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THE NUXALK LANGUAGE

(lexicon, narratives, grammar)

BY HANK NATER

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INTRODUCTION

This volume offers a description of the Nuxalk language as recorded by myself in Bella Coola (British Columbia, Canada) in the summers of 1972-75, and intermittently from 1977 until 1988. The grammar and lexicon are based on Nater 1983 and Nater 1990, and include Nuxalk morphemes, derivations, and sample phrases and sentences. In order to illustrate traditional language use, I present twenty-one narratives as well. Number codes inserted in the lexicon link entries with sections of the grammar (e.g. 10.5 = spatial prefixes). Data pertaining to origins and affiliations (etymologies) of Nuxalk morphemes are provided, and Boas 1910, McIlwraith 1948, Davis & Saunders 1980, and Saunders' Nuxalk database are quoted where their data diverge significantly from, or are more exhaustive than, mine.

Credit for providing language data is entirely due to the language consultants who patiently assisted me in the 20th century: the late – and fondly remembered – Hank King, Andy Schooner, Dr. Margaret Siwallace, and Felicity Walkus. Note that to date, there are no more than three surviving elders with a first language command of spoken Nuxalk.

Nuxalk has been geographically isolated (surrounded by Tsimshianic, North Wakashan, Athabaskan) from all other Salish languages for centuries. The Salish languages, both extant and extinct, are dispersed through British Columbia, Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Montana as follows:

Maritime Salish (north to south): Nuxalk, Central (Comox, Pentlatch, Sechelt, Squamish, Halkomelem, Nooksack, Straits, Twana, Lushootseed), Tsamosan (Quinault, Lower Chehalis, Upper Chehalis, Cowlitz), Oregon (Tillamook and Siletz, surrounded by Chinook, Coos-Takelma, Tlatskanai);

Interior Salish (northwest to southeast): /k-k'-x/ languages (Shuswap, Lillooet, Thompson, Columbian, Okanagan) and /č-č'-š/ languages (Kalispel, Spokane, Coeur d'Alene, Flathead).

The Nuxalk language is structurally and lexically affiliated more closely with other Maritime Salish (in particular Tsamosan) than with Interior Salish (cf. Nater 2013 and 2014):¹

In regards to the multiple origins and non-Salish aspects of Nuxalk, note that: (a) the Salish portion of this language appears to have originated in the vicinity of the Olympic peninsula (southern maritime British Columbia – northwest Washington State west of the Cascades; see Kinkade 1990, Nater 2010, Nater 2013, Nater 2014, Nater 2018); (b) Nuxalk has a number of Tsimshianic and other “Penutian” (including Chinook Proper) features and morphemes not shared with other Salish (see Nater 2018, and cf. Kinkade 2005); (c) there was once regular contact – resulting in vocabulary copying – with Athabaskan populations east, northeast, and north of the Nuxalk domain (see Nater 1994); (d) a large portion of Nuxalk vocabulary and morphology has a North Wakashan origin (see Nater 2013 and 2014).

¹ Nuxalk has a few bound morphemes that are within Maritime Salish matched only in Tsamosan (Upper Chehalis): (1) the prepositions **alh** and **c**; (2) causative **-tu-**; (3) the allomorphic pairs **-tulh-/-mulh-** ‘1st person plural object’ and **-ts(an)-/-m(an)-** ‘1st person singular object’. In addition to these systemic resemblances, Nuxalk-Tsamosan cognate lexicon not shared with other Maritime Salish (more than 50% of all entries tagged **Ki91** in the lexicon) places Nuxalk closer to Tsamosan than to Central and Oregon Salish.

The native population of Bella Coola is situated around and east of 52°22'19.66"N – 126°45'14.16"W, and is a fusion of ethnic divisions from: (a) Stwic-Nuxalk (1-2), (b) Talyu (3), (c) Kw'alhna (4), (d) Ista-Sutslh (5-6) (see the appendix on the last four pages of this book for numerous unanalyzable place names). Denizens of this region spoke slightly divergent local variants of the language that we now prefer to call "Nuxalk".

ALPHABETICAL ORDER, SPELLING RULES, PHONETICS

The alphabetical order in which the Nuxalk entries are arranged in the lexicon is the same as for English, except for di- and trigraphs like **tʼ**, **ts**, **lh**, **tlʼ**, **kwʼ** which are treated like single symbols. However, I have not assigned a sequential position to the Nuxalk glottal stop ([ʔ], see below), and e.g. **alhʔapq** ‘brave’ is listed among other entries that contain an ...**alha**... or ...**alhʔa**... sequence.

The graphemes **ʔ** and **ʼ** both represent a laryngal hiatus (interrupted breath). This hiatus appears (1) as the glottal stop (**ʔ**): (1a) after vowels and fricatives (e.g. **icaʔi** ‘to be incomplete, to not be ... yet’, **puʔyaas** ‘Labrador tea’, **sʔunkwtsta** ‘body’, **alhʔay** ‘to be so’), (1b) between sonorants (**Hawʔyat** ‘a geographic name’, **tslʔlik** ‘coyote’), (1c) before a morpheme-initial vowel or sonorant (see below); (2) as the feature glottalization (**ʼ**) of the phonemes listed in column 2 of the table on the next page.

The occurrence of morpheme-initial **ʔ** is limited: it is spelled only (I) after prefixes; (II) in enclitics with initial **ʔa...**, **ʔi...** and **ʔl...** (where e.g. ...kwʔi... = [...kʷʔe...]); and (III) in **ʔna** ‘determinative’, two nouns (**ʔlats** ‘sea cucumber’, **ʔyanahu** ‘turnip’), and three verb roots (**ʔna** ‘forgotten’, **ʔnap** ‘to take’, **ʔnayc** ‘to accompany’). Examples of (I) and (II) are: **kʼilhʔitsa** ‘toothless’ (**itsa** ‘tooth’), **sʔmtsta** ‘seat, chair’ (**mt** ‘to sit’), **wa.qayt.ʔats** ‘these hats’, **qaaxla.ʔisu!** ‘have another drink!’, **wal.ʔlmitsʔ** ‘who might it be now?’ (vs. **inu.atuʔ** ‘is it really you?’, **lhtnmts.alu** ‘I was supposed to go up’).

The full Nuxalk alphabet, di- and trigraphs² included, is:

a	c	cw	h	i	k	kʼ	kw	kwʼ	l	lh
m	n	p	pʼ	q	qʼ	qw	qwʼ	s	t	tʼ
	tlʼ	ts	tsʼ	u	w	x	xw	y	ʔ	

² For the only instances where **cw** = [çw] (not [xʷ]) and **xw** = [χw] (not [χʷ]), see entries 2000 and 2006. Note also that **ts** = [t͡s] differs from **ts** = [tʰs]; the latter sequence is found in nu-tas.t͡s-iik ‘musket’.

p = [p], **t** = [t], **k** = [c] etc. are voiceless (not voiced) stops. Speakers of English find it very difficult to distinguish [p] from [b], [t] from [d], [k] from [g]: they are used to hearing [p^h] (“pill”) vs. [b] (“bill”), [t^h] (“tog”) vs. [d] (“dog”), [k^h] (“cold”) vs. [g] (“gold”). Do not pronounce **tanksta** ‘ear’ as *[dæŋkstæ], **papink** ‘snake’ as *[bæbeŋk], **kupi** ‘coffee’ as *[gobi].

Other Nuxalk phonemes that one may find challenging are arranged and described in the boxed areas below (1 = plain plosives, 2 = glottalized plosives, 3 = fricatives, 4 = non-syllabic sonorants, 5 = syllabic sonorants):

	1	2	3	4	5	
bilabial	p	p'	---	m	<u>m</u>	
dental	t	t'	---			
alveolar	ts	ts'	s	n	<u>n</u>	
lateral	---	tl'	lh	l	<u>l</u>	As in “a ^{tl} as”, Welsh “ <i>Llewelllyn</i> ”
palatal	k	k'	c	y	i	As in “a ^c ube”, “ <i>h</i> uge”
uvular	q	q'	x			As in “Ba ^{ch} ”, “Lo ^{ch} ”
velar rounded	kw	kw'	cw			As in “ <i>qu</i> ick”, “ <i>w</i> here”
uvular rounded	qw	qw'	xw	w	u	As in “Ba ^{ch} ”, “Lo ^{ch} ” + rounding
laryngeal		ʔ		(h)	a	

Syllabicity of **m**, **n**, **l** is marked only where phonemically unpredictable (as in, for instance, ksnmak (not *ksnnmak) ‘to work’, clhmnalc (not *clhmnnalc) ‘to beget a child’, asts'lnak (not *asts'nak) ‘to use a basket’), while the phoneme **h** is rare.

Doubling of vocalic sonorants and the fricatives **s** and **lh** happens frequently: **mm**, **nn**, **ll**, **ii**, **uu**, **aa**, **ss** (but doubled **lh** is more conveniently rendered as **lhh**). **aa**, **ii**, **uu**, **mm**, **nn**, **ll** are pronounced with falling tone and are more open than **a**, **i**, **u**, **m**, **n**, **l**: [âˆ·], [êˆ·(j)], [ɔˆ·(w)], [âˆ·m], [âˆ·n], [âˆ·l]. Some examples are: **tl.tllkw** ‘pill’, **sm.smmti** ‘small mountain’, **mn.mnnta** ‘stairway or stepladder’, **tsaa.tsti** ‘youngster’, **suuxi** ‘younger sibling’, **tiilh** ‘to bait a trap’. Note that word-finally, ***aa#**, ***mm#**, ***nn#**, ***ll#** do not exist, that **uu#** occurs only in **tuu** ‘exactly’ and **tl’tuu!** ‘damn it!’, and that **ii#** was not distinguished from **í#** in a number of idiolects (see section 5.8).

Rhetorically dragged **á**, **í** and **ú** (pronounced with sustained high tone ([âˆ·, áˆ·], [ôˆ·, óˆ·], [éˆ·]) are spelled with the acute: **úlh** ‘(going) towards’, **ts’icw** ‘five’, **ts’klákt** ‘ten’, etc. **Dragged vowels should not be confused with doubled phonemes** (but, again, see 5.8 for neutralization of the **ii#** vs. **í#** distinction).

