hull of steamer (x'iq-); xwa'x<sup>u</sup>-  
s'sa'naɣ body of canoe (xwak<sup>u</sup>-); bɛx<sup>u</sup>s'sa'naɣ  
trunk of body (bɛk<sup>u</sup>-); g'o'x<sup>u</sup>sas'naɣ frame of  
house (g'ok<sup>u</sup>-);

q!a'sya'x's'sanaɣ handle of long-handled  
adz. (q!a'syā'k'-)

-saqo penis

mo'x<sup>u</sup>sɛgɛwak<sup>u</sup> with tied penis III 138.11

-(s)ɛ'sta around; after vowels, m, n, l,  
-ɛ'sta, usually after k, x and ! sounds,  
s, p, t, -sɛ'sta

Stems with final consonant, except m,  
n, l, y, w: yɛ'x<sup>u</sup>sɛ'sta'la to dance around  
R 1171.9; 1191.50; p!ɛ'ɣtɛsɛ'sta'liɣɛla flying  
all around C II 76.5; ɛ'tɛsɛ'stā'nɛm obtained  
by going around R 752.45; 753.71; !lo'tɛsɛ'stala  
to cut around R 1043.84; sla'pɛsɛ'stala to dig  
around; gɛ'smɣsɛ'sta'la to turn left side  
(left turns); ts!ɛk'!a'sɛ'stala to tell news  
all around; !ō'x<sup>u</sup>sɛ'stala to roll around, back  
and forth.

Stems with final vowels, m, n, l, y,  
w, and glottals: ʔlɛ'sta to fortify one's  
heart R 1131.7; ɣɛnɛ'stɛɣ unconscious in  
house; q!ā'sta to find out R 85.77, 79  
R 1098.9 (q!a); q!ā'stɛnd to put into right

place; q!wā'stala to stand around pl. C 26:207, 272; g'ā'stasm they are all those who--- R 1080.39 (g'ēy-); ā'we'sta to turn slowly (oy-); āwe'sta to turn around, to take a short cut (āw-); pēwe'sta to starve X 165.8 (pēw-); e'k'!e'sta to go up; ē'k'!e'stend to put up C II 82.11 (ek'!-); gāsye'sta to turn crossways CX 255.37 (gasy-).

q!a'q!e'stāa to try to find out C 26:152.13 (q!a-e'sta-!a); lās'tax'sid to start to go around, to set right C II 34.14 (la-e'sta-x'sid); p!ēlēm'e'stala to fly around pl. (p!ēl-ēm-e'sta-la); he'xtse'stend to go right around III 177.29 (hē'x-se'sta-nd); wi'waxse'stano to be pitied during recovery from sickness R 1260.8 (wax-se'sta=ano); he'lk'!owe'sta to turn right side R 627.3; C II 42.21 (hē'x-k'!ot-).

Meanings: he'les'ta to come back in one day C II 330.5; he'xts!e'sta to go right around R 152.12; 191.72 but also to get well again, set right; wi'waxse'stano to be pitied R 1260.8 (Kos); q!ē'sta to find out R 85.77; 1098.9; na'qes'ta to set right C 26:207.299; k'!e'tse'sta to back out (k'!es-); e'tse'stānēm second invitation (obtained by going around again) R 752.45 (ēt-).

swā'name'stala to hide all around (poetry) M 695.5.

With reduplication: generally "to go farther---."

A 1. cvc' E cāc': nā'qe'sta to set right (neq-).

A 6. cvēm, cvēy R cācā'm, cācā'y: bā'bās'ne'stala to go farther downward; gā'gāsye'stala to go a little more crossways.

B 1. cvc' R cācvc': l!ā'l!ase'stala to go farther seaward C 26:176.44 (l!ās-); snā'snale'stala---up river; gwa'gwe'stala---down river.

Initial y: āsā'le'stala to go farther inland (ā'le'sta to go around landward C II 64.5); āsē'k'!e'stala to go higher up.

-seqwa across; with locative suffix

nepse'gwił to throw across in house C 26:135.38; qwe'segwił far side in house CX 243.6; qwe'seq!wes far side across on ground CX 242.11; 243.43; gem'xse'gwił left side in house R 991.51; he'xk'!otse'gwił at right hand side in house R 990.50; R 837.40; 1240.92; X 16.3.

l!ā'l!aseqwala tribal name: dwellers across sea.

-sos passive

The passive of verbs governing the objective forms, (pronominal -q, nominal -x(a)) is expressed by -so. Verbs requiring both direct and indirect object, or those using

either direct or indirect object according to the closeness of relation between verb and object, also use the passive ending -so. The terminal a of verbs is retained.

la'slāe le'slalaso then, it is said, he was invited C II 32.21.

la'slāe ne'xas'ewe o'mpas then, it is said, his father was told C II 24.19.

smēla'se'swe'da dēnē'm the rope was twisted C II 28.15.

le'xsēalase'swe'da g'ēna'nēm the child was instructed C II 28.22.

la'sēm xē'ela'matso'ssa wīnalag'ēlis then he was killed by the Warrior-of-the-World C II 32.12.

An example of the passive of verbs with indirect object is

la'sēm xē'ente ts!ā'so'ssa sya'x'usēma then he was evidently given something bad C II 32.13 (la'sēm ts!ā'sa sya'x'usēma laq then he gave him something bad).

Verbs which use either direct or indirect object:

sne'k'ēq or snex' laq he told him; passive sne'x'sos C II 32.6 (see sne'x'xes omp he said to his father C II 42.13); sne'x'slāe yēma'se la'xes o'mp yēme'se said, it is said, to his father C II 46.7).

-sō piece of

bex'usō' skeleton, trunk of body (bek'p-); x'i'xsō wrecked steamer (x'lq-); xwa'x'usō wrecked canoe (xwak-).

-sdana to die of; (see =alisēm)

Used in very much the same way as =alisēm but seems to refer to an object as a cause of death, rather than a feeling or activity such as fear, crying, depression - in which cases =alisēm is used.

ts!ex'usda'na to die being stabbed; swēdesda'na to die of cold (see k'!eno'dzalisēm from k'!ēna'esa to feel cold); po'sdana to die of hunger (see po'sq!alisēm); k'!e'lak'sdana to die by being clubbed.

ha'mā'sdana to die of food (ha'mā'lisēm to die of eating); ts!ex'q!ō'lēmsdana to die of sickness (ts!ex'q!ō'lēm); - ēna'lasdana to die of weather (at sea); - kwe'xayusdana to die by club; - alāsne'msdana to be killed by a wolf (alā'nemalisēm would mean "to die on account of wolfness"; le'gēmsdana to die on account of name R 1381.(3) (i.e., scared by the greatness of a name).

=sdenaq to work, not free;  
used only when action is unusual

k!wa'k!wasde'naq to work sitting  
R 187.21; la'losdenaq to work standing;  
kwā'kwe lsde'naq to work lying.

-stos(?)

syāx'stos unwilling (to give in);  
ex'stos willing (to give in).

-ستا in, into water; water; air

l!ex<sup>u</sup>sta'la to break (branches) in  
water C 26:115.4 (l!eq<sup>u</sup>-); xweste'nd to whip  
--- (xwes-); swi'slaستا all in water R 180.90;  
wēxta'la by itself in water (wēx-); laستا to  
go bathing C 26:136.87; heستا'la to fall right  
into---C 26:83.31; ne xstend to pull---C 26:210.  
426; g'a laستا first in water (g'al-); l!enx-  
ste'nd to poke long thing---C 26:193.88 (l!enqa')

-ستا occurs frequently in combination  
with other suffixes: -ستالا; -ستند (transi-  
tive); -ستax'sid; swesta' out of water  
[R 387.29; C 26:187.210]; stano passive  
R 387.31 (apparently not with =ayu) [C 26:211.  
445]; stāk<sup>u</sup> past passive participle;  
=(g')xtala continued or repeated action or  
motion in water (=g'eX-ستالا) [R 558.7;  
573.26; C II 208.1; pl. CX 102.1]; -ستag'islak<sup>u</sup>  
soup (ستا-g'ila=k<sup>u</sup>) [R 456.26]; wi'stamas  
not to cause (wind) in air R 625.48.

-ستا often nominal (no form in es):  
q!welaستا' water of life; swedaستا' cold  
water; a'xta fresh water R 308.75; q!o'xsta  
still water (name of mountain); hā'lstā to  
take just a little liquid III 483.28 (hāls-).

k!waستا' cup (perhaps k!wa-ستا sitting  
in water).

-sto primarily "round opening,"  
secondary meanings implying fixed place  
(like -ستا in respect to accent)

axsto'd to open door C II 32.22, to  
put something into eye; mex'sto'd to knock at  
door C III 326.29, to strike eye; nexsta'sye  
straight at middle of trail X 8.32; ostewe's  
round opening; swedaستا'd to put cold thing  
on eye; laستا'd to reach a place; deستا'd  
to wipe eyes; g'a'xstoli'la to bring to door  
C III 268.13; la'x<sup>u</sup>stāla's to have standing in  
doorway C II 310.11; CX 75.29; ge'lpstod to  
span bow C III 248.29.

mex'e'to'd to knock at doorway (repeat-  
edly) C II 262.31; se'xwē'tod to paddle along  
road C III 340.10.

Substitute, in place of: eme xwestas'ye  
substitute R 1035.1, lock of door; C III 90.29;  
CX 206.22 (emēk<sup>u</sup>-); ts!eda'xstewe'lela woman

representative (holds man's place) C III 104.12  
(ts!eda'q-esto-elela); la'x<sup>u</sup>stod to take place  
of C III 70.27; to inherit seat R 823.53.

Definite place, trail, door: k!waستا'les  
to sit down at assigned place X 3.26; 2251.4;  
xi'nsyasto to miss place, lose one's way, have  
poor memory; ene'lxstoxo bruise inside neck,  
sore throat; la'x<sup>u</sup>stāli'x to stand in doorway  
C 26:133.32; lāx<sup>u</sup>stē'swe rank C III 98.18;  
mēx<sup>u</sup>sto steam hole of oven (Nak.); nēxstā'sye  
to follow road, center of hole, road R 86.96;  
173.14; 230.35; ho'axstoes to listen on  
water C 26:202.158; le'stod to put up over fire

Eye: q!wāxsto' one-eyed; gwa'gwestāla  
to have tears in eyes C 26:44.30; kwe'stod to  
spit in eye III 95.30; deستا'd to wipe eyes;  
ya'wasto (to sleep) a short time C 26:31.134;  
la'lastāla to have protruding eyes C 26:30.100;  
gabēlō'xstā'sye eyeball III 81.37; bē'snk'!o'tāx-  
stā'sye lower eyelid III 168.2; hā'nēnxa'stē'swe'  
spectacles (hā'nxa looking glass).

Color: plā'pladēx'stā'la darkish C 26:  
201.50; plēdēx'sto'x<sup>u</sup>wid it gets dark R 1235.95.

Other special meanings: gāasto' III  
71.37, gāsk'stāi'x early (to bed); gwestā'āas  
way of saying CX 136.36; āwa'wastots!āla con-  
taining big pieces (awas-esto-ts!o-la);  
laستا'x<sup>u</sup>exs to stand in bailing hole of canoe  
C 26:14.73 (Nak); lax'xstewā'x<sup>u</sup>exs stern thwart  
R 175.15; 511.21; bailing hole thwart V 349;  
ma'x'stox<sup>u</sup>es the hindmost C 26:156.4;  
k'!em'syastewes door (=k'!em'syolem); k'!em'syasto  
small seal, one year old C 26:203.122;  
lēk!wetsto' tight knitting; k'!esto' loose weav-  
ing (k'!essa); petsto'd to use as a substitute  
for medicine (to put medicine on wound, on eye,  
to pay damages for bite of cannibal dancer)  
R 1023.40; q!wē'nq!wentsto to get drunk by  
lupine (q!wēns-).

-sk<sup>u</sup> as I told you before, already;

la'sē'msk<sup>u</sup> he has gone already C II  
150.9; g'ā'x'sēmsk<sup>u</sup> he has come already;  
g'ā'xsmo'xtsk<sup>u</sup>--- (past); g'ā'x'ēmk<sup>u</sup>sdēn I came  
recently for g'ā'x'sēmsk<sup>u</sup>dēn.)  
lā'x'sidā'āmk<sup>u</sup>sdē he did go as expected (meta-  
thesis).

-sgem, -sem round surface, round thing;  
after vowels, l, m, n, sonants and glottals  
-sgem, otherwise -sem (see -gem)

k'!ēpse'md to pick up round thing in  
tongs; petse'md to soak---(pes-); āxse'md to  
put---R 485.38; qex'sē'md to put ring around  
box R 75.29; 90.91; pepe'xtse'mx'sid to flap  
wings C II 352.25 (pele-); hā'msgēmd to hold  
round thing in mouth C 26:13.6 (ham-);  
x'ēsmgēme's to snare an animal that is run-  
ning (x'ēsm-); swēdesge'm cold on surface of  
round thing R 341.56; k!wē'k!wēme'lsge'mx'sid



to begin to char surface pl. R 508.6 (k!wemsl-); k'eme'sgemlis to encircle R 746.92 (k'emsy-); da'dasgema to try to catch a ball (da-sgem-!a).

Special meanings: ämäs'sgemala a small person C 26:21.141; lex<sup>u</sup>use'm stout person; o'xsem grey-haired; le'x<sup>u</sup>sem liar 3945.3; swa'sgemas length; sa'sgemasli'x cover for something (sa-); q!wa'xsem house of hemlock branches; t!e'semsgem'ila to make a stone house (t!e'sem); q!ä'sgema'sli'x to take notice R 791.68; mē'mzt!esgemes to notice words of speaker (ma'xt!e-); xe'lwitsem angry (words); Blanket: p!e'lxelagsem woolen blanket R 691.8 (fog on surface); p!a'lemsgem blanket of mountain goat wool III 56.2 (p!älēm); älä'g'emsgem blanket of dressed deer skin (alak'-).

With numerals: sne'msgem one round thing; mo'sgemg'ustä forty (see numerals).

A few words which in meaning would appear to belong to -[g]em, head, in front, belong here formally: la'sgemes to follow R 617.13; 688.32 (la-); ba'bagwanemsgema' (woman) tries to look like man CX 259.7; hä'mx<sup>u</sup>seme<sup>s</sup> to urge, to rush after C 26:144.52; be'be'x<sup>u</sup>emli'x having a stern face C 26:6.57; qa'tsem to walk behind R 712.55 error for qasem (qas-gem)?

#### -sgemak<sup>u</sup> tribe

sek'!a'sgemak!wes five tribes or sne'smē'sma in one village C III 98.27 (sek'!a-sgemak<sup>u</sup>-!s); äl'ebō'sgemak<sup>u</sup> R 789.36 tribes; äl'ebō'sgemak!wes R 830.14; 1107.72 seven numayma; swi'ewelsgemak<sup>u</sup> all tribes; swä'xäsgemak<sup>u</sup> number of tribes.

-(s)x'ä tooth, sharp edge, sometimes -sx'ä after vowels, but not always

nexx'ä incisors; nexx'älä to have straight edge V 491.30; mē'x'ä'sye, mē'x'ä'sye sockeye salmon teeth; dze'x'ä'sye coho salmon teeth; t!ē'sx'ä stone-edged 96.18; xä'xx'ä bone tooth, barb V 333.24; lo'px'ä toothless; q!wē'lq!wēlsx'ä (q!wēls-) decayed teeth.

ts!ēdä'xx'ä'sye woman's teeth CX 283.29; k!o'tx'ä'sye salmon teeth CX 283.28; swa'lasx'ä big-toothed, lynx (swa'las); äwä'x'ä big-toothed; äm'ämä'x'ä small-toothed (ämä-); na'nux'ä mad edged C III 216.25. ox!a'sx'ä's chin III 166.6 (äw-x!a-sx'ä); ē'x'äx'ä sharp-toothed;

yu'sx'ä chin, person with protruding chin (yäs- to eat with spoon?); äswa'bosx'ä's lower side of bow of canoe III 127.20 (äw=äbo-); ge!gabosx'ä'sye to life bow of canoe from underneath III 127.28.

-dzēs piece of, belonging to

g'ē'ldzēs belonging to early times; g'ē'ldzēsya words of early times (g'al-); q!wa'xdzēs piece of hemlock branch V 347.13 begwa'nemdzēs piece of man III 32.42; letē'mädzēs piece of hat; xwa'k!unadzēs piece of canoe; p!ēwe'dzēs piece of halibut R 250.91; säo'x<sup>u</sup>dzēs piece of board (sao'ku); g'o'kwēlodzēs belonging to a tribe; le'lqwelatē'dzēs one of a tribe, belonging to a tribe; lä'sax<sup>u</sup>dzēs belonging to the sea; ä'l!ēdzēs belonging inland; bēs'nē'dzēs belonging below.

-ldzēku to do before doing something else  
Reduplication 7

A 1. cvc' R cēcac': ye'yap!edzēk<sup>u</sup> weave---(yep); xē'xaq!wedzēk<sup>u</sup> pick up stones (xēq<sup>u</sup>); wi'wai!edzēk<sup>u</sup> ask---(wel-); k'!ē'k'!ē'sldzēk<sup>u</sup> shake off berries---(k'!ē'x-); p!ē'p!aq!ädzēk<sup>u</sup> taste---(pēq-); yē'yudzēk<sup>u</sup> dance---(yēx-); sē'yak!wedzēk<sup>u</sup> butcher---(sa<sup>s</sup>k<sup>u</sup>).

A 2. cvm R cvmcä': swē'nēwädzēk<sup>u</sup> hide---(swen-); smē'nēmadzēk<sup>u</sup> pick up---(smēn-); kwē'lkwädzēk<sup>u</sup> lie down---(kwēl-).

A 3. cvy, cvv R cēca<sup>s</sup>, cōca<sup>s</sup>: dē'dasdzēk<sup>u</sup> wipe---(dēy-); sno'snādzēk<sup>u</sup> aim---(snew-).

B. cvc' R cvvc': tsēt'tset!edzēk<sup>u</sup> tilt---(tset-); t!ē't!ēk'!edzēk<sup>u</sup> (t!ēk'-); mē'mxšädzēk<sup>u</sup> sleep---(mēx-); sō'yep!edzēk<sup>u</sup> or sā'p!edzēk<sup>u</sup> chop with axe---(sōp-); ts!ō'ts!odzēk<sup>u</sup> wash---(ts!ox<sup>u</sup>); xä'xēt!adzēk<sup>u</sup> (xät!-); hō'häts!edzēk<sup>u</sup> count---(hōs-).

C 1. cvc'c' R cēvc'c'ä kwē'kwesx'-ädzēk<sup>u</sup> to splash---(kwesx'-); teyāts!adzēk<sup>u</sup> to warm oneself---(tēts!-).

C 2. cvmc' R cvmcvmc'a: hä'nhan!edzēk<sup>u</sup> shoot---(hän!); t!ē mt!ēmq!ädzēk<sup>u</sup> to pin---(t!ēmq-); smē'nsmenedzēk<sup>u</sup> try---(smēns-); sē'lsēlp!ädzēk<sup>u</sup> twist---(sēlp-).

Polysyllabic stems and following other suffixes: yä'q!ent!edzēk<sup>u</sup> talk---(yäq!ent-); mē'mp!edzēk<sup>u</sup> pluck---(māp-); lē'la'stadzēk<sup>u</sup> to go bathing before (a ceremonial).

-dzēq hole (wider meaning? See swa-)

q!ē'dzēq many holes R 73.98; swa'dzēq size of hole V 332.24; sne'mdzēq one hole; māšädzē'q two holes; hō'lādzēq few holes; hē'zšadzēqēla to be right for hole V 361.27.

-dzaqw(a, -ēla) to speak (see =laqw(a, -ēla))

There seems to be no difference in meaning between this suffix and =laqwa. With some stems one is used, with others the other. Sometimes either may be used with the same

stem. The formation of the plural is irregular.

la'dzaqwa, pl. le'mdzaqwa to start noise (not with =laqwa); ē'dzaqwa to talk again C II 58.8 (=āē'dēlaqwa) C III 110.17 (ēt-); swi'sldzaqw(a, -ēla) all talk X 121.35; snā'x<sup>u</sup>dzaqwa all talk; first song (dancing song) after four songs for the dead X 197.7; q!we'ndzaqwe'la, pl. q!wene'mdza'qwe'la to speak often C 26:65.25; 223.160 (=q!wā'q!weno-laqwe'la) (q!wēn-); ā'ldzaqwa to talk late.

mo'p!ēndzaqwa, pl. māē'mop!ēndzaqwa to talk four times; q!ē'p!ēndzaqwa to talk many times M 694.3; hē'mēndzaqwe'la always talking CX 47.10; enēmā'dzaqwa to talk at the same time C III 208.28; CX 46.33; snā'x<sup>u</sup>enēmp!ēndza'qwe'la to speak now and then; hē'x<sup>u</sup>ādza'qwa to speak enough C 26:67.38; !ā'!ā'syodzā'-qwe'la to speak in turn, to change speaker; q!we'lē'dzaqwa R 1341.20; xā'madzaqwa to speak oneself.

-dzē large

lā'dzēk'as very many III 157.30; 154.28; g'o'x<sup>u</sup>dzēs large house III 186.42; g'o'kwēladzē'k'as large village III 215.30; !ā'qwadzē large copper III 84.16; a'dzē great C II 206.16; āwā'xtodzē to have big heads C II 180.15; anētsadzē eldest aunt (ānē'tsa, ānē'ta children's speech for ānē's); ā'nqwe'ladzē great cloudy one (name) C III 286.13; āwā'dze things are big.

-!dze<sup>s</sup> number

bek!wedzē's number of persons (killed); p!edze's number of potlatches (p!ēs-); smā'sdze<sup>s</sup> --- (smā'xwa potlatch); lo'p!edze<sup>s</sup> --- times house cleared for winter ceremonial C III 204.7; q!ē'lt!ēdze<sup>s</sup> --- coppers broken C III 76.6; qo'tendzē<sup>s</sup> --- qotē'x'a (marriages) C III 204.6; t!ēnse'ladzē<sup>s</sup> --- potlatches to own numaym C III 76.6; k!welats!ēdze<sup>s</sup> --- feast-houses C III 204.6; k!we'ledzē<sup>s</sup> --- feasts.

-!dze<sup>s</sup> child of a kind

āma'syadzē<sup>s</sup> youngest child R 1083.54; g'iql!ēdze<sup>s</sup> belonging to chief's family C III 206.10; ts!ēdaq!ēdze<sup>s</sup> daughter C 26:107.77; nāq!ēdze<sup>s</sup> wise child; bek!wedzē<sup>s</sup> son of somebody R 844.95 (Kos); beba'xwets!ēdze<sup>s</sup> secular child R 912.51.

-dzā emphatic

yudzā'ēmxent evidently this is III 55.38; smā'dzā<sup>s</sup> as what are you going to do III 146.4; ladzā'lēn I am going to go III 146.7;

he'x<sup>u</sup>aladzā he is really right on water III 24.114; - k'!ē'dzā<sup>s</sup>ēm not yet X 3.29; g'ē'ldzā<sup>s</sup>ēm really first X 2.25.

=dzo. =dzāla, =dzod on a flat thing

dēne'dzo flat piece of red cedar bark R 143.10 (dēns-); g'ēnē'ldzo<sup>11</sup> (also g'ēlx'ēdzo to be leaky---(g'ēlx'-); tsā<sup>s</sup>ē'ndzo slippery on---(tsā<sup>s</sup>x'-); yēbēdzō'd to tie on flat thing R 225.11; 659.32; swēdadzō' cold on flat; hāsmadzō' food mat; hān<sup>s</sup>dzō'd to put kettle on ---; qā'dzod to walk---C II 16.17; C III 130.10 (qas-); do'dzod to jump---(dēx<sup>u</sup>-); t!ē'bedzod to step on---; k!wem<sup>s</sup>ladzod scorched on---. Exception: swā'padzāla or swā'bedzāla to have water---(see -ts!o).

ts!o'xwēldzod to wash off mat R 246.14 (ts!o'x<sup>u</sup>wēx (=g'ēx)); lo'xwēldzēwe<sup>s</sup> to roll along on board R 581.23 (lox<sup>u</sup>=g'ēx); yēlsē!sdzo to rub on flat R 869.98 (yēls=g'ēx); tsā<sup>s</sup>x'ēldzō'd to slip on board X 101.19 (tsā<sup>s</sup>x'=g'ēx=)

As above, but not weakening terminal consonants normally weakened by =g'ēx: ā'nqwe'ldzō'snā'kwēla it gets cloudy (but ā'ngwēx<sup>u</sup>ts!ā<sup>s</sup>nakwēla); wā'tēldzod to pull up canoe (on ice) R 97.81; mak'ēldzodala moving near a flat thing (cutting close) R 243.31; 383.9; so'pēldzod to chop on---R 147.18.

Reduplicated forms: smē'l madzō'x<sup>s</sup>wid to become white on a flat surface R 374.38; pēldzō' R 85.86; 1243.61; CX 204.23; 233.10 thin board; pē'lspadzō' pl. R 116.18; 169.38; 295.70.

In combination with locative suffixes is, ix' etc. the suffix occurs in the two forms -dzā'ēlis or -dzolis:

lēgwēdzā'ēlis(ēda) laxa !ēma'is there is a fire on the beach; lēgwēdzō'lisēn I make a fire on a flat place (lēxts!ō'd to build a fire in); hāndzā'ēliseda hā'nx'āno there is a kettle on a flat place; hā'ndzolisēnasa hā'nx'āno I put a kettle---

-wēldzod off from a flat surface, see under -o.

-tsēn to travel by means of---

xwa'x<sup>u</sup>tsēn---canoe (xwak<sup>u</sup>-); x'i'x<sup>u</sup>tsēn ---steamboat (x'iq-); g'ā'slātsēn---g'ā'slā canoe; gwī'detsēn---gwī'dēs canoe (canoe of gwī'gwetēla tribes); yēx'tsēn to use fast means of transportation; o'yatsēn to use slow means of transportation.

<sup>11</sup> By metathesis instead of g'ēl'ēndzo.

-ts!äs (compare -!ēs and -q!ēs)

mē'x'ts!as dreamer (mēx-); dō'x'uts!as  
seer (both in the sense of "prophets");  
g'ētts!a's skillful, clever (g'ēt-).

-ts!εq

ēx'ts!εq liberal (ēk'); syä'x'ts!εq  
stingy.

-ts!a

hē'x'ts!a to be in time (hēx'); wī'ts!a  
not to be in time (wēy-); hē'x'ts!ax,es to  
catch up C 26:39.21; III 472.29; wī'ts!ax,es  
to fail to catch up III 472.29; 4243.

[ts!ap

hē'x'ts!apela to be able to reach  
C 26:179.180 (hē'x'ts!a to be in time);  
wī'ts!apela not---C 26:179.180 (wī'ts!a).  
hē'x'apela to think one is able to---  
(hēx'); wīpela to think one is unable to---  
(wēy-).

-ts!anas (New ?) successful, clever at  
something (see =swat Kwa)

yäq!ents!anas smooth talker (one who  
talks you into something) C 26:105.7;  
e'x'ts!anas clever (New); syä'x'ts!anas not  
clever (New) C II 338.31.

-ts!aq long objects

mo'ts!aq four long ones III 10.12; -  
mo'ts!agē'sna'kwēla four rows R 677.95;  
sne'mts!agē'elag'ila one hour R 471.24;  
q!e'ts!aq many long ones CX 128.9.  
āo'ts!aqāla lengthwise R 304.32;  
ā'xats!agas number of long ones C III 162.15;  
sne'mts!aqeyu one long (horn) on forehead  
C II 8.15 one beam on house; sne'mts!aq!exsdala  
having one long one at end.

-ts!axsta; with =g'εx' indicates movement  
in a long, narrow path; also occurs  
without =g'εx'. (See -ts!aq)

With -g'εx': megwēg'εx'ts!a'xsta to put  
on the whole length in a groove, R 73.88, in  
canoe; g'ēldēx'ts!a'xsta long ditch, groove;  
se'xwēx'ts!axsta'la to paddle through a narrow  
passage; ts!εmg'εx'ts!axsta'la to put fore-  
finger in groove R 379.27; ē'dēx'ts!axsta to  
repeat, to walk again inviting R 750.54;

CX 141.34; ēla'be'x'ts!axstāa'k<sup>u</sup> groove dug out  
in ground.

Without =g'εx': sne'mp!enats!axsta C III  
218.21; CX 137.18; sne'mp!enats!axstēla C III  
160.7 to call only once; he'ba'x'ts!axsta'la it  
goes right through body (ditch, groove) C 26:  
20.113; gwe'ts!axsta to awaken all along the  
village R 750.54.

-ts!emas (see -!emas)

-ts!ā (-ts!ew-) in, inside

naxts!ā right inside, to do in right  
way; g'a'x'ts!ā to come in C III 76.2;  
k!ēpts!ā'la to put in with tongs III 21.3, 6;  
pēts!ā'la to have medicine inside CX 223.39  
(pēt-); swēdēts!ā cold inside; ts!ē'mts!o'd  
to melt away inside; ts!ē'mts!od to point in;  
k'ā'ts!āla to drive (a person) into C 26:180.  
215 (k'asy-); hā'nx'ts!od to shoot in (han-);  
!la'syots!ā to change places in C 26:105.10;  
gwa'snaxts!od to fold into R 387.26 (gwā'snaq-);  
q!wē'sla'x'ts!od to hide in (q!wē'sla-).

Exceptions: swabēts!ā R 266.60 (not  
swā'pats!ā) R 277.32; swā'bēts!ā'la to have  
water inside R 401.30 (swap- see =dzo);  
he'x'ats!ā enough in it; he'x'ats!āla to be  
able to (does not mean "inside") C 26:179.167,  
pl. hā'syā'x'ats!āla able-bodied 4031.7 (hēx').