Before syllable-final **m**, **n**, and **l**, **a** is pronounced [a] (not [æ]): **stan** ‘mother’ = [stan], not *[stæn]; **stam ks?** ‘what?’ = [stamcs], not *[stæmcs]; **yallit** ‘brave’ = [jal·it], not *[jæl·it]. **But do not confuse this a with aa.** Similarly, before syllable-final **m** and **l**, **u** is often pronounced [ɔ(·)]: **alhpslhtum** ‘he has been fed’ = [ʔæ̣pṣtɔ̣(·)m, ʔæ̣pṣtɔ̣(·)m], **ulx** ‘to steal’ = [ʔɔ̣(·)lɣ, ʔɔ̣(·)lɣ]. **Do not confuse this u with uu.**

As a rule, **u** cannot be preceded by **w**. Consequently, rounded velars and post-velars (**cw**, **kw**, **kw’**, **xw**, **qw**, **qw’**, and clusters thereof), too, are spelled without **w** before **u**: **xuta** [χʷɔ̣tæ] ‘dipnet’, **squlh** [sqʷɔ̣t] ‘bee, wasp’, **k’utsci** [kʷɔ̣tsçɛ] ‘maggots’, **k’cusis** [kʷxʷɔ̣sɛs] ‘he looked at his face’, **q’xuusnm** [qʷχʷɔ̣wsnəm] ‘to be carving a face’, etc.

Other orthographic conventions are:

- (1) Alternations of the type -aax ~ -aaq, -lxs ~ -lqs (see sections 7.4, 7.7) are predictably recurrent, and I have chosen not to signal such allomorphy in suffix strings like **-aax-alits** ‘tooth’, **-lxs-ak** ‘finger’ (where **x** is generally more frequent than **q**). However, sample words illustrate this type of variation.
- (2) Enclitic strings are written uninterruptedly (i.e. without *ˌ* intervening) where immediate constituent (IC) analysis separates the entire string from the preceding unit (section 15.55), as in **alhʔay.matu** ‘it may (*ˌ*ma) be the case (**alhʔay**) indeed (*ˌ*tu)’, but **ta.mants.tski.tx** ‘the one that I must assume (*ˌ*tski) is my father (**ta.mants.tx**)’.
- (3) Parenthesized units are optional: e.g. **alhaa.q’likw(lhp)** ‘creeping juniper’ = **alhaa.q’likw** or **alhaa.q’likwlhp**, **-alx(i)** ‘neck’ = **-alx** or **-alxi**.
- (4) Verbs belonging to the causative paradigm are marked as ending in **...tu-** (examples: **alhpstu-** ‘to feed somebody’, **scuukstu-** ‘to defeat a team’). The hyphen placed after the causative suffix serves to indicate that this suffix requires the addition of at least one pronominal suffix (see sections 1.15-21).

Nuxalk is a “vowelless” language, not only because it has voiceless words, phrases and entire sentences, but also because **a** can be considered a *syllabic laryngal* (which as such belongs in the same category as **m**, **n**, **l**, **i** and **u**).³

³ Examples of Nuxalk voiceless sequences are: sst’ss ‘(the fact) that it is salt’, k’clhhtscw sxwlhtlhts ‘you had seen me go through the passage’. Other such “vowelless” languages are Heiltsuk and Oowekyala (Kortlandt 1973 and Lincoln & Rath 1980). However, in this volume I use the term “vowel” in reference to /a/, /aa/, /i/, /ii/, /u/, /uu/ (although all of these are actually “syllabic sonorants”). The first known person to record in writing a Nuxalk voiceless word is Alexander Mackenzie (1793), who cites “Dichts” = /t’xt-s/ ‘it is a stone’ (Mackenzie inserts “i” in sequences that he may have perceived as whispered or reduced).

SYMBOLS, ABBREVIATIONS, GLOSSES

Verbo-nominal roots and stems not recorded in isolation are marked with **√**: **√m** ‘erect’, **√atu** ‘verbal deictic root’, **√aax** ‘to crawl’.

Clitics are separated from other units by means of **˙** (Unicode U+02EF): **ka˙** ‘hypothetical, irrealis, future’ (proclitic), **alh˙** ‘at, relative to’ (proclitic), **˙tuu** ‘exactly, just, even, too’ (enclitic), **˙ʔits’ik** ‘consequently, and, next, then’ (enclitic).

The symbol separating affixes from other units (including affixes) is - (hyphen or “en dash”): **alh-** ‘stative-progressive’ (prefix), **tam-** ‘iterative’ (prefix), **-ak** ‘hand, paw’ (suffix), **-ulh-ik-alh** ‘top of foot’ (suffix string), **-al-** ‘connective’ (suffix string member), **-anlh-** ‘side, corner’ (suffix string member), **kanus-...-m** ‘having a ... flavor’ (circumfix), **unus(i)-...-m** ‘to go somewhere with a purpose’ (circumfix).

Vowel dragging is marked with the acute: **á, í, ú**.

Reduplication and metathesis are, where relevant, marked with the period: **nm.nmk** ‘animal’, **l.q’llis** ‘giant kelp with herring spawn attached’, **nusu.qw’pstam** ‘to have a smoke’ (where **...u.qw’p...** is derived from **q’up** ‘to (expose to) smoke’), etc.

All other symbols, symbol sequences, and abbreviations used in this book are: [...] = phonetic level, .../... and /.../ = morphological level, {...} = morpho-syntactic level, * = hypothetical or reconstructed, < = derived from, > = changed to, # = word border, 1 = first person (‘I, me, my, we, us, our’), 2 = second person (‘you, your’), 3 = third person (‘he, him, his, she, her, it, its, they, them, their’); caus. = causativizing suffix or suffix belonging in the causative paradigm; dim. = diminutive, imp. = imperative, itr. = intransitive verb or suffix combining with intransitive stems, obj. = object (patient), pass. = passive paradigm, pl. = plural, sg. = singular, subj. = subject (agent), tr. = transitive verb, suffix combining with transitive stems, or transitivizing suffix; Ha =

Haisla, He = Heiltsuk, Kw = Kwakwaka, No = Nootkic (South Wakashan) ,
 NW = North Wakashan, Oo = Oowekyala; CTGR = The Confederated Tribes
 of the Grand Ronde Community of Oregon 2011, DS80 = Davis & Saunders
 1980, Ki91 = Kinkade 1991, Ku02 = Kuipers 2002, Ku67 = Kuipers 1967,
 Ku74 = Kuipers 1974, LR80 = Lincoln & Rath 1980, LR86 = Lincoln & Rath
 1986, McI48 = McIlwraith 1948, Ti77 = Timmers 1977, VE13 = Van Eijk
 2013.

Where etymologies are proposed in this volume, some phonemes are rendered differently – as per Salish and Wakashan standards – from the Nuxalk orthography: **c** is Nuxalk **ts**, **x** is (like Northern Interior Salish and Athabaskan **x**) intermediate between Nuxalk **c** and **x**; **χ** is Nuxalk **x**; **ħ** is Nuxalk **tl'**; **ɬ** is Nuxalk **lh**; **kʷ**, **xʷ** etc. is Nuxalk **kw**, **cw** etc. Examples of reconstructed forms are: *tixʷc-ən, *-al-iʔxʷc ‘tongue’ (> tictsa, -alii(c)ts); *yənəs-ən, *-al-əns ‘tooth’ (> itsa, -alits); *ʔa-təmən ‘to die’, *ci-tumən ‘to sleep’ (> atma, tsituma). For shifts such as *lts > ls, *ns > nts, *wə > u, *yə > i, *ən > i, *q > x, *aʔ > aa, see Nater 2014 and 2015.

Glosses of Nuxalk lemmata in the lexicon and narratives are given in italics, while everywhere else (grammar and footnotes), glosses are as a rule placed between single quotation marks.

COMMON PREFIXES

Many Nuxalk words begin in **alh...**, **s...**, or **nu...** (and **anu...** from ***alh-nu-...**). Most of these words are derivations, and represent a root or stem preceded by one or two of the prefixes **alh-**, **s-**, **nu-**. For instance, we can analyze **spux** ‘eagle down’ as **s-pux** = nominalizing prefix **s-** followed by **√pux** ‘furry, fluffy’, and **spux** is listed under **√pux**. The same is true for **alh-** and **nu-**: **alh?atma** ‘dead’ is derived from **alh-** ‘stative/resultative’ and **atma** ‘to die’; **nulhnusaw** ‘there are two of them, they are two in number’ = **nu-** ‘human’ + **lhnús** ‘two’ + **-aw** ‘3 pl. itr.’ On the other hand, however, we have e.g. **skw’yan** ‘knee’, **nuk’s** ‘to extinguish a fire’, **alh?apq** ‘brave’ (where ***√kw’yan**, ***√k’s** and ***√apq** cannot be separated out).

L E X I C O N

(s t e m s , r o o t s , c l i t i c s , a f f i x e s)

A

- 1 $\sqrt{a}$ *remote, distal* (10.5: tcula) (cf. ta_ː)
- 2 a- *allomorph of alh- before nu..., s...* (10.4)
- 3 a- *locative prefix* (10.5) (cf. asqa, astcw)
- 4 a_ː = wa_ː (2.1, 3.3)
- 5 -a *intransitivizer (antipassive)* (6.8) (cf. -i- (293), -n)
 If < *-an, cf. Shuswap -n- ‘transitive’ (Ku74), Lillooet -ən
 ‘transitivizer’ (VE13), Squamish -n ‘transitive’ (Ku67)
- 6 $\sqrt{a}$ *polar question marker* (15.25, 15.55)
 Lillooet $\sqrt{ha}$ ‘question marker’ (VE13)
- 7 $\sqrt{a}...$ *syllable inserted between -x and enclitic* (15.50)
- 8 -aak = -ak
- 9 -aakas *formative suffix*: found in a few personal names and
 Alhkw’ntamaakas *the supreme deity* (9.1)
 NW -kas ‘big, mighty’ (Rath 2010)
- 10 aalats’i = alats’i
- 11 -aalh = -alh
- 12 -aalhh = -alhh
- 13 -aalh-uts, -alh-uts *door(way)* (7.6); *food implement, dish* (7.10):
 anutapalhuts *the door is wide open*, tsiqw’aalhutsm
 c,ti_ːnuʔam.ʔamataaqs,tc *he has broken his (own) dish*

- 14 -aaq = -aax
- 15 -aaq-tn-aalh *pair of shoes* (7.6): musaaqtnaalh wa qinxts ts *I have four pairs of shoes*
- 16 -aaqws = -aqw's (7.2, 7.4)
- 17 vaax *to crawl*: icaaxlc, alhaaxlc *to crawl*, icaaxulmcayc *to be crawling on the ground*
 *yaq(-lx), cf. Proto-Coast Salish *yəq-ilx (Ku02)
- 18 -aax, -aaq *leg, step* (7.3, 7.13); *bush, tree, stick, wood (log, boat)* (7.6); *food, dish* (7.6); *name* (7.6): tipyaaq *to stand on one leg, be one-legged*, tsyaaxm *to take a step*, astistnmaaq *to have a stiff leg*, nm.nmaax *both legs*, stiktl'aa.tl'qi *to have one leg shorter than the other*, paaxilhaax *to stand at the stern*, smawaax ti stn *one tree or stick*, p'uyaax *tree falls down, is felled*, taq'aax *dense bush*, t'xulhaax *six trees*, nuts'lhax *shade in the bush*, stnaax *timber*, tyax ti lhalas *boat is steady*, nuscwaax *pot or canoe is leaking*, st'saax (tr.) *to put salt in food*, xsaax *sweet drink*, wlaax (tr.) *to pour a drink*, nutsiqw'aaq (tr.) *to break a dish or pot*, asmusaax ts' wa skwatstats ts *I have three names now*
 For 'leg, step', cf. Upper Chehalis -aq 'step' (Ki91)
- 19 -aax, -aaq, nu-...-aax, nu-...-aaq *behind, under: (lower) end, rear, back, bottom, seat; sun, day, lightning; people, population* (7.6): kulhaax *back door*, asaaq *bottom of container*, as.saax *mouth of river*, nup'iixmaax *exhaust fumes*, nust'cwmaaxta *bark on top of which kalhst'cwmta is placed*, anust'cwmaaxm (tr.) *to have something for a cushion*, anulhk'aaq *bottom has come off a bottle*, tcatl'saax *back of the house (outside)*, ustqnkaaqq *petticoat*, amataax *seat, chair*, nukwlaax *the sun is hot, it is a hot day*, nutayaaxm *lightning strikes*, alh ti ka smawaax ti ka suncw *some day (in the future)*, one of these days, nuplcaax *village has been abandoned*,

*population has disappeared, nuyulaaxit ti, apsulh, t'ayc they
massacred this entire population*

Proto-Coast Salish *-aq, *-aq' 'crotch' (Ku02), NW -aq 'crotch'
(Rath 2010)

- 20 -aax-ak *wrist* (7.3): mucw.mukwaaxakta *bracelet*, tuk'maaxak *to have
a sprained wrist*, cmaaxak (tr.) *to break somebody's wrist*, skulhaaxak
wrist, sp'aaxakayc *to have been hit on the wrist*

- 21 -aax-alits, nu-...-aax-alits *tooth* (7.3): smawaaqalits *one tooth*,
alhtmpaaxalitsm (tr.) *to have something between the teeth*,
tayaqaalitsayc *to have been hit on the teeth*, tskw'maaqalits (tr.) *to
pull out somebody's tooth*, tsik'aaxalitsm *to use a toothpick*,
nusp'aaqalitsayc *to have been hit on the teeth*

- 22 -aax-alh *ankle* (7.3); *step* (7.13); *day's travel* (7.13, 7.14); *shoes*:
skulhaaxalh *ankle*, sp'aaxalhayc *to have been hit on the ankle*,
tuk'maaxalh *to have a sprained ankle*, matl'apaaxalh *to take a step*,
nuksaaxalhm *to step backwards*, nuq'ayaaxalh (tr.) *to block
somebody's way*, mntskaaqalhits wa, qinx, ts *I count the shoes*,
smawaaxalh *one day's travel*, lhnusaaxalh *two days' travel*

- 23 -aax-ams *jaw, mandible* (7.3): asaaxams = skulhaaxams *jaw*,
tqnkaaxams *lower jaw*

- 24 -aax-apsm, nu-...-aax-apsm *back of neck* (7.3): asaaxapsm *back of
neck*, sp'aaxapsmayc *to have been hit in the neck*, nutuk'maaxapsm
to have a sprained neck

- 25 -aax-ik *roof* (7.6): tyaaaxik *flat roof*

- 26 -aax-ik-an *under or behind the ear* (7.3): asaaxikan *behind the ear*

- 27 -aax-ik-t *strip* (7.6): tcaaxiktits ti, st'winlh, t'ayc *I cut this hide into
strips*, qpaa.pqikti *narrow strip*

- 28 -aax-ilh *pubic hair* (7.3): tsa.tskwaaxilh *to have long pubic hair*,
sxaaxilhm *to shave one's pubic hair*
- 29 -aaxla, nu-...aaxla *berries, juice, liquid* (7.6): lhlaaxla (tr.) *to clean berries*, nukw'pstaaxla (tr.) *to collect a liquid* (cf. q̣la, qaax̣la)
- 30 aaxlh *upstream area* (10.5)
Cf. Proto-Coast Salish *ʔaḥan 'stream direction' (Ku02)
- 31 aaxn *to have perceived an omen*
Ha ʔaqn 'omen' (vʔaq) (LR86)
- 32 aaxqa, ṿaaxqn *to urinate*: aaxqats c̣a, sic *I am urinating blood*,
aaxqayalus *to want or need to urinate*, sʔaaxqalh *urine*,
nuʔaaxqnalsalayc *to accidentally wet oneself*
*ʔaq.qan, cf. Sechelt ʔáqan (Ti77)
- 33 Aaxqlhmcani *the daughter of Raven and Porcupine* (cf. aaxlh
and/or qlhm)
- 34 ṿaaxqn = aaxqa
- 35 -aax-us *mouth of river* (7.6): as.saaxus *mouth of river*
- 36 -aax-uts *beard, whiskers* (7.3); *edge, (other) side, across (river or road), at riverbank, sandbar; near or around fire; to shoot, shot; drink, smoke (cigaret)* (7.6): sxaaxutsm *to shave one's beard*,
cwlaaxuts (tr.) *to pull somebody's beard*, xsaaxutsm *to apply vaseline to one's whiskers*, ts'waaxuts *to have a grey beard*, kulhaaxuts *roadside*, mtaaxuts *to sit at the riverbank or around a fire*,
kwnaaxutsayc *to walk on a sandbar*, nuklhmaaxuts *to cross a road*,
tpyaaxuts *other side of river or channel*, tayamkits txwnayaaxutsam *I threw it across the river*, kulhaaxuts *to be near a fire*, alhkwilhaaxuts *pitchwood torch*, smawaaxuts *single-barrelled gun*, lhn.lhnusaaxuts *double-barrelled gun*, sk'laaxutsm *to add cold water to one's tea or*

coffee, xsaaxuts *drink is very sweet*, xitl'aaxuts *drink is not sweet enough*, wlaaxuts (tr.) *to spill a drink*, nust'cwmaaqtsta *napkin*, nuksaaxutsm *to inhale smoke*

- 37 √acwlh *vague, indeterminate, unidentified*: acwlhamcwtsinu *I cannot recognize you, you have become a stranger to me*
- 38 acwlh *some* (13.11): alhk'yuktits wa₂acwlh₂ts *I know some of them*, ka₂putl'a₂ma wa₂acwlh₂ts *some of them may come*
Proto-Salish *ʔi/ax^wəl 'some, different' (Ku02)
- 39 √acws *having perceived, learned*: acwsan *to be an expert*, acwsanta *expert, interpreter; a large type of seashell, conch*, acwsalc *to learn*, acwsalctimut *to study, be a student*, acwsalctu- *to teach somebody*, acwsalctnm *(to be a) teacher*, acwsalcta *school, college*
- 40 acws *to be audible, holler*: acwsm (tr.) *to holler at somebody*, acwsnic (tr.) *to hear something or somebody*
If < *ʔa-x^wəs or *x^was, cf. Proto-Interior Salish *x^wu/əs 'forceful' (Ku02)
- 41 -aʔinixw *hunter, ... at hunting* (8.1): yayaʔinixw *successful hunter*, scaʔinixw *unsuccessful hunter*
NW -inuχ^w , -iniχ^w 'expert at, belonging to...' (Rath 2010)
- 42 -ak, -aak *hand, paw, lower arm* (7.3); *gloves* (7.10, 7.13); *work* (7.13): nanaak *grizzly bear's paw*, tspakm (tr.) *to wipe something with one's hand*, mntskaakits wa₂ts'up'akt₂ts *I count the gloves*, musaak wa₂ts'up'akt₂ *four pairs of gloves*, maslancwakts sksnmaakts *I worked for one year*, numawaakmitsuti *to be alone at work*, pi.pq'aak *broad-leaved plantain*
Proto-Salish *-ak (Ku02)

- 43 $\sqrt{akl} = \sqrt{a.kl}$ *right*: alha.kli *to be right, correct* (cf. $\sqrt{kal}$)
- 44 -ak-t *tree branch* (7.3): ship'nakt *tree branch*, suts'wakt *limb moss*,
old man's beard lichen
- 45 akwa, $\sqrt{akwn}$ (tr./itr.) *to buy*: akwats c, ti, qw'xwmtimut *I am buying*
a car, akwnuksaw *they are buying (things)*, ic?akw.kwa *to be*
shopping, akwnutsm *to buy food for oneself*, nu?akwnalsim *general*
store (if < *a.kwa, * $\sqrt{akwn}$, cf. kwn)
- 46 akw'a *black diver (a bird)*: aakw'.kw'ayi *dim.*
- 47 akw'i *smoked salmon head skin* (cf. kw'alci)
- 48 akw'na *sea canoe*: as?akw'na *to travel by sea canoe*
Oo x^wak'w^{na} ($\sqrt{x^w ak^w}$) (LR80)
- 49 -al- *connective* (7.2, 7.3, 7.5, 7.6, 9.3)
Squamish -ay- (Ku67), Shuswap -el- (Ku74)
- 50 ala_v = *alh_vwa_v (3.3)
- 51 -al-aalh *line, base* (7.6): tsilha.lhlaalh (tr.) *to break a line*, kulhalaalh
foot of mountain, amatalaalh *base of totem pole*
- 52 -al-aax-alh-t *behind the lower leg* (7.3): asalaaxalht *hollow of knee*,
stl'imnalaaxalht *Achilles' tendon*
- 53 -al-aax-t *rope, anchor, boat; parents* (7.6): tcalaaqtn (tr.) *to cut a*
rope, tiixwalaaxtn (tr.) *to fasten a rope to a stake*, tilcalaaxt *anchor is*
catching hold of something, ksalaaqtn tx kulhuutsam! *pull the boat*
ashore!, amatalaaxt *parent*, plcalaaxt *both one's parents have died*