Following other suffixes: swi'slaxax'ts!ā  
all (berries) drop down in R 210.28 (swi'sl-  
axa=g'εx'); apsba'x'ts!ā one end inside R 266.54;  
588.54 (aps-ba-g'εx'); āx'swēx'ts!ā'la to take  
out from inside R 384.36 (ax-swēx'ts!ew-ala,  
see -swēx'ts!o under o); da'g'εx'ts!od to pick  
up out of dish (da-g'εx'); dāx'ts!od to pick up  
and lift out of a hollow (da-wēx'); tsā'x'ax'ts!  
āla it drips, runs inside (tsax-(g'a)ax-)  
R 301.40; lē'mx'wax'ts!āx'sid to become dry in-  
side R 239.34; smēkwē'mts!ā seeds =round thing  
in vessel.

With locative suffixes -ix', -is, etc.  
it is used in the same way as =dzo (which see);  
āx'ts!ā'li'x' to be in bedroom R 875.13.

Followed by other suffixes: ā'mts!āla  
sea-eggs in something; !ēpts!ēswa'k<sup>u</sup> spread  
inside; ā'mts!āla solid inside; ā'mts!ā'x'sid  
becoming a solid mass C II 100.17; ā'mts!ā'xs  
canoe covered inside R 95.36; āx'ts!o'syo to be  
put in C III 56.3; āx'ts!āli'x' to be in bedroom  
R 875.13 in vessel in house; sne'x'ts!o'l's in  
middle on ground C II 256.22; g'āts!ā'slas  
place of going into III 16.2; g'i'ts!ēswa's  
place of being in R 670.87; t!ē'x'ts!ēswa's  
sette; q!ē'lx'uts!ēswas place of being coiled  
up; t!ā'x'ts!ā'syas soft bedding of nest C 26:  
71.60; of cradle, basket.

-swēx'ts!o out of, see -o.

-nem, =nem nominal formative suffix

ɬa'swenem husband (ɬax<sup>u</sup>- to love);  
q!e'nem many (q!ey-); a'la'snem wolf (al- in-  
land).

=snakwela gradual motion,  
stems ending in x<sup>u</sup> not always weakened

ts!ε'smana'kwela to dissolve gradually;  
ts!ε'n'sna'kwela to get sick X 104.36 (ts!εx-);  
qedzε'sna'kwela to coil gradually; also  
qe'snakwe'la (q!εs-); dā'snakwela, dā'dzε'snak-  
wela to dive (das-); hā'sna'kwela, haxwe'sna'-  
kwela to climb a tree (hax<sup>u</sup>-); ɬā'sna'kwela,  
ɬā'xwe'sna'kwela one after another arises  
(ɬax<sup>u</sup>-); sio'snakwela paddling along R 297.10,  
298.9 (sex<sup>u</sup>-); mā'snakwela, ma'xwe'sna'kwela  
to tie along (max<sup>u</sup>-); dzo'xwe'sna'kwela to lift  
up, to promise potlatch; g'ε'l'sna'kwela to  
move gradually on four feet III 8.3; hē'sna'-  
kwela to go right up R 725.9.

In contracted forms the accent is usu-  
ally on the stem and a secondary accent on the  
second syllable of the suffix: qā'snakwe'la to  
go on walking (qas-); x'i'snakwe'la to disap-  
pear gradually (x'εs-); yu'snakwe'la to dance  
(yεx<sup>u</sup>-); syu'snakwe'la tide gets stronger  
(syεx<sup>u</sup>-) [syu'sna'kwela wind gets stronger].

Also in some uncontracted forms:  
we'l'snakwe'la to become by itself, to go---  
(wεx-); gwe'l'snakwe'la to get finished (gwaɬ-)  
CX 244.14; qe'n'snakwe'la to put rings on  
(qεx-).

e'x'a'sna'kwela to approach C 26:106,  
107; 188.248 (ex'a); ā'xela'sna'kwela to keep  
in mind (ax-(g\*)ila=); be'gwa'nem'snakwela to  
become a man C II 82.13; ba'xwe'sna'kwela to be  
getting secular (ba'xwes); ne'xwa'xsda'sna'kwela  
voice approaches CX 47.8 (ne'xwa=εxsta=);  
ā'wag'ε'sna'kwela motion gets slower C 26:108.  
124 (āwak'-); nema'snakwe'lot going along with  
at the same time C 26:48.204 (ε'nemaɬ=εnakwel-  
ot).

-naxwa sometimes

la'naxwa to go sometimes C II 188.26;  
266.6; x'εya'snaxwa place where he sometimes  
disappears III 288; (x'εs=as- ).  
o'xanaxwa they would carry (from time  
to time) C II 96.8; ɬa'wayunaxwa usual salmon  
trap III 26.40; swa'swasdε'mnaxwa his usual  
time III 156.25; qayasnaxwa place where he  
sometimes walks III 38.39 (qas=as-).

=ne<sup>s</sup> corner (see =neqwa)

hān'sne'sye vessel is in corner; o'ne<sup>s</sup>,  
o'ne'sye corner C 26:165. (o'negwiɬ); k!wa'ne'sye  
to sit in corner (=k!wa'negwiɬ); ɬā'wene<sup>s</sup> to

stand in corner; k!wedzεne's to sit in corners.

-ne'sy oh! oh if!

g'a'xne'ssle<sup>s</sup> I wish he would come;  
mεx'si'dene'ssɬaseq I wish he would strike him;  
ε'ssne'ssɬox oh, shall it not be this C II  
138.19; swi'x'sidāne'ssɬents g'i'syaqents oh,  
how shall we do (for) our dear C II 70.2;  
εma'sne'ssɬen e'sax'sena'syaxwa sna'lax oh, what  
shall I do today?

=neqwa corner, side of house

Usually followed by other locative  
suffixes =iɬ, =is, etc.

hā'nnegwiɬ (kettle) stands in corner in  
house X 125.29; sweda'negwiɬ cold corner---  
R 111.14; t!ε'nnegwiɬ door---(t!εx-);  
dewne'gwiɬ, do'negwiɬ to jump---(dεx<sup>u</sup>);  
o'neq!wa corner on rock III 168.28.23;  
εswane'q!wa pl. corners III 371.19 (εw-);  
q!o'negwiɬ pond in corner---C 26:207.306 (q!εw-).  
dā'dax'wene'qwela' to jump up and down  
in corner R 613.7.

āpsa'neqwa' one side of house R 116.11  
(aps-); swa'xsane'gwεxs both sides inside of  
canoe V 348.9.

=no, =nus, =nu<sup>l</sup> side

=newe<sup>s</sup>, =nā'sye, =nod side of round  
things; =nus, =nudze<sup>s</sup> side of long or round  
thing (inanimate or person); =nu<sup>l</sup> side (used  
primarily with body parts) used almost exclu-  
sively with other suffixes.

=no: ɬā'ɬanewe<sup>s</sup> standing on side of  
(head) C III 42.20; mεxεnō'd to put open ves-  
sels on side of round thing; t!ε'nnewe<sup>s</sup> side  
door (t!εx=no-ε<sup>s</sup>); ma'g'εnewe<sup>s</sup> next to side  
CX 268.3; kwa'wenwe<sup>s</sup> hole at side CX 278.5  
(kwa<sup>u</sup>-); pō'wenod to blow at side (pōx<sup>u</sup>-);  
q!wa'q!wanā'sye standing at sides of (head-ring)  
R 683.14; ɬ!asanā'sye sea-side of house R 124.  
98; 158.36.

=nu<sup>s</sup> (does not weaken x<sup>u</sup>): pe'pεgenus  
flat sides R 157.6; q!a'q!εgwenus (by descent)  
slaves on both (paternal and maternal) sides  
R 1096.65; negenu's ruler, straight edge  
R 63.71, 72, 80 (neq-); negenu'dze<sup>s</sup> straight  
side of ruler R 67.63; 68.72 (neq=nus=ε<sup>s</sup>);  
wā'wanusela river runs on each side III 518.9;  
ɬawenudze'sliɬ to stand alongside of in house  
C 26:207.275; be'sna'nudze<sup>s</sup> under side of a long  
and round thing; k!wā'nu'dzεliɬ to have some-  
one sitting next to oneself R 956.0; 1005.+6;  
k!wā'nudze'sliɬ the one who sits next;  
ɬa'wenudze'lesā to place standing by side (of  
person, or animal) on ground; be'be'xεnodzεnd  
to cut along side of (tongue of fish) R 453.48;  
qā'dzεnodzεndala, qā'nodzεndala to walk along-  
side (qas-).

=nu apparently occurs only in conjunction with other suffixes, usually denoting body parts: =nuem (=nu-(g)em) sides of head, or also of round surface i.e., bow of canoe, head of cradle; ō'nueme<sup>s</sup>, pl. ē'wanueme<sup>s</sup> sides of head (temples) R 96.64; 662.93; wā'x'sanueme<sup>s</sup> each side of cradle R 665.50; each side of bow of canoe R 633.55; g'emxā'nu<sup>u</sup>eme<sup>s</sup> left hand side of canoe R 176.46; ---face R 633.55; k!wā'nuemli<sup>x</sup> to have someone sitting by side of people in house R 1012.5; k!wā'nuema<sup>s</sup>li<sup>x</sup> the one who sits alongside.

swa'x'sanoḡxa'we<sup>s</sup> both sides of neck R 382.17; (swax's=nu-xāw-es); tse'tseg'enu<sup>x</sup>-xāwak<sup>u</sup> (hair) cut down on sides of neck CX 270.33; ō'nuḡ'e pl. e'wanuḡ'e<sup>s</sup> groins R 652.71; 923.60 (āw=nu-[g'ε]g'a-e); āpsa'no!εx<sup>u</sup>es); on side of tree, of stick standing R 201.15 (aps=nu-!x<sup>u</sup>es); ō'nosg'emdze<sup>s</sup> side of belly.

-no<sup>s</sup> too much; too often  
(only 2nd person)

g'a'x'nos you come too often; do'qwa-no<sup>s</sup> you see too often, too much.

An emphatic negative imperative:  
gwε'no's don't! C II 108.15; ya'!!ānos take care! C II 418.5.

-nuk<sup>u</sup> having (see =ad)

-nuk<sup>u</sup> does not ordinarily require loss of formative endings. We have found -nuk<sup>u</sup> attached to the stem only in g'ε'lnuk<sup>u</sup> belonging to ancient times, ancestors R 1247.61 (g'ε1-); and ḡε'lnuk<sup>u</sup> to have a dead one, i.e., one of a number dies R 605.43; 710.1 (ḡε1-). As in other cases the formative a of monosyllabic stems in a is retained: wa'nuk<sup>u</sup> having a river C III 64.8.

The synonymous =ad is attached to the stem of the word, apparently without difference in meaning between the forms in =ad and -nuk<sup>u</sup>: q!ak'onuk<sup>u</sup> III 102.22, q!a'gwad R 1094.15 to have a slave (q!ak'o slave (q!ak<sup>u</sup>-)).

With formative nominal endings:  
axā'snuk<sup>u</sup> creator CX 146.11; 186.40 (āx-es-) (see āxno'gwad); bekwe'lenuk<sup>u</sup> creator (someone who made human beings) C III 50.24; CX 271.9 (bek<sup>u</sup>-[g']ila-es-); ḡa'xwe<sup>s</sup>nuk<sup>u</sup> seat owner R 984.23 (ḡax<sup>u</sup>-es-); q!ule'snuk<sup>u</sup> one who has an uncle C II 24.17 (q!ule<sup>s</sup>-); k!es'onuk<sup>u</sup> crest owner C II 82.17 (pl.); C III 56.8 (k!es'o).

With nouns with derivational suffixes:  
laa'snuk<sup>u</sup> being gone somewhere (having a going place) R 59.57; C 26:118.15 (la=as-); yā'swenm<sup>u</sup>nuk<sup>u</sup> having a reason for giving a winter ceremonial R 898.57 (yāwix'=em-); in personifications !!a'sabalanuk<sup>u</sup> owner of

southwest wind R 636.12; syu'gwalanuk<sup>u</sup> owner of rain wind R 636.13.

-nuk<sup>u</sup> is used idiomatically to mean "something" or "someone." In such cases it is frequently, but not always, added to a verbal form: ax<sup>se</sup>'dnuk<sup>u</sup> someone takes C III 282.1 (ax-[x']sid-); e'axεlanuk<sup>u</sup> one of them is working (āx-εla-); do'xswaε<sup>u</sup>ḡnuk<sup>u</sup> something that has been discovered III 41.34 (doxswaε<sup>u</sup>ḡa=1-); g'a'xεwelsnuk<sup>u</sup> some came out R 1204.23 (g'ax-wels-); ts!εvenu<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>ε<sup>u</sup>ol I'll give you something (ts!εw-es-).

εmas<sup>y</sup>unux<sup>u</sup>lasetsox what will you do with it (εmas=ayu-); be'bak!wema-nux<sup>u</sup>εmen<sup>u</sup>asox wa'ḡdmas I cannot stand what he says; !!a'qanuk<sup>u</sup> overhanging (!ax<sup>se</sup>ed to turn over a flat thing).

-nd (see [x']sid)

-g'(ε) to eat  
Reduplication 4

!!ε!ā'xg' or !!ε'!εwaxg' to eat hemlock sap (lāq); q!εq!ε'mdzεx<sup>u</sup>g'---salmon berries (q!ε'mdzεk<sup>u</sup>); !!ε!ā'xapp' long cinquefoil roots (!axap); ā'mεεmk'!εnā'lag'---whole R 412.00 (ām-k'!εn-āla-g'); pεpā'lasdeg'---dried fins (pεl-asd-g'); pεpā'stag'---flounder in water (pās-sta-g'); mεmεsē'x<sup>u</sup>g' or mε'msexg'---sea urchins R 489.11 (mεsē'x<sup>u</sup>); mē'ngwatg'---seal (mē'ngwat); mεmεt!a'neg'---horse clams (mεt!ā'ne); q!wεq!wē'dzεx<sup>u</sup>g'ε---mashed (berries) R 582.59 (q!wēs-).

dē'dāg'ε to drink tea R 534.30.

nε'ngwεsg'ε to make love to mother-in-law (negwas-); p!εp!ε'lwεsg'ε---sister-in-law (p!εlwas-).

ā'sā'ḡtag' to drink freshly drawn water (āḡ-sta).

See also under reduplication (p. 219 in Grammar).

-g'āā to arrive; too

to arrive:

la'g'āā to arrive C II 10.7; 50.22; we'g'āā not to reach C III 34.26; X 29.3 (wi-); o'gwāā to make a short cut; he'g'āā to arrive going straight to a place; se'ng'āā to arrive at a plan C II 24.23; la'g'āā!ā<sup>s</sup> he arrived on roof C 26:181.244; la'g'āāsyu to be taken to C 26:176.56; 180.220.

too:

q!e'g'āā too many C II 226.10; - g'ε'lt!ag'āā too long (for its purpose) R 250.86; - ts!εkwa'g'āā too short; - swa'lasg'āā too big; - āmā'g'āā too small; - wā'k!emasg'āā too weak (not for light and sound); - he'ḡbasgεm'g'āā right length for its purpose; - ḡāx<sup>u</sup>g'āā too strong; - ḡε'ng'āā too long for something C II 74.1.

hã'nag'ããsmenlag I did it at once after arriving; yãnag'ããsmenlag I did not do it right away after arrival (yex'-)

-[g'ɛ]syala to go to look for an object  
-[k'ɛ]syala to go to look for something to--  
Reduplication 5

A 1. cvc' R cã'cãc' without g'ɛ  
bã'bãkwesyala to go and look for man (bek<sup>u</sup>-);  
gã'gãk'esyala---wife (gek'-); sã'sãk'esyala or  
sã'yãk'esyala---spear (sɛk'-); lã'lãpɛsyala---  
peg (lɛp-).

A 2. cvm cã'cãm, with g'ɛ  
hã'hãng'esyala---vessel (hãn-); wã'wãng'esyala  
---drill (wɛn-); sã'sɛlg'esyala---drill (sɛl-);  
sna'snɛmg'esyala---one (sɛnɛm); pã'pɛlg'esyala  
---something thin (pɛl); q!ã'q!ãng'esyala---  
thread.

A 5. cvc<sup>s</sup> R cã'cãc<sup>s</sup>(ã), with g'ɛ  
sã'yak'lag'esyala five (sɛk'!); mã'mɛmg'-  
esyala---bedcover (masm-); x'ã'x'ɛsmg'esyala  
---snare; sã'sãsyag'esyala---hair (sɛsy-);  
dã'dãsnag'esyala---sandstone (dɛsn-).

Irregular: dã'dɛnxwesyala---rope (dɛn-  
to pull rope, perhaps from dɛnk<sup>u</sup> tied with  
ropes, grease box.

B 1. cvc' R cã'cvc' without g'ɛ  
t!ã't!ɛesyala---stones (t!ɛs-); xwã'xwã-  
kwesyala---canoe (xwãk<sup>u</sup>-); g'ã'g'okwesyala---  
house (g'ok<sup>u</sup>); sa'yãkwesyala---meat (sãk<sup>u</sup>-);  
lã'loɔk'esyala---corpse R 741.76; 930.41;  
M 690.13 (loɔk-); sã'wãwãpɛsyala---water (sɛwãp);  
k!wã'k!wãq'esyala---cedarwood; wã'wãq'esyala---  
toads; ãã'laxwesyala---husband;

C 1. cvmc R cã'cvmc without g'ɛ  
lã'lɛmk'esyala---wedge (lɛmk'-); gwa'gwɛm-  
sɛsyala---ochre (gwɛms); x'ã'x'ɛlt'esyala---saw  
(x'ɛlt-).

The suffix may also be used with complete words.

q!ã'qãnayugwesyala---needle; g'ã'g'ɛl-  
dasɛsyala---box (g'ɛlt=as); l!ã'l!abatɛsyala---  
basket of cedarbark (l!ã'bat); mã'mãk'ek'esyala  
---sockeye salmon (mɛk'ek'); x'ã'x'ãsmayug-  
wesyala---snare; l!ã'l!ɛsnag'esyala---fish oil  
(l!ɛ'sna); hã'smɛg'esyala---food.

-[k'ɛ]syala

is used formally in the same way:

hã'smek'esyala to go to get something  
to eat; x'ã'x'ɛsmk'esyala to go to get some-  
thing to snare.

=(g'ɛ)ɛg'a inside a hollow object;  
retains initial g' after vowels, l, m, n (?);  
does not weaken ɔ, x<sup>u</sup>

ãxɛg'ɛ'nd to put into dish R 94.19;  
424.14; o'gwɛsg'ɛs inside of a dish R 104.46;

l!ã'gwɛg'a whole inside (of canoe) red  
(l!ã'gwɛxs something red in canoe); ts!o'xwɛ-  
g'ɛnd to wash inside; a'ɔ'ɛg'a new inside of  
canoe, dish; sɛmo'gwɛg'a big horn-sheep spoon  
(= yellow inside) (sɛmoq<sup>u</sup>-); ts!o'ɔ'g'a black  
inside (ts!oɔ-); horn spoon ts!o'lo'slaq.  
bɛsng'ɛsɛla low box, low canoe R 265.27;  
267.85; ã'k'!ɛg'ãsɛla high box, canoe.

-(g'ɛ)ɛɔ- motion in any direction without defin-  
ite goal, away; -(g'ɛ)ãɔ- motion towards  
a definite goal

-(w)ɛɔ- motion out of; off  
=g'ɛɔ- continued or repeated motion in any  
direction (with end in view)

These suffixes express motion of some  
sort. They are always followed by other loca-  
tive suffixes. -g'ɛɔ- and -g'ãɔ- may be at-  
tached directly to the stem or follow another  
suffix, while -wɛɔ- and =g'ɛɔ- appear only at-  
tached to stems. The initial g' is retained  
after l, m, n, glottals (?) and vowels; other-  
wise they appear as -ɛɔ.

-g'ɛɔ- motion in any direction without  
cessation, away; -g'ãɔ- motion towards a def-  
inite goal: followed by =iɔ, =is, =!s, =!ã;  
=xs; =!qã; =ts!o; =x!ã; =!ɛ; =!ɛla etc.

With stems: axɛliã to take off from  
floor R 73.78; axã'alixã to put down on floor  
R 115.12; t!ɛ'pɛliã to lift foot from floor;  
t!ɛ'p!ã'sliã to step on floor; hã'ng'ɛliã may  
mean "to shift vessel on floor," as well as  
"to take vessel from floor" R 265.22;  
hã'ng'ãsliã to put vessel down on floor;  
lɛpɛs!o'd to take off from rock; lɛp!ã'slod  
to spread on rock; k'!ɛp!ã'xɛsɛla to put with  
tongs into canoe R 94.13; o'x!ɛg'ɛxã to lift  
load out of canoe R 207.48; o'x!ɛg'ããxãxã  
to put load down in canoe R 218.12; da'g'ɛlqɛla  
to take among R 734.24; 743.32; da'g'ɛlxã'la  
to take along C II 84.21; gɛg'ɛlɛs to travel  
long on water C II 266.7; paxãatɛs to fall flat  
on water C II 340.28; gɛ'xwɛlaɛla to be hang-  
ing up (anywhere) R 237.32; gɛ'xwãlɛlod to  
hang up (in a definite place) R 244.47;  
296.78; hã'ng'ɛɔtod to go in canoe to find out  
something, scout canoe.

Following other suffixes: la'ts!ãg'ãsliã  
to go into room (without laxã) CX 141.12;  
la'ts!ãg'ãsliã!ã' la'xɛnts kwɛ'xsmãdaats!ɛx -  
we will go into our time-beating house CX 162.10  
(la-ts!o-gãɔx-iɔ-l [future]); lã'wig'ɛls to  
have a person standing behind on ground  
C 26:205.221 (lax<sup>u</sup>=eg'a-(g'ɛ)ɔ-!s); ts!ɛq'ɛmg'-  
ɛliãɛla to throw about things lying on the  
floor (ts!ɛq-ɛm-); g'lyɛ'mg'ɛliãɛla pl. walk-  
ing about in house (g'ɛy-ɛm-); q!wãq!wɛsãlag'-  
ɛsɛla to cry together on rock C II 14.20  
(q!was-ãla-g'ɛɔ=!ã); hã'msãyalag'ɛlis to go  
after food in the world M 693.1 (hãms-syala-  
g'ɛɔ=!s); sɛk'wɛmg'ãsɛlis (mountains) put down  
in the world C II 8.2 (mɛk<sup>u</sup>-ɛm-);

wa'χdemalag'eliχ speech in house; q!fmdemg'-  
εχ'ts!āla song is in a person C III 282.28;  
le'gεmg'εlx!ala to have a name given (in mar-  
riage) R 1074.8.

=(g')εχ- continued or repeated motion in any  
direction (with end in view); weakens,  
excepting the affricatives χ, x', x<sup>h</sup>

It is attached directly to the stem and  
is always followed by a suffix. Most of these  
are indifferent: -atus, -ssto, -ssta, -ts!o,  
-g'εg'a, -k'!εn, -xtā, -sem, -k'εsyε, -mala;  
- also =dzo, =xs; -!x!e, -!x!a. After l, m,  
n, vowels, and the affricatives it is often  
difficult, unless the meaning is very clear,  
to distinguish it from -g'εχ- motion in any  
direction because the weakening effect of the  
suffix is not apparent with these sounds.

negeχ'ts!āla to walk into middle of  
III 143.2 (neq-); qa'dzeχ'tod to walk in tracks  
of someone C II 22.27 (qas=(g')εχ-stod);  
x'εdzeχ'ta' to dissolve in water R 573.26  
(x'εs=(g')εχ-ssta); so'beχ'εg'end to chop in-  
side (repeated action) R 58.27, 29 (sop=(g')εχ-  
(g')εg'end); gεlbeχ'εxtā to hold on top (dog  
while walking along) C II 18.7 (gεlp-);  
!ε!beχ'εne to climb tree C II 428.6  
(!εp=(g')εχ-(k')!εn); xwεmdeχ'mala thing that  
started fire C 26:128.173; sa'beχ'tsem to  
scalp (many warriors) R 1016.90 (sap=(g')εχ-  
sεmd); yεldzε!εdzo to rub on flat (yils=(g')εχ-  
=dzo); le'mg'εχ'xs to wedge off in canoe  
V 356.36 (le'mk'=(g')εχ-xs); hamg'εχ'xstala  
to drop crumbs while eating (hamk'-);

The meaning of the following (after  
sounds which are not weakened) suggests that  
they belong here: peχwεχ'to'sεla to float down  
stream; hεmχwεχ'to'sεla to slide, rush down  
hill C 26:144.57; meχ'εχ'to'd to knock repeated-  
ly at door C II 262.31; neχ'εχ'ta'la to shake  
out in water (neχ-); piep!εlg'ε'lx!ala pluck  
out feathers at tail end R 606.10 (pie!ε-);  
hā'mg'εχ'εxsta'la sound of "ham" all over  
C 26:77.24; āxεχ'ta'li'χela dropping on floor  
(ax=(g')εχ- (x's)ta-liχela).

= g'εχmāsyε, = g'εχmεwe's left by moving away;  
does not weaken spirants;  
(see =g'εχ, -māla)

k'εxwixmāsyε smell left behind (by  
automobile); kwax'εχmāsyε smoke of house  
drifted away C 26:160.156; gεlgεχmāsyε walk of  
canoe (gεlq-); tsa'swig'εχmāsyε water dripping  
from pail while going along (tsa'wik'a-).

=[g'εa]εεla, =[g'āsa]εεlod to move above  
ground; =[εla]εεla to be above ground;  
=[g'ε]εεla, =[g'ε]εεlod to move  
from a stationary place,  
to go somewhere to---

May apply to something high up, but  
frequently merely to something that is some-  
where above the ground axεā'εεla to get on a  
thing (āx-); āxεlā'εεla to stay above R 304.31;  
x'εsmg'āsa'εεla snare gets caught; x'εsmεlā'-  
εεla to snare above; x'εsmg'εεla' snare comes  
off; k'!ε'ng'asā'εεla it gets loose, thrown on;  
k'!ε'ng'εεla it lies and gets loose (meat  
from bones) R 417.77; k!wet!a'εεla to begin to  
stick on (body) R 1135.97; k!wetεlā'εεla  
sticking on; ha'ng'εεla vessel moves by it-  
self; k!wεεεεla' something that stuck on comes  
off (kwεt-); ge'xwεlεlō'd to hang up R 244.47;  
296.78; ge'xwεlεlεla to be hanging up R 237.32;  
t!ε'mxεalēlō'd to put on (like safety pin), to  
lash on R 142.14 (t!εmq-); te'kwεlεlεla to be  
hanging above R 368.3 (tek<sup>h</sup>-); smā'laεεla  
piled up R 194.22 (smεw-); g'ā'laεεla to be up  
R 608.19 (g'εy-).

=g'āā'εεla

k!wet!a'εεla to stick on (body)  
R 1135.97; āxεā'εεla to get on a thing;  
x'εsmg'āsa'εεla line, rope gets caught;  
se'ng'āsa'εεla to have planned; g'ā'xεalεla to  
have come R 840.92; 884.28; me'nsεā'εεlod to  
measure, to try on R 77.90 (mεns-).

=g'āsaεεla is also used with stems de-  
noting sense impressions and with some others  
to mean for the first time, suddenly:  
dō'xwεlεla to see suddenly (to discover);  
wεlā'xεalεla to hear; pie'xεā'εεla to taste,  
me'lxwεlεla to remember; q!ā'x'εalεla to  
find out about something (q!āk'-) X 170.2;  
smε'nsεalēlod to try on R 73.70 (mεns-);  
mesεalεla to discover by smell C II 202.20.

=εεla anywhere off ground: bā'snā'εεla  
next below another row R 677.95; ē'k'!εεla  
next above, pl. εεk'!ē'εεla

=[εla]εεla

g'ā'laεεla to be above R 608.19;  
mεxεlā'εεslas place where boxes are above  
R 688.43; k'ā'tεlεlεla long thing is above  
C III 366.25; smā'laεεla to pile up above  
R 194.23; q!āp!ālaεεla to keep together above  
R 973.67.

āxεεnā'εεla to be above on body;  
āxεdzowā'εεla---on flat thing; āxεsmā'εεla---  
on round thing,

k'!ē'k'!εsεā'laεεla to attend to one's  
privilege CX 135.35; k'ε'ngālaεεla to attend  
to hā'mats!a R 848.89.

=[g']ELE`la

k!wē`deLEla it slips off when being pried up; (k!wēt-); qē`deLE`la to slip off from support (qēt-); k!wē`lbeLEla to pluck off (k!wēlp-); qwē`ZELEla to become untied (qwēZ-); āxLEla` to come off from its place (āx-); tē`msx`eg`ELEla` to jump off owing to vibration of support.

k!`ēng`ELEla it gets loose from a place above ground R 417.77; k!`ēng`ELEla, pl. k!`ēng`ELEla it lies above ground and gets loose (meat from bones) R 417.77.

hā`smg`ELEla` to go to other place to eat; yē`xweLEla` to go to other place to dance; ts!ā`geLE`la to go and perform winter dance (ts!āq-); g`ā`g`ELE`la to come from (g`ēy-); k!wē`ZELEla to go to feast, to attend feast; x`ē`lbeLE`la to make a turn on a platform, to play on a platform C 26:180.222; ā`mZELE`la to go to attend games; hā`mdZELE`la to be on way to pick berries; plēdzELEla` to go to give potlatch to another tribe.

k!`ēma`geLE`la to be on way in calm weather C II 162.1 (k!`ēma`q-); wēnē`mdELE`la to attend burial; qō`tex`ELE`la to go to pay marriage debt C III 342.17.

gā`gak`!ag`ELE`la to go to get a wife C II 328.26 Kos (gēk`-!a=); qā`dzeLEla to go to marry R 1081.13 (qās=ēl-)

ē`g`ELE`la to travel in good weather C 26:217.230 (ēk`-); he`X`ag`ELEla [lēsmo`se he`X`ag`ELE`la this is moved far enough (in potlatch for position) far enough up 30.594].