- 54 -al-aax-t-layc (*under the*) *tongue, speech* (7.3): as.salaaxtlayc *under the tongue* (= tqnkalaaxtlayc), tmscalaaxtlayc *to speak with a weak voice*
- 55 -al-ak-t, nu-...-al-ak-t *underarm, armpit* (7.3): astipalaktm (tr.) *to hold something under one arm*, sxalaktm *to shave one's armpit*, squplhalakt *hair under arm*, skulhalakt = suqw'walakt *lymph nodes in armpit*, qwsmaalakt *to have sweaty armpits*
- 56 -alas *formative suffix* (9.2): Nuxalkalas *name of a beach*
NW -alas 'materialization of' (Rath 2010)
- 57 alatk *to miss (a shot), make a mistake*: alhʔalatk *to be wrong, mistaken*, alatkuaʔs *to mispronounce*, nuʔalatklayc *to swallow the wrong way, choke*
- 58 alatsicwʔiksʔ *how or what is the situation?, what has happened?, how is it (that ...)?, why is it?, what kind (is it)?* (12.10, 12.11, 12.12):
alatsicwʔlhtsʔiksʔ *what have I done?, what has come over me?*,
alatsicwnuʔks sikwanatnuʔ *why are you crying?*, alatsicwnuʔks sʔaxwʔ
tlʔapnuʔ *why are you not going?*, alatsicwʔiks waʔsyut waʔyanicicwʔ
what kind of music do you like?, alhʔalatsicwnuʔksʔ *how are you?*,
alhʔalatsicwʔliwanuʔksʔ *how are you feeling?*, alhʔalatsicwaalhʔiks
tiʔlhalasʔtcʔ *what type of boat is it?*, alhʔalatsicwaqwʔsʔiks
tiʔlhalasnuʔ *what color is your boat?*, alhʔalatsicwanlhʔiks
tiʔnupnuʔ *what kind of shirt do you have?*, alhʔalatsicwtusʔiksʔ
how will he fix it?, alhʔalatsicwakmtumʔks skaʔalhlic.lics
tiʔnalhmʔtcʔ *in which way is the ling cod going to be cooked?* (if <
*alhʔwaʔtsicw, cf. tscwi, tscwyakm)
- 59 alatsʔi, aalatsʔi, ʔalatsʔ *to report, recount, tell something*: alatsʔitsʔsutsʔ
cʔtiʔqwʔlas tiʔsʔalatsʔi *now I will tell another story*, alatsʔituminuʔ I
will tell you something, alatsʔtnmcʔ *to squeal on somebody*,
alatsʔamktsut *to tell something about oneself*

If < *alh.a.ts'(i), cf. Proto-Salish *c'ay 'to resound (loud, call, etc.)'
(Ku02)

60 -alayc = -aylayc

61 -alc *inchoative suffix* (= -lc) (6.52): acwsalc *to learn*, t'qalc *to float towards the shore*, t'qalc (tr.) *to paste something*, ksalc *to get married*, sxalc *(there is an) avalanche*

62 alc *to wander around, appear in many places* (DS80 'to be the same time'): tlhl.lhliwa alh.ti.sʔalhʔalclikts.ts'n.tc *he is quite strong for a man of his age* (from *ay-lc?)

63 -alcw *formative suffix* (9.2): yumalcw *sour*, muqw'alcw *having no flavor, bland*, musalcw *to feel around for fish with a long tapered stick*, syup'alcw *point of land*, lip'alcw (tr.) *to turn around a point*
Likely from '(end of) protrusion, (tip of) tongue', cf. -alii(c)ts

64 -ali *formative suffix* (9.2): scali *jealous*
NW -ali 'really, very' (Rath 2010)

65 -aliits, -aliiets *tongue* (7.3): tsk'maliits *having a sharp taste, tangy, spicy*, niiqwaliits *to have burnt one's tongue*, tcaliitsim *his tongue was cut out*, kmayaliits *one's tongue hurts*, kulhaliits *side of tongue* (cf. tictsa, -alcw)

*-al-iʔx^wc: Shuswap -ix^weʔck (Ku74), Squamish -alx^wcaʔ (Ku67)

66 -alimtsk *formative suffix* (9.2) ('opening up, spreading?'): paaxalimtsk (tr.) *to give out names*, us.ʔusxlhalimtsk *braggart*, napalimtsk (tr.) = iinalimtsk (tr.) *to distribute food*, its'kalimtsk (tr.) *to distribute presents*, lhuts'alimtsk (tr.) *to undress, uncover somebody*

- 67 -alimtsk-ak: slalimtskak *cone of fir or pine tree* ('like hands sliced (out) all over?')
- 68 -alits, nu-...-alits *tooth* (7.3): plalits *to be toothless*, nutl'xwyalitsts *I have broken a tooth* (cf. itsa)
 *-al-əns, cf. Squamish -ans (Ku67), Shuswap -en's (Ku74)
- 69 alkw *herald, messenger*
 Ha ʔaləkʷ 'spokesman for a chief' (vʔa) (LR86)
- 70 -almc, nu-...-almc *breast, teat* (7.3): nm.nmalmc *both breasts*, slhxalmc *left breast*, nupusmalmc *one's breasts are swollen*, nutcalmcim *she had a mastectomy*, nukmayalmc *to have sore breasts* (cf. -mc, -ulmc)
 *-al-məx(ʷ): Squamish -ay'amixʷ (Ku67), Li -almixʷ (VE13)
- 71 almk *to pole a canoe up the river*: ka_nuʔalmkm.mis_tuts' awcwa *he will go poling up the river again* (from √a.lm-k, cf. la.lam)
- 72 -al-ps, nu-...-al-ps *surrounded, enveloped; in one's mouth* (7.3): t'qalps (tr.) *to put extra clothing on somebody*, t'qalpsta *extra clothing*, nuʔi.tl'yukalpsm *to mumble, mutter*
 *-al-ps '(neck) all around', cf. -apsm
- 73 -alqi, -alx(i), nu-...-alqi, nu-...-alx(i) *back of head, neck, hair at nape of neck* (7.3): nuqat'alxm *to put one's hand in one's neck*, nutuk'malxi *to have a sprained neck*, nusp'alxyayc *to have been hit in the neck*, kulhalxi *back of head, neck*, kulhalxyalh *to stand behind somebody*, alhtsm.q'malqi *to have curly hair (in the neck)*, tsakw'alxi *to have straight hair*
 *-al-qən, cf. Proto-Salish *-qin 'head' (Ku02)
- 74 -alqy-apsm, -alxy-apsm *back of neck* (7.3): asalxyapsm *back of neck*

- 75 -als *surface* (7.3); *liquid container, side of hill or mountain* (7.6):
xawisals *can*, st'sals *bottle*, ts'ikwnals *drinking cup*, stapals *steep mountainside*, slawsals *grassy mountainside*, kulhalst *hill- or mountain side* (cf. -lst)

Proto-Salish *-als(t) 'rock, round object (rounded surface)' (Ku02)
- 76 -als-iixw, nu-...-als-iixw *roof of mouth, palatal-uvular area* (7.3):
tctl'uk'alsiixw *palate* (= *asalsiixw*), nutictsnalsiixw *uvula*,
anulhqmalsiixw *to have phlegm in the uvular area*, nuʔiixwalsiixw *to have burnt one's palate*
- 77 -als-ik-an, nu-...-als-ik-an *ear* (7.3): nuplḥta.tlsikan "to be thick-eared" = *to be slow of understanding*, numnlḥkẉlalsikan (*to have hair in one's ears* (with ...mnlḥkl... rather than expected *...mnlḥkwn...), nutakanalsikan *to have an ear ache*, nutayalsikanayc *to have been hit on the ear*, nut'kwalsikan *to bleed from the ear*, nutsqalsikan *to have a pierced ear*, nutsa.tskwalsikan "to have long ears" = *to be curious*, nutsuptsalsikanayc *to have plugged ears*, kulhalsikan *back of ear*, asalsikan *inner ear*
- 78 alsqa *west* (cf. 10.5): tcalsqalh *west wind* (cf. √sqa)
- 79 -alst *deprivative* (6.44): aṭṃnalstts c̣.ta.ṃnats.tx *my son died on me*, ulxalstn (tr.) *to rob somebody of all his possessions*, knicalstn (tr.) *to eat somebody else's food*

If < 'solid, crucial, important', cf. Proto-Salish -als(t) 'rock, round object' (Nater 2015)
- 80 -alst *outward appearance, behavior*: qw'lasalst *to act funny*
- 81 -altm *season*: tsqwaḷtm *autumn*

Possibly < *-alt-əwn (cf. -altwa)
- 82 -altwa, nu-...-altwa *sky, weather, season* (7.6): nutsqwaḷtwa *it is dark outside, overcast*, sk'altwa wa.suncw *the weather is cold*, scaltwa

bad weather, scwm.cwmaltwa *lightning*, lhqaltwa *wet season*,
 tl'lhaltwa *dry season*, xawisaltwa *metal-colored*, grey sky,
 alhk'caltwam *weatherman*, skulhaltwas wa, suncw, ʔats *outer space*,
cosmos, ayaltwa *the weather is changing*, alhqwyaltwa *cloudless sky*

Perhaps from *-alt-wan 'offspring (of) spirit', cf. -lt, -liwa

- 83 -altswa *formative suffix* (9.2): spuuxaltswa *oval-leaved blueberry*,
 Niixwaltswa *a personal name ('fire brought to earth')*

Either from *-als-wan 'surface-spirit' (cf. -liwa), or cf. -altwa, -tswa

- 84 ʔalu, ʔalhu *unreal: supposed(ly), not quite, almost (going to), trying to ...* (15.22, 15.55): wa mn.mntsts ʔalu ʔats *these "unreal" (unnatural, abnormal) children of mine (offspring of human female and male frog)*, wic kwalu awcwa *they say it is supposed to be in here*, akwalhits ʔalu *I almost bought it*, putl'aw ʔalhu *they tried to come*

- 85 -al-ullh *connector: boat, rope* (7.6): p'iixlayalulhts *my boat is drifting away from me*, numawaluulhi *to be alone on a boat*, scanmalulhts *my boat is wearing out, deteriorating*, qpa.pluulhi *thin string*, kwmaluulh *thick rope*

- 86 -alus *desiderative* (6.57): alh.ʔalhtsimalusts *I want to speak*, anusu.qw'ptamalusnu, aʔ *would you like to have a smoke?* (cf. -nalus)

- 87 -al-us *meat, flesh, body, chest* (7.3); *fire, firewood, engine, all, everything* (7.6): p'alcalus *to recover, get well*, mukwaluuslh *red springsalmon*, ts'aaqaluuslh *white springsalmon*, tcalustnm *to cut up fish or meat*, tpyalus *one side of the chest*, nukmayalusts *my chest hurts (inside)*, puxalus (tr.) *to poke the fire*, lhnusalus *two fires*, kwmlhalus *wood stove*, sp'alustnm *to split firewood*, skw'alustu- *to take an engine apart*, tsiqw'alus (tr.) *to smash up everything* (cf. -nalus)

Proto-Salish *-al-wəs *body* (Ku02)

- 88 aluux, √aluuq *to be last, go behind*: al.ʔaluuxx! *be the last one!*,
aluuxts alh inu *I am going after you go*, aluuxamts ska alhits
alh lhup *I will be with you for the last time* (cf. uqw')
- 89 -alx(i), nu-...-alxi = -alqi
- 90 alh at, *relative to* (3.1, 3.4, 10.5)
Upper Chehalis ʔaʔ 'in, on, into, toward, at' (Ki91)
- 91 alh- *stative-progressive* (10.4)
- 92 -alh, -aalh *foot, (lower) leg, walking, tracks, shoes* (7.3, 7.13); *vehicle, food implement* (7.6, 7.10); *coming from the sky, precipitation* (7.6): ma.malhaalhi *to be walking slowly*, pukw'saalh *tracks of the pukw's*, tsixaalh *new shoes*, matsalh (tr.) *to launch a canoe*, smawalh *one boat or car*, tsixaalh *new boat or car*, mntskalh (tr.) *to count cans or spoons*, smawalh *one cup*, tsakwaalh *long knife*, tsiqw'aalh (tr.) *to break a dish or cup*, stnaalh *wooden spoon*, mukwaalh ti nuʔam.ʔamataaq *it is a red dish*, xsalh *it is raining hard*, alhwlalh *rain*, st'xusmalh *hail*, st'axwaalh *sunlight is too bright*, asts'alh *waterfall* (cf. -ulh)
Samish and Chilliwack -aʔ 'canoe' (Ku02)
- 93 alhaaq'likw(lhp) = alhaa.q'likw(lhp) *creeping juniper* (cf. √q'al)
- 94 alhʔalhew = alh.ʔalhew (tr.) *to hurry somebody*: alh.ʔalhcwtsut *to rush, be in a hurry*, alh.ʔalhcutsmt *to eat in a hurry*, alh.ʔalhcwakmt *to hurry one's work* (cf. lhew *to spur, incite*)
Possibly from √alh.cw < *ʔaxʷ, cf. Proto-Salish *ʔaxʷ, xʷaʔ 'to shake, hurry' (Ku02)
- 95 alhʔalhtsim = alh.ʔalhtsim *to talk, speak*: axw ts' alh.ʔalhtsimaylaycs *he cannot speak anymore*, alh.ʔalhtsimutstimut *to pretend to be*

talking; to say too much, talk too loudly, nuʔalh.ʔalhtsimikts I want to speak, alh.ʔalhtsimusmtmacwi to chat, alh.ʔalhtsim (tr.) to tell somebody something

- 96 alhʔapq *brave*: alh.ʔalhʔaapqm *to be a brave* (cf. ʔpaq, paax)
If < *alh-ʔa.pq “having learnt”, cf. Proto-Interior Salish *paq ‘to learn one’s lesson’ (Ku02)
- 97 ʔalhay *nominal deictic root: slight or increased distance* (2.7):
alhays_{ts} now (cf. ʔa, lhay)
- 98 -alhh, nu...-a(a)lhh *back of mouth, throat, breath, voice* (7.3):
snutʔinalhh *uvula*, nulhpalh_{hm} *to stuff one’s mouth (with food)*,
nusqwlhalhh *to have a fishbone stuck in one’s throat*, nutlʔhlcalhh
one’s throat is getting dry, nukmayalhh *to have a sore throat*,
nukʔmnalhh *to choke*, nu.nutsʔaalhh *to have a loud voice*,
nulhkwʔaalhh *to have a big voice*, cwpalhh *to expire, die*, xllalhh
hungry
Cf. Squamish -a_lʔa ‘neck, throat’ (Ku67), Shuswap -e_lqʷlʔ ‘front of neck’ (Ku74)
- 99 alhi *to be located, stay somewhere*: alh_{in}icits ala_{awcw}_{ts} *I think it is right there*, alhitxw! *bring it here!* (cf. ay)
Central Salish *ʔal ‘be inside, at home’ (Ku02)
- 100 alhʔikw (tr./itr.) *to barbecue (something)*: alhʔikutsm *to barbecue one’s food*, alhʔikuulh *to bake bread on hot rocks*, isʔalhʔikwlh *to eat barbecued food*
- 101 alhʔilhpʔ (tr.) *to hold back, restrain, prevent somebody from ...ing*:
alhʔilhpʔ_{its} ska_{usqas} *I stop him from going out*
- 102 alhkʔilhtu- *to wait for somebody*: alhkʔilhtnm *to be waiting* (cf. nutsikʔlam)

If < *alh-k'ilh..., cf. Proto-Salish *k'al/ɬ, *k'il 'to listen to, attend, wait' (Ku02)

- 103 alhkwilm *wild, shy*: alhii.kwlm *animal is shy*
- 104 alhlxw (tr./itr.) *to look at something, read*: alh.ʔalhlxwim *he is being looked at*, nuʔalhlxwikts *I want to read*, alhlxwtnm *to be showing pictures*, wa, alhlxwim *a show, movie*
- 105 alhmulh *beads*
- 106 ʔalhʔn *to (have) accept(ed)*: alhnmtum c,ti... *he was given a ...*, wa, sʔalhʔnaaxmts *the name I gave*, alhʔnimuttum c, a, st'ls *he was given cranberries* (cf. ʔnac, ʔnayc)
- 107 -alhp = -lhp
- 108 alhps *to eat*: nusʔalhpsmc *always eating*, alhpstu- *to feed, give somebody something to eat*
- 109 alhqw'alayclc *mature, having status*: alhqw'alaycalc! *oh high one!, your honor!, your majesty!*
- 110 ʔalhtu *approaching completion or realization* (15.23):
 alhk'cicw, ayalhtu? *are you beginning to see it now?*,
 q'lumaw, ayalhtu? *are they still trying to climb?*, ka, ti'apnu, alhtukw' *if you will be going some time in the near future*
- 111 alhtsxwm (tr.) *to reprimand somebody*
- 112 alhtsxwmalh *to walk in slush* (cf. tsaxwm)
 Proto-Salish *ciχʷ, *cəχʷ 'waterfall, mountain stream' (Ku02)
- 113 ʔalhu = ʔalu

- 114 Alhuʔntstimut *name of a season (around February)* (possibly from *alh-u.ʔn-ts-timut, cf. √un) (McI48 *aloansdimut*, “Facing Both Ways”: Second moon after the winter solstice)
- 115 alhyacwmaax *leaves are fluttering in the wind* (cf. alh.ʔalhew)
If < *alh-yacw-m-aax, cf. Proto-Salish *laxʷ ‘to shake, hurry’ (Ku02)
- 116 alhyannm = alhyan.nm *to tilt, slant, incline, overhang*
Probably from *alh-yan.nm: cf. Shuswap x-yen-m ‘to go around’ (Ku74)
- 117 -am *to become* (6.46); *times* (13.7); *ordinal* (13.8): tqnkam *to go under something*, asmusamtu- *to divide something into three pieces*, tpyaaxam *to cross a road or river*, kulhutsam *to reach the shore*, ixwam *to go on a journey*, ts’icwlancwam ts’ *it has been five years*, maaskamnu ks stl’apnu ulh ts? *how often do you go to them?* (cf. -m (732))
Squamish -am ‘itr. suffix’ (Ku67)
- 118 -ama, -amn- *tool, implement* (8.1): tiixwama *sledgehammer*, tl’alhama *clothesline*, its’amni *blanket* (= -ma, -mn-)
*(a)mi/ən: Lillooet -mən, -amín (VE13), Shuswap -min (Ku74), Upper Chehalis -min, -mn (Ki91)
- 119 amaʔitsk *maybe* (from *ay ma ʔi tsk?): amaʔitsk alhʔatmas ts’ *maybe he is dead already*, amaʔitsk ka putl’s *maybe he will come*
- 120 amʔamitkalh = am.ʔamitkalh *barefoot*
- 121 amat *where something is; functioning as* (10.5): am.ʔamataaq = nuʔamataaq *saucer*, amatalus *fireplace*, amataqw’s *lair, bed*, am.ʔamatuuts *dishpan*, am.ʔamatuutsi *dish, plate*, amataax *seat, chair*, amatlikt *coffin*, amatalaaxt *parent* (cf. √ʔm) (cf. umat, √ʔm, mt)

Proto-Salish *ʔamut ‘to sit’ (Ku02)

- 122 -amcw *autonomously, by nature* (6.16): napamcwits snusʔulxs *I discovered that he steals routinely*, alhnampamcwits *I know it intuitively*, ulamcwits ulh ts wa itsʔamni ts *I give them the blankets (which I have made myself)*, acwlhamcwtsinu *I cannot recognize you, you have become a stranger to me*