With numerals and the suffix ts!aq- meaning "hour:" sne`mts!agELE`lag`i`la one hour R 471.24; C 26:144.43; mo`ts!agELE`lag`i`la four hours R 483.56; ne`xs`eg`ELE`la to take one half hour R 395.55; 404.27.

=(g')ELA`la wearing;

reduplicates; retains initial g` after vowels

hā`hāxag`ELEla wearing a skirt; - q!a`q!adzELA`la wearing nothing over shirt (q!ās`ēna`ēye shirt); tā`telgwabeweg`ELEla wearing undershirt and nothing over it (telgwabewes soft underwear).

-g`anem perhaps;

k!`ēsg`anem perhaps not; axsa`sg`anem perhaps being III 146.29; so`gwanem you perhaps III 146.28; la`g`anem to go perhaps X 167.5; sma`sg`anem what perhaps C II 50.20, 26, 27; małt!ā`lag`anemāos g`a`xen perhaps you recognize me C III 198.23.

-[g']aSLa, -[k']aSLa, -εSLa to perform no action without previous consideration, at once, without seeing.  
Stem Expansion 3c

When the vowel of the stem is long or lengthened the accent may be on the first or last syllables. Sometimes these two forms have distinct meanings: t!ā`ssēla to hit the head without consideration, as women do in wailing; t!assēla` to hit head at once (t!ēs-). In most cases the two types of accents may occur but without difference in meaning. The forms -g`aSLa and -k`aSLa are used on the whole indiscriminately, except that glottalized consonants seem to require -k`aSLa. The only exception found is x`ēsmā` to snare, which may take either form. Presumably sonant stops follow the same rule, although we find both forms with gwēda` to untie. In the following list those forms that are said to have only k` or g` are marked with an asterisk. The glottal stop of -εSLa transforms terminal p and t of the stem into p! and t!, while the k stops are all aspirated and followed by the glottal stop. The forms of stem expansion required by this suffix are exceedingly irregular.

A 1. cvc` E cāc`: lā`p!ēla to spread at once, without looking (lēp-); ts!ā`t!ēla to split---(ts!ēt-).

dzā`x`SEla to rub---(dzēk`-); sā`x`SEla to spear---(sēk`-); lā`x`swēla` to jerk---(lēk`-); lā`x`SEla to put down soft things---(lēq-); xā`x`swēla` to pick up stones (xēq`-); yā`x`swēla to dance---(yēx-); mā`x`SEla` to strike---(mēx`-); ts!ā`x`swēla` to stab---(ts!ēx`-); bā`x`SEla` to cut---(bēx-); l!ā`x`swēla` to eat---after journey (l!ēx`-).

Irregular: t!ā`waxswēla to spear salmon in a ripple (t!āq`-); also t!ēt!ā`xswēla.

A 2. cvm` R cvcvm`: wēnē`ng`aSLa to drill---(wēn-); bēbē`lg`aSLa to forbid---(bēl-); sme`smē`nk`aSLa to pick up---(sme`n-); (pē)pe`nk`aSLa to pour into---(pēn-); g`ēg`ē`lk`aSLa to crawl---(g`ēl-); ts!ets!ē`mk`aSLa to point---(ts!ēm-);

A 3. cvy` R cvc(ē, o): tsetse`g`aSLa or tsā`g`aSLa to draw water---(tsēy-); ts!ets!ō`gwaSLa to give---(ts!ēw-); yēyū`kwaSLa` it gets windy---(yēw-).

A 4. cvb` E cābe`: gwā`dek`aSLa to untie---(gwēd-); yā`x`sidēk`aSLa` to give up---(yā`x`sid)

A 5. cvcē, cē stop: cācē: xā`k!`ēk`aSLa` to stay away---(xēk`!-).

cē is sm, sn or sl: xē`smk`aSLa to snare---(x`ēsm-); ts!ē`smk`aSLa` to melt---(ts!ēsm-); mē`slk`aSLa` to light with torches (mēsl-); lē`slk`aSLa` to die---(lēsl-).

B 1. cāc` R cvcāc`: q!wēq!wā`SEla to cry---(q!wās-); slēslā`p!ēla to dig---(slāp-); sēsā`x`SEla to give away canoe---(sāk`-); sēsā`x`swēla to dig fern root---(sak`, sēsā`sk-swēla` to butcher---); qāqā`SEla baby walks at



once (without creeping first) (qās-); pīē'x-swēla to feel---(pīēx<sup>u</sup>).

cōc' E cā'wac', cāc' or R cōcōc': q!wā'x<sup>u</sup>ēla, q!wēq!wē'x<sup>u</sup>ēla, sound stops---(q!wēl-); mā'yax<sup>u</sup>ēla, mā'x<sup>u</sup>ēla, mēmē'x<sup>u</sup>ēla, hāmē'x<sup>u</sup>ēla to go to sleep at once, without supper, hāmē'x<sup>u</sup>ēla also: to put to sleep (see -!ēsla) (mēx-); nā'x<sup>u</sup>ēla to pull---(nēx-).

cōc' E cā'wac', cāc' or R cōc': pā'x<sup>u</sup>ēla to be satiated---(pōl-); dā'wax<sup>u</sup>swēla, dā'x<sup>u</sup>swēla, dō'x<sup>u</sup>kwaēla to see---(dōq<sup>u</sup>).

B 4. cṽb R cōcṽbē: syēs<sup>u</sup>syū gwēk'aēla\* it is beginning to rain---(syūg<sup>u</sup>).

B 5. cṽc R cōcṽcē: xlēl't!ek'aēla to split boards---(xlāt!-); sēsē'q!ek'aēla to eat dry herring spawn---(sēq!-).

cṽcē, cē is sm, sn, or sl: mēmō'slk'aēla to thank---(mōsl-); wēswe'lk'aēla to stop---(wāsl-).

C 1. cṽmc R cōcṽmc': dēdē'n<sup>u</sup>xk'aēla or danax<sup>u</sup>ēla to sing---(dēnx-); sēsē'lpk'aēla to twist---(sēlp-); k'ēk'ē'lx<sup>u</sup>kwaēla to buy---(k'ēlx<sup>u</sup>); mēmme n<sup>u</sup>lk'aēla to get oversatiated with oil (mēnl-); yēyē nk'!ēk'aēla to throw sling stones---(yēnk'!-).

cṽm<sup>sw</sup> E cāmo: g'ā nokwaēla to add---(g'ēn<sup>sw</sup>).

D. cṽo'ō' E cāc'c': kwā'sx'ek'aēla to splash---(kwēsx'-); sā'xq!ēk'aēla to get uneasy---(sēxq!-).

E. cā R cēca: dēdā'k'aēla to take---(dā); t!āt!ē'k'aēla (tree) falls---(t!ā).

Polysyllabic stems: ts!ā'k'!a<sup>u</sup>ēla to tell news---(ts!ēk'!a<sup>u</sup>); dō'x<sup>u</sup>waēlak'aēla to see---(dō'x<sup>u</sup>waēlā); yā'q!ent!alāk'aēla to talk; yā'x'ēidek'aēla\* to give up---C 26:166.431.

-[g']ās on roof; [g'āā]ās on to roof (see g'āā-)

o'gwās roof CX 273.31; la'g'ās to go about on roof CX 273.31; hō'g'ā'sēla straight on roof (at once) CX 273.34; ē'lg'ās ballast on roof R 183.9;

la'g'āā'ās to go up to roof C 26:181.244; k!wā'g'ās to sit on roof; k!wā'g'āā'ās to sit down on roof; āxwās to stand on roof; āxwās to rise to stand on roof; hō'qwās to go about on roof (pl.); hō'xwās to go up to roof (pl.); swē'ng'ās to hide on roof; swē'ng'āā'ās to go to hide on roof.

-(g')āq alongside of; along bank of river, shore of lake; after vowels, (m, n, l)  
-g'āq, otherwise -āq

āxā'q to take at side III 130.11; kwe'kwetāq low-sided (box) C 26:122.12; q!ā'q!axwāqā'ya side of canoe just above water C 26:61.101; 82.99 (q!ax<sup>u</sup>); sē'sēxwāq (xwā k!wēna) paddle side (canoe) C II 164.2; III 214.38; but sē'sēxwāqē side paddles III 214.40.

o'gwāqēs bank of river, side of vessel III 27.17; 36.23 (āw-g'āq-ēē); qwe'sotā'ge<sup>slis</sup> far side bank of river C 26:159.114; qā'sāqēnd to walk along side of river C II 50.18, 25; 418.33; mā'k'āqēs next to bank III 180.23; la'g'āqēnd to go to edge of (lake) C II 30.6; C 26:197.261; smēkwā'gēlīx to place (round thing) along side of---in house R 270.20 (smēk<sup>u</sup>-(g')āq-līx); ek'!ē'qāqēlīx to feel happy alongside of C III 202.27 (ēk'!-!ēq-); k!wā'g'ēlāqēs to sit on bank and move along (k!wā-g'ēl-(ēla)-(g')āq-ēē); k!wā'g'āqē to sit still on bank; smā'sēdā qā'dzēlāqē'ēyē what is that walking along side of---.

-[g']iu, -[g']iwē what is on forehead, forehead, front; -[g']iwa'la to have on forehead; -[g']iyo'd to put on forehead (=)[g']iwē, bow of canoe, weakens stops. g' is not changed to gw after o.  
-āxg'iwē, -āxg'iwāla (moving) ahead  
Reduplication 5

-[g']iu in regard to the forehead: qē'siyu person with shining forehead; e'kiyu person with pretty forehead; !o'qwēyū--- bare forehead; ts!ēkwēyū--- short forehead.

-[g']iwē: ō'g'iwē forehead; qē'siwē a shining thing on forehead; ē'lg'iwē ballast on trap; yā'g'iwē (hair) hanging over forehead; yēxwē wē dancing head-dress; g'i'qag'iwē chief ancestor R 842.49.

-[g']iwāla: āxēwāla to have on forehead III 19.6; 86.14; 17; lā'siwāla to have sticking on forehead III 24.5; lā'g'iwāla to have standing on forehead C II 10.21; g'i'qag'iwāla to have chief in beginning R 841.27; smā'xwag'iwāla to have chief in pot-latch R 841.27; k!wē'lasag'iwāla to have chief in feasts R 841.27.

-[g']ēyod: mēx'ēyo'd, mēx'ēyoda'la to strike forehead; yēlēyo'd to tie on forehead;  
-[g']iu occurs with a few other suffixes: gwē msiwak<sup>u</sup> red paint put on forehead.

(=)g'iwē, (=)g'ēyōd, (=)g'iwāla, (=)g'iwāla: bow of canoe; āg'iwē III 127.42; V 369.12 bow of canoe; ladēg'i'wē bow seat in canoe V 368.8; hagwēg'i'wē bar piece of canoe V 369.11; xwē'lg'ēg'iwē groove in bow of canoe V 369.18; xwē'lg'ēg'io'd to make groove in bow of canoe V 369.16; k!wā'g'iwē the one sitting in bow of canoe III 383.10; k!wā'g'iwāla canoe that has one sitting in bow; lā'xēg'iwē to stand in bow C 26:148.33; k'a'dēg'ēyod put long thing in bow V 503.9; gwā'g'iwāla, pl. gwā'mag'iwāla heading that way R 212.12.

-āxg'iwē, āxg'iwāla (moving) ahead.

This suffix consists of -g'iu and -āxā a little more. Reduplication 5.

wā'waq!āxg'iwē school of fish ahead of canoe; hā'na<sup>u</sup>āxg'iwē canoe goes ahead MS 2285.6; - ō'ts!āxg'iwē inside of bow V 368.9; - g'a'lēma<sup>u</sup>āxg'iwē fore-legs R 117.39; 124.87; 174.27; g'ā'g'āla<sup>u</sup>āxg'iwē leader, to be foremost C 26:147.160.

l!a't!e:neqwaŋg'iwala lightning ahead C 26:126.103; ha'na'aŋg'iwala shooting ahead; na'napaŋg'iwala to throw ahead (nep-); sa'yapaŋg'iwala to throw ahead; sa'yopaŋg'iwala to chop ahead (sop-); sa'yak'aŋg'iwala to spear going ahead (sek'-); ts!a'ts!e:malg'iwala to melt going ahead; ts!a'ts!e:maŋg'iwala to point going ahead; ha'smaŋg'iwala to eat before others; da'doqwaŋg'iwala to look ahead, be careful C 26:206.242; g'ag'alaŋg'iwala to be ahead C III 264.23; bā'bāŋg'iwala to leave ahead of others (bew-).

-(g')it(a) body as a whole  
(see -k'!en)

Occurs with the a ending and is then active. The distinction between the meaning of -k'!en and -g'it is not very clear. In its verbal form -g'it seems to be most generally used to mean to do something all over the body of a person, while -k'!en more frequently but not exclusively refers to the body of some inanimate object (log, tree). However, in nominal form:

ō'gwide the body of a pole C II 38.3; tree CX 226.22; canoe III 202.24; V 366.13; woman C II 160.9.

ō'k!wene human body R 199.39; 639.47, 49; 680.56; 743.29; 942.93; C II 24.3; 38.16.

gwese't!ed to wash whole body R 639.49; -<sup>e</sup>wede g'i'ta, pl. ō'deg'ita to take a cold bath; ts!e'mg'ita to point along body (ts!em-); axe't!ed to put on body III 107.11; !ekwēt!ed to rub body with seaweed C 26:77.48; e'k'etela well grown tree, person; V 496.6 good speech; he'ita to put body right C 26:115.16; -yē'lseta to rub all over body R 146.31; k'elqeta to lick body C II 10.12; megweg'i't to be all over body R 156.36; 398.32; CX 43.41; III 199.11 (pl. or coll. obj.); megweg'i'ta to put all over body.

ēya'k'idem trifles put on body (<sup>e</sup>yak'-(g')it=em); -t!ema'k'edem straps for lacing body of child to cradle R 666.64.

Plurals with this suffix generally formed by reduplication in the usual way. We have, however, xe'le'ng'it!ed body is numb all over R 199.39; pl. xe'le'ng'it!ed.

Names: t!e'semg'it stone body III 200.9; sna'lag'itasewe day on body III 196.4.

-(g')isawēs, (g')isāla left over,  
to leave over (see -!asayawēs,  
-!asyalā; -awēs, -āla)  
Reduplication 6c

A 1. cvc' E cāc': wā'k'esawēs left after breaking (wek'-); xalē sawēs left after crushing (xel-); dzā'k'esawēs left after rubbing, rust (dzek'-); snak'e'sawēs left after steaming.

A 2. cvm R cvmc': we'nweg'isawēs---drilling (wen-); k!we'lk!weg'isawēs---picking off (k!wel-).

A 3. cvy R c(ē, ō)c': dō'deg'isawēs---wiping; xō'xeg'isawēs---splitting (xew-).

A 5. cvc' stable: hā'ēmg'ēsawēs crumbs left after eating.

B 1. cvc' R cvcac': g'ī'g'axesawēs filings (g'ix-); ts!ō' ts!asesawēs dirt left after digging (ts!ōs-); xā'xaqesawēs or xā'qesawēs bones left over III 79.38; 94.26 (xaq-); !!a!aqwa'g'isawēs copper waste C III 188.19.

C 2. cvmc' R cvmcac': se'myak'awēs left after trying out oil (semk'-); ā'lsakwesāla to have blood running out (of wound); ā'lsakwesā'-wēs the blood that runs out (also ālk'āla) (ālk<sup>u</sup>-).

Initial s: se'ya'skwesawēs left after butchering sēsā'kwesawēs (sāsk<sup>u</sup>-); se'myak'esawēs left after trying out oil (semk'-).

Initial y: syā'k'esawēs bad thing left over.

-[g']eshā to follow suit, to do also individually what others are doing (see -!ala to join in some action);  
Reduplication 5

A 1. cvc' R cācāc': p!ā'p!a'esnā---flying (p!el-); sā'yak'e'snā---spearing (sek'-)

A 2. cvm R cā'cvm: p!ā'p!lg'i'snā---plucking feathers (p!el-); q!ā'q!ng'i'snā---sewing (q!en-); ewā'ewng'i'snā---hiding (ewen-)

A 3. cvy R cāce: dā'deg'i'snā---wiping (dey-); snā'sneg'i'snā stringing fish (ney-);

A 4. cvb R cācabe: gwā'gwadeg'i'snā---untying (gwed-).

A 5. cvc' R cācvc': x'ā'x'ēmg'i'snā---snaring (x'ēm-); mā'ma'elēnā---hunting with torches.

B 1. cvc' R cācvc': wā'wokwi'snā---barking (wok<sup>u</sup>-); nā'naqesnā---drinking (nāq-); ts!ā' ts!āqesnā---winter ceremonial (ts!āq-); q!wā'q!wasesnā---crying (q!wās-).

C 2. cvmc' R cācvmc': xwā'xwelse'snā---being depressed (xwels-); gwā'gwemse'snā---painting themselves with ochre (gwems-); sā'seltesnā---being quiet (selt-).

Irregular: hā'masesnā---picking berries (hāms-).

E. cy R cāca: dā'dag'i'snā---taking (da); k'ā'k'ag'i'snā putting down dishes (k'a).

Polysyllabic stems and following other suffixes: a'salexwi'snā---sea hunting (ālēx<sup>u</sup>-); a'sāmyaxe'snā---praising M 696.3 (āmyax-); āsā'leg'i'snā---searching; ē'sayapq!esēsā, āē'k!eqesnā---being happy; smā'smawāē'lēnā---getting ready to move up inlet (smā'smāwāē'la) (name of month when they get ready to move into Knight Inlet for olachen fishing); wā'wagek'esnā---croaking (wegē'q!ala).

-[g]ila to make something; to cause something;  
to give a feast; to go in a certain  
direction; time;

-g'ila after vowels, m, n, l; glottals  
and sonants; also in some cases after p and s;  
after other consonants -ila.

bē'ng'i'la to make fit (bēn-);  
q!a'mg'ila or q!amā'g'ila to cause disgrace  
R 1112.66; C III 232.18; 280.14 (q!ēm-)  
ha'smg'i'la to give to eat (ha'sm-); s'ne'lg'ila  
to go up river R 942.76; 1112.6 (s'nal-).

ewa'snag'ila to put in another place  
C II 222.27 (New) (ewa'sn-); g'elt!ag'ila to  
make a long one; ao dzeg'ila not to work right  
(odz-); nexs'eg'i'la to go half way across  
C II 44.13 (neq-x's'g'ila).

bekwe'la to make a man C III 130.3;  
lāpe'la to make a peg R 81.54; k'a'sela to make  
a spoon R 102.21; p!ēp!a'sila to make blind  
(p!ēp!as).

Exceptional: sepg'ila ga'nu late at  
night CX 243.32; qwe'sg'ila to go far R 131.15;  
gwasg'ila to travel near C II 354.10; l!ā'sg'ila  
to go seaward C II 352.20; qā'sg'ila to walk  
past goal.

In many cases -g'ila is suffixed to the  
stem, but usage is not quite uniform. We find  
it with and without some words with completive  
-a: t!ēqē'la R 269.1 and t!ēqag'ila R 267.71;  
761.22.

Others do not seem to occur without -a:  
p!ēsa'g'ila to make a potlatch M 712.2;  
l!ē'snag'ila to give a grease feast R 787.19;  
xē'smag'ila to make teeth "curl" (like sour  
berries); gwe'nt!ag'ila to make a heavy one;  
g'elt!ag'ila to make a long one. The last  
four examples may retain their a on account of  
the preceding glottalized consonant. q!wēla-  
g'ila to make alive (q!wēla' to live seems to  
retain a in all derivatives).

-g'ila is also readily attached to com-  
plex words: paxālag'i'la shaman maker;  
pē'nu!ēxiag'ila to make stout M 669.5;  
pā'semalag'i'elak<sup>u</sup> made difficult R 919.91;  
ē'lx<sup>u</sup>stag'i'elak<sup>u</sup> blood soup (ēlk<sup>u</sup>-s'ta-);  
nege'lkwila to do right R 608.17; ts!ē'gwasila  
to make time short.

1. "To make." With stems: ālā'k'ila to  
make dressed skins R 1095.41; yēwī'la to make  
this; ēwā'lasila to make something great (a  
great potlatch) R 889.88; swī'g'ila what is he  
doing C 26:62.15; bekwē'la to make man C III  
130.3; t!ēk'i'la to make a garden R 189.20;  
t!ēx'i'la to make a road R 131.8; sē'xwila to  
make a paddle V 496.2; nusē'lak<sup>u</sup> made for me;  
snā'lag'ila to make weather CX 199.28; g'i'qela  
to make someone chief (g'i'gāmesg'ila chief-  
maker R 790.62); k'ā'sila to make spoons  
R 102.2; to make shredded cedarbark (also  
k'ā'dzekwēla); gwē'g'ila to do thus (make that  
kind) R 95.31; q!āmg'i'la to disgrace R 1112.6;  
q'lxela to breed (to make young ones) (Kos)  
R 644.19; xēsē'la to make a box R 60.2;

xēk'!ēg'i'la to make something that stays away;  
lēqwē'la to make fire R 72.56; lēxē'la to make  
baskets R 111.2; xē'xwila to make mat R 125.3;  
lāpē'la to make pegs R 81.54; lē'mg'ila to  
make a post;

With complete words: sē'wayugwila  
CX 117.35 (better sē'xwila); lā'wayugwila to  
make salmon weir III 29.39; lō'x<sup>u</sup>semg'ila to  
make a ball R 570.26; ts!ēgwā'sila to make time  
short (ts!ēk<sup>u</sup>-as-) CX 73.31; k'ēla'ts!eg'ila  
to make receptacle for shaking (berries)  
R 140.9; q!ā'xeyugwila to make pack strap  
R 141.29; ts!ē'xts!ēq!astogwila to make narrow  
ones R 142.6; qē'lxasi'elak<sup>u</sup> a nest made  
(qēlx-as-g'ila=k<sup>u</sup>) R 597.27; k'!a'elā'p!ela to  
make steam under C III 306.24; ē'ne'mō'gwi'elak<sup>u</sup>  
made to be the only one in house (name); and  
many names of the same type.

2. "to give to eat, to give a feast  
of---:" ha'smg'i'la to give to eat food R 225.46  
(ha'sm-); t!ē'lseila to give a viburnum feast  
R 754.1 (t!ēls-); saekwē'la to give a meat  
feast R 750.5 (saek<sup>u</sup>-); kiwē'lasila to give a  
feast M 671.8 (kwe'f-as-g'ila); l!ē'snag'ila to  
give a grease feast R 787.19 (l!ē'sn-a-g'ila);

3. "to cook" (more often x'sila):  
ā'lseila to cook sea slugs R 478.55 (ēls-);  
lēk'i'la to cook clover R 527.1 (lēk'-);  
tāqwē'la to cook devil-fish R 471.21 (tāq<sup>u</sup>-);  
pā'esila or pā'sila to cook flounder.

4. "to catch, to get" (more often -!a):  
dza'xwila to catch olachen R 1003.19; wā'seēlas  
place where herring spawn is gathered R 509.22  
(wēs-g'ila=as); mā' m'zilāenxe' season for  
catching sockeye salmon C 26:92.1 (mē'x-g'ila-  
!ēnx=ē); sēk'!a'g'ila to get five.

5. "to go in a certain direction, to  
travel:" bē'sng'i'la to go downward C II 18.3;  
CX 29.16; aē'k'!ēg'ila to go up R 131.13;  
qwe'sg'ila to go far R 131.15; gwa'sg'ila to  
travel near C II 354.10; l!ā'sg'ila to go sea-  
ward C II 352.20; C 26:148.35; sepg'i'la to go  
along in canoe past goal (see also under 6);  
s'welg'i'ēlas distance gone R 70.26; 78.95;  
587.29; ēwa'lag'i'ēlas distance one has to go  
R 66.38; 84.55; qa'sg'ila to walk along past  
goal; g'ē'xwila to go to g'ēyox<sup>u</sup> CX 232.17;  
ēyē'zi'la to go to ēyēlis (Alert Bay).

6. With numerals and stems referring  
to time: yu'dē'xuts!āg'ē'lēlag'i'la three hours  
R 462.21 (yudē'x<sup>u</sup>-ts!āq=ē'lēla-g'ila); hē'xogwila  
to be ten months old R 650.23 (hē'xō- right);  
sepg'i'la ga'nu late at night CX 243.32;  
ts!ēgwasi'la to make time short CX 73.31  
(ts!ēk<sup>u</sup>-as-g'ila); nēqa'xē'nxela ten winters  
(nēqa-xē'nx-g'ila); nēqālag'ila half day  
R 490.43; 552.19; nēna'q!ēxsde'g'ila a time  
for wishing to drink every little while  
R 412.64.

7. With miscellaneous stems and com-  
pounds that do not have nominal meanings:  
āwi'lag'ila to consider important R 606.6;  
1098.4; pā'semalag'i'elak<sup>u</sup> made difficult  
R 919.91; hō'xemalag'ila to make it easy to

obtain property III 108.1; wi'wusilagag'ila to make poor C II 46.7; hekwe'la to make on purpose; he'nak'ila to use as last resort; heslogwila to add on to it III 316.37; xa'xwila to find difficult C II 190.26 la'laxwila to run out of supply; - mae'zo'kwila to take two men (for husbands): xa'xawilen qen waldema I don't know what to say.

8. Used to form a noun denoting a spirit or person who habitually performs a certain act, makes a certain thing. Very common in names, either alone or together with passive participle k<sup>u</sup>: g'i'game'g'ila chief-maker R 790.62; also g'iqela; to make someone a chief; la'x'sag'ila Going-through Maker; l!aqag'ila Copper-maker (name) C II 264.4; l!e'selag'ilela Born-to-be-Sun (name) C II 122.3; tami'naustā-lag'ielak<sup>u</sup> squirrel CX 57.10; naqeg'ila adviser C III 68.21; 92.18; ts!ek'ā'xetg'ila news maker C 26:137.136; ts!e'kiwex'sitg'ila bird maker C 26:67.29; na'nox'elx'idg'ila discouraged maker (poetry) CX 122.10; M 720.2; nex'a'g'-ielak<sup>u</sup> made to be mischievous 4045.8.

Some of these forms have a glottal stop before the l, for which I cannot account.

Sometimes g'ila may be translated as "to cause" which is generally expressed by the suffix -amas (which see). In many cases, however, -g'ila expresses the idea of a personification. -amas refers to a specific action: p!essa'gila one who causes people to give potlatches M 712.2 (poetry) and p!esse'damasq he causes them to give a potlatch R 967.52; pe'xelag'ila the shaman-maker CX 5.31 and pe'xela mas to make someone a shaman C III 30.22; k!wē'lasila maker of feasts (a person spoken about) M 671.8 and k!wē'lasa'matsoses q!wē'lē'sye he was made to give a feast by his uncle R 1078.5; lēm'xwag'ileda de'mx'se salt is a dry-maker, and he'meda de'mx'se lē'mxwamas salt makes dry. -g'ila always means "to make something" while -amas to cause an activity: xek!ēg'ila to be a staying-away-maker, and xek!ā mas to cause to stay away; g'elt!ag'ila to make a long one and g'elt!ā mas to cause to be long (song, speech).

We have the form xa'xwila to find difficult C II 190.26 and also la'laxwilamas to be troubled (by him) III 240.24.

-[g']i' reason, therefore;  
after s, k and l sounds -i'x

q!wēla'xag'i'x reason of keeping alive C 26:72.21; k!ā' ts!emg'i'x cause of not at all---III 24.7; le'elalag'i'x reason for inviting III 31.37; la'gwalix reason for crying III 47.11; ne'lag'i'x reason for telling C II 122.16; do'x'walelag'i'x reason for discovering C II 164.24; pe'pā'xag'ixaxwa reason for starving now and then C II 188.24; la'g'i'x therefore C II 126.3; 260.14; ene'nak'i'x the meaning C III 218.5 (enek').

la'g'i'xtse g'i'gānexsid therefore he became a chief; he'semslawis q!a'lag'i'xaxa q!e'mdam therefore, it is said, they know the song M 684.16; la'awayux'silag'i'x it is the reason of looking after the salmon trap M 726.6; ema'dzes xe'nlag'ixāos ge'g'ile what is the reason for being so long on the water? C II 266.19.

-(g')ustā up, grow up;  
following vowels, m, n, l, it appears as  
-g'ustā, otherwise, -usta

neqo'stā straight up (neq-); pe'x'o'stā to float up X 65.27 (pe'x'-?); de'ng'ustāla to haul up a rope R 688.24 V 478.17 (den-); ts!e'mg'ustā to point up; k'a'g'ustod, pl. k'e'mg'ustod to put up dishes; gasg'u'stā to get up early C 26:65.13; 86.56; do'qostā to look up; - a'xwestā to foam up; ha'nlostod to shoot up.

xwēle'qostola to tremble with hands upwards C 26:37.76 (xwēleq-).

Special meanings: no'xostāla to grow up a fool 3754.2; - ha'elag'ustā to grow up quickly C 26:135.41; - la'g'ustāla to sing (lit. to go up) C III 176.23; - with numerals for multiples of 10 with -sgem, mo'sgemg'ustā forty III 38.24.