Probably from *-a(l)məxʷ ‘person, individual’ (Nater 2014)

- 123 -amk *applicative: adjunct-incorporating; eventually, additionally, casually* (6.10, 6.11-14): xlhalhamk (tr.) *to crave (food)*, lhulhamk (tr.) *to hear news about somebody*, tlʔyukamk (tr.) *to discuss somebody*, sm.smayamk (tr.) *to tell a story about somebody*, nuyamlhamk (tr.) *to sing of somebody*, aalatsʔamk (tr.) *to report on somebody*, ya.yaatwamk (tr.) *to be happy about, enjoy something*, tulwamktsut *to finally succeed*, atsiwltamkim *somebody got her pregnant*, qtsamk (tr.) *to cast out a net*, xapnamktsut *to mount a horse*, ulxamk (tr.) *to casually steal something*, tayamk (tr.) *to casually cast something aside*, upkamk (tr.) *to mail something out, take it to the post office (e.g. while shopping)*, mntcwamk (tr.) *to incidentally dip something up*, Alhmutsamk *Mystery Dancer*, tlʔapamk (tr.) *to get, catch something*

Likely from *-amən-k ‘means-back, middle’ (Nater 2015)

- 124 amlh *summer; springsalmon*: amlham *summertime*, a.ʔamlhanmi *spring*, a.ʔamlhi *small springsalmon*, amlhtam *springsalmon season*, samllh *sockeye salmon*, samllhtam *sockeye season* (cf. samllh, smlhk)

- 125 aʔmma = aʔm.ma (= aʔnna)

- 126 -amn- = -ama

- 127 -ams *trap, wedge* (7.6): kawams (tr.) *to wedge something*

- 128 -ams, nu...-ams *jaw, mandible* (7.3): tctl'uk'ams *upper jaw*, tqnkams *lower jaw*, snuwats'ams *canine, eyetooth*, tpyams *side of jaw*
Possibly from *-apməs < *-ap-nəs < Proto-Salish *-ap 'base' + *-anis 'teeth' (Ku02), and cf. Shuswap -epne 'jaw' (Ku74)
- 129 amulh *to get one's share of food, serve oneself*: amulhtutits *I will serve them their food*, amulhutsn = amulh
*am-ullh, cf. Proto-Salish *ʔu/am 'to feed' (Ku02)
- 130 -an, nu...-an *temple; collarbone* (7.3); *corner* (7.13): nusp'anayc *to have been hit on the temple*, asan *temple*, icniq'xman *to have lockjaw*, sqwlhan *collarbone*, nucman (tr.) *to break somebody's collarbone*, slhq'an *collar*, as(.s)an *corner*, nuniixwanayc *to have a fire in the corner*, tslhanta *tweezer*, nut'qanta *stamp*, acwsan *expert* (cf. -anlh)
Proto-Salish *-anaʔ 'ear, side' (Ku02): Lillooet n-...-anaʔ 'ear, surface' (VE13), Shuswap -ene 'side, ear' (Ku74), Upper Chehalis -an'i 'ear' (Ki91)
- 131 -ana *formative suffix* (9.1): snxana *cricket*, tl'upana *cormorant*, xwiitsana *restless, fidgeting*
NW -ana ? (Rath 2010)
- 132 -anaats *really, very* (5.16): scanaats *very bad*, yayanaats *very good*, lhkw'anaats *very big*, xitl'anaats *very skinny*, st'axwanaats *very difficult* (cf. ana.na)
- 133 -an-ak (*lump of*) *wrist* (7.3): spulhanak *lump of wrist*
- 134 analas *funnel*
Ha ʋhn 'to be somewhere (said of a hollow object), to put into containers, etc.' (LR86)

- 135 -an-alh (*lump of*) *ankle* (7.3): uslikw'analhts *something rolled on top of my ankle*, spulhanalh *lump of ankle*
- 136 analha (tr./itr.) *to answer (somebody)*: axw_{ts}' analhatis *he did not answer her*
- Possibly related with Squamish ʔánuʔ 'agree, consent' (Ku67)
- 137 anana! = ana.na! *ouch!*, *oh my!* ana.nay! = ana.na!, ana.naatsanay! *exclamation expressing extreme pain, shock, or surprise*
- A widespread term: He ʔnaná 'ouch!' (Rath 2010), Ha ʔnanà 'ouch!' (vna) (LR86), Lillooet ʔananáh 'ouch!' (VE13), Lower Chinook aná 'pain, regret, sorrow, pity' (Boas 1910), Yakima Sahaptin áana 'oh, hey, oops (exclamation of pain or surprise)' (Beavert & Hargus 2009)
- 138 Anʔatsqwtulh = An.ʔatsqwtulh *a dance the performers of which occupy positions according to rank or descent* (McI48 ätsqtutl: *Person who has not given a potlatch, a commoner*) (cf. tsqw?)
- 139 -anaw *allomorph of -aw after wic, lhup, lhmilh* (12.1, 12.3)
- 140 aʔnayk = anayk
- 141 anayk, aʔnayk *to want, desire*: a(ʔ)naykm (tr.) *to want something* (from *anu-ʔay-ik)
- 142 -ancw = -ncw
- 143 -ani *formative suffix* (9.1): tsimani *horseclam*, plxani *inner surface of abalone shell*, k'ucani *butter clam*, lhm.k'mani *weasel*, tl'akwani *elbow*, Quqani *a mythical bird that brings luck*
- NW -ani ? (Rath 2010)

- 144 -an-ilh *groin* (7.3): st'lsanilh *lymph nodes in groin*, tuk'anilhm *to stretch one's hip joints*
- 145 anis *to deny*: axwtsw anisnu! *don't deny it!*
- 146 -ank, nu-...-ank *front of body, chest; side (of body or boat)* (7.3):
 asank *front of body*, tcalhyank = skulhank *side*, nusp'ankayc *to have been hit in the chest or side*, miank *wide canoe* (cf. -nk)
 Proto-Salish *-anak 'belly (anus, buttocks)', cf. Colville -ink
 'stomach, inside, side, sidehill' (Ku02)
- 147 -ank-aax-alh *edge of roof* (7.6): kulhankaaxalh *edge of roof*
- 148 -ank-alh *standing in front*: as.sankalh *to stand in front of somebody*
- 149 -ank-iixw *side of head or face, cheek* (7.3): stsapankiixw *bone on side of head*, sp'ankiixw (tr.) *to hit somebody on the side of his face*,
 yulankiixw (tr.) *to stroke somebody's cheek*
- 150 -ank-us *side of face or hillside* (7.3, 7.13): lhq'ankus (tr.) *to slap somebody in the side of his face*, skulhankus *side of face*, kulhankus *hillside*, tpyankus *other side of hill*, tcitskwankus ti.syup'alcw *other side of a point of land*, Ts'wankus *name of a location in the Bella Coola village*
- 151 -ank-uts(-liits)-alh *side of lower leg* (7.3): skulhankutsalh,
 skulhankutsliitsalh *side of lower leg*, tcastcwankutsliitsalh *inner side of lower leg*
- 152 ank'pts *mouse* (= an.k'pts, from *k'anpts) (cf. k'aputs, kip')
 Proto-Salish *k'ənp 'clasp, squeeze (pinch, chisel)' and *-c 'mouth' (Ku02), Quileute k'adá'p'a 'pinch' (Powell & Woodruff 1976), NW
 ʷk'p 'to hold by squeezing', ʷk'ap 'to gnaw' (LR80)

- 153 -anlh(-) *side or corner* (7.3); *fabric, cloth, sheet* (7.6, 7.10): pik'anlh *oilskin pants*, maaxtsanlh *grey clothes*, mukwanlh *red clothes*, alhtpanlh *spotted shirt*, tiq'anlhm *to sew one's clothes*, t'cwanlhtha *clothes brush*, tsqwanlh *wet clothes*, spikw'anlh *groundhog blanket*, yakyanlh *mountain goat blanket*, nulhxanlh *selfish*, nuyayanlh *generous* (cf. -an)
- 154 -anlh-aax-uts, nu-...-anlh-aax-uts *corner of mouth; lip* (7.3): nukmayanlhaaxuts *corner of one's mouth hurts*, nutca.cnlhaaxuts (tr.) *to cut somebody's mouth in the corners*, tctl'uk'anlhaaxuts *upper lip*, tqnkanlhaaxuts *lower lip*
- 155 -anlh-ank *side of body* (7.3): skw'panlhank *right side*, slhxanlhank *left side*
- 156 -anlh-ank-us *side of face*: skw'panlhankus *right side of face*, slhxanlhankus *left side of face*
- 157 -anlh-iixw, nu-...-anlh-iixw *side of head* (7.3): nukwlhanlhiixw *one side of one's skull is cracked*, axtsanlhiiqw *to lie facing sideways*
- 158 -anlh-layc *rib* (7.3): smawanhlayc *one rib*, lhnusanlhlayc *two ribs*, cmanlhlaycayc *to have one or more broken ribs*, sp'anlhlaycayc *to have been hit in the ribs*
- 159 -anlh-ulh-aqw's *corner of eye* (7.3): sik'amanlhulhaqw's *the corner of one's eye is injured*
- 160 -anm *to become gradually or increasingly ... (er); (it is) the time (season) of ...; the time has arrived for one to ..., one must ... now* (6.47, 6.48-3): scanm *to wear out*, qxyuanm *to (seem to) become increasingly more useless*, staltmcanm *to work hard at becoming a chief*, t'lianm *dog salmon season*, sutkanmi *early winter*, ilhtsayanmts *it is time for me to start picking berries*, alhpsanmts *I must eat now* (cf. -am)

Squamish -an(a)m ‘measure, time’ (Ku67), cf. Kalispel -émn
‘habitual’ (Speck 1980)

- 161 -anm-aak *hour, ... o’clock* (6.51, 7.14): smawanmaak *one hour, (it is)*
one o’clock, maaskanmaak, ʔiks? *what time is it?*
- 162 aʔnna = aʔn.na *hooded merganser* (= aʔmma)
Ha ʔaʔahnà ‘kind of seabird’ (LR86)
- 163 antsns, antsnts *orange(s)*: antsntsagw’s *orange-colored*
- 164 anu- *contraction of alh- and nu-* (10.4): anutplq’ *(turned) inside out*,
anutapalhuts *door is wide open*, anutsiixlh *(hole) dug in the ground*,
anukw’na *to be aiming*, anukits’m *whirlpool*, anup’lht *lukewarm*,
anukalallhayc usqa *he walked straight out*
- 165 anu- *through, throughout, around, spread, across, (coming) out of*
(10.6): anutiixw *tanning frame*, anusts’mlcaax *river delta*,
anust’cwmaaxm (tr.) *to use something for a cushion*, anuputl’uts
water issues from one’s mouth, ti kwl ti, anuputl’ *a hot spring*,
anulixwaax (tr.) *to chase somebody out of the house* (a-nu- ‘locative-
inside’)
- 166 anumaaxm *to drag a heavy load*
- 167 √anuqum (tr.) *to limit, restrain, moderate*: anuqumakmx! *don’t take*
too much! (cf. √squm)
- 168 anuq’m (tr.) *to dare or threaten somebody*
- 169 anus- *to have lost, lack, be deprived of* (10.1): anuskwtmts *widow*,
anuscnas *widower*, anusman *having lost one’s father*, anustan *having*
lost one’s mother (cf. anu-, s-)

- 170 anusq'x (tr.) *to copy somebody*: an.ʔanusq'x (tr.) *to continually copy people*, an.ʔanusq'xmc *to be given to copying, be an imitator*, an.ʔanusq'xuuts (tr.) *to copy somebody's voice* (cf. uq'x, q'ux)
- 171 -an-uts *sound coming from corner* (7.13): asanuts *a sound is coming from the corner*
- 172 -ap 2 pl. subj. itr./tr./caus. (1.1, 1.9, 1.15), 2 pl. obj. tr./caus. (1.11, 1.17)
Squamish -a(ya)p (Ku67), Shuswap -p (Ku74)
- 173 apcw (tr.), apcwa (itr.) *to lift something*: apcwaynic *to manage to lift something*, apcwlxs (tr.) *to lift one end of, tilt something*, apcwaakm *to raise one's arm*
If < *ʔa-px^w or *ʔa.px^w, cf. Lillooet x^wəp-ən (VE13)
- 174 apls *apple(s)*: aplsulh *apple juice*
- 175 aps *to defecate*: nusʔapsta *toilet*, nuʔapsalsalayc *to accidentally defecate in one's pants*
?Cf. Upper Chehalis səʔápsn 'defecate' (ʋsaʔa 'make, do', -aps(i) 'backside, buttocks') (Ki91)
- 176 -apsm (*side of*) *neck* (7.3): tcapsm (tr.) *to decapitate somebody*, skulhapsm *neck*, stl'kwapsm (*to have a*) *wart on one's neck*, alht'umapsm *to have a "hickey" on one's neck* (cf. -alps)
Proto-Salish *-aps(m), *-al-ps (Ku02)
- 177 apsu (tr.), apswa (itr.) *to blow on something*: nuʔapswaakm *to blow on one's hands*, apswatuminu *I will blow it off you*
- 178 apsulh *to inhabit, populate, population, village*: axw ti.ka.apsulh ala.ats *there are no people living here*, apsulhilh alh.Nuxalk *we live*

in Bella Coola, *apsulham to settle, establish oneself* (cf. ps (1015))
(McI48 *äbsult*: Resident)

- 179 $\sqrt{ap}'lu = \sqrt{a}.p'lu$ *eroded, hollow(ed out)*: $a.p'lunk$, $a.p'lun\dot{k}$ *bare, exposed tree roots*, $nu\gamma a.p'luiik$ *hollow tree* (cf. $\sqrt{p}'alu$)
- 180 aqs *halibut hook*: $aaqsi$ *dim.*, $aqsm$ *to fish with a halibut hook*
Cf. NW $\sqrt{q}s$ 'to coil, wind'
- 181 $-aqs$, $-qs$, $-ayqs$ *formative suffix* (9.1): $T'uqwtaqs$ *a geographical name*, $Lhalyaqs$ *a personal name*, $kwa\gamma yalaqs$ *bluejay*, $q'awlhtaqs$ *helldiver*
NW $-qs$ 'woman, animate' (Rath 2010)
- 182 $aq'a(a)tcyu$ *swing*: $aq'atcyum$ *to (play on a) swing* (cf. $q'aat$, qat')
Proto-Salish $*q'at$ 'to hoist, swing' and $-xən$ 'by foot' (Ku02) (for ... $yu < *-iw$ see $-liwa$)
- 183 $aq'miixalhp$ *black cottonwood* (Turner 1973)
Ha $q'āmiq'as$ ($\sqrt{q}'a$) (LR86)
- 184 $aq'sn$ (tr.) *to hang, strangle somebody*: $aq'sntsuut$ *to hang oneself* (cf. $q's$)
- 185 $aq'u = a.q'u$ (tr.) *to imprison*: $alha.q'u$ *to be in jail*, $a.qw'witim$, ma *he has probably been committed to prison, been locked up*,
 $an.\gamma a.q'uli(i)kw$ *policeman*, $nus\gamma a.q'ulikwsta$ *prison* (cf. $q'aw$)
- 186 $\sqrt{aqw}'$ (tr.) *to snarl, tangle something*: $aqw'.qw'alxyayc$ *one's hair gets entangled (in something)*, $icaqw'iixwalhaycts$ *I tripped over something*
- 187 $aqw'an$ *steep riverbank or cliff wall*

- 188 *vaqw'lh downstream: taqw'lh downstream area, Txaqw'lh (people from) the north, Port Simpson, ti txaqw'lhankiixws ti smt lower side of a mountain (cf. txuq', uqw')*
- 189 *aqw'm herring are spawning: siʔaqw'm time of the year when herring are spawning*
Cf. Proto-Athabaskan *q'u'n' 'roe', Eyak q'əmar 'roe' (Nater 2013)
- 190 *-aqw's ground, soil, sand; berries (7.6); paint, color (7.13):*
maaxtsaqw's soil containing clay, sts'ixaqw's sandy soil, sk'caqw's black soil, ip'aqw's (tr.) = mnts'aqw's (tr.) to crush berries,
maliixwaqw's (tr.) to mix paint, pcaqw's having a pretty color,
mukwaqw's having a brown color; dancer's headband
- 191 *-aqw's, nu...-aqw's branches, wood; fire, ashes, stove; water (7.6); eye, sight (7.3):* *tyaqw's = tl'axwaqw's wood that is hard to split,*
astuq'aqw's knot in wood, tiixwaqw'sta nail, spike, taq'aqw's clustered branches, asaqw's bottom of water, riverbed; fireplace, hearth, nutasaqw's (tr.) to poke a fire, nulhlaqw's (tr.) to clean out a stove, remove the ashes, miltmaqw's water spills over, nutsik'maqw's dirty water, nustqwaqw's muddy water, tyaqw's = nuq'saqw's to stare, tipmaqw'sm (tr.) to catch sight of something, squpaqw's eyebrows
**-aq'wəs ~ *-aq'-us < *-aq' 'behind' + *-us 'surface; fire' (Ku02)*
- 192 *vas, vas.s base combined with lexical suffix: being (at) ...: asnalusaax = asalustcwillh between the legs, crotch, asnalusaqw's bridge of nose, aslxsak tail, aslits' side, asan corner; temple, asank front of body; to be in front of somebody, as.sankalh to stand in front of somebody, asals inner bark of cedar; ceiling, as(als)anuts a sound is coming from the corner, asalsiixw palate, asalsuts inner aspect of mouth, oral cavity, asalsikan inner ear, asalxi back of head, neck, asalxyapsm back of neck, nape, asalaaxtlayc under the tongue, asalaaxalht hollow of knee, as.saalh footsole, asalh threshold, as.saak palm of hand, asaaq*

bottom of container, asaaqlayc chin; heel, as.saax mouth of river, tidal flats, as.saaxus mouth of stream, asaaxapsm neck, asaaxams jawbone, asaaxikan behind the ear, asaqw's bottom of water, riverbed; fireplace, asaqw'sanilh lower aspect of groin (near genitals), asilh genitals, as.siihuts lips, asik middle finger, as.siiik spine, backbone, asiknalusxsak between the fingers, asiknalusxsalh between the toes, asiknalusaqw's bridge of nose, as.siknalus joints, as.siklqs bow of boat, asiklxs nasal aperture, asikalus sternum, asikalhh throat, as.sikak upper arm, asikiixwalits front teeth, asikus forehead, asikulhaqw's center of eye, pupil, asiixw smoke vent, as.siiqw crown of head, top of tree, asuts front of house, asutsaax (to be) beneath the house, asutsaaq buttocks, posterior, nu?asuusta inner aspect of front door, asulhaaxs ti, quna base of thumb, asuulhikalhh front of neck, throat

Cf. Squamish √ʔac 'surface' (Ku67) and atsiwa

- 193 as- *to contain, have, use* (10.1): asʔanulhts'aliitstut *they have the food prepared with Indian cheese*, asluta *to have brought, use a crowbar*, asulicts *to have brought food along*, asatl'a *to go by canoe*, asnuniiixwik *to go by steamboat*, asmn.mntnalh *to use a ladder*, asxits'ak *to use an axe*, asnictnak *to use a saw*, as.ʔasmnayak *to have a child* (cf. is- (392))

Lillooet ʔəs- 'to have, to own' (VE13)

- 194 ascw *seal*: aascwi *dim.*, ascwaalh *seal's tracks*, nuʔascwlh *seal fat*

An areal term: proto-Coast Salish *ʔasxʷ (Ku02), NW √sa(ʔ)kʷ (LR80)

- 195 asi- *to consider the taste of something* (10.1): asisc *to dislike the taste of something*, asiya *to like the taste of something*

- 196 asikaax *small timber, underbrush*

If <*(ʔa)s-yik-aʔq, cf. Lillooet s-zik ‘log’ (VE13), Proto-Salish *yik ‘fall (as tree)’ (Ku02)

197 asim *to pack a baby*: asimtnm = asimlt *to brood, hatch eggs*

198 √ask’ = √a.sk’ *spread, divided*: a.sk’tmacwtum *he is torn between ... and ..., cannot decide where to settle* (cf. √sak’)