-(k')ē'sye on top (of a surface)

le'pe'sya'la to have spread on top CX 269.24; dzeqwe'sya'la to be covered with soil '22.113; ax'e'ye'nd to put on top R 263.65; 294.39; k'a'te'syend to put long thing on top C III 210.26; xodzele'sye to sprinkle over C 26:11.234 (xos=(g')ē'x-ē'sye).

After s, either -ē'sye or -k'ē'sye: qa'se'sye to walk on top (of snow); na'se'syend to cover top; pe'nsk'ē'sye box with rounded top (pens-); enakwe'syes or ena'x'ukwe'syes covering (enax<sup>u</sup>).

dze'mk'ē'syend to cover with dirt CX 278.10; k!wa'k'ē'sye seat on top X 155.23; he'lokwe'syala to wear over (blanket) C III 152.1 (he'x=o-).

lā'k'ē'sye mast; k!wa'k'ē'sye seat on top X 155.23; enema'k'ē'sya level on top; ā'mk'ē'syes cover of basket; mō'kwē'syala to have tied on top R 282.21; x'i'qas'yala to have fire on surface; q!ēlx'uk!wē'syend to coil on top; k'a'te'syend to put long thing on top C III 210.26.

-(k')ē'syala in combination with the suffix -x'sta down to ground: dze'ste'syala fine drizzle (dzes- to simmer, bubble); yu'gwexst-ē'syā'la raining a little; g'ā'xstē'syala rain drops down; k!wē'ste'syala snowing a little; q!wē'ste'syā'la mist a little; q!ē'x'sta'syala much rain, snow or hail.

-k'én to be somewhere at the same time, also;  
 -k'éna to do at the same time, also  
 Reduplication 5

k'āk'atk'én a long thing is there at the same time (k'āt-); smā'émāx'k'én a round thing---(smēk<sup>u</sup>-); hā'ēānk'én a vessel---(hān-); mā'māxk'én vessels---(mēx-);

dā'dak'éna to take something along at the same time, to take along also, to take up two things together (da); la'lexk'éna mention another name also (lēq-); qā'qask'éna to invite somebody else also (qās-); k'!ā'k'!atk'éna to write to somebody else also (k'!āt-); ts!ā'ts!okwéna to give---(ts!ēw-); yā'yaq!ent-k'éna to talk to---(yaq!ent-); dā'dox'k'éna to see, visit---(dōq<sup>u</sup>-); q!wā'q!wēk'éna to crush---(q!wēk-); t!ā't!ām'k'éna to pin---(t!ēm-); k!wā'k!wak'éna to sit on something (that happens to lie on seat) also.

-k'én too much; Stem Expansion 3h

A 1. cvc E cāc or ca'c: yāx'k'én or ya'x'ak'én too fast R 725.52 (yēx'-); p!ask'én or p!a'sak'én---potlatching (p!ēs-); gwāxk'én pour out---(gwēq-); lax'k'én---weak (lēk<sup>u</sup>-).

A 2. cvm R (cvc)cvm: (pē)pe'lk'én too thin (pēl); smēsmē'nk'én to pick up---(smēn-); ts!ets!ē'mk'én to point---(ts!ēm-).

A 3. cvy R cvcē: dēdē'k'én to wipe---(dēy-).

A 4. cvb E cvbē: swā'dek'én (food, etc.) gets too cold.

A 5. cvc stable: hā'émk'én to eat---(hāsm-).

B 1. cvc R (cvc)cvc: mēmē'xk'én or hāmē'xk'én to sleep---(mēx-); smēsmā'x'k'én to potlatch---(smāx<sup>u</sup>-); wēwā'k'én to bend---(wāk'-); wēwē'x'k'én to shove---(wēq<sup>u</sup>-); smāsmē'z'k'én to tease---; wēwō'x'k'én too thick (wōk<sup>u</sup>); lō'mak'én to be too much (lōma).

C 1. cvmc R cvcvmc: dēdē'n'k'én to sing---; ts!ets!ē'lxk'én to get too hot (ts!ēlx-); k!wēk!wē'mxk'én---wet (k!wēnx-); lēlē'mx'k'én---dry (lēmx<sup>u</sup>-).

D 2. cvc'c E cāc'c: kwā'sx'ek'én to splash---; tā'ts!ēk'én to warm oneself---(tē'ts!-).

lēla'k'énx'sid to go too far, to overdo CX 276.27 (la); lō'mak'énalalē too much on water C II 36.7; aewā'lask'énis getting to be too great in world (name); hā'misk'énis (<hawā'misk'énis) getting too much food from river (name)

-k'a iterative after stems ending in vowels, y, w, m, n, l

With duplication of stem including k' of the suffix which becomes the corresponding spirant x'. Stems ending in consonants

duplicate the stem: mē'xmexa to sleep now and then (mex-); mē'xmex<sup>es</sup> to sleep outside C 26:122.7; dze'lx<sup>u</sup>dzēlxwa to run---(dzēlx<sup>u</sup>); q!ā'x<sup>u</sup>q!āx<sup>es</sup>wa to emerge---C 26.209.365.

lā'x'lak'a to go now and then C 26:145.90; 152.13; 205.191; dā'x'dak'a to take hold---CX 194.9; q!wā'x'q!wak'a to stand---pl. (=umbrella; q!wa- to stand, pl.); tē'nux<sup>u</sup>te-nukwa to pole---(tē'nēw-); tse'x'tsek'a to draw water---(tsey-); ts!o'x'uts!okwa to give---(ts!ēw-); xo'x'xokwa to split---(xēw-); sno'x<sup>u</sup>enokwa to aim---(snēw-); to'x<sup>u</sup>tokwa to attack---(tēw-); hā'mx'hankwa to eat---(hāsm-); k!wēmē'lx'k!wēmē'lk'a to burn---(k!wēmēl-); nēmā'k'nēmā'k'a at the same time---.

lā'x<sup>u</sup>ak'!ēls (tree) stands alone on ground C II 168.24.

tē'nox<sup>u</sup>te'nokwa to punt---(tē'no).

-k'as really; word suffix

gāz'ak'as really long III 7.4; 31.10; zō'k!wemask'as really strong III 106.20; la'dzek'as really much X 57.27; 157.30; -ā'k'as indeed R 609.4; ā'dzek'as oh many! C 26:67.93; āwō'kwas really big R 162.85; bō'z'alidzek'as really swelling on ground C 26:38.125; smā'émek'as property in house C 26:159.116. Used in the Koskimo dialect commonly for emphasis.

-k'as<sup>o</sup> fine and beautiful

lō'gwalak'as<sup>o</sup> fine supernatural III 111.1; xā'xk'as<sup>o</sup> a beautiful bone C 26:160.148

-k'āx'e knee

ō'ēkwāx'e<sup>o</sup> knee III 61.25; 87.12, 13; lē'mk'āx'e<sup>o</sup> scabby knee III 105.1; 147.23; 154.11; bē'snk'ā'x'ēid to walk down III 22.13; bē'snk'ā'x'āz'a to be in position of knees down C 26:60.79; na'kwāx'e<sup>o</sup> mat for covering knees C 26:129.231; (na'x<sup>u</sup>kwāx'e); q!ē'qāz'k'āx' to know how to use knees (in dance) '30.551 T; t!ē't!ēpk'āx'ēlas knee deep C 26:211.459 (t!ēp- to step [snow])

-k'a<sup>o</sup>la see -g'a<sup>o</sup>la

-k'ē<sup>o</sup> favorite place

k!wak'ē<sup>o</sup> favorite seat; hā'nēnz'k'ē<sup>o</sup> favorite hunting ground; hāsmk'ē<sup>o</sup> favorite eating place; sēk'ē<sup>o</sup> favorite place for spearing (sēk'-k'ē<sup>o</sup>).

-k'ina(la) accidentally, to have an accident while; Reduplication 5

äe'k'inála to have by good luck C II 90.2 (ek'-); wä'wałk'inála to have by luck C II 42.8; 62.21; to obtain a wish (by luck) C III 294.2 (wał-); qa'qask'inə what is found accidentally while walking C II 96.9; 414.21; da'dox<sup>u</sup>kwinála to see by chance (doq<sup>u</sup>-); sa'yak'inála to spear by chance (sək'-); tša'yak'inála to cut off by chance C 26:68.15 (tsak'-).

ta'tewek'inála to have an accident while goat hunting C II 28.4 (tew-); smä'smen-k'inála to pick up by chance (a bad one among good ones) (smen-); ts!ä'ts!okwinála to give by chance the wrong thing (ts!ew); ts!ä'ts!ex<sup>u</sup>kwinála to eat by change (bad) clams.

-k'inał nicely; word suffix

də'dałelak'inálał laughing nicely C II 88.14; də'nxelak'inálał singing---; də'x'a'ła-k'inálał eyes open---; q!ö'xts!ä'lak'inálał beautifully dressed up; e'x'k'enał<sup>s</sup>mäe ya'q!ent!ala he talks nicely; mo p!enak'inálał (to aim) four times nicely 26:144.24.

-k'!em sign, omen

A 1. cvc' R cēcac': q!e'q!ask'!em sign that one will eat meat (q!es-);

B 1. cvc' stable or cēcvq': ē'sex'-k'!em good sign (ēk'-); syä'x'k'!em (<yeak'-k'!em) bad sign (yak'-); łē'lox<sup>u</sup>k'!em, or łä'x<sup>u</sup>k'!em sign of strength (probably <łok<sup>u</sup>-).

B 3. cvy E cū: yū'k'!em sign of wind (yuy-).

B 4. cvb stable: syū'gwek'!em---rain.

B 5. cvcē stable: dzā'q!wek'!em---west wind (dzaq!<sup>u</sup>-).

C 2. cvmc' R cvmcvmc': ts!ē'łts!elx-k'!em---hot weather; ye'lyelx<sup>u</sup>k'!em hanging (ravens hanging from end of branch; sign that head will be cut off in war) (ye'lx<sup>u</sup>-); qe'mqemłk'!em heaving of stomach as sign R 603.15 (qe ml-); hā'nən<sup>u</sup>k'!em sign of cursing (when ear feels hot).

Polysyllabic stems and with other suffixes: k'!ä'maxk'!em---calm weather (k'!emāq-); də dastodk'!em sign that one will wipe eyes R 603.18 (dəy-stod-); k!wē'k!waxsk'!em sign that one will sit in canoe (k!wa-xs).

I ew ođek'!em sign of cold (ewed-).

I m. me młek'!em---southeast wind (me łä's).

-k'!es to eat (synonym -q!es); into body through mouth (see also =es, -!es, -k'!äes)

q!ö'k'!es to eat (too) much C II 224.19 (q!ey-); łä'k'!es or łä'q!es to go into mouth C II 224.27; hē'łak'!es to eat enough C II 224.25; hō'lałk'!es to eat little (hōlał-); xä'ł!ek'!es to eat very little C II 224.17; snē mk'!es to eat one; g'ē'lk'!es or g'ē'łq!es to eat first III 193.4; swi'elk'!es, swi'elq!es to eat everything; ha'lak'!es; hā'elmq!es; ha'elmq!esid C III 218.28; to eat quickly; đxq!esä' to put into mouth C 26:191.32; đxq!edze'nd to put into the mouth of someone C 26:97.121; p!ä'q!es to put finger into mouth R 669.66.

łä'k'!esēla to have (food) to eat; łē'elak'!edze<sup>s</sup> what has been eaten; łē'lak'!a-ts!ema, łē'lak'!ats!oma provisions.

-(k')!en body (see -(g')it)

Fundamentally -k'!en seems to indicate a long body, particularly its surface; -g'it a round body as a whole. The distinction is not always clear. In some cases either form may be used: ts!o'x<sup>s</sup>wend or ts!o'xwit!id to wash body.

ö'k!wine<sup>s</sup> body (all through) III 61.13; (surface) C II 38.16; äpsot!ene<sup>s</sup> one side of body R 71.39; hābesene<sup>s</sup> fur on body C 26:47.163 or hap!ene<sup>s</sup> R 661.60; pesene<sup>s</sup> R 109.18; III 33.24 skin of animal with hair on; wä'x<sup>s</sup>wene<sup>s</sup> thick bark on tree R 130.3; ä'lak'!en able-bodied III 208.39 (ä'la real); łē' mk'!en to be scabby on body C 26:158.81; k'!ewe'lx<sup>s</sup>wene'ne<sup>s</sup> quality of being square R 172.8; 259.90; wi'ł<sup>s</sup>en thin (stick) R 63.80; ne'x<sup>s</sup>wē'nd to put blanket on III 65.1; łä'k'!end to put upright on body R 83.35; 145.21; -ne'x<sup>s</sup>wēna'la to have a blanket on body III 74.17; x'i'x<sup>s</sup>ēna'la to have fire on body III 196.35; q!we'qwēlak'!enx<sup>s</sup>id body gets alive C 26:103.48

-g'ē'łēen along a line; mā'g'ē'łēene<sup>s</sup> close to line R 67.56; 243.44; xwē'ldē'łēene<sup>s</sup> mark along line R 65.9 (xwēlt-); ne'g'ē'łēend to follow straight line (neq-); na'nagał<sup>s</sup>ēēna to try to follow straight line (of tradition) C III 202.24; bexē'łēend to cut along line R 109.21 (bex-) [R 454.73]; dā'g'ē'łēend to take hold (of rope) C 26:202.97; k'!ē mđē'łēend to strip off (berries from stems) R 578.24; q!ēg'ē'łēene<sup>s</sup> to bite off (berries from stems). dēx<sup>s</sup>wē'łēene<sup>s</sup> to jump out of---III 367.24.

-(k')!eg'ał to begin to make noise; usually -!g'ał after consonants

gwe'k'!eg'ał to begin to sound thus; he'k'!eg'ał to begin to sound that; (loon)

cries C 26:14.96; 26.136:103; la'k'!eg'ał said it goes C 26:52.112; promise to give; ga'gek'!eg'ał to entreat C II 32.3; me'eng'ał to begin to sound like striking (mex'); ya'q!eg'ał to begin to speak III 12.3; xwa'k!weg'ał to begin to croak III 174.29; q!wä'g'ał to begin to cry (q!was-); dzelo'gwał to begin to sound like running (dzex<sup>u</sup>-); xwä'g'ał III 181.34 noise of excitement in ceremonial (xwas-); xwä'k!weg'ał C III 256.21 (xwäk<sup>u</sup>) to utter ecstatic cry; !ime'g'ał to sound like sparks crackling (!e'ms-); gale'ts!eg'ał to squeak C 26:35.46 (galis-); wäxk'!eg'ał to speak mercifully; k!we'mts!e-k'!eg'ał sucking sound from lips (k!wems-); ela'q!weg'ał to begin to shout (ela'qwela); e'dzaq!weg'ał to say again X 231.9 New; gamo't!eg'ał wolf howls C III 254.8.

-k'!elqela; -k'!elga front of body;  
(see qa, -!eq)

q!ełk'!e'!qela to carry in lap  
R 1101.83; o'k!welges lap C II 54.13;  
ts!exk'e'lgendala to drop in lap III 257.25;  
258.2; g'e'k'!elgend to put something---  
V 478.25; q!ełk'!e'lgend to put---C III 40.31;  
C 26:110.48.

-k'!aes on front outside of body, tree,  
mountain, also in body (see es, -!es)

o'k!wäedzes branch side of a tree  
V 344.15; in front of a person; la'k'!äedzend  
to enter belly or go in front of belly III  
77.20; ene'mk'!aes (name); sa'k'!äedzes belly-  
band, apron (sa-); g'i'k'!äedzes to be in body  
C II 42.4; ga'ek'!aesela to have eaten first  
thing in morning; ge'nek'!aesela or ge'ene-  
se'sela salmon with spawn in body; ge'ek'!ae-  
sela or ga'sya'e'sela to hold crossways in  
front of stomach; ge'k'!äesela long in stomach;  
lä'k'!äedzes rock shelf on mountain C 26:202.  
63, 66; emo'k!wäe'dzend to catch (in blanket)  
in front of body R 632.28.

-(k')!ala noise, continued action with voice  
(see -(k')!g'ał)

q!ek'!a'la sound of biting; hämk'!a'la  
sound of eating; weläl'la to talk in vain  
(wel-); me'ena'la sound of striking (mex');  
q!ets!a'la (better than q!esya'la) sound of  
eating meat; t!e'mk'!ala sound of sewing;  
gwe'k'!ala such noise; qa'syala sound of walk-  
ing; (qäs-); emä'k'!ala what did he say?  
C 26:12.20; 135.45 (emas-); ä'slala to talk  
roughly (äl-); de'nt!äla to quarrel; dz'e'lwala  
noise of running (dzex<sup>u</sup>-); kw'e'nts!ala noise  
of baking (kwens-); ena'k!wala ena'k!wax'dax<sup>u</sup>  
language.

hä'me'k'!ala sounds like food;  
begwa'ne'mk'!ala man's voice III 148.26;  
nemax'its!ala sounds like the same; - o'smits!ala  
funny noise; qwe'sak'!äla noise far away;  
ha'sde'nala to breathe loud (ha'sdex'a);  
!la'!e'syak'!ala different sounds, to change  
the talk (!a'eyo); mo'elx'e'idk'!ala song of  
thanks (mo'el-x'e'id-k'!ala); mo'masyala to hurt  
by talk (momas-).

gä'gasyala grandfather's song C 26:  
147.176 (gagas-); ba'xwe'syala secular song  
C 26:90.212; q!e'q!alak'!ala to talk as though  
one knows C 26:108.149 (q!ala-); q!e'mq!emk'!ala  
to excuse oneself; dz'e'ndzenk'!ala to tease, to  
make fun of C 26:228.43; gä'gek'!ala to apolo-  
gize C 26:202.86; wa'slala to joke; wi'waslala  
to speak falsely (particularly lying that girl  
is one's sweetheart; se'nat!ala to talk about  
plan; senk'!ala noise of planning; q!e'q!ek'!ala  
noise of disagreement C 26:106.55 (q!ey-);  
hä'wa'la sound of climbing (sound of lark)  
(hax<sup>u</sup>-); k'!i'k'!a'ya'la to deride, to talk  
against C 26:91.31; !exs'ak'!a'lak<sup>u</sup> the one  
given advice; gä'k'!ala women talk together  
(gek'-).

-k'!es, -k'!ala assistant, to assist;  
Reduplication 5

q!ä'q!alak'!es guide (len q!ä'q!ala-  
k'!e'nukwos I have you for a guide CV 158.3);  
emä'ma'ł!ek'!es mark to go by, signal indicat-  
ing direction in which traveller has gone;  
hä'k'!e's protector; dä'deqwelak'!es guide of  
blind person; ä'eä'syusk'!es interpreter;  
ä'sä'syusk'!ala to have an--- (ä'syuts!o'dala to  
interpret); g'e'em'e'n ä'sä'lak'!es this is my  
witness 2278.8; ä'sä'lak'!ala to have a wit-  
ness; ä'sä'lak'!a'syemas I confirm what he says

-k'!odił (see -k'!ot)

-[k']!ot opposite; frequently used in  
combination with other suffixes; after x, s,  
ł, -ot; terminal q of stem changes  
to x and is followed by -k'!ot.

ne'xk'!o't right opposite (ne'q-);  
ene'lk'!ot up river side; la'k'!ot!end to go to  
other side III 271.8; e'k'!ot!end to put on  
upper side R 230.32; qwe'sot far side; äpso't  
other side III 96.28; !o'le'k'!ot cousin's  
child (=uncle's side).

he'łk'!odene'gwił right side of house  
III 81.2; be'enk'!o'dexste lower lip R 446.13;  
605.58; e'k'!odeł palate (e'k'!-[k']!ot=el);  
gemexo'täge left side of canoe, vessel  
R 175.15, 16; a'lotple'ge inland side of tree  
or post<sup>12</sup> C II 420.33; be'enk'!o't!ene lower

<sup>12</sup> It is uncertain whether the second segment is not ł  
rather than l.

side R 71.40; 161.60 (bɛɛn-k'!ot-k'!en-εε); gwe'k'!ot!endala on one side of descent line; wā wāɛlipk'!ōt!ɛnaxsem C III 64.13 wā wēlibā-ɛyaa xsem women of Wā wēlibāɛye

The final t of the suffix is changed to ɣ by some speakers before ts or s; by others the t is retained: he'ɣk'!oɣts!ana right hand III 15.11; bɛnk'!oɣts!eε less than half full R 100.14; 411.36; āpsō'ɣtsi'dzeε one foot R 80.51; 174.27; or āpsō'tsidze R 743.27; āpsō'tɛstā'ɛliɣ one side of door in house R 763.34; gɛɛmxo'tɛstā'ɛliɣ left side of door of house X 76.6; g'ɪ'k'!ots!end to exceed half.

-k'!ōdiɣ one side

āpsō'diɣ one part (āps-); hē'ɣk'!odiɣ right part (hɛɣ-); q!ɛɛmxo'diɣ left side (q!ɛɛmx-); bɛɛnk'!ō diɣ lower part (bɛɛn-); ɛ'k'!odiɣ upper part (ek'!); ts!ɛx'k'!ō'dɛɣ shorter---(ts!ɛk'); g'ɛ'ltk'!odiɣ longer---(g'ɛ'lt-); swā'x'sodiɣ both sides (swax's).

-gwaɣ one who is lost;

g'ɪ'xgwaɣ lost a chief R 1087.49; āba'sgwaɣ a mother who is lost; ā'sgwaɣ a father who is lost.

g'ina'ɣgwaɣ lost child; gā'gasgwaɣ lost grandfather.

=k<sup>u</sup> passive

Although the combination of this suffix with the stem follows the general phonetic rules, the forms are somewhat complicated on account of the character of the suffix which consists of a single consonant. For this reason the forms have been given more fully than in other suffixes.

A 1. cvc: With stems of the type cvc ending in stops a short vowel is inserted before the k<sup>u</sup> and the accent falls on this syllable: neg'ɛ'k<sup>u</sup> steamed; bɛx'k<sup>u</sup> cut; swɛdzɛ'k<sup>u</sup> to be stored for future use R 225.3.

Stems ending in s appear in this form, or transform cvsɛ'k<sup>u</sup> to cɛk<sup>u</sup> > cvyɛ'k<sup>u</sup>: q!ɛdzɛ'k<sup>u</sup> meat eaten, or q!ɛk<sup>u</sup> (q!ɛy-k<sup>u</sup>); p!ɛk<sup>u</sup>, p!ɛdzɛ'k<sup>u</sup> to be flattened, to be invited to a potlatch (p!ɛs-); wɛk<sup>u</sup> or wɛdzɛ'k<sup>u</sup> soaked and rubbed (wɛs-); qwɛk<sup>u</sup>, qwɛdzɛ'k<sup>u</sup> peeled off (qwɛs-).

Those ending in x' change x' to n and add k<sup>u</sup>: mɛnk<sup>u</sup> struck; qɛnk<sup>u</sup> twisted around C 26:127.148; pɛnk<sup>u</sup> heated; ts!ɛnk<sup>u</sup> singed.

Those ending in x<sup>u</sup> change x<sup>u</sup> to ō: ts!ōk<sup>u</sup> pierced (ts!ɛx<sup>u</sup>-).

A 2. cvm stems glottalize m and add k<sup>u</sup>: bɛɛnk<sup>u</sup> fitted; gɛɛnk<sup>u</sup> baby carried; q!ɛɛnk<sup>u</sup> sewn; bɛɛlk<sup>u</sup> forbidden; lɛɛnk<sup>u</sup> to treat badly, roughly 4016.4 (no free stem, lɛɛnkwenɪaq I treat him roughly).

A 3. Stems ending in -ɛy or -ɛw change these to e and o and add -ɛk<sup>u</sup>; tɛɛk<sup>u</sup> water drawn (tɛɛy-); ɛnɛk<sup>u</sup> fish strung up (ɛnɛy-); gwek<sup>u</sup> done thus (gwey-); ts!oɛk<sup>u</sup> given (ts!ɛw-); ɛnoɛk<sup>u</sup> aimed (ɛnɛw-).

A 4. cvb stems from cvbāā: ɛmɛ'ndzāāk<sup>u</sup> to cut kindling wood (ɛmɛndz-).

A 5. cvc forms cvcāā: mɛɛlāā'k<sup>u</sup> light thrown on, gotten by torchlight (mɛɛl-); ts!ɛmāā'k<sup>u</sup> melted (ts!ɛɛm-).

B 1. cvc stems ending in stops insert short vowel before k<sup>u</sup> and accent the first syllable: tsō'xɛk<sup>u</sup> tallow molten; wi'gɛk<sup>u</sup> praised (lit. pushed up) C 26:189.287; ɪ!ɛ'gɛk<sup>u</sup> wet preserved fish spawn; clayey (spawn).

Stems ending in s containing o, change o to ɛw, and s to ɛ which takes accent: tɛwɛ'k<sup>u</sup> crushed (tso's-); hāwɛ'k<sup>u</sup> counted R 435.70 (hā'ɛwɛɛ'ɛwɛk<sup>u</sup> added together C III 82.20); yɛwɛ'k<sup>u</sup> eaten with spoons (yo's-).

Stems ending in s not containing an o: tā'gwek<sup>u</sup> having been given to eat before leaving (tā'gus-); xwāk<sup>u</sup> excited (xwā's-); k'ā dzɛk<sup>u</sup> shredded cedar bark (k'ās-).

cvc stems ending in affricatives x', x<sup>u</sup>, ɣ soften these and add -k<sup>u</sup> directly: bɛnk<sup>u</sup> made phosphorescent (bɛ'x'-); t!ɛnk<sup>u</sup> carried on shoulder (t!ɛ'x'-); pōk<sup>u</sup> blown (pōx<sup>u</sup>-); sɛwɛ'lk<sup>u</sup> twilled weaving (so'ɣ-); hɛlk<sup>u</sup> fixed up 3756.5 (hɛɣ-).

But also bɛwɛ'k<sup>u</sup> made pregnant (bōx<sup>u</sup>-).

C 2. cvmc: k'ɛ mdɛk<sup>u</sup> (berries) cleaned (k'ɛmt-); sɛ lbɛk<sup>u</sup> twisted (sɛlp-); qɛ'mxɛk<sup>u</sup> stripped off (qɛmx-).

cvmc: stems change x<sup>u</sup> to accented ō: t!ɛlo'k<sup>u</sup> pounded (t!ɛlx<sup>u</sup>-); qāmo'k<sup>u</sup> feathered (qāmx<sup>u</sup>-); lɛmo'k<sup>u</sup> dried (lɛmx<sup>u</sup>-).

cvmc stems change s to accented ɛ: kwɛnɛ'k<sup>u</sup> baked (kwɛns-); yɛlɛ'k<sup>u</sup> rubbed (yɛls-); ɛmɛnɛ'k<sup>u</sup> measured (ɛmɛns-); gwɛmɛ'k<sup>u</sup> painted with ochre (gwɛms-).

Stems ending in -k<sup>u</sup> final consonant changed to g' and ɛk<sup>u</sup> added. In cvc and cvc stems accent on first syllable; in cvc accent on last syllable: sāsg'ɛ'k<sup>u</sup> meat carved (sāɛkwa); mō'g'ɛk<sup>u</sup> tied (mōk<sup>u</sup>-); qɛg'ɛ'k<sup>u</sup> to make fall down (qɛk<sup>u</sup>-); ā'lg'ɛk<sup>u</sup> sprinkled with blood, clams taken out of shell (ālk<sup>u</sup>-); dō'g'ɛk<sup>u</sup> cloth with stripes (dōk<sup>u</sup>-); ɛyɛ'lg'ɛk<sup>u</sup> carried on shoulder (ɛyɛlk<sup>u</sup>-); tɛ'mg'ɛk<sup>u</sup> block cut out (tɛmk<sup>u</sup>-).

E. Stems ending in a add ak<sup>u</sup> with accent on last a: dāā'k<sup>u</sup> carried; q!wāā'k<sup>u</sup> boards standing up; yāā'k<sup>u</sup> loose hair, hung up; pāā'k<sup>u</sup> lying flat; ɪāā'k<sup>u</sup> carried on board.

All stems ending in glottal consonants or in sonants have two a's, cvc and cvc accented on first syllable, cvc on last (see before): q!o'ɛyāā'k<sup>u</sup> rubbed between hands; ɪ!ɛ'nɛyāā'k<sup>u</sup> split (not through heart of wood); ɣā't!āā'k<sup>u</sup> (wood) split R 442.23; mɛ'ndzāā'k<sup>u</sup> split for kindling, torches (mɛndz-); yɛ'nk'!āā'k<sup>u</sup> struck with sling shot; ts!ɛmāā'k<sup>u</sup> melted away; hā'ɛmāā'k<sup>u</sup> eaten.

Also o xɪāā'k<sup>u</sup> carried on back.



Verbs with suffixes: Those which do not lose their terminal a add -ak<sup>u</sup>: ha'nx'laak<sup>u</sup> (kettle) put on fire (-x'la); k'!a'tbaak<sup>u</sup> painted at end (-ba); he'xaxaak<sup>u</sup> brought right down (-axa); ššā'e'lāa'k<sup>u</sup> tried to be made firm R 399.42 (-a tentative); āmstāā'k<sup>u</sup> R 412.45; also ā'mstāē'k<sup>u</sup> R 411.43 whole put in water; k!wa'sstāē'k<sup>u</sup> (heads of salmon) sitting in water (in a kettle).

Suffixes ending in m add -ak<sup>u</sup>: yepema'k<sup>u</sup> tied (pl.) R 133.61 (-em); q!ap!e'gēmak<sup>u</sup> assembled (-gem).

Suffixes that do not retain their terminal a with other suffixes end in -ak<sup>u</sup>: pā'stag'islak<sup>u</sup> flounder cooked in water.

Suffixes ending in o change o to ew and add -ak<sup>u</sup>: welx'ts!ewak<sup>u</sup> circle made inside (-ts!o); ts!e'x'ewak<sup>u</sup> guts cut out R 391.27 (-o); la'weyak<sup>u</sup> taken out R 400.3 (-o).

Suffixes ending in weakened consonants add either -k<sup>u</sup> or -ek<sup>u</sup>: māe'dzek<sup>u</sup> placed on stomach (cooked whole in fire) R 408.10 (-es); te'qwabek<sup>u</sup> stones piled up in fire R 419.31 (-qwap); k!wetae'lk<sup>u</sup> to be covered with blanket '30.333 T (k!weta'x) Nak; ts!e'kwemelk<sup>u</sup> bird mask put on M 675.8 (-gemx).

= [a]kwela (=k<sup>u</sup> - εla)?

With -εla the suffix = k<sup>u</sup> seems to indicate a successful action of some sort: nēlekwe'la to kill something by throwing stones CX 195.29; x'εma'kwela to snare something; taa'kwela to fall over entirely C 26:160.202; he'yakwela to do something C II 182.31 (hē-); kwe'xekwela to strike something; ha'nū'ekwela to shoot something; yenk'!aakwela to kill with sling stones.

k'!e'lag'ekwela to kill by striking; q!a'sya'g'ekwela to kill by kicking: !a'syokwela (k'!e's) never change R 448.42, 822.36, 823.59, 827.46.

šenexwaa'kwela a repeated action (near together) R 638.15, 651.63; q!welaa'kwela to bring back to life every time CX 19.11.

= [ā]k<sup>u</sup> beforehand; apparently occurs always in conjunction with =!x in the house, !s outside, or !a on rock

dōgāgwila look ahead! in house C III 330.19; -dogwāk!wes look ahead! outside; dō'gwak!wa look ahead! on rock; sne'g'εgwil to say beforehand C III 340.23; de'nxεgwil to sing first (before); -.

hō'lelagwila listen! (listen beforehand); wese'g'εgwil to have belt on already; sne'nk'!εgagwila to think beforehand (snek'-leq=ak'=!x); g'ig'āεgwila to think before doing (g'!-!eq=ak'=!x).

-[g]em face, head, also "in front," "ahead," usually -em after consonants although there are a few exceptions (s and l) which are noted below (see -sgem)

hapε'm hairy face; q!εkwem beheaded R 1360.18; qεx'ε'md to put on a head-ring III 36.29 (qεx'-); maεxε'm two-faced; x'εsmge'md to put snare on head C 26:178.131; qε'sem smooth, shining face; q!we'lsēm rotten face (one who never gives a feast); o'dzεgem jealous C II 74.27; e'k'!εgema'la mas to cause face to be turned up III 144.23; bε'snge'mx'εid to lower head CX 181.18; sme'lgem white face; gwe'gεmx'εid to turn face to III 293.43; !l'ε'lgεmx'εid to forget III 173.36; k!wa'gāmeε sitting in front of---

Sometimes after s and l gem: āpsge'm opposite face R 850.30; āpsgemā'la to have the face turned the other way; ewa'ewax'sgemεlāla to turn face both ways R 790.48; !l'a'sgema'la to face seaward; a'!εgemlix to face rear of house C II 122.6.

With other suffixes and as word suffix: a'la'sne'mgem with a wolf's face; āmā'gem small face III 319.40; axε'mdāas place of putting on face C 26:57.6; q!enē'pemd to cover face III 299.11; xwe'mde'εmala to set front of mountain on fire C 26:128.173; lela'balisagemeε going from end to end of world C 26:35.49; !l'ā'g'εkwemeε cedar-bark head-ring III 101.7 (!l'aq=k<sup>u</sup>).

gō'gwemeε face R 129.77; 206.13; o'gwemeε head end; bekwe'm stern (man's face?); be'be'x'ε'mli'x having stern face C 26:6.57 (-sgem?); dā'gemeε office of calling names in potlatch C III 66.10; 88.17; gā'gak'εmala womanish; qā'semd to walk in front R 1039.99 (see qā'tsēmd under -sgem); ena'x'εnεmsgε'mgem one round to each (εnem-sgem-(g)em); εnā'x'εnεmts!aqem one long one to each (εnem-ts!aq-gem);

la'sgemeε to follow (perhaps -sgem); ba'bak!wāgameε head-dress of warrior; hā'mx'εsmeε to urge, rush after C 26:144.52; q!agema'la hold face ready, keep ready, look out; nā'naqε'ma to try to hit face; to put in right place, to select the right one.

(Derivation doubtful): q!āq!ā'gεmla tell to be ready C 26:180.218; (see q!ā'sgεma'li'x to take notice of what is said in house); !l'a'dεlgemala to forget every time.

The suffix -(g)ameε belongs here. The meaning "first of its kind" is probably literally "standing in front of the face"

g'igāmeε chief (g'iq-) literally "being in front (face)"; the form derived from g'iq- ought to be g'iqāmeε. It seems likely that the stem g'iq- is a late development derived from the older word g'igāmeε which is still in use in its old meaning in Bella Bella; εno'last!εgāmeε eldest one X 3.32; pεxemeε head man of sparrow society R 728.1, 7; xa'magēmeε head chief (xεm-); ēx'εεqālagēmeε

most beautiful one X 3.2; xwa'k!wɛnagame<sup>s</sup>  
canoe of canoes; le'axeme<sup>s</sup> head men.

-[gɛ]manu (< gem face) head

dzeɣ<sup>u</sup>ema'nu head of silver salmon  
(dzeɣ<sup>u</sup>-); li'ɛ'nsemanu---black bear (li'ɛns-);  
me'ɣsemanu---sockeye salmon (meɣ-); sā'semanu  
---spring salmon (sas); ma'ɣegemanu---dogfish,  
halibut (me'lō'qa?)

Word suffix: g'ɛla'gemanu head of  
grizzly bear (g'ɛla'); met'sa'gemanu---mink  
(met'sa'); gē'wasemanu (---deer); ts!ɛdɛ'xma'nu  
---woman.

-(g)emɣ mask

yɛxwe'mɣ dance mask C II 124.25; ɣɛtɛ'mɣ  
hat (ɣɛt- to stretch out flat thing) C II 82.5;  
gē'xwemɣ deer mask III 96.2, 3; 97.29;  
hā'emsemɣ cannibal mask R 1132.36; kwē'nɣwemɣ  
thunder bird mask III 16.1; eme'lgemɣ III 98.12;  
or eme'lxogemɣ III 96.23 goat mask.  
no'masemɣ old man mask X 5.6 (nomas-);  
ne'ngemɣ bear mask III 16.1; 33.24 (nan).  
g'ī'qamɣ chief's hat.

-ga, gas woman;

hāsɛlasmāлага Mouse III 11.12;  
ɛma'xwelayugwa Potlatch Woman III 142.1;  
k'ɛxɛla'ga crow woman III 47.30; ānsānwe'ga  
cloud woman R 626.76; a'datsaga darling (girl)  
R 668.46; li'ɛ!ɛsnaga grease woman (♀ olachen).  
e'aɣgas young woman; a'ɣostāgas young  
woman R 616.61, pl. e'aɣostāgas R 409.30;  
āmaɛyɛnɣgas youngest daughter R 1108.91;  
li'āsgas prostitute; - a'ɣgās, he'ɣagās young  
woman; ya'gas, ā'gas woman friend of woman;  
tsɛɣga's mischievous woman, full of jokes (not  
a reproach) C 26:66.12.

-[genisbe<sup>s</sup>] inside of nose;  
(see =lɣba)

e'wagenisbee nostrils (=x'ina'q!aas);  
do'dɛq!wɛge nisba to look into nose CX 103.15;  
apso't!agenisbee one side of nose,  
inside.

-[g]o, -[g]â, -[g]od, -[g]ox<sup>s</sup>wid, -[g]âla,  
-[g]awe<sup>s</sup> between, together,  
Stem Expansion 6a

This seems to be one suffix, but the  
usage for the meanings "between" and "together"  
is in most cases clearly differentiated, as the  
following examples will illustrate:

â'xodɛnas I put it between two things  
(accent variable).

axō'x<sup>s</sup>widɛnaq I put them together.  
â'xâla two things have something between  
them (accent variable).

axâ'wasɛyɛnaq I am between them,  
axâ'ɣɛnts we are (close) together.

The ending -[g]od, -[g]awe<sup>s</sup> mean gener-  
ally "between," -[g]ox<sup>s</sup>wid, -[g]âla "together:"  
k'â'k'ɛtod to put a long thing between,  
k'ak'ɛtō'x<sup>s</sup>wid to put long things together;  
k'â'k'ɛtawe<sup>s</sup> the long things between,  
k'â'k'ɛtâla long things together. In the same  
way:

between:

together:

<u>ɛmā'k'od</u>	<u>ɛmā'k'ox<sup>s</sup>wid</u> (ɛmɛk - round thing is)
<u>mā'xod</u>	<u>mā'xox<sup>s</sup>wid</u> (mɛx-) vessels are)
<u>li'ɛ'xod</u>	<u>li'ɛ'xox<sup>s</sup>wid</u> (liɛx <sup>u</sup> person stands)
<u>li'ɛ'ɣawe<sup>s</sup></u>	<u>li'ɛ'ɣâla</u> (li- long thing standing)
<u>k'â'k'ɛtawe<sup>s</sup></u>	<u>k'â'k'ɛtâla</u> (k'at- long thing lying)
<u>kwē'lkwegod</u>	<u>kwē'lkwegox<sup>s</sup>wid</u> (kwɛl- to lie down)

There is apparently another difference  
which, however, is not consistently applied.  
We heard k'!ɛlk'!ak'od to lash one thing between  
two others, and k'!ɛ'lk'!ɛk'ōx<sup>s</sup>wid to lash to-  
gether; q!ɛnq!ɛgod to sew between (insert a  
piece), q!ɛ'ng!ɛgox<sup>s</sup>wid to sew pieces together,  
q!ɛ'ng!agâ to sew a pile of pieces together,

A 1. cvc E cvc: g'â'pod to tuck between,  
g'â'pox<sup>s</sup>wid---together R 525.17; 697.5;  
CX 233.17 (g'ɛp-); nā'god to put right between;  
nā'qox<sup>s</sup>wid to put right together C 26:93.14  
(nɛq-); bā'k'awe<sup>s</sup> "man between" i.e., head in  
middle of double-headed serpent (si'sɛyul)  
(bek<sup>u</sup>-); tā'soliɣ crowded together in house  
(tes-).

Not following general rules of meaning:  
gâ'k'âla to be with wife R 646.60; 648.13  
(gɛk'-); wâ'laqâla to listen to each other  
III 362.21; ts!â'x'âla to love each other,  
ts!â'x'âlot companion of mutual love (friend)  
(ts!ɛx'-[g]âla-ot).

A 2. cvm R cvmcṽ: t!ɛ'mt!ɛgod to sew  
together with cedar twigs R 88.50 (t!ɛm-);  
q!ɛ'ng!ɛgox<sup>s</sup>wid to sew together R 110.31  
(q!ɛn-); kwē'lkwegod to lie down between  
R 679.36 (kwɛl-); ɛ'lɛagod, ɛ'lɛagâla holding  
firmly together R 471.35 (ɛl-).

Exceptions: ɛnā'mok'âla friends to each  
other, two youths having one sweetheart;  
ɛnā'matsagâla men who have married sisters to  
each other (ɛnɛmā'tsa); ɛnā'ɛnɛmgō'x<sup>s</sup>wid CII  
28.9; ɛnā'ɛnɛmgâ R 380.10 to put together in  
one place; q!wâ'lago to meet alive CX 184.24  
(q!wɛl-).

A 3. cɛy R cō'ca: dē'dagod to wipe be-  
tween (dɛy-).

cɛw R cōcɛ: xō'xwɛgâla the things that  
have a split between (xɛw-); ɛmō'ɛmɛgod to pile  
up between; ɛmō'ɛmɛgo'x<sup>s</sup>wid to pile together  
(ɛmɛw-); gwa'yak'!âla to be able to do  
R 294.52.

A 4. cṽb E cāb: gwā'dɛgod to untie be-  
tween.

A 5. c̄vc̄s, cs is stop: c̄vc̄s: xā'k'!egod to disappear permanently between.

c̄vc̄s, cs is sm, sn, or sl: x'ēx'ē'msgod to snare between (x'ēs̄m-); mē mē'ēlgod to throw light between (mēsl-).

B 1. c̄vc̄ R c̄vc̄vc̄'; q!wā'q!wasāla to cry together (q!wās-); sē saxōd to paddle between, sē saxolēs to meet paddling on water (sēx<sup>u</sup>-[g]o-lēs).

B 2. c̄vm R c̄vc̄vm: g'ēg'ē'lgō first meeting together, newly married R 719.30; C III 190.20 (g'al-).

B 3. c̄vy R c̄vc̄vya: t!ē!ā'god < t!ē!ā'yagōd to be hidden from each other by intervening object R 619.11 (t!āy-).

B 5. c̄vc̄ R c̄vc̄vc̄s (l!ē!l!ō'q!wegōd) to pry off from one side between (l!ōq!u).

B 6. c̄vsm E c̄c̄: gā'welgo to scrape together (goēl-).

C 2. c̄vmc̄ R c̄vmc̄vc̄': smē'nsmēsōd to compare measure of two things C III 262.11; k'!ē'lk'!ēk'od to lash together R 157.10 (k'!ēlk'-); x'ē'nx'asāla to sniff together C 26:110.40 (x'ēns-); yē'lyasōxswid to rub together (yēls-); k'!ē'mk'!alod to adze between (k'!ēml-); gwe'lgwatod to put fire between (gwelt-); g'ēg'ēnō'god < g'ēg'ēnswagōd to add in between (g'ēnsw-).

D c̄vc̄'c E c̄c̄'c'ē: ts!ā'tx'ēgod to squirt between (ts!ētx'-).

E: dā'dēgoxswid to hold two things together; dā'dēgod to hold between; dā'dēgāla to fight each other; one another; dā'dēgawesoē two things held together.

I v: ā'sō'dzaqāla to be crowded together (ōdzaq-); ā'swā'pāla to whisper together R 1141.37 (ōp-); āya'k'awes best.

I y: yā'q!entāla to speak together (yāq!ent-); yā'pāla to weave---(yēp-); yā'qod to knit---(yēq-).

I w, sw: hāwā'q!wasāla brother and sister to each other (waq!w-); hama'sā'la two between (masx-); swā'lāla lovers to each other R 713.18 (swal-); wā'tāla to lead each other '30.122 (wat-).

āswā'lasāla a large one between (swālas); āswī'lgāla all together C 26:175.1; (swīsl-); āswē'lgawes place between two things R 428.3; 453.56.

I h: hā'walēlagāla to listen to each other C 26:122.26 (hōlēl-); hā'yago R 988.97; C III 82.20; hāgo C III 272.50 to meet at once;

I m, sm: mē'mk'oliā near together in house 3976.5; 4258 (mak'-); hāmasā'la two between (twenty-two) (masx).

āsmē'ngoxxswid to pick up together (smēn-).

A peculiar use of -[g]o appears in the following examples: dēdā'lagō solid silver (dā'la = dollar); xwēxwē'ēlago solid quartz (xwēsl); l!ē!l!ā'qwago or l!ē!l!ā'qwax'sā solid copper (l!ā'qwa); t!ē't!aso solid stone (t!ēs-).

-qēno suddenly;

yix'qēno' to happen suddenly R 1216.87; -ha'slaqēno' to get sick quickly C II 138.5; -g'ō'gwēyoqēno sudden pain in leg; -āwago x!ē-qēno pain in small of back R 695.16; -la qano to get sick, faint; -hēxqēnomas to hit so as to kill right away (hē'xqēnu to be hit right by sickness, by attack).

-qwap fire; (see -baqwēla)

t!ē'qwap stones on fire; t!ē'qwap!ēnd to put stones on fire III 20.6 (t!ēs-); q!ē'sgemqwap many fires Kos; syā'x'qwa'pēla fire is bad; g'ē'ltqwapēla long fire.

āmā'qwap small fire (ama-); smē'msgem-qwap one fire (smēn-sgem-); swā'lasqwa'pēla to have a big fire; ō'smasqwa'pēlag'ilia great fire on ground (New); -hē mēnsqapēla fires always in house.

-q!ēs to eat (see -k'!ēs)

-q!ēs having an outstanding quality (compare -!ēs and -ts!as)

hō'!aq!ēs one who listens (to thoughts of people) R 1163.31; X 57.20; ā'swā'q!ēs not caring to own or get property (ā'swaq-); ā'syā'pq!ēs enjoying oneself R 1256.6; C II 296.9; ē'x'q!ēsēla happy C III 284.16; CX 155.42; ā'māq!ēs pl. ā'ā'māq!ēs of a different, new kind CX 171.12; ā'māq!ēdze R 1129.83; CX 249.26 (ām-); lēkwe'mq!ēs strange, remarkable 4011.8; 4060.7.

-(q!ēno) jointly with only with tentative -!a

q!ā'qatāp!aq!ēnswa to try to quarrel with someone; ā'sā'māq!ēnswa to try to play with someone R 647.75, 1135.15, C II 410.16, 432.29; ā'sē'x'q!ānswa to try to get on good terms with someone; syā'syax'q!ēnswa to try to get on bad terms with someone.

-q!ēnxwa in front of, to move up in front of

hē'q!ēnxwēla to step right in front of a person [M 694.6]; wī'q!ēnxwa to fail to go straight to a person; ōq!wēnxwa to hand, to put right in front of body; āxq!ēnxwa to put in front of.

-!qa; -g'elqa (-geŋ!qa?) among more than two (see -g o)

-!ge<sup>s</sup> to be among; -!qa to act once among; -!qela to have one who is among.

-g'elge<sup>s</sup> to be one who acts continuously among, all over; -g'elqa to act---; -g'elqala to have one who acts---.

äx<sup>s</sup>elgē<sup>s</sup> to be one who is among (äx-); bek!wegē<sup>s</sup> being a man among (woman) C III 20.5 (bek<sup>u</sup>-); g'elt!egē<sup>s</sup> being the long one among others, i.e., the longest; hänge<sup>s</sup> pl. he'hänge<sup>s</sup> being a vessel among (han-); q!wela<sup>s</sup>ge<sup>s</sup> (q!wela') to be alive among (dead ones); siō<sup>s</sup>egwaŋen I am paddling among other canoes (sēx<sup>u</sup>-); q!ä<sup>s</sup>ge<sup>s</sup> to be walking among others (with others) C III 240.30.

g'ä<sup>s</sup>x<sup>s</sup>eqa to come to be among CX 4.21, 34 (g'äx); qweq!eqa' to pour in among R 595.17; wiqa to fail to put among (wey-); la<sup>s</sup>eqa' to go among (to join CX 4.41 (compare lä<sup>s</sup>qa to go past); oqa' to put right here among (o); a<sup>s</sup>läqa to search among (ä<sup>s</sup>lä); k!wenq!eqa' to wet among R 532.53; 592.46 (k!wenq-).

hä<sup>s</sup>enaqela to have (a dish) standing among R 571.12 (han-); g'ī<sup>s</sup>qelaxa ts!ē<sup>s</sup>x'ina to have elderberries among (mixed in) R 269.9; g'ī<sup>s</sup>gesxa swā<sup>s</sup>lase k!wē<sup>s</sup>ladzēm it is among the great feasts R 289.87; qä<sup>s</sup>qelaxa ts!ēdä<sup>s</sup>q to have a woman walking among (them); xwē<sup>s</sup>t!eqe<sup>s</sup>la to have something to be stirred among something else (mix by stirring (xwēt- to stir; xwē<sup>s</sup>t!elqa to stir (soup, porridge); xwē<sup>s</sup>xwē<sup>s</sup>!eqa to stir in a hole); le xwē<sup>s</sup>t!elgesa k'ā<sup>s</sup>ts!enage laq then he stirred it with a spoon; !ē<sup>s</sup>enaqela to have grease among (berries) R 761.13; C III 232.26.

äx<sup>s</sup>elgē<sup>s</sup> to do among (äx-); g'ī<sup>s</sup>g'elgesxa hä<sup>s</sup> yakilagaxa who had been among the ghosts R 723.12 (g'ey-); !ē<sup>s</sup>nq!egē<sup>s</sup> what or who is poking among (!ē<sup>s</sup>nqa'); !ē<sup>s</sup>mkwelges to be pounding among (!ē<sup>s</sup>mk!weqa---once; !ē<sup>s</sup>mi!emk!weqa to pound in a hole); qa g'ä<sup>s</sup>xēs q!wē<sup>s</sup>sa ye<sup>s</sup>!selgesxa t!eqa' and he came to squeeze being the one who rubs among the berry cakes R 573.13; g'āwē<sup>s</sup>lg'elgeq she is one who moves stirring them about R 544.6.

ō<sup>s</sup>x!eg'elqa to carry in pack through a crowd; hä<sup>s</sup>ng'elqa to put dishes about among; hä<sup>s</sup>mg'elqaxa tš<sup>s</sup>x'mut to move eating among refuse R 614.20; ō<sup>s</sup>gwelqa to put down right here among at many places (ō-); alä<sup>s</sup>g'elqa to search all over (ä<sup>s</sup>lä); gāwē<sup>s</sup>lg'elqas lä<sup>s</sup>xa t!ē<sup>s</sup>sem to stir about with (tongs) among the stones R 419.36; lā<sup>s</sup>g'elqaxes g'ē<sup>s</sup>ng'ēn<sup>s</sup>wut he went among his fellow children C 26:168.130.

dā<sup>s</sup>g'elqela they have something carried among themselves (i.e., together) C II 88.11 (da); snē<sup>s</sup>mg'elqela they have one (name) among themselves (snēm); snē<sup>s</sup>mts!aqe<sup>s</sup>lqela they have one (canoe, long thing) among themselves C 26:224.201; (snē<sup>s</sup>mts!aq); !ē<sup>s</sup>lg'elqela they have one canoe carried among themselves (!ē<sup>s</sup>-); !ē<sup>s</sup>lg'elqela' they have a dead one among themselves.

leselge<sup>s</sup>nd to pound among R 595.11; q!wē<sup>s</sup>selgē<sup>s</sup>nd to squeeze among R 595.13.

smē<sup>s</sup>nēmaqa to pick out from among R 197.16 (6?) is reduplicated like stems connected with -q inside of a cavity.

For -eqā, -weqā see -o, -we.

-!qa inside

-!q or -!qela what has---inside; -!qa to do inside; -!ge<sup>s</sup> what is inside.

Probably identical to preceding but used with stem expansion.

A 1. cvc E cāc (except x', ŋ for c which change to en and el): wē<sup>s</sup>xāq having a crack inside (wex-); nā<sup>s</sup>ts!eq fish not properly dried inside (nes-); bā<sup>s</sup>xēq having cut inside (bex-); nā<sup>s</sup>q!eqa to do right inside, to split through middle (also right among); tā<sup>s</sup>k'!eqela full of soil inside.

A 2. cvm R cvmca: swē<sup>s</sup>nēwaqa to hide inside (swen-); smē<sup>s</sup>lēmaq what having white inside (smē<sup>s</sup>lēmaqela mixed with white CX 68.23); ts!ē<sup>s</sup>mts!aq to point inside; hä<sup>s</sup>nēaqela to place dish inside (or among); g'ē<sup>s</sup>lg'āqa to crawl into (g'el-);

A 3. cvy R cēcā; cvw R cōcā: dō<sup>s</sup>daqa to wipe the inside (dēy-); q!ē<sup>s</sup>q!aqela having many inside (q!ey-); g'ī<sup>s</sup>g'āqa to put inside (q!ey-); q!ō<sup>s</sup>q!wāqa to put water inside (q!ew-)

A 4. cvb stable (?): o<sup>s</sup>da<sup>s</sup>q cold inside (wed-); gweda<sup>s</sup>q to untie inside.

A 5. cvcē R cvcvce provided ce is not a stop; E (like A 1) cāc<sup>s</sup> if a stop. ts!ē<sup>s</sup>ts!ēsmā<sup>s</sup>x'id to melt away inside.

From hardened ŋ or x': cvŋ R cvcvŋel; cvx R cvcvŋen q!wēq!wēlqa to scratch inside (q!wēŋ-); wewēlqa to get in by itself (wēŋ-); mēmēsnqa' to strike inside (mex'-); ts!ē<sup>s</sup>ts!ēsnqela' to have pain inside (ts!ēx'-).

xā<sup>s</sup>k'!age<sup>s</sup> what stays for good inside (xexāk'!age<sup>s</sup> not so good) (xek'!).

B 1. cvc R cvcēo: p!ē<sup>s</sup>p!äts!eq having something hard inside; !lā<sup>s</sup>!l!eq!wēq having red inside; bō<sup>s</sup>belge<sup>s</sup> swelling inside; smō<sup>s</sup>emq!wēq having grey inside; p!ē<sup>s</sup>p!eyoqwa to feel inside (p!ēx<sup>u</sup>-); xē<sup>s</sup>xēq having rotten place inside (xās-); kwā<sup>s</sup>kwēnq having smoke inside (kwax'-); kwā<sup>s</sup>koqu having a hole inside (kwax<sup>u</sup>-).

B 2. cvm E cvmā: g'ā<sup>s</sup>laqa first to go inside (g'al-).

B 5. cvcē R cvcvce: !lō<sup>s</sup>!l!ek!wāqa to peel off inside (!lōk!<sup>u</sup>-); gō<sup>s</sup>egē<sup>s</sup>laqa to scoop out inside (goēl-).

C. cvmc R cvmcvmc: sē<sup>s</sup>selqela having snake inside (sēŋ-); tē<sup>s</sup>l!elq!wēq having soft place inside (tēlq<sup>u</sup>-); wē<sup>s</sup>nwenq!eq having deep hole inside (wēnq); k!wē<sup>s</sup>mk!wēnēlq having scorched place inside (kwemēl-); g'ē<sup>s</sup>lg'ēlēnq having leak inside (generally pronounced g'ē<sup>s</sup>lg'ēnēlq (g'ēlx'-); gwēlgwēnēlq gummy inside (gwēlx-; instead of gwēlgwēlēnq); q!ēlq!ēloqwa to coil inside (qēlx<sup>u</sup>); !ē<sup>s</sup>mlēmoqwa

to dry inside; qē'ngeneqa to adze inside (qēns-); q!wēlq!wēlege<sup>s</sup> rot inside (q!wēls-).

D. cvc'c' R cvcvc'c': ts!ets!etx'a'qa to squirt inside (ts!ets'-); kwekwesx'a qa to splash inside (kweks'-).

Polysyllabic words and with other suffixes bā'xot!eqēla being pitchy inside V 490.1 (bēxō't); sā'yoq<sup>u</sup> pure, unmixed R 269.5; 1246.37 (sayax<sup>u</sup> to be of one kind); q!ayoq<sup>u</sup> thoroughly ripe (?); wēyō'q!wēgē<sup>s</sup> shoved inside (wēq<sup>u</sup>-); q!ā'syaqēla to worry about someone; q!ā'syagēm the one worried about; q!ō'q!ā'syeqēla to have many things in mind, see -!eqēla; nā'q!ēqēla to throw right among, two having something between them; nē'naq!ēqēla to have one's own way, to have no trouble; ts!ā'x'q!aqēla to feel sick inside (ts!ēx'q!ā').

q!ā'q!ā'gēs middle flesh of fish 4224; ēmē'lēmēlq!ēgēs goat meat III 205; !l!ē'!l!ēx-sēgēs sea-lion meat; !l!ē'n!ēnts!ēgēs bear meat (!l!ēns-); mēm'gwat!ēgēs seal meat (mēm'gwat)

Not reduplicated; ek'!ē'q having something good inside; syā'k'!ēq something bad inside; ek'!ēgēs good thing inside; syā'k'!ēgēs bad object inside.

-q!a to feel

pō'sq!a to be hungry III 36.38; pō'sq!ēx's'id III 36.38; 54.8; ts!ēx'q!ā' to feel sick X 125.14; ō'dzēq!āla to feel wrong homesick, worried III 30.34; mō'mēlq!a to feel grateful CX 76.5; 89.10; wē'sq!a to feel uneasy C 26:97.103; - wā'wēk'!ēq!a to feel ready to die C III 72.27; ā'lawisq!a to feel too angry.

-q!a(la) just, entirely, emphatic;

sio'ēnakwēlaq!āla<sup>s</sup>ma he was just padding about C II 64.15 (sex<sup>u</sup>=ēnakwēla-q!a-la<sup>s</sup>ma-a); qā'ēnakwēlaq!āla<sup>s</sup>ma he was just walking along (qas=nakwēla-); t!ē'qaxaq!āla just to drop down C II 154.26; yu'q!āla<sup>s</sup>ēm it is exactly it R 189.7; āwi'laq!āla<sup>s</sup>ēm it is very important M 712.1; ēna'k'!ēq!āla really to expect C 26:154.113; - !ē'gēmq!āla<sup>s</sup>ēm true name C III 198.2 (poetry); - gā'gēm<sup>s</sup>q!āla<sup>s</sup>ēm true grandfather C III 196.5 (poetry, common name in ordinary speech); - ēna'q!āla it is full daylight III 441.13; - ēnēmō'gwisq!āla<sup>s</sup>ēm to be all alone in world C 26:43.4; ēya'x'q!āla altogether bad; nō'xq!āla altogether uneasy.

gē'laq!āsnx<sup>u</sup>ēl'a indeed, thanks! C III 266.8; 268.12; - nō'gwaq!āna<sup>s</sup>x<sup>u</sup>wēn I am the real one C II 150.7; - nō'gwaq!ā<sup>s</sup>maās I, indeed M 669.9; la'q!ā<sup>s</sup>māaqos ēnex'qaēs la'os wā indeed, you wished to become a river X 229.3.

bēgwa'nēm<sup>s</sup>q!āla a common man C III 94.6; V 441.15.

-q!wēnēōxs!a to come to mind, to remember

hē'q!wēnēbxs!a, yū'q!wēnēoxs!a, g'a'q!wēnēoxs!a that, this comes to my mind; g'ā'xq!wēnēōs!a to come to remember; la'q!wēnēoxs!a to come now to remember.

-x an exhortative suffix

gwa'lax'ents do not let us do so! C II 22.11; la'lax'ig'en q!alx<sup>u</sup>deg'en lāu let this my past harpoon line go to you! M 678.20; wā'g'ax'en do'x<sup>s</sup>widēq let me look at it! (wā'g'a<sup>s</sup> do'x<sup>s</sup>widēq go ahead, look at it!). wā'g'ax'i do'x<sup>s</sup>widēq let him look at it! C II 210.33 wā'x'ents k!wēna'xwa let us go and split boards C II 196.1; wā'g'a<sup>s</sup> ha'ēnakwila lax'en q!ā'x<sup>s</sup>atēlaxox... go on, let me know this ...quickly C II 74.19; hedzā'x'ents M 679.2; he'ēmax'ents M 679.4 let it be ours; la'xsalalag'ax'en qa'sēidēx<sup>s</sup>ala let me now try and go along C II 16.14.

Often with optative -[x]dēla:

g'i'gāmex'dēlax'en I wish I had been a chief! mēx'ēi'dēx'dēlax'ēnlāq had I only struck him! gēg'a'dēx'dēlax'i I wish he had had a wife!; -x'os, milder: wā'g'ax'osēn do'x<sup>s</sup>widēq (since I wish it) let me look at it!; wā'g'ax'os (since you insist) look at it! M 684.21; wā'g'ax'ose (since he insists) let him look at it; gē'lax'os, qastā' come, friend! C II 206.19 gē'lagax'os qaēs g'axlag'aos come! and come to your... C II 82.25; wā'x'osēnwa'āma'k' let me tell about your excrements C II 224.28; wā'g'ax'os qē'lqēlilāxe k'!ō'kwēmli'x go on! pull down the front boards C II 236.14 (New); gē'lag'idzōēxtsax'os let this ugly one come! C II 240.14 (New) gē'lag'āla'ādzāg'ox'os (Kwa); g'a'xlag'ax'os let him come C II 88.23; wā'g'ax'ox āxē'xsdēsonokwa let him have a wish C II 100.12; wā'g'adzāx'ox zē'zē'la let them die C II 104.3; g'axdzāx'ox wi'sax let this boy come! M 683.12; la'falax'os wēsē'g'anoqos let your belt be firm C II 4.28.

-x'ēs, =x's, =k's acting, being like

A 2. cvm R cvmcvm: wē'nwēnx'ēs wonderful '30.270.5 (wēn?);

A 3. cvy stable R cēcv: hē'gwē'x's like that R 1258.38; gwē'gwēx'sēlas condition of being like that C II 24.8.

B 1. cvc R cvcvc: g'i'g'ēxx'ēs acting like a chief (g'i'q-); q!ā'q!ā'gwek's acting like a slave (q!āk<sup>u</sup>-);

C 2. cvmc R cvmcvmc: g'ē'ng'ēn'x'ēs childlike (g'ēn'ē-).

The two forms =x's and =k's are interchangeable ēnēmā'x'ēs !ō<sup>s</sup> like---, as though C II 30.14; ēnā'ēnamax'ē'sya to try to make like---V 353.5; 34; ēnēmā'x'ēs wēt to have one who is like oneself C II 58.14; āwē'lx'ēs plain

CX 268.35 (āwe'1-); ts!ēdā'xx'es looking like a woman;

nō'nfmadzek's (nō'mas), q!wēlq!wē'lēyag-we x's (q!wē'lēyāk<sup>u</sup>) acting like an old man.

-x'ēla, -x'āla to move,

g'o'kwax'ēla to live in house R 770.40; C II 78.1; - g'o'kwaxēližēla to work, act in house; q!wē'qwēlax'ēla pl. to move about alive C 26:151.156; naēx'ēla' to sink in snow or mud C 26:147.154.

The following words may contain the same suffix: ya'wix'ēla to move about; yā'wix'ēla to give a winter ceremonial; x'i'ts!ax'ēla to witness a performance; sa'bex'ēla just able to see or hear (also sa'bex'saēla).

ha'sdēx'ēla to breathe R 1231.99; C 26:147.164, derived from has-, d unexplained. a'lex'āla to come landward C II 140.5; 172.10; - !ā'sx'āla to go out to sea C 26:148.34; 152.37; - g'a'yax'āla to come from (?); gwa'sx'āla to approach R 606.7; C 26:189.284; - g'a'lax'āla (canoe:is) ahead of others.

-x'āla (see -x'ēla)

-x'iu, -x'iwe<sup>s</sup> on top;

da'x'eyud to take up to top; la'x'eyud to reach top C 26:213.40; 221.65; - o'xlēx'eyud to take pack up to top; e'k'!ex'eyo high bank C 26:77.58; - o'xwiwe<sup>s</sup> top of bank; be'snx'eyu' low bank; !a'x'iuwe<sup>s</sup> to stand on edge of hill (person); !a'x'iuwe<sup>s</sup> tree stands on edge of hill; dze'lxwēdx'iuwe<sup>s</sup> to run on edge of hill; qa'dzēlx'iuwe<sup>s</sup> to walk on edge of hill (-x'iwa-syen I---);

With numerals: strings of fish  
mo'xweyu four strings of fish;  
ene'mx'eyu one string of fish; - maēdx'eyu' two---; - yu'dēx<sup>u</sup>x'iu three---; sēk'!a'x'eyu five---; q!ē!a'x'eyu six---.

-[x']ēid, -nd, -od, -d

These forms express a momentary aspect, generally an inchoative. -x'ēid is used with stems and after the suffixes -la and -āla for both transitive and intransitive verbs; -nd and -od are transitive for primary suffixes excepting =iž on the floor of the house, =is on an open space, -!a on a rock. -nd is used with most suffixes ending in a excepting -la and -āla; -od with all suffixes ending in o and with -axa down, -!e<sup>s</sup> on water, -ēlēla above (-g'aēlēla, -g'ēlēla), -xt!a seaward, -a ear, -d after suffixes ending in m or n.

-[x']ēid. Accent type: When x' is dropped the glottal stop is retained and changes p and t to p! and t!; (in Bella Bella to m<sup>s</sup> and ž<sup>s</sup>). All voiceless stops and affricatives become spirants followed by glottal stop. -ey and -ew retain the x' and change to e and o.

After vowels: da'x'ēid to take III 8.6.

After m, n, l: te'mx'ēid to sew; - wē'nx'ēid to drill; - g'ē'lx'ēid to walk on four feet.

After sonants and glottalized consonants: wēdēx'ēid to get cold; - xēk'!ēx'ēid to stay away; - haēmx'ēid to eat.

After p and t: sē'lp!id to twist; e't!id again.

After other unvoiced stops: dze'x'ēid to dig clams (dzek'-); do'xswid to stretch out like a line (dok<sup>u</sup>-); na'xēid to drink (naq-); k'o'xswid to break (k'oq<sup>u</sup>-); ga'nužēid it gets night (ga nul).

After ey and ew: g'ē'x'ēid to come from (g'ēy-); - sno'xswid to aim (snew-).

After spirants: qa'sēid to go; ya'swix'ēid to act; - !ē'mx'ēid to get dry; axēid to take; ā'mžēid to play.

-nd after most suffixes ending in a softens terminal s, k', and q: āxbe nd to put at end R 149.28 (-ba); na'sēyend to cover top (-[k']ēya); g'i'k'!ēlg'end to put in lap V 478.25 (k'!ēlqa); !a'xdzēnd to shift from one side to other in canoe (-xs) V 361.21; qa'dzēnodzēndala to walk along side (qas=nos=nd-); swi'ēlagend to put all among (-qa); ts!ēmgē nd to point among (qa); g'ēli'g'end to climb on back (-ek'[ēla]).

Note: -!ēq in body is used with -[x']ēid, not -nd.

-od after suffixes ending in o: mex'sto'd to strike eye (-esto); !ē'xēdzō'd to beat time on flat thing (-dzo); hā'nžts!od to shoot into (-ts!ā); so'pixod to chop through at neck V 344.12.

-od after suffixes not ending in o: āxa'xod to take down R 225.10 (-axa); - hē'g'ēlēlod to take right out (-g'ēlēla); te'mg'āā'ēlod to sew on (-g'āāēla); āēx'ēa'!aēyod to put down on water (-g'āāēē); ax'ēaēlod to put on rock R 144.20 (g'āāē-!a); kwa'dzēt!od to kick out to sea X III.1 (=xt!a)

-d after suffix with final m and n: q!ēne'pēmd to wrap around face III 299.21; gē'!bēžēnd to climb down III 127.14.

The suffixes -la, -āla, -ēq do not take the endings -nd, -od, -d, but attach -[x']ēid. Probably all the other suffixes may also take -[x']ēid which, however, is rarely used in a transitive sense. qwe'žtsēmd to untie a bundle III 55.28; sme'lsme'lsge'x'ēid to get white outside; !aēstēnd to put into water; !aēstēx'ēid to begin to go into water; !ē'mx'ewēnd to dry body; !ē'mlēmx'ewēnx'ēid to become dry V 483.6.

o'dzēbax'ēid to turn the wrong way III 227.25; o'dzēbēnd to start at wrong end; (but also hē'žbax'ēitsōs to be turned the right way

III 227.40 lasme'n he'zbax'etitso luck comes to me and helbax'sida'mas to cause to turn the right way III 227.28).

-x'sid is used with nouns to express "to become;" t!e'semx'sid to become stone; begwa'nemx'sid to become a man; begwa'nemx'sida'mas to transform into a man.

-[x']sid recent past;  
retains x' except in nouns (see grammar)

axsa'seidk place where he had been before III 42.4; - g'elx'sid he had been first C 26:160.184; III 42.5; - la'x'sid he went III 190.29; - ax'edax'sid he took it C 26:160.184 (ax-[x']sid-x'sid); - qa'sax'sid he went (about a week or month ago); qa'sidex'sid he took a walk; sek'a'x'sid he speared; sex'sid'ex'sid he started spearing.

-(x')dem time, place where something is done regularly

This suffix has assumed special meanings with the locative endings -iX in the house, -!s on the ground outside, and -!a on a rock. Without the locative endings it expresses time; with -iX and -!s the place appropriate for something, or a favorite place; with -!a it designates a place used regularly for a certain purpose. In regard to the lack of sharp differentiation between time and space see also -as.

-(x')dem time of; time when

With stems and words: ye'x'dem, ye'xwa'x'dem time of dancing III 72.27; - hamx'dem, has'ma'pdem time of eating; qa'sdem qa'sax'dem time of walking III 146.41; g'a'xdem time of coming III 151.23; 161.10; CX 283.29; do'x'wax'elax'dem time of seeing III 30.27; k!we'lasdem feasting time; e'axala-x'dem working time; ek'!e'q'elax'dem time of gladness; lae'idem time of entering III 106.22; begwa'nemx'sidex'dem time of becoming a man C II 6.26; 8.4; e'g'idzox'widex'dem time when it becomes calm; (-e'g'idzox'wid apparently obsolete); asm'a'x'sidex'dem time of getting small R 717.2.

With special meaning: swa'sdem, pl. as'wasdem or swa'swasdem time; asm'a'gawix'dem time of nip-tide R 475.50; he'kogwilax'dem time when child is ten moons (right number) old CX 280.22; R 685.75.

Apparently place but interpreted as time: pa'stag'i'lax'dem legwiX fire for cooking flounder soup R 417.78; pex'dem legwi'X time (fire) for heating; e'lsilax'dem legwiX fire for cooking sea-slugs R 478.61.

asya'x'sdem time when (clams) are good R 479.75 (ek'-s-dem); sy'a'syax'sdem time when (clams) are bad; e'ax'dem time to start work; otherwise not used for seasons (see -enx);

gwe'x'sdem kind R 140.18; III 46.6 (gwey-x'es-); swa'lasdem great potlatch; swa'swalasdemaxsta'la to tell what to do in great potlatch 3777.1 (to talk about time of doing great things); swa'swala'sdemx'sila to take care of---; swa'swalasdemdza qwela to talk about---;

-(x')d'emilX place in house: k'a'sd'emilX place for shredding cedar bark R 127.42; 133.7; la'xapd'emilX place for long cinquefoil roots R 194.17; q!e'Xd'emilX post for hanging basket R 138.44.

These are sometimes connected with -as: t!ex'ud'emil'las place for the "place for cinquefoil roots" R 194.20; k!a'xd'emilas place of platform (k!a'xd'emila R 167.19, 27) R 194.10

-(x')d'em's appropriate place outside on ground

g'o'x'ud'em's village site III 51.22; 60.22 (g'o'x'ud'em time when house was built); le'x'ud'em's camping place (le'qu- fire); qa'sd'em's favorite hunting place (gas- to walk); hasmx'd'em's favorite place for eating outside; k!we'lasd'em's feasting place; e'saxd'em's place outside for work; q!o'mx'd'em's place of wealth C 26:208.321.

-(x')d'ema place used for a purpose

axd'ema' place where one lays things-- foundation; k!wa'x'd'ema seat; kwe'lx'd'ema place for lying down; x'eq'ud'ema frame for roasting on top of fire (x'eq'); ne'k'd'ema, ne'x'd'ema steaming place; ha'nx'd'ema place for vessels, boxes R 687.16; le'mx'd'ema place for drying, clothes line V 479.16; 480.1; ge'x'ud'ema' place for hanging; q!e'Xd'ema' horizontal beam from which poles are suspended; yi'pd'ema' place for tying R 665.42; x'e'lt'd'ema' horse (support of wood to be sawed); !o'pd'ema' firewood for roasting; - t!e'pd'ema' footstool (to step on); da'x'd'ema' handle; - lelx'd'ema' C 26:75.21 pl. le'lel-x'd'ema place for hauling up canoe C 26:75.19; ha'mx'd'ema dining table; fire next to which one eats; g'o'x'ud'ema village site; one'x'd'ema' parable; k!we'lasd'ema' place for (fire in) feast house R 766.98; 774.33; also swa'sd'ema pit of stomach C II 234.23 (New).

From compounds: la'sd'neg'ex'd'ema place for back rest in cradle R 659.26; te'gw!Xd'ema place for hanging in house R 666.67; qe'lasd'ema nest (qelx-as-).

-(x')d'emala

g'i'x'd'emala gums CX 9.36; 207.37 (g'i- tooth).

-[x']dεsma (Dza'wadεnox<sup>u</sup> dialect)

q!a'x<sup>u</sup>dεsma owner of slave; swa'sdεsma owner of dog.

-(x')dεmk'!εn dress (see -k'!εn body)

k'!e'tdεmk'!εn princess blanket;  
q!wa'lax'dεmk'!εnd dress up blanket;  
g'e'xdεmk'!εn chief's dress R 778.40;  
p!ε'x'dεmk'!εn flying---C 26:166.446; e'axεla-  
x'dεmk'!εn working clothes; g'ila'k'dεmk'!εn  
grizzly skin on body C 26:80.12; swa'sdεmk'!εn  
dog skin C 26:119.22; q!a'q!oi!ax'dεmk'!εn  
learning blanket; oεle'x'dεmk'!εn wolf skin,  
pl. εsoεle'x'dεmk'!εn C 26:192.72; 200.292.

-[x']dεq exclusively by---(see =oχ)  
Reduplication 3d

A 1. cvc' E cac' (accent on second syllable) napdε'q exclusively by throwing (nεp-); p!ε'x'dε'q---by flying; ts!ax'udε'q---by stabbing; xwatdε'q---by cutting; yapdε'q---by tying (yεq-); bax'udε'q to kill game without weapons (bεk<sup>u</sup>- man).

Exceptional εε!apdε'q or εε'pdεq---by pegging.

A 2. cvm stable or cvcvm: ts!εts!ε'm-x'dεq exclusively by pointing; (we)we'nx'dεq---by drilling; (p!ε)p!ε'lx'dεq---by plucking feathers; (dε)dε'nx'dεq---by pulling; g'εg'ε'lx'dεq---by crawling C 26:179.166.

A 3. cvy E ca, ca: dā'x'dεq---wiping (dεy-) or dεdε'x'dεq; xax'udεq---splitting (xεw-).

A 4. cvb E cab: gwadεx'dε'q---untying.

A 6. cvesm with glottalized stop cacε, with glottalized m, n, l stable.

A 5. ts!ā'k'!ax'dεq---telling news; ts!εsmx'dε'q---melting; x'εsmx'dε'q---snaring.

B 1. cvc R cvcvc: qāqā'sdεq---walking C II 86.6; wεwā'tdεq---leading (wāt-); (mε)mō'k<sup>u</sup>dεq---tying (mōk<sup>u</sup>-); dεdā'pdεq---towing; p!āp!ā'x'dεq---feeling C 26:198.309.

All stems in cεc form cāc: bā'x'dεq---pulling apart loose things (bēx-); or bεbε'x'dεq?; εmā'x'dεq---teazing (εmā-); mā'tdεq---spinning (mēt-).

B 5. cvcε stable or cvcvcε: (sε)sā'q!wε'x'dεq only by peeling bark.

B 6. cvesm R cvcvεsε gεgεwεlx'dεq---by scraping (gosl-).

C 1. cvmc' stable: sε'lpdεq---twisting (sεlp-); ε'ndεq---pecking (εnl-); dε'nx'dεq---singing (dεnx-);

C 4. cvmh stable or cvcvmb: (mε)mε'nd-zεx'dεq---splitting kindling wood.

C 5. cvmcε stable or cvcvmcε: (yε)yε'n-k'!εx'dεq---throwing slingstones.

D. cvc'c' E cac'c': tā'lt!εdεq---warming oneself (t!εlt!-); kwasx'dεq---splashing (kwεsx'-).

E. cvc R cvcvc: dεdā'x'dεq only by holding (da).

I y: hāyā'q!εndεq---talking (but never do anything) (yā'q!εnt-).

I s: sā'pdεq---chopping < sεyō'pdεq sεsō'pdεq (sop-).

With other suffix: k'εsdεqā'xā to shade eyes C III 172.16 (k'εs- to move hand away from body).

Used with =oχ which has a similar meaning: !!a!εsdεgwoχ sun-dried R 253.16; - kwa'kwax'dεgwoχ smoke-dried; - sa'yupdεgwoχ made exclusively by chopping; - qa'qatdεgwoχ supported exclusively by posts.

-[x']dεla optative past

la'x'dεlax'εn I wish I had gone; - g'a'xdεla or g'a'xdεlax'i I wish he had come; - he'x'dεla I wish it would have been that; - g'a'x'dεla I wish it would have been this; - yu'x'dεla I wish it would have been that (near you); - yā'q!εnt!εg'ax'dεla I wish he had talked.

g'i'gamεx'dεlax'εn I wish I had been chief; mεx'εi'dεx'dεlax'εn!εaq had I only struck him; g'g'a'dεx'dεlax'i I wish he had had a wife.

-x'dεlqwa

ε'x'dεlqwa generous; syā'x'dεlqwa stingy with food; q!a'x'dεlqwa laga woman having sense.

-[x']dεx<sup>u</sup> plural of second and third persons of verb; also of possessive nouns; personal only

ε'x'q!εsεlax'dεx<sup>u</sup> they were happy C II 78.1; - ax'εs'dεx'dεx<sup>u</sup> they took C II 360.14; - wā'g'ix la gwa gwenāε'qεlax'dεx<sup>u</sup> go ye on and try to think C II 370.29; - hamx'εi'dεx'dεx<sup>u</sup>(t)oi he will eat you (pl.) C II 388.27; - yā'x'dεxoi εna'x'εnεmwot look out, brothers! C II 406.33; - ε'x'εma he'x'sali'x'dεxoi qas he'latālx'dεxāos g'a'xεn make yourselves comfortable on the floor and turn your ears to me C II 162.14; - la'xεs g'o'x<sup>u</sup>dεx<sup>u</sup> in their house C II 78.1; - la'xεs g'o'x<sup>u</sup>dεx<sup>u</sup>āos at your (pl.) house C II 388.25.

-x'dε transition from present to past, from existence to non-existence; plusquamperfect; (see grammar)

ā'εmεx'dε hā'msgεmεsε what had only been held in mouth (and had just been taken out) C II 26.13; q!wa'xεmg'ustāx'dε it had



been rising up on the water (and disappeared) C II 36.6; le'xsalayux<sup>u</sup>de advice that had been given C II 26.21; ts!a'ts!a'syax<sup>u</sup>de those who had been younger brothers (because the eldest one had died) C 16.21; ewa'ts!ex<sup>u</sup>de the dog (that had died) C 16.9.

-xs k'!e'emex<sup>u</sup>dex g'a'xa before coming (when you had not come); g'o'x<sup>u</sup>de what had been a house (just destroyed); la'sme'xene'estaxa wa'x<sup>u</sup>de then he forgot the past word (what had been said) III 25.3; le ho'qawelseda k!we'x<sup>u</sup>de then went out those who had been guests III 22.4.

[x']dax still, yet (synonym of x'sa)

yux<sup>u</sup>da'x<sup>u</sup>men lax I am still here (=yux<sup>u</sup>sa'em<sup>u</sup>en lax); k!e'esdax<sup>u</sup>maex la<sup>s</sup> he is not yet gone (=k!e'es<sup>u</sup>sa'maex la<sup>s</sup>); k!e'es-dax<sup>u</sup>masel la a are you not yet gone.

-(x')seeyap! shoulder, arm above elbow; (see -ap! neck)

o'x<sup>u</sup>seeyap!e<sup>s</sup> shoulder and humerus; ts!e'lt<sup>s</sup>!elx'seeyap!e<sup>s</sup> wing feathers C 26: 154.126; ge mxseeyap!ala to carry blankets on shoulder C III 334.8; xwe'ts!eeyap!ala holding (paddle) on shoulder C 26:219.12; apso'xt-seeyap!e<sup>s</sup> one arm R 1239.79.

-[x']sa<sup>s</sup>yas instrument used in connection with some activity

aeno'x<sup>u</sup>sa<sup>s</sup>yas split pitch wood for carrying fire; - ema'x<sup>u</sup>sa<sup>s</sup>yas potlatch pole C II 346.9; - pexsa<sup>s</sup>yase ya'den rattle used by shaman CX 24.17; 31.31; paxelax'sa<sup>s</sup>yas CX 31.31; ale'x<sup>u</sup>sa<sup>s</sup>yas used in sea-hunting III 274.5; 438.41 (cf. ale'x<sup>u</sup>sayu R 175.9, 13); k!e'lp<sup>s</sup>sa<sup>s</sup>yas se wayu pole used in twisting (sea-grass) R 511.4; - le'x<sup>u</sup>sa<sup>s</sup>yas tools for canoe building V 356.5; 32; - pa'pasyax'sa<sup>s</sup>yas tool used in flounder fishing R 414.6.

-[x']sayuk<sup>u</sup> objects in bundles, or of bulky shape

ene'mx'sayuk<sup>u</sup> one bundle (of berry cakes) R 263.66; q!e'x'sayuk<sup>u</sup> many bundles of berry cakes R 768.3; ho'la<sup>s</sup>tsayuk<sup>u</sup> few bundles. awo'x<sup>u</sup>sayuk<sup>u</sup> heavy-set persons III 237.27; - ewa'latsayuk<sup>u</sup> heavy-set person R 1182.63 (but ewa'latsemala big bundle).

-[x']seq!a over, across (see -[x']sexla)

p!e'xtseq!a' to fly across R 1120.76; C 26:166.446; dex<sup>u</sup>seq!a' to jump over R 1107.58;

C II 164.15; haxseq!a' to go over, be too much R 284.71; - haya xseq!a to overdo R 700.21; - ga'xseq!a to step over (paddle, stick) R 128.64; awelxseq!a desire too much; la'x'seq!a went over C II 390.30.

-(x')sexla, across a hill; (see -seq!a)

he'x'sexla straight across a hill (hey); la'x'sexla to go across a hill; - qa'sexla to walk (qas-); naxexla to walk across (a monster?) (Nak.).

-[x']sanala some in a crowd

xelx'sa'nala---die; ts!ex'q!a'x'sanala ---are sick; syā'x'sanala---perish; e'k!e-x'sanala---feel happy (ek'-!eq-); ye lx<sup>u</sup>sanalag'-elilx---are hurt in house M 692.10; ho'x<sup>u</sup>sanalag'-elilx---vomit in house M 692.10;

-[x']sea, -[x']send, or -[k']sea, -[k']send in two parts, off from fire, off from the sea (i.e. landward). In the last case =x'sag'e

la'x'sea it is cut in two part R 57.10; 145.6; it is off the fire (la); k!e'mts:end to cut in two with knife R 64.83; 65.15 (k!emt-); q!ex's<sup>e</sup>nd to bite in two R 116.8 (q!ek'-); ait<sup>s</sup>!e'nd to break (rope, string) in two R 195.23 (ax-); x'e'lt<sup>s</sup>!end to saw in two R 109.8 (x'elt-); t!o' ts!end to cut in two (t!os-) R 401.16.

nexs<sup>e</sup>nd to divide in half R 555.44; nexsaa'k<sup>u</sup> one half taken off R 555.44 (neq-); ek'!o(x)ts!end to fill more than half R 562.67 (ek'!-); benk'!o(x)ts!end to fill less than half (lower half); g'e'atk!ots!e<sup>s</sup> the longer piece split off.

-x'se, -k'se in two on its own accord: leps<sup>e</sup> spread in two; lax'se a thing in two parts; wek's<sup>e</sup> broken in two (wek'-); kvek's<sup>e</sup> burst in two; q!ex's<sup>e</sup> many died C III 10.11; C 26:154.127; broken into many pieces (q!ey-).

Off the fire: axs<sup>e</sup>nd to take--- R 244.61 (ax'); hā'nx's<sup>e</sup>nd to take kettle--- V 333.34 (han-); qāps<sup>e</sup>a to be upside--- (qāp-); k!eps<sup>e</sup>nd to take with tongs--- (k!ep-) (also "to cut with scissors in two); lē'x'seala to roll---C 26:203.117 (lēx'-).

Ashore: ge'lx<sup>s</sup>ea to swim---X 146.23 (=ge'lx<sup>s</sup>ag'e); g'ā'xs<sup>e</sup>a, g'ā'xs<sup>e</sup>ag'e to come ashore (g'ax); nē'xs<sup>e</sup>nd, nē'xs<sup>e</sup>ag'end to pull ashore.

With reduplication: in pieces

A l. cvc' R cvcvc': wewek's<sup>e</sup>nd to break--- (wek'-); wewe'k's<sup>e</sup> to be ---; dzēdzēts!e'nd to split--- (dzēt-); bēbēxs<sup>e</sup>nd to cut (bēx-) R 453.58; sesa<sup>s</sup>x<sup>u</sup>s<sup>e</sup>nd to butcher---R 455.0, C 26:203.117 (sax<sup>u</sup>-).

A 2. cvm R cvmcvm: wē' nwenx'sēnd to drill--- (wēn-).

A 3. cvv R cōcōv(x<sup>u</sup>): xō' xēx<sup>u</sup>sē'nd to split--- (xēw-).

B 1. cvc R cvcvc: tsō'tsox<sup>u</sup>sē'nd to break canoe--- (tsōk<sup>u</sup>-); p!ē' p!aq!wēx'sēnd to press--- (p!ēq<sup>u</sup>-); dā'dēq<sup>u</sup>sēnd to pound--- (dēq<sup>u</sup>-).

C 1. cvmc R cvmcvmc: tē'mtemk<sup>u</sup>sēala to chop on blocks (temk<sup>u</sup>-); syē' mēyemāts!ēnd to butcher game (syēmā-).

Exception: l!ē!ēnx'sē'nd to poke to pieces (l!ēnqā').

Polysyllabic stems: k'!ēk'!ēwax'sēala to split to pieces with axe (k'!ēwāq-);

qās hē'x'sēndēs t!ō' ts!ēndēq and she cuts it off (cutting) it in two R 404.22; lā' yū'dēx<sup>u</sup>sēnd t!ō't!ēts!ā' laxa āpsō'dēx now she cuts one side into three pieces R 404.24.

-[x']sēag', -[x']sēakēla into woods, from sea to shore; hardens stops (see -syag'a [-x'sē - syag'a])

qā'ts!ag' to walk into woods (qas - x'sēag'); p!ē' ūts!ag' to fly landward (p!ēx' - x'sēag'); lā' x'sēag' to go (once) into woods or ashore; lā' x'sēak'ēla to go along into woods; lē'mx'sēak'ēla to go one by one into woods; t!ēx'sēak'ēla trail goes into woods; hē'x'sēak'ēla to go right into woods C 26:42.186 (hēy-); sne'x'sēak'ēla to take a string of fish to shore (sne'y-); s'ts!ak'ēlis again into woods C 26:158.99 (et-); ne'x<sup>u</sup>sēak'ēla to go into woods at night C 26:183.8; xwē'lax'sēag' to turn back---, go again---R 209.32; xāts!ag'ēnd to drive inland C II 294.30; qwē'ūts!ag' waves strike shore (qwēx-).

-x'sēala, -x'sēex'sēid to talk about; stem suffix; with reduplication (see =exstala) Reduplication 5

wā'winx'sēala to talk about war R 1380.83 [=wā winaxstala]; gwā'gwex'sēala to talk about R 685.70 [=gwā gwexstala]; gwā'gwex'sēex'sēid R 60.1; 140.17; sma'smaxwax'sēala to talk about smaxwā (name of a man), about potlatch; qā'qotex'ax'sēala to talk about repayment of marriage debt (qotē'x'a); hā'emex'sēala to talk about food 4033;

I y: hāq!ēndēx'sēala to talk nonsense C 26:105.16.

I s: sā'yēnx'sēala to talk about a plan (sēn).

-x'sē about, aimlessly; Reduplication 3e

A 1. cvc E cac p!āx'tsā' to fly about C II 4.4; C 26:7.81 (p!ēl-); gwax'sē' to pour here and there like watering garden (gwēq-);

pa'x'sē' to float about (pa'x<sup>u</sup>-); q!ā'x'tsā' to carry about on arms (q!ēx-); k'!ā'x'tsā' shake off berries about (k'!ēx-).

A 2. cvm R cvcvm: g'ēg'ē'lk'sā to crawl about (g'ēl-); dēdē'nk'sā to pull about (dēn-).

A 3. dēdē'x'sā to wipe about (dēy-); sne'nō'x<sup>u</sup>sā to aim about (sne'w-);

A 5. mē'ēltsā to throw light about; xā'k'!ēk'sā to get held up somewhere; ts!ā - k'!atsā to tell news here and there.

B 1. wēwā'tsā to lead about (wat-); p!ēp!ē'x<sup>u</sup>sā or p!ā'x<sup>u</sup>sā to feel about (p!ēx<sup>u</sup>-); pā'ūtsā to stagger about (pēl-); t!ā'x'sā, t!ēl!ē'x'sā to carry round thing.

cēc E cāc: sā'x<sup>u</sup>sā to paddle about (sēx<sup>u</sup>-); t!ā'psā to step about (t!ēp-);

t!ā'x'sā to carry round thing about on shoulder (t!ēk-); wā'x'sā to carry long thing about on shoulder (wēk-).

cōc E cāc: sā'psā to chop (sop-).

C 1. cvmc R cvcvmc: gēgē'lxsā to swim about (gēlq-); dzēdze'l<sup>u</sup>sā (also dzalax<sup>u</sup>sā) to run about; k'!ēk'!ē'mltsā to adze aimlessly - (k'!ēm-); l!ē!ē!ēnx'sā to poke about (l!ēnqā'); gē'mx'sā to carry about.

D. cvc'c' stable: gā'sx'ēk'sā to carry about on fingers.

E. sēsē'x'sā to stretch about (sa-).

-[x']sā without reduplication - still; with reduplication or expansion of stem always, entirely

Meaning: still: yū'x<sup>u</sup>sēsēm it is the same III 102.18; p!ēlx'sēsēm still foggy C III 10.5; - ā'tsā still standing C III 292.31; CX 188.34; - q!ā'p!ēx'sā to keep together with R 715.59; 1010.57; dā'lax'sā still holding on R 1081.22; qā'sax'sēsēm still walking X 61.12; q!wēlā'x'sā still alive C 26:193.112; 212.495; lā'siwalax'sā still sticks in forehead III 24.5; ē'l<sup>u</sup>ex'sā still behind C II 12.27; nēxstēwēx'sā continue as before (on same spot) (nēq-sto-ēs-).

Meaning: entirely, always: sne'mux<sup>u</sup>sā only one C II 10.19, 24 (sne'm-); l!ē!ē!ē'gēx<sup>u</sup>sā entirely cedar bark III 86.24 (l!āgēk<sup>u</sup>); ā'mēmex'sāla entirely small R 374.38;

bā'gwanēmx'sā only men R 653.94; C III 100.18; 296.14; ts!ā'dax'sā only women; hāyaso'x<sup>u</sup>sā entirely tallow C 26:144.32 (yasēk<sup>u</sup>); hama'ēlux<sup>u</sup>sā two persons always together (masēlok<sup>u</sup>-); hama'ēmālax'sā two animals walking together (masēx-māla-).

-[x']siu mouth of river

ō'x<sup>u</sup>siwēs mouth of river III 29.3; ūex'si'wēs---with bar C II 6.21; III 271.2; k'ēxsiu'd canoe strikes---; p!ēx'tsiu'd to fly to---; x'ēsmx'siu'd to snare at---; ts!ē'mx'siu'd to point at---; k!wā'x'siu'd to sit oneself down

at---; wə'nxsiu deep---; me'xsiwe<sup>s</sup> to sleep  
at---C 26:117.44.

-[x']siwe<sup>s</sup> to have to do something  
on account of circumstances

la'k'siwe<sup>s</sup> to have to go (la'k'siwa<sup>s</sup>yen  
I have to go); dē'nxsiwe<sup>s</sup> to have to sing;  
ha'nātsiwe<sup>c</sup>---shoot (or to shoot at mouth of  
river); hō'x<sup>u</sup>siwe<sup>c</sup>---vomit R 1046.43;  
yā'q!eg'a'x<sup>u</sup>siwe<sup>c</sup>---speak; yā'q!entsiwe<sup>c</sup>---talk.

-[x']sis foot

bəxsi's to get out on foot; bəxsi'dze<sup>s</sup>  
cut on foot; bəxsi'dzēnd to cut foot;  
bē'nx'si'dze<sup>s</sup> the foot of anything III 118.30;  
yē'lx<sup>u</sup>sis to get hurt on foot; e'psidzēnd to  
pinch foot III 96.3; t!ē'pəmx'sidzēnd to step  
on toes III 184.35; t!ē'psisēla to wear shoes  
CX 281.32; xē'xalotsisēla to have scoop net on  
feet C 26:147.154.

o'x<sup>u</sup>sidzē<sup>s</sup> foot of mountain III 19.12,  
13; - q!a'x'sidzē<sup>s</sup> to lead to proper place in  
house III 24.4; 50.10; a't!āx'a'x'sidzē<sup>s</sup> sinew  
at heel; yē'xwē'x<sup>u</sup>sidzē<sup>s</sup> dance under feet  
C 26:88.115, i.e., to dance with another dancer  
assisting the principal dancer = yē'xwē'ēmīx; -  
pē'xq!a'x'sidzē sole of foot CX 194.21 (pē'xq!a');  
hāl'x'si'sēla two-minded (hā'sēla'la to hesitate);  
dē'x<sup>u</sup>sesāla to hop along C III 350.18.

-(x')sila to work at, to take care of;  
usually verbal but sometimes used as noun;  
- (see g'ila); Reduplication 5

nā'naksila to take care of steaming  
(nēk-); q!a'q!ānx'sila to take care of sewing  
(q!ēn-).

!a'!opsila to take care of roasting  
(!lop-); - q!a'q!o'xtsila to take care of boil-  
ing (q!o'x-); āa'xsila to take care of R 1114.23;  
C III 60.19 (ax-); g'a'g'exsila to treat a  
chief III 360.42 (g'iq-); t!a't!ēltsila to work  
at viburnum berries R 584.41 (t!ēls-);  
tša'tšēlx<sup>u</sup>siēlats!ē house in which crab-apples  
are cooked R 284.37 (tšēlx<sup>u</sup>-); q!a'q!ēx'sila  
to do much work R 252.22; CX 19.19; dā'dax'sila  
to handle CX 96.9; 97.24; - !a'lekwi'x'sila to  
tell a lie (acting as liar); ts!a'ts!ēmx'sila  
to point out C 26:168.500; - k'!a'k'!adē'x<sup>u</sup>sila  
to read (to work at something written);

!a'awayux<sup>u</sup>sila to take care of salmon  
weir (!ax<sup>u</sup>=ayu-); - hā'ēmex'sila to cook  
food R 231.25; 247.17; - t!a't!ēmyā'yux<sup>u</sup>sila  
attendant of batons CX 97.24; 132.12  
(t!ēms=ayu-); - nā'nāqex'sila to think  
C III 52.14 (nāqē<sup>s</sup> mind); - hā'yasēx'sila to  
take care of newly-weds (hā'yas); - ts!a'ts!o'x-  
nax'sila to take care of coal CX 95.2  
(ts!o'znā); - !a'lagwi'xtsila to take care of

fire in house (!ēgwīx); - ēnā'ēnalax'sila to  
influence weather by magic (ēnā'la); -  
wā'wā'xēmx'sila to talk things over (in a meet-  
ing) C 26:133.19; yā'yinatsila (yēnas).  
xwā'xwak<sup>u</sup>sila (xwak<sup>u</sup>) to look after  
canoe; ā<sup>u</sup>ēyē'ēmā'xtsila to do something strange,  
to which one is not used (ām-).'

-sila with a reduplication

g'ā'g'ēla<sup>s</sup>sila to do something first  
before anything else (g'ā'g'ēlx'sila to treat  
someone before others) (g'al-); nā'naqa<sup>s</sup>sila to  
steady something (nēq-).

-g'ē'xtsila without reduplication

gō'g'ē'xtsila to do for a long time  
C II 66.28 (gēy-); āwē'lg'ē'xtsila to make sure  
by seeing plainly R 766.91 (āwēl-);  
hē'meng'ē'xtsila to handle always (hē'mēn-);  
nēmā'x'ē'xtsila to finish in a short time  
(nēmā'x); nē'nāsāx<sup>u</sup>si'la to act wisely C II  
148.25.

-sila to act because---

e'k'!ēxsila, e'ēk'!ēxsila to do because  
happy (ēk'!ēq-); wā'yadesila to do because one  
is cruel (wāyad); nō'xēmsila---one is crazy  
(nō'xēm); R 709.92; nū'nātsila---reckless;  
g'ē'ng'ēnā'xtsila to do something as a child  
(because child does not know better) (g'ēnā-);  
ēyā'x'sila---one is bad (ēyā'k'); q!ē'q!ōmsila  
---rich (q!ōm-).

mā'esila master of fish (salmon)

R 679.7.

-[x']sā through (a hole or enclosed space)

sēk'sā' to spear through; p!ē'xtsā  
C III 165.22; pl. p!ē'ē'mx'sā to fly through;  
t!ētsō'd pl. t!ē'ē'mx'sod to pound barnacles  
through a hole; ts!ē'mx'sā' to melt---; -  
g'ē'lx'sā first through hole (g'al-); animal  
crawls---(g'ēl-); p!a'xsāla to stretch hand---;  
- ts!ē'x<sup>u</sup>sā to cut across land C 26:88.138; -  
hā'nā'xtsod to shoot through hole (hānt-).

-[x']sok<sup>u</sup> numeral suffix for the tenths in  
each one hundred, up to 280  
also: five pairs of blankets  
(perhaps related to -x'sayuk<sup>u</sup>)

ēnē'mx'sogwē'giu 110; - ēnē'mx'sok'āla  
210; - ēnē'mme'g'ē'x'sók'awa'ēyas 201 (see  
Numerals).

ēnē'mx'sok<sup>u</sup> five pairs of blankets;  
mā'ēltsō'k<sup>u</sup> ten pairs of blankets.

-x'sokw(ela) somewhat (diminutive of a quality),  
"-ish"

yex'so'kwela quickly C II 232.13 New;  
k'!um<sup>s</sup>lax'sokwela a little burnt; la'x'sokwela  
now it was somewhat C II 18.4).

weyo'q!wetso'kwela almost not to be-  
lieve C 26:128.17; to have believed (weyoq!wes);  
q!wel<sup>s</sup>yax<sup>u</sup>sokwela oldish C 26:126.117.

qwesg'ilax'sokwela not very far (qwes-  
g'ila- ); - doqwelax<sup>s</sup>idtsokwela able to see  
somewhat CV 160.3; - wu<sup>s</sup>elax<sup>s</sup>idtsokwela to hear  
a little more; e'x'soku handsome person III 47.8;  
e'x'sokwela somewhat good; le'mx'sogwil proudish  
in house; e'ya'x'sogwil uglyish in house.

-[x']sta down to ground;  
always followed by another suffix

so'pstassa to chop down to ground  
CX 193.4, 15, 23; - la'x<sup>u</sup>stels to stand on  
ground outside (also to stand in water on  
ground); nepstai'x to throw to floor (=nep!a'-  
li'x); la'x'stali'x to fall to floor; lmx'stasi'x,  
to go to bed pl.; wexta'li'x to sit on bare  
floor (?) R 988.88; 1040.18; k'wa'stali'x to  
sit on bare floor R 988.88; k'a'stali'x dish  
is in position down on floor C III 204.20;  
220.6; ma'x'stalil to put down near, right on  
floor CX 120.36; he'lfm(x')stax'sila making  
fall in one day III 321.12 (story name of  
beaver); ha'yaxstali'sela to go right down  
C 26:93.40 (haya qa); syu'gwax<sup>u</sup>steya'la rain  
is coming down (steady rain), (eyugw-x'sta=-  
k'!eye-); dzesteya'la fine drizzle; -  
k!we'steyala it is snowing CX 46.19.

dox<sup>u</sup>stase'lela look ahead on floor  
(before speaking).

x'elx'elstaa'lax'sid to tear up with  
claws into small pieces on ground X 20.36;  
so'sepstaa'lax'sid to chop to small pieces on  
ground.

x'st! as usual; word suffix

lae'mx'st!as you do as usual M 670.7; -  
lae'mx'st!e lai he will go as usual; -  
q!eyo'daamx'ste he talks as usual.

-x'st!ääk<sup>u</sup> apparently, seemingly,  
it seems like; (Koskimo: also, in a dream)

me'x<sup>s</sup>edex<sup>u</sup>st!ääk<sup>u</sup> as if they wanted to  
sleep C II 32.10; - k'!o'q!walax'st!ääk<sup>u</sup> it  
sounds like breaking; - k!waxlox<sup>u</sup>st!ääk<sup>u</sup> it  
seems like cedar; - xwe'<sup>s</sup>lx<sup>u</sup>st!ääk<sup>u</sup> it seems  
like quartz; - hex'st!ääk<sup>u</sup> it seems like that  
III 260.34; - ä'lax'st!ääk<sup>u</sup> I thought that  
really III 103.1; - no'gwax'st!ääk<sup>s</sup>ma is it  
not as though I were the one III 162.3.

ha'lselax'st!as<sup>s</sup>x<sup>s</sup>emslae<sup>s</sup>es la  
ya'q!eg'azes swa'ts!e it is said (ela) that is  
was as though his dog almost (not) talked  
C II 18.1; - ene'x'st!as<sup>k</sup> it was as though he  
said C II 18.11; ä'naxwax'st!as<sup>s</sup>x<sup>s</sup>em only re-  
peatedly doing as though C II 18.30.

-(x')st!eqe(ela), ost!eqe(ela)  
intensification, very

-ost!eqe(ela); - with numeral adverbs  
and a few other stems it means to do:  
ene'mp!enost!eqa to do once; mas'xp!e'nost!eqa  
to do, use twice III 470.41; q!e'p!enost!eqa  
to use many times; - q!weno'st!eqela to use  
often C II 182.20; he'la'most!eqela to use the  
right way C III 350.21.

In other cases it is similar in meaning  
to -x'st!eqela: - ha'slost!eqa to be very quick  
C III 224.27; also ha'slax'st!eqela C 26:11.243;  
swa'lasost!eqa' to do something big;  
hä'most!eqa to do something at once CX 190.12;  
weyo'st!eqa to hesitate R 1373.24; C II 92.24;-  
na'nagelo'st!eqa to do squarely (neq-); -  
xa'xegwelo'st!eqa to sweep without touching  
C II 124.27.

-(x')st!eqa(ela): qwele'x'st!eqa oneself  
hurts oneself C II 78.14; - xa'x<sup>u</sup>st!eqe'la  
strongly R 716.82; CX 278.31; ä'xt!eqela to act  
carelessly, roughly C 26:145.62; xe'nxt!eqa'  
too much R 624.28; - ämxt!eqa' to turn play  
into fight; gwe'g'axt!eqela to be treated thus  
R 1180.7.

eno'last!eqemes oldest X 3.32.

-[x']dze<sup>u</sup>- occurs as  
-[x']dze'kwa'la layers; with numerals  
[x']dze'kwela minded; with numerals

-x'dze'kwa'la: ene'mx'dze'kwa'la one layer;  
mas'zdze'kwa'la two layers; mo'x<sup>u</sup>dze'kwa'la four  
layers R 258.70; 335.26; q!e'x'dze'kwa'la many  
layers; ho'la'zdze'kwala few layers.

-x'dze'kwela: ene'mx'dze'kwela unanimous;  
to keep one mind, pay close attention; tide  
runs, wind blows smoothly one way;  
q!e'x'dze'kwela all different minds; -  
mas'zdze'kw'ela two-minded; lax'dze'k<sup>u</sup>xeq that is  
the way you will do!

-[x']daz<sup>s</sup>mo in front of body

ne'xdza<sup>s</sup>mo'li'x straight before body in  
house V 443.5 (neq-); le'pdza<sup>s</sup>ma'sli'x to spread  
---V 432.18; 434.22; ha'nx'dza<sup>s</sup>molli'x to have a  
dish---V 436.40; 439.4; o'x<sup>u</sup>dza<sup>s</sup>mo'li'x place in  
front of body V 438.36; - k'a'x'dza<sup>s</sup>mod to  
place dish before V 429.23; 430.29; 433.3; -  
k'a'x'dza<sup>s</sup>molli'x to have a dish in front in  
house C III 204.1; - l!s'sex'dza<sup>s</sup>ma'sya towards  
fire in front CX 2.8 in front of people;

- k'!o'gwix'dzama<sup>s</sup>ya standing on edge in front of rear of house.

-[x']ts!ana hand;

äx'ts!ana'la to be on hand CX 280.22;  
äx'ts!a'nd to put into hand III 198.19;  
pe pex'ts!a'nax'sid to heat hands by fire V 429.18; - te'lx'ts!ane<sup>s</sup> protection of hand (soften hand) C III 316.3; pe'x'pex'ts!ana flabby-handed (peq<sup>u</sup>-);

xa'max'ts!ana to use the naked hand (xama); - q!e q!äx'ts!anax'sid hands get accustomed to work (q!ä'ela); pa'xq!ax'ts!ane<sup>s</sup> palm of hand (pa'xq!a); ax'dzo'x'ts!anend to put in palm of hand (äx=dzo-x'ts!ana-nd); äeä'psot's!-ane<sup>s</sup> to use one hand C II 60.5; e'psot's!ane<sup>s</sup> pl. R 583.11 (aps-k'ot-); he'xk'ot's!ane<sup>s</sup> right hand III 15.11; - da'ba'x'ts!anend to take by hand X 4.31; da'ba'x'ts!ane<sup>s</sup> to hold on to end of branch (da-ba-); - e'wig'ax'ts!ane<sup>s</sup> backs of hands X 159.30 (aw (pl.)-eg'e-); o'ba'x'ts!ane<sup>s</sup>, pl. o'ba'x'tstane<sup>s</sup> branch of tree, foot hills.

-x'la on the fire;

nep!e'nd pl. nep'e'mx'end to throw on fire; ax'la'la pl. ax'e'mx'tala to put on fire III 41.17; ewi'slx'tala all on fire R 107.67; me'lx'le'nd to light fire III 145.31; ts!e'siala clams are on fire; ts!e'siasla tongs (used for roasting clams) III 20.12 (ts!es-[x']la-l(a)-!a); k'!ep!a'la to put on fire; k'!ep!a'la big tongs for lifting stones from fire R 244.60 (k'!ep-x'la-la-!a); la'x'tano placed upright in fire C 26:116.19; - la'x'ax'la to stand among flames (person) C 26:60.65; la'x'la'la to stand in fire C II 380.23; la'x'la'la to stand in fire outside.

-x'lä very;

äwi'lax'lä very important C II 52.4; C 26:176.13; ts!e'lq'wax'lä it is very warm; sweda'lax'lä it is very cold; - ts!ex'e'l-ax'läg'ada mex'e'k' this blows smarts much; q!e'mq!emts!ex'lä pl. very lazy III 45.9.

-xwas day; only with numeral adverbs

hë'xop!enxwas right number of days III 355.26; ä'ebop!enxwas seven days C III 28.12.

-xent evidently;

k'!e'sxent evidently not III 148.15; X 82.20; C II 52.5; III 73.18; he'emxent that

evidently C II 10.3; la'e'mxent evidently it was C II 32.12; sma'sxent what evidently III 143.16; äwi'lax'läg'a wa'x'demg'asg'ada päxäläg'axent evidently the word of this shaman is very important C II 52.4; - xs'lä'k!wemasäa'-xentqos päxäla' for you are evidently a strong shaman C II 54.20; qen'ene'x'se'ewexent that it would evidently be said about me III 144.4.

-x<sup>e</sup>enx see -!enx

=xek<sup>u</sup> place where there is much of something

t!e'mx<sup>u</sup>medzexekwela patch of gooseberry bushes R 221.5; wilg'exekwela cedar patch; mod'exekwela balsam patch; äle'wadzexekwela spruce patch; äle'wadzemxekwela patch of young spruce R 111.4; d'e'na'xek!wa where much sandstone is on rock C II 324.24 Kos; - aw'a'wa-xek!wes coarse gravelly ground; äm'säma'yexek!wes fine gravelly ground; - t!e'sex'gwis stones on beach; - x'ne'mx'de'xekwela salal patch C 26:44.48; - lō'xwexekwela rocky place (rolled together) C 26:27.47.

-xa to say

xwa'kiwenaxa to call a canoe (=wish to buy); wä'xa to say wä C III 202.27; nä'nxa to call "bear;" (h)a'smaqaxa<sup>s</sup>ene<sup>s</sup> saying "sham fight" R 1056.59; he'laxela to say he'la (hire)

-xää, -xät! also

da'x'sidexää he also took III 8.13; 9.11; ä'e'emxääs and you also III 397.3; lo'gwalaxaen I also have supernatural power III 399.3; - la'e'laxää e't!ied qa'sid then it is said, he started again III 141.4, 27; he'e'emslaxat! but that, it is said, also III 154.3.

-xät! (see -xää)

-!xo, -!x!awe<sup>s</sup> neck; does not harden x

k'!p!exod to embrace II 121.38; qenxä'la to have around neck C II 50.7 (qex'-); qenxod to put around---C II 48.30; - qenxä'we<sup>s</sup> to be around neck; so'p!exod to cut tree down (at neck) V 344.12, 15 (sop-); mo'k!wexod to tie around---III 105.18 (mok<sup>u</sup>-); q!wé'ts!exod to strangle III 136.32 (qwes-); se'mxä'la one on neck; oxwa'we<sup>s</sup> III 149.22, oxa'we<sup>s</sup> III 151.38; V 490.3 neck. swa'x'sot!e'xa'we<sup>s</sup> CX 270.31; swa'x'sano'x- xa'we<sup>s</sup> CX 270.33 both sides of neck; e'swanu'xä'we<sup>s</sup> C 26:176.47; -

-e!xo in throat; beq!wele'l!exa'weš  
sleepy in throat R 377.43 (taste in mouth in  
morning).

-xo<sub>4</sub> astonishing!

k'!e'sxo<sub>4</sub> behold! not III 17.7;  
he'smaxo<sub>4</sub> behold! that III 100.12; yāa'xo<sub>4</sub> be-  
hold, this X 64.36; lašE'mxo<sub>4</sub>a now, behold!  
C II 32.11; 50.10.

=[x]dala ?

āšo'yaxdala slow runner; yā'yenxdala  
quick runner; ya'yelx<sup>u</sup>dala person who always  
hurts himself; šya'šyax'dala person who is  
always sick.

-xdāleq(aža) see =eleq(aža)

=(x)tā on top of long object;

nebetod, pl. nāē'nbetod or nepe'mxtod  
to throw on top (nep-); negetewe's, pl.  
nāē'ngetewe's or neqe'mxteweš straight on top  
(neq-); - ts!egetod to throw away on top  
(ts!eq-); dze'lxwetod to run---(dzelx<sup>u</sup>-);  
wēxetod by itself on top (wēx-); gelgetod to  
pull top, head over C 26:175.13 (gelq-);  
legweta'sye thick top R 153.13 (lek<sup>u</sup>-);  
dze'gwetod to stretch leg---(dzek<sup>u</sup>-);  
ma'g'etā'sye right on top C 26:36.35 (mak'-);  
tsedzeto xšwid point becomes blunt V 325.10  
(tses-); xwedzeto'd to whip---(xwes-); -  
gwendeto d heavy on top (gwent!-).

g'e'lxto to crawl---, first---(g'el-;  
g'al-); k'ēnexteweš loose on top (k'en-);  
la'xtod to go--- C 26:68.9; gwe'xtāla head  
turned thus 4222; leaning thus (gwe-); -  
g'e'xtod pl. g'eyē'mxtod to be on top (g'ey-).

Special meanings: swi'elxtod to go  
through with everything; passed all around;  
swi'elxtod(xa g'ig'o'kwe) to go to every  
(house); g'axtodala go from one person to  
other, or from top down C 26:122.20;  
g'ā'xtolsa to start from one end or row of  
people and go along CX 261.24.

=[x]t!a, =[x]t!āža, =[x]t!ōd seaward

la'xt!a to go out to sea X 144.33;  
p!elēt!a, pl. p!elē'mxt!a to fly seaward;  
hā'n!ēt!od to shoot---; kwā'dzet!od to kick---  
X 111.1 (kwā-); ne'mdzet!a canoe moves---  
(nems-); dzē'g'et!a to dig clams seaward  
C III 20.17 (dzek'-); dō'gwet!ala to look---  
X 117.26 (doq<sup>u</sup>-); lā'gwet!aža to push---  
X 107.25 (laq<sup>u</sup>-); ge'lgēt!a to swim---  
X 144.27 (gelq-); šya'lagēt!od to send---

(šyalaq-); sa'g'et!a to go with a smaller canoe  
to a canoe anchored out---(sak'-); seg'et!a  
to spear---(sek'-); wē'gwet!od to shove---C 26:  
63.71 (weq<sup>u</sup>-); hō'gwet!a many go out to sea  
(hoq<sup>u</sup>-).

pe'xwet!a to drift---; yex'et!a quick-  
ly---; lāx<sup>u</sup>t!a to steer---.

hāk!wext!ā'la to stay away---.

=xs in a canoe (see =lχ)

-xsa flat objects, days; used with definite  
and indefinite numerals

šne'mxsa one (board) R 93.5; (day)  
III 18.2; 141.39; mo'xsa four days III 72.30;  
- q!e'xsa many (leaves) R 298.51; āmā'xsa  
small (blanket).

=xsek'a, =xseg'end in front of house,  
in front of body; weakens all consonants  
excepting the spirants.

xudzexe'g'end to beat boards outside  
of house III 461.22; - k!wedzexe'g'alas one  
who sits in front of house C III 170.29;  
o'xseg'eš outside front of house III 272.4;  
la'xseg'end to go in front of house III 212.16;  
lā'xwexe'k'ela the house-front has someone  
standing in front; lā'xwexe'g'eš the one who  
stands in front of house; lē'xexe'g'end to  
beat front boards of house III 247.5;  
k!a'dexe'k'ela to have painting on house-  
front III 360.20; lē'mxexe'g'eš to be beating  
house-front C III 172.19; hoža'gexe'k'a to  
listen in front of house C 26:124.84.

nā'gexe'g'eš belt of song leader  
(nāq-); yexwexe'g'eš dancing apron;  
k!wedzexe'g'ašladzas house front against which  
people sit.

-!xsd behind, tail end;

Transitive stems have passive meaning  
with this suffix.

mēšnxsd to be hit behind, mēšnxsdē'n  
I am hit---; mēšnxsdē'nd to hit behind (mēx'-);  
sio'xšdentso to be pushed from behind paddling  
III 472.21; sio'xšdeš to be paddling behind  
(sex<sup>u</sup>-); nā'xsdala to be covered behind (nox<sup>u</sup>-);  
ts!ek!wē'xsd short person (ts!ek<sup>u</sup>-); -  
hāts!exsdeš tail of quadruped; e'k!axsdaža  
end up V 325.8 (ek'-!xsd-aža); oxsdeš tail  
end V 490.28; se'saxsdeš skirt 4244 (sa-);  
- ma'k!exsdes the very last one C III 210.20.

a'χelxsdala finally, afterwards  
R 104.11; 389.28; 592.37; - o'nuts!exsdeš  
corner behind house, hip (o-nus-!exsdeš);  
swa'lats!exsdes one who has a big back side  
(šwalas); p!eyo'xsdend to feel backward

C II 144.1 (?); gwa'saxsdaʔa tail this way;  
k!wesk!wesâ'xsda light of weight behind  
 CX 59.6; k'!o'k!wexsde<sup>s</sup> curved rim of blanket  
 trimming behind; ʔelâ'xsdek!en strong-bodied.

There are a few words which apparently  
 have this suffix, but with the meaning (see  
 =exstala); - gek'!e'xsd, ts!eda'q!exsd woman's  
 voice; bek!we'xsd man's voice (we also have  
begwe'xsta man's voice, to talk bravely);  
smâʔt!exsde<sup>s</sup> to recognize voice III 250.9;  
welâ'q!exsde<sup>s</sup> to hear speaking (sound) C 26:  
 43.198; ts!ek'!exsde'nd to hear sound while  
 waking C II 70.31; C III 10.4; CX 59.3; 244.11;  
enexwa'xsde'ena'kwela to approach near behind  
 CX 47.8 (enex'!xsd=nakwela); en'emp!enats!a-  
xsda to go only once to call for feast  
 (= emp!enas-!); - q!a'laxsde<sup>s</sup> to hear it talked  
 about; q!wexlaxsda'la noise plainly heard  
 C 26:28.20; q!welba'xsde'waxdemas finish  
 (speech) R 1188.98; nexwaxsdala sound is near.

-!xla hind end, stern of canoe;  
 afterwards; following;

swedax!a' cold at hind end; smes!lx!a'  
 white at hind end; t!enx!e's rear door III  
 467.8 (t!ex'-); ox!â's hind end III 127.23;  
ox!a'x'sidzēs heel V 475.5 (o-!x!a-x'sis-es); -  
be'nx!e'nd to fit to rear end; be'ena'x!e'nd to  
 put at hind end R 376.17; dēno'x!ala to be in  
 a row one behind the other C III 244.16;  
 (dēnx'-); g'e'lt!ex!ala having a long hind end  
 (handle); penx!â'k'u heated at end (pex'-).

With -g'ēʔ- (see p. 349): da'g'elx!ala  
 to take along C II 84.21; enemo'kwelx!ala to  
 have one left behind (lost, killed)  
 C 26:155.166; 216.146; q!wela'g'elx!e<sup>s</sup> left  
 over alive III 142.10 [R 606.10; C 26:39.34];  
 particularly used for the gifts to the son-in-  
 law when the marriage debt is paid:  
ʔe'gemg'elx!ala to have a name given in mar-  
 riage R 1074.8; g'o'kwelx!ala---house---  
 III 220.41; k!e'sogwelx!e<sup>s</sup> privilege given  
 in marriage III 191.2.

ox!a'sx'äyēs lower jaw III 166.6;  
xwe't!ex!a sticking out stern (type of canoe)  
 X 4.9; ʔex'eq!ex!ä's stern thwart R 193.1;  
swa'lats!ex!a big stern (canoe); t!e'k!ex!e<sup>s</sup>  
 to lie on back, knees drawn up C 26:4.136;  
kwes!lx!e'lsa to lie down on ground under tree  
 X 161.8 kwes!lx!e'ls tree under which one lies;  
ämx!a' empty box; width of hand (as measure);  
 secretive person; - a'lax!ax'sid to land stern  
 first R 97.76; 281.5; la'laq!wex!a to give a  
 last strong push (to push following after);  
da<sup>s</sup>x!ä' to take hold of handle; to substitute  
 for someone in potlatch holding end of speak-  
 ers staff; - q!ä'mts!ex!a lazy person;  
q!ems!ex!a'lats!e laziness (q!ems-x!a-  
 ela-ats!e); - le'x'elax!a revolver (turning at  
 hind end).

-!x!e miserable, pitiful, too bad that;  
 loses initial x after s

lax!e'slax'ox let him go, poor thing;  
mē'xax!a'sy!n too bad that I was asleep;  
bâ'x!e'sla'g'adzox leave him he is no good;  
la<sup>s</sup>x!e'ems!ae unfortunately, it is said X 162.39;  
yu'gwax!a'syox too bad it is raining.

=x!e'sya (to take) by force;  
 does not weaken spirants

ä'xex!e'sya' to take away by force;  
hâ'smx!e'sya' to take food by force; q!e'xex!e'sya'  
 to take in arms by force; da'x!e'sya' to take  
 away by force CX 206.13; wâ'xex!e'sya' to take  
 someone's sweetheart by force; o'x!e'xex!e'sya'  
 to carry by force on back; - ge'nx!e'sya' to carry  
 by force on arms; gâ'mxex!e'sya' to carry by  
 force in blanket; hâ'n!e'xex!e'sya' to take a hunt-  
 ers game by force; xwe'ngwex!e'sya' to take  
 child (bride) by force (xwengwex!e<sup>s</sup>); -  
ʔe'nenmx!e'sya' to rob by force; ʔa'xwex!e'sya'  
 to take seat by force.

-x!a, -ēx!a dish, with definite  
 and indefinite numerals

enemē'x!a one dish V 434.10; 3239;  
mewē'x!a four dishes R 516.14; V 434.3;  
sek'!ä'x!a five--- (sek'!a-ex!a); q!äyē'x!a  
 many--- (also with -x!a: q!ē'x!a); q!e!l'ex!a  
 six---

ma'x!ex!a' two---R 516.14; V 434.3;  
yū'dex'wex!a three---; hō'la'x!e'sex!a' few---;  
swa'xex!a number of dishes R 579.48.

Irregular: g'ene'x!a how many---  
 (g'ens-; possibly with =x!a < g'ens=x!a; see  
 however g'end'k'u how many people).

For e before suffix, see te<sup>s</sup>.

=x!ä on top of head, name;  
 does not weaken ʔ

"On top of head:" hänx!ä canoe is on  
 top (of waves or on island) C 26:63.69;  
axex!ä'la to be on head M 683.18; leg'ex!ä'  
 to hit on head C 26:114.9, X 116.20; -  
smeldzex!älä to have white (turning?) (feather)  
 on head C II 130.19; X 114.12; ne'x!ä'x'sid  
 to begin to show head III 143.10; o'x!ä'sye head  
 of numaym III 134.10; top of head "name:"  
hâ'mdzex!e<sup>s</sup> ha'mats!a name on head  
 C 26:98.146;  
ax!ex!älä a new name R 831.28;  
begwex!ä'la to have a man's name C III 124.21;  
 - p!edzex!ä'syu, also p!edzex!ä' potlatch name  
 R 787.23.

beba'xwedzε(x)lälä pl. having secular  
 names R 903.67; CX 139.24 (ba'xes); -  
ba'bak!wax!älä to have war name R 828.63

(ba'bak!wa); ä'ngwax<sup>es</sup> what is his name? (be absent, invisible) R 1101.90; C 26:372.34.

=x<sub>10</sub> ends of branches of tree, leaves,  
hair on body of animal;  
does not weaken ㄚ'

"Branches, leaves:" le'x<sub>10</sub>elx<sub>10</sub>' dead leaves; x<sub>10</sub>'n<sub>10</sub>enx<sub>10</sub>la'we<sup>s</sup> fir pollen C 26:198.165 (x<sub>10</sub>enx-); k<sub>10</sub>'wax<sub>10</sub>la<sup>s</sup> cedar wood R 59.62; -än<sub>10</sub>sand<sub>10</sub>x<sub>10</sub>la<sup>s</sup> branches with herring spawn R 185.23; 254.5; gage<sub>10</sub>elx<sub>10</sub>o<sub>10</sub>yo hook for pulling down branches (ge<sub>10</sub>=x<sub>10</sub>o=ayu); -awo'x<sub>10</sub>o big-leaved R 258.68; -awo'dzox<sub>10</sub>o broad-leaved R 245.66; 257.50; -ewi'elg'elx<sub>10</sub>o (pick) all off bushes R 205.15; 221.16.

"Hair on body of animal:" sme'l<sub>10</sub>x<sub>10</sub>o white hair on body (=mountain goat) C II 8.16; III 7.3; -!a'gwex<sub>10</sub>o red-haired animal; -ts!<sub>10</sub>o'x<sub>10</sub>elx<sub>10</sub>o black-haired animal (fur; ts!<sub>10</sub>o'eto for men).

lag'a now; apparently only in imperatives, exhortatives, and after qa.

äx<sub>10</sub>la'g'aq<sup>u</sup> take this now! C II 94.14, tell him now!; me'xalag'äoxs e'k'ix<sub>10</sub>os da'däala<sup>s</sup>emxos q!<sub>10</sub>'la<sup>s</sup>leleq!<sub>10</sub>os sleep now your reason of being good holding on to your spiritual part C II 96.13; k'<sub>10</sub>le'eslag'aqwa!<sub>10</sub> not now this one! (he wants) C II 100.19; la<sup>s</sup>em<sub>10</sub>elag'a!<sub>10</sub> now that is it! C II 100.28; gwa'x<sub>10</sub>elag'a<sup>s</sup> ha't!<sub>10</sub>elaso<sub>10</sub> la'xents enmo'kwex do not now disobey our friend here C II 2.7 [24.22; 74.14]; wä'g'a<sup>s</sup> elaqwela<sup>s</sup>lag'a<sup>s</sup> go on, shout! R 711.19; so lag'adzä<sup>s</sup>ma elaqwela you now shout! R 711.22; do'qwa'zak'aslag'a<sup>s</sup> really look now! C II 34.9.

qen o'gwapala'g'äol that I also (do this) to you C II 2.13; ge'lag'ax'os qas g'a'xlag'äos come and let us come C II 82.25; qas la'lag'äos o'x<sub>10</sub>elx'äid that you now carry on back C II 58.27; qents la'lag'aents la'x<sub>10</sub>en la'as that we go now to my place where I went R 711.16; qen ä'lak'älalag'a<sup>s</sup> q!<sub>10</sub>'ä'x<sub>10</sub>elax... that I would really know the...CX 5.13; qas g'a'xlag'ix<sub>10</sub>tse<sup>s</sup> ne'x<sub>10</sub>id<sub>10</sub>e...that now will come and appear CX 60.21; qenu<sup>s</sup>x<sub>10</sub>u g'a'xlag'a<sup>s</sup> g'a'xelas<sup>s</sup> that we come now come in with this CX 67.35.

#### -lag'i<sub>10</sub>

-lag'i<sub>10</sub>, probably lag'(a) + e<sub>10</sub> emphasizes the subject in contrast to another subject.

m<sub>10</sub>'xalag'i<sub>10</sub>as qen lä'lag'i<sub>10</sub>e let him sleep while I go.

lä'lag'i<sub>10</sub>en lä'ewi<sub>10</sub>ä (while he does so and so) I'll go across.

lä'lag'i<sub>10</sub>os lä'ewi<sub>10</sub>ä (while he does so and so) you will go across.

lä'lag'i<sub>10</sub>asox lä'ewi<sub>10</sub>ä (while he does so and so) he here will go across.

e'selalag'a<sup>s</sup>emas<sub>10</sub> laq<sup>u</sup> qen lä<sup>s</sup> äxa'<sub>10</sub> dā'gwedä<sup>s</sup> wait here and I'll get the doctor; or:

e'selalag'a<sup>s</sup>emas<sub>10</sub> laq<sup>u</sup> qen lä'lag'i<sub>10</sub>en äxa'<sub>10</sub> dā'gwedä<sup>s</sup> (Compare: la<sup>s</sup>me n e<sup>s</sup>e selas<sup>s</sup>maw-is<sub>10</sub>ai I'll wait in the meantime).

qas m<sub>10</sub>'xalag'i<sub>10</sub>os qas nō'gwe<sup>s</sup> e'säx<sub>10</sub>ala you may sleep while I do the work.

qen sek'ä'lag'i<sub>10</sub>enlaxa k'<sub>10</sub>'ä'tela I myself shall spear salmon (while you stay here) C II 44.28.

=laqwa, =laqwela; =olaqwa, =olaqwela  
to speak (see -dzaqwa);  
Reduplication 5

ä'e'g'elaqwela, ä'e'g'olaqwela to talk pleasantly; also ä'e'x'dzaqwela; sya'syag'o-laqwela, sya'syag'elaqwela to talk badly; also sya'syax'dzaqwela; q!<sub>10</sub>'a q!<sub>10</sub>'eyolaqwela, q!<sub>10</sub>'a q!<sub>10</sub>'edzaqwela to talk in many ways, there are many sounds M 694.3.

yä'laqwe'la to sing sacred song C II 54.11; xä'lawelaqwela to talk, cry, strongly, roughly R 606.9 (xäx<sup>u</sup>-); ba'bagwela'qwela to utter cannibal ceremonial cry R 1209.13 (bäx<sup>u</sup>-); gwa'gwelaqwela way of talking '30.509, 535; way of sounding (of rattle) C 26:60.73.

enä'enen<sub>10</sub>gemola'qwa to say a single word CX 104.42; 4328.8; xä'xalala'qwela to shout hahaha C III 202.12; 214.17; ewä'wo-laqwela to shout an amount (of noise) C II 54.10; nä'nagola'qwela to speak straight (neq-); ä'so'laqwela to talk with soft voice; hä'yalolaqwa to speak in right way 4331.10; (ä'o'dzolaqwa to talk in a wrong way); mä'moelolaqwa to sing song of thanks, to make speech of thanks; sä'sewelaqwela wu'<sub>10</sub>, wu'<sub>10</sub> cry used in paddling (s<sub>10</sub>x<sup>u</sup>-); hä'emo-laqwela cries of societies used in winter feasts CX 157.10; 159.14; mä'mexolaqwela to talk in sleep.

Compare independent word elaqwela to shout R 1336.74.

#### -lax uncertainty

qas swilaxse<sup>s</sup> g'a'yulälaxa<sup>s</sup> for where should they come from? C II 236.10; -xs g'e'l<sub>10</sub>emelaxe<sup>s</sup> he'x'<sub>10</sub>äida<sup>s</sup>emlax tsä'x'<sub>10</sub>äid<sub>10</sub>q la'xäläe, he'x'<sub>10</sub>äida<sup>s</sup>emlax sye'sya'g'<sub>10</sub>'es<sub>10</sub>älaxa enä'lax'äoxs le'lax me'm<sub>10</sub>'eg'i<sub>10</sub>älala that, should they break (the sea-eggs) at once then, it is said, it would become bad weather at once and when the southeast wind would blow R 637.28; yexs g'e'l<sub>10</sub>emelaxe kwä'lx'kwelk'älaxa t!<sub>10</sub>'e'q<sub>10</sub>enoxwe t!<sub>10</sub>'e'w<sub>10</sub> s g<sub>10</sub>ent me la laxä kwa kwex<sup>u</sup>balaxe t!<sub>10</sub>'e'qas<sub>10</sub>yas xwa k'<sub>10</sub>'wäna for when the canoe builder should lie down repeatedly with his wife the canoe he has built would have holes at the ends R 615.48.



Frequently used following a'la else:  
a'len ts!e nx<sup>u</sup>laxs else I might get angry with  
 you; a'len q!a yaq<sup>e</sup>lalaxos else I might be un-  
 easy about you; a'las wex<sup>e</sup> mlax gwa'gwasbalix<sup>u</sup>  
g'a xen else you might in vain blame me  
 3988.5; - a'las la'anams else you might be  
 obtained 3994.2.

Also a'la without following lax: a'lak'<sup>u</sup>  
wel'talix'g'a g<sup>e</sup>ne'mg'os else your wife here  
 would sit on the bare floor R 1059.23; a'lox  
xenxt!eqalaxos ena'laqos R 626.61, and a'lox  
xenxt!eqalesos ena'laqos R 631.22 else your  
 weather will be too much.

Frequently in hypothetical clauses:  
qen<sup>o</sup>s xena'laxos if I should get lost; qos  
e't!edelax ya'yaq!entemoi or qos e'dzaqwalax  
ya'yaq!endexstayo! if he should speak to you  
 again; qos k'!e' lax'sid<sup>e</sup>lax g'a xen if he  
 should strike me; - qaso<sup>e</sup> a' lalax dze'x'oid  
 if you should dig clams (see also hypothetical  
 clauses).

laxsd contrary to fact, past

nu'selaxsdox<sup>u</sup> this might have been  
 mine; ha<sup>e</sup>m<sup>e</sup>'elaxsdes it would have been his  
 food; lete m<sup>e</sup>'elaxsdes it would have been his  
 hat; do'qwalaxsden I would have seen (it), but;  
qa'salaxsden I should have gone, but;  
na'nak<sup>u</sup>laxsden I should have gone home, but;  
yu'ems heyolaxsdox<sup>u</sup> this might have happened  
 to you R 649.15; - qaxs le<sup>e</sup>ma'e ha'nx'oitso-  
elaxsde ts!a'geyus for Ts!a'geyus would have  
 been shot R 1378.35; la<sup>e</sup> m<sup>e</sup>lae wa'x'elaxsd  
ha<sup>e</sup>me k'!alaxes ena'x<sup>e</sup>nmweyote he would even  
 have eaten with his brothers C 26:19.79; -  
ema'dzat!en gw<sup>e</sup>nm<sup>e</sup>laxsd<sup>e</sup> qen<sup>o</sup>s sex'si'dxa  
begwi se what indeed on my part would have  
 been my gain if I had speared the merman;  
he'ema<sup>e</sup>el la'g'ix' wa'x'ix'de ha'mg'elilela qaes  
ha'mg'elilaxsdes ts!e' ts!eqalaxsde that, it is  
 said, was the reason why they were ready to  
 give food and they would have given food to  
 those who would have performed the winter  
 ceremonial C 26:149.100; eno'en<sup>e</sup>la'laxsd<sup>e</sup>en  
 those who would have been my brothers  
 C II 184.1; las<sup>e</sup> m' ewi'swala yexe' xa'xapela-  
laxsde lax se xweme'stala then all were gone  
 who might have grasped in their talons those  
 who were paddling about C II 244.2; k'!e'ss-  
elaxsden g'ax qan<sup>o</sup>s ts!ex'q!o' I should not  
 have come if I had been sick '00.43; la'g'anem-  
laxst!ek'st!a' qos k'!e'ss ts!ex'q!o'<sup>e</sup>, or  
lax'es<sup>e</sup>emlaxsde qos k'!e'ss ts!ex'q!o'<sup>e</sup> he  
 might have gone if he had not been taken sick;  
sma'xwax'es<sup>e</sup>emlaxsde qos k'!e'ss ts!ex'q!o's he  
 would have given a potlatch if he had not been  
 taken sick; sma'xwag'anemlaxst!ax<sup>u</sup>de...; -  
a'g'anemsen ek'!e' qelaxsd<sup>e</sup> oh how glad I  
 should have been.

-la<sup>u</sup> dancer, as name "always doing"

Stem expansion very irregular. This  
 may be due to the fact that dances were carried  
 from tribe to tribe, so that dialectic differ-  
 ences appear in these terms.

A 1. cvc E cac: pa'xalalax shaman  
 dancer (pe<sup>x</sup>-).

Names: pa'sela<sup>u</sup> always giving pot-  
 latches (pe<sup>s</sup>-); ts!a'qela<sup>u</sup> always throwing  
 (wealth) away (ts!eq-).

Exception: me' mtsalax mink dancer  
 (me<sup>s</sup>-).

B 1. cvc R cvcvc, cvcvc or stable:

q!we'q!wasela<sup>u</sup> begging dancer (q!wes-);

gwegwa'xwela<sup>u</sup> raven dancer (gwax<sup>u</sup>-);

gwegwe'k'ela<sup>u</sup> whale dancer (gwek'-);

en<sup>e</sup>na'lala<sup>u</sup> day dance; nen<sup>e</sup>na'nala<sup>u</sup> grizzly bear  
 dancer (nan); lelo'xala<sup>u</sup> ghost dancer (lo<sup>x</sup>-);

deda<sup>e</sup>ela<sup>u</sup> laughing dancer (da<sup>e</sup>-);

q!o'mala<sup>u</sup> sick-dancer (q!om-); qo'sela<sup>u</sup>  
 bird's-down dancer (qos- finest down).

C. cvmc stable: kw<sup>e</sup> nxwela<sup>u</sup> thunderbird  
 dancer M 711.9 (kwenx<sup>u</sup>-); q!e m<sup>e</sup>talax song dancer  
 (q!emt-); qa'mxwela<sup>u</sup> bird's-down dancer (qamx<sup>u</sup>-).

Polysyllabic words and with other suf-  
 fixes: g'a lolela<sup>u</sup> thief dancer (g'elol-);  
sy<sup>e</sup>sy<sup>a</sup> g'ada la<sup>u</sup> having sea monster dance  
 (syak'=ad-); le<sup>e</sup>aa'kwela<sup>u</sup> board dancer (laak<sup>u</sup>  
 placed on shelf); ha' ts!exwela<sup>u</sup> making bleed  
 dancer; ha'lik'ela<sup>u</sup> or ha'yalik'ela<sup>u</sup> healing  
 dancer; si'seyu<sup>e</sup>ela<sup>u</sup> double-headed serpent  
 dancer; sepste ndala<sup>u</sup> throwing into water  
 dancer C III 78,4; no'ntse'stala<sup>u</sup> thorough  
 fool dancer; ga'dzeqela<sup>u</sup> starfish dancer;  
gag<sup>o</sup> kwela<sup>u</sup> swan dancer;

Name:

kw<sup>e</sup> lasela<sup>u</sup> always giving feasts C III 76.24.

I y, w, m R hay, haw, ham

hay<sup>a</sup> q!antela<sup>u</sup> speaker dancer (yaq-);

haw<sup>a</sup> yadela<sup>u</sup> cruel dancer (wa'yad); haw<sup>i</sup> nala<sup>u</sup>

war dancer (win-); haw<sup>a</sup> lela<sup>u</sup> otter dancer

(wal-?); ham<sup>a</sup> xala<sup>u</sup> killer whale dancer (max-);

ham<sup>a</sup> yala<sup>u</sup> salmon dancer (ma); haw<sup>a</sup> xaqwela<sup>u</sup> to

tell to go ahead dance (?) (waxa to tell to go  
 ahead).

Names: haw<sup>i</sup> lkwela<sup>u</sup> great cedar (wilk<sup>u</sup>);  
ha' smisela<sup>u</sup> < haw<sup>a</sup> misela<sup>u</sup> always giving away  
 river catch of fish; hame n<sup>e</sup>zala<sup>u</sup> always giving  
 away plenty of grease (men<sup>x</sup>-).

I sy, sw, sm y R a<sup>e</sup>sy, a<sup>sw</sup>, a<sup>sm</sup>:

a<sup>e</sup>o' smala<sup>u</sup> chieftainness dance R 1140.10 (o'<sup>e</sup> sma);

a<sup>sw</sup> s<sup>e</sup>la<sup>u</sup> III 191.16 (also pl. sw<sup>e</sup>wa' s<sup>e</sup>la<sup>u</sup>,

swa<sup>o</sup> s<sup>e</sup>la<sup>u</sup> R 895.78 dog dance (swas-);

a<sup>sw</sup> i'elolela<sup>u</sup> getting everything dancer;

a<sup>sm</sup> ya<sup>u</sup>la<sup>u</sup> what kind of a dancer (smas):

Name: a<sup>sm</sup> xwela<sup>u</sup> always giving pot-  
 latches (smax<sup>u</sup>-).

With introduction of vowel: ha' mas<sup>e</sup>la<sup>u</sup>

wasp dancer (hams-); hamdz<sup>a</sup> lats!e wasp;

ha' m<sup>e</sup>dzats!e wasp nest < hams=ats!e).

-el it is said

xe'nɛla<sup>el</sup> it is said very III 7.1; sne'x'el<sup>lae</sup> he said, it is said C II 78.9; la'el<sup>ae</sup> now, it is said C II 80.17; k'!e'sla se'ltaxa it is said he did not keep quiet C II 78.33; â'la<sup>el</sup> truly, it is said C II 206.13; sne'x'el<sup>at</sup>!a it is said, he said on his part C II 178.8; k'!ea's<sup>el</sup> kwa'x<sup>u</sup>so there was no hole through'it, it is said C II 178.17; he'x'ida<sup>em</sup>!a'wis and so, it is said, it was at once (he-x'ida<sup>em</sup>-<sup>ela</sup>-wis; without el the suffixes em-wis are contracted to -<sup>em</sup>is, see -<sup>em</sup>is).

=l, -!l nominal

ta'gâ<sup>l</sup> olachen net (taq-); tsege'<sup>l</sup> berries of *Rubacer villosus* (tseqa'); nek'we'<sup>l</sup> salal berry (nek<sup>u</sup>-); k!wetax blanket (New), (k!wet-).

gege'la'<sup>l</sup> robin.

=l passive of verbs expressing sensations and mental action; also sensations produced by some outer action.

Sensations: we'le'<sup>l</sup> to be heard C II 30.17; we'la'x<sup>sa</sup>!e'<sup>l</sup> to be discovered by hearing III 257.3; X 5.13 (we'laq-[g'a<sup>e</sup>]-<sup>le</sup>la=<sup>l</sup>); - do'gwe'<sup>l</sup> III 8.10; 9.6; 30.9; do'x<sup>wa</sup>!e'<sup>l</sup> C II 124.10 to be seen; - me'dze'<sup>l</sup>, me's<sup>sa</sup>!e'<sup>l</sup> smelled; - pe'yo'<sup>l</sup>, pe'x<sup>wa</sup>!e'<sup>l</sup> felt.

q!â'le'<sup>l</sup> C II 100.14; III 136.23;

q!â'x<sup>sa</sup>!e'<sup>l</sup> III 142.27 known, learned; q!aedze'<sup>l</sup> noticed C 26:110.34 (q!a<sup>es</sup>!e); ama'x<sup>sa</sup>!e'<sup>l</sup> noticed C II 248.1; wa'xage'<sup>l</sup> wished CX 267.8; - ayu'<sup>l</sup>, desired; mo'<sup>l</sup> desired (me'x<sup>u</sup>-); - a'syodz'<sup>l</sup> understood III 294.32; sna'k!<sup>l</sup>!a'<sup>l</sup> expected; x'its!<sup>en</sup>!e'<sup>l</sup> witnessed (a spectacle; x'its!<sup>ax</sup>-); ma'ya<sup>en</sup>!e'<sup>l</sup> respected. R 839.67; CX 68.16 (mayax'-).

legw'e'<sup>l</sup> affected by fire; - swe'da's<sup>el</sup> affected by cold; - qâbe'<sup>l</sup> affected by upsetting something on oneself; pe'ndze'<sup>l</sup>, pene'<sup>l</sup> affected by a blister; ts!<sup>e</sup>mdze'<sup>l</sup> affected by boils.

-la but;

la'la but now III 14.10; da'lax'sä<sup>em</sup>-la but he still held III 14.11; qâ'<sup>la</sup> indeed III 142.29.

-l future (see Grammar)

â'm<sup>l</sup>adza<sup>en</sup> I am going to play C II 142.8; dza'swe'n<sup>es</sup> you will be a silver salmon C II 142.9; qâ'<sup>la</sup>!e<sup>en</sup> indeed I shall C II 68.7; k!we'nsa<sup>l</sup> he was going to sit under water C II 30.20.

-len nominal suffix: what serves for---

ya'x<sup>u</sup>!e<sup>en</sup> property (ya'qu- to distribute); yâ'lax<sup>u</sup>!e<sup>en</sup> sacred song X 69.30 (yâ'laqu- to sing sacred song); ts!<sup>e</sup>ts!<sup>l</sup>âx<sup>en</sup> paraphernalia for winter ceremonial (ts!<sup>l</sup>âq-); dze'dzax<sup>en</sup> weapons III 469.19 (dze'x- to attack); ts!<sup>e</sup>!wex<sup>u</sup>!e<sup>en</sup> fame C 26:176.32 (ts!<sup>e</sup>!wex<sup>u</sup>-); k'!e'k'!<sup>e</sup>s!e<sup>en</sup> steep promontory, cliff III 369.18, 30 (? fearful).

=le<sup>e</sup>, =la<sup>ey</sup>ala, =la<sup>sy</sup>od moving on water; at sea;

- does not weaken spirants;

sebe<sup>le<sup>e</sup></sup> canoe starts on water R 181.55 (sep-); k'eg<sup>e</sup>la<sup>ey</sup>ot to meet on water CX 171.37 (k'eq-); syag'ile<sup>e</sup> to get angry on water; do'degwe<sup>le<sup>e</sup></sup> to look about on water C 26:53.138; le'n<sup>x</sup>le<sup>e</sup> steersman C 26:45.84; pe'xwe<sup>le<sup>e</sup></sup> to float up on water from underneath (pe'x<sup>u</sup>-); a'm<sup>l</sup>le<sup>e</sup> to play on water (am<sup>l</sup>-); nexn<sup>e</sup>ge<sup>le<sup>e</sup></sup> to steer straight on water. C 26:72.16 (neq-); pa'ge<sup>la</sup>!e<sup>ey</sup>ala to lie flat on water C 26:15.47 (paq-).

With other suffixes: frequently with g'e'<sup>l</sup> and g'ââ<sup>l</sup>: ge'g'le<sup>e</sup> to travel long on water C II 266.17, C 26:220.49 (gey-); swis<sup>l</sup>g'le<sup>e</sup> all on water R 1015.64; 1080.5; sm<sup>e</sup>!g'le<sup>e</sup> to turn on water R 177.53; - hang'âale<sup>e</sup> (canoe) stops on water C 26:202.57; X 101.12; âx<sup>sa</sup>!a<sup>sy</sup>od to put on water R 255.22 (ax-(g'a)â<sup>l</sup>=le<sup>e</sup>-d); pa'x<sup>sa</sup>!e<sup>e</sup> to fall flat on water C II 340.28 Kos (paq-g'ââ<sup>l</sup>=le<sup>e</sup>); - we'le'âale<sup>e</sup> to stop on water (arriving somewhere) R 414.11; - k!wa'g'âale<sup>e</sup> to sit down in water C 26:180.217; q!els<sup>sa</sup>!e<sup>e</sup> to anchor on water C 26:153.48; sm<sup>e</sup>ns<sup>sa</sup>!a<sup>sy</sup>od to try on water C 26:51.77.

k'a'qole<sup>e</sup> to meet on water C 26:48.210 (k'eq-[g]o=le<sup>e</sup>); - g'ok'ostâle<sup>e</sup> house comes up on water R 808.74 (g'ok<sup>u</sup>-ustâ=le<sup>e</sup>); - se'xwax's<sup>sa</sup>lag'le<sup>e</sup> to paddle about at sea 3971.4 (sex<sup>u</sup>-x's<sup>sa</sup>!a-g'e'<sup>l</sup>=le<sup>e</sup>); k!wedz<sup>e</sup>xa'-la<sup>le<sup>e</sup></sup> to sit in canoe on water pl. R 961.11; 1039.4 (k!wes=xs-ala=le<sup>e</sup>); - pe'lx<sup>sa</sup>!e<sup>e</sup> fog lying on water (pe'lx-<sup>sta</sup>=le<sup>e</sup>); las<sup>ta</sup>g'âale<sup>e</sup> to put (canoe) into water; - pe'x'âlag'le<sup>e</sup> to float on water C 26:39.31 (pe'x<sup>u</sup>-âla-g'e'<sup>l</sup>=le<sup>e</sup>).

k!wasg<sup>e</sup>mele<sup>e</sup> to sit on an island C II 30.18; k!wask'!ene'le<sup>e</sup> to sit on a floating log; (see -xla (dish for e before suffix).