199 asmús *three* (13.1): asmusamtu- *to divide something into three*, asmusanmutsts snuyamlhts *I sang three times*, asmusamts stl’apts *I went three times*, asmusaaxts sʔalha.q’uts *I was in prison for three days*, asmuslancwts sʔalha.q’uts *I was in prison for three years*, asmusilhts sʔalha.q’uts *I was in prison for three months*, asmusaakts sʔalha.q’uts *I was in prison for three hours*, asmuslxs *sixty* (cf. mús)

200 asqa *to be outside* (10.5): ala.asqa.ts *outside*, asqaykus *front of house*, asqayaaxta *open shed where fish is dried*, asqayaaxnm *to take something outside to dry*, asqayalh *totem pole*, asqayaalhi *small totem pole* (cf. usqa)

Proto-Salish *ʔacq (Ku02)

201 √ass = √as.s = √as

202 astam.ks? *where is it?* (10.5, 12.10) (= a-stam.ks, cf. stam.ks)

203 astcw *to be inside* (10.5): ta.sʔastcwlhts sxsłcalhs wa.alhwłalh.ts *once I was inside, the rain started to really pour*, wa.tsay alh.tu.astcws tu.sulh.txw *everything that was in the house*, ta.alhqulh ta.astcw.tx *the book that was inside*, nuʔastcwaluts *inside of mouth, oral cavity* (cf. ustcw)

Proto-Coast Salish *ʔas-txʷ (Ku02)

204 √astip *to hold, clasp*: astipalaktm (tr.) *to hold something under one arm* (cf. √tipi et al.)

- 205 *astsm* *fresh fish*
- 206 *asya* (tr./itr.) *to butcher, cut up fish*
- 207 *at herring spawn: atm to collect herring spawn*
 NW √ʔnt, ʔaʔnt (LR80)
- 208 *atma, √atmn to die: alhʔatma dead, atmalikt to be totally paralyzed, atmnnaak to have a paralyzed hand, stiʔatmnus to be paralyzed on one side, stiʔatmnusnimutts my side seems to be paralyzed* (cf. *tsituma*)
 Proto-Salish *ʔa-təmən ‘to die’ (Ku02)
- 209 √ʔatu *verbal deictic root conveying use or contact* (2.10) (cf. *a-* ‘locative’ (3) and *-tu-*)
- 210 *-atwala unique formative suffix* (in *sts’i.ts’xwatwalalhp*)
- 211 *√at’* (tr.) *to cut up, smash something: at’ulh* (tr.) *to cut up, mash potatoes, alhat’ulh potato stew*
- 212 *at’* (tr.), *at’a* (itr.) *to smear on, paint something: at’ta paint, at’aaksta paint brush, an.ʔaat’a painter, at’usm to paint one’s face, at’liitsm to paint one’s body, at’uulh* (tr.) *to paint a house (exterior), nuʔat’als* (tr.) *to paint a house (interior)*
- 213 *at’maakw kingfisher*
 NW √t’mk^w (He t’ást’mk’^wa, Ha t’ast’màk^w) (LR80)
- 214 *atl’a to build a river canoe: satl’a river canoe, asatl’a to travel by river canoe, satl’ayi small river canoe, nuʔatl’ayk* (tr.) *to hollow out a river canoe*
 NW √ʔaʔ ‘do something in the woods (esp. boat-building)’ (LR80)
- 215 *atl’anulh gooseberry (coastal black gooseberry, garden gooseberry): atl’.tl’anulhp gooseberry bush*

Ha ʔ'əʔ'anuʔ (ʔ'x) (LR86)

216 ʔatl's *behind, back, east, inland*: atl'salhiix! *step back!*, tcatl'saax *back of house*, nuʔatl'sa.sls *spacious cave*, nuʔatl'siixw *head of river*, satl'suuts *tide coming in*, Atl'smc *Tsilhqot'in native*
NW ʔaʔ' 'to be inland'

217 ats, ʔats *demonstrative, pl. close* (2.6): ala, ats *here* (= a-ts)

218 atsaya *fox*: aats.tsayi *dim.*

Newman 1973 cites Heiltsuk á'caʔya (not known today)

219 atsi *boat, canoe*: clhʔatsinu, aʔ *have you got a boat?*, usʔatsyam *to board a canoe*

220 atsi, ʔatsi *interrogative form of ats* (2.6)

221 atsiwa, ʔatsiw(n) *belly, abdomen*: atsiwni *dim.*, atsiwatinitis *I have a belly ache*, atsiwlt *to be pregnant*, atsiwltlayc *she has become pregnant*

Squamish ʔəs-ʔáʔc-iw'an 'pregnant' (Kuipers 1969)

222 ats'aaxlh *south*, Tallio: tcats'aaxlh *south wind*

223 ats'i *to fish with a rod*: sats'ista *fishing rod*, isats'ista = ats'i (ʔats' *to pull towards oneself*, cf. ats'ta)

224 ats'ta *paddle*: ats'tni *dim.*, ats'tnaluulh *paddle boat* (ʔats' *to pull towards oneself*, cf. ats'i)

225 aw *yes* (16.7)

Chinook Proper aw (Nater 2010)

226 ʔaw, ʔawa *verbal deictic root conveying proximity* (2.9, 2.11): ala, awa *around here*

Tsimshianic origin: Nisgha & Gitksan ʔawáʔ (Tarpent 1987)

227 -aw, -naw 3 *pl. subj. itr.* (14.2)

Comox -ewʔ (Harris 1977), but -aw also resembles Coast Oregon Penutian -auχ, -awχ ‘3du.subj.’ (Nater 2018)

228 -aw, ..., -naw, ... *pl. subj. tr./itr.* (15.43-6)

229 -aw *emphatic imperative suffix* (16.8)

230 awanaaxkw *raft*: asʔawanaaxkw *to travel by raft*, awanaaxkwit
wa,sts’laaxlh *they are going to transport the lumber by raft* (= sawanaaxkw)

Ha hawanàqi’akʷ ‘loaded on top (canoes covered with boards)’
(LR86)

231 √ʔawcw, awcwa *spatial deictic root* (2.11): ala, awcwa *in here*

232 awk’awalh = aw.k’awalh *blind* (cf. sk’awlht)

Proto-Salish *k’aw ‘old, decrepit’ (Ku02)

233 awlh (tr.) *to follow somebody*

If < *aw-(a)lh, cf. Proto-Salish *ʔaw (Ku02)

234 ax, ... = axw (15.54)

235 √axts *to lie down*: axtsm *to be lying down*, axtsmacw *to lie together*,
nuʔaxtsaax *to lie on one’s back*, axtsanlhiiqw *to lie facing sideways*,
siʔaxtsuliits *nightgown* (cf. sxitsta)

Proto-Coast Salish *ʔaxi/əc (Ku02)

236 axxa! = ax.xa! *exclamation of disgust. yuck!*

237 axxut = ax.xut *to cough*

Proto-Salish *ʔəχʷuʔ (Ku02)

- 238 axw *no(t)* (14.1-7, 16.7): axwtxw! *don't!*, axwli *to deny or refuse*,
axw ti,ka,... *there is no ...*

Tsimshianic origin: Nisgha ʔəχ- 'not' (pre-predicative) (Nater 2018),
ʔaq 'non-existent' (Tarpent 1987)

- 239 -axw, -naxw *pl. imperative* (1.7, 1.10, 1.16) (*-(n)aw-x, cf. -aw and -x)

- 240 axwni, icʔaxwni *thrush* (McI48 *ax̱exon'i*: Varied thrush)

NW ʔχʷʔχʷni 'thrush' (LR80)

- 241 ay, ʷa.ʔi *to manifest oneself, to be or act thus*: alhʔay, atuʔ *is it really so?*, alhʔay, matu *it must be so*, alhʔaynaw, tuu c, lhmilh *they are exactly like us*, alhʔay, tuu c, nts sʔalhpss "he is just like me as he eats" = *I am eating and so is he*, axwtxw alhʔaynu! *don't do it!*, alhʔayliwa c, ti, squlh *it looks like a bee*, alhnapits ti, aytcw *I know who did it*, aytutim (it) *happened to them*, axwtxw, ats' aytucw! *don't do it again!*, ayuts *to say, tell*, ayu(u)tstimutx ska, nuyamlhnu! *try to sing!*, ti, ayutsmim, t'ayc si, syulhs *this one which is said to be a si.syulh*, ayalhtcutsm *to say over, repeat*, ayalh *to go*, aytimutts, ma ska, tl'apts *maybe I will try to go*, aynictinits *people think I am that way*, ayanmuutsts ulh... *I went as far as ...*, nuʔayanlhmk (tr.) *to hate somebody*, icʔayak *to give away*, icʔayaklcts c, ti, akw'nats, tc *I have to give my canoe away*, alha.ʔitimutis c, a, stl'yuks *he did what he said he would do*, alha.ʔyaalh *to die, pass away*, Alha.ʔyu(u)ts *Norwegian*, it'Alha.ʔyuuts *to speak Norwegian* (cf. alhi)

NW ʷhy 'to be the case, exist, live etc.' (LR80)

- 242 ay sʔay (to be) any (12.19): ay sʔays wa, yanicits *I like anything*, ay sʔaynaw ala, smlhk, ts wa, yanictits *I like any kind of fish*, ay, ma sʔays, tsk wa, amats, tsk *I figure he may be anywhere*, ay txw sʔaynaw *they were of many kinds, diverse*

- 243 *√ay, √ayaw, √ayu* (tr.) *to change, exchange, trade*: *ayawtsut to (become) change(d)*, *ayawlhits ti_lhalas_tc I will alter the canoe*, *ayawlhmts c_a_sq'lhkw_ʔats I exchange my clothes*, *ayawlhiiqwmnts I exchange my hat*, *ayawliixwtmacwilh c_a_qaytilh_ts! = ayamtmacwilh c_a_qaytilh_ts! let's trade hats!*, *ayawtsm to trade food*, *ayawanlh* (tr.) *to alter clothes*, *ayawanlhm to trade clothes*, *it'ayawanlhtmacwilh! let's trade clothes!*, *nuʔayawalsm to change the sand on the floor*, *ayawsmtim wa_suncw_ʔats the world is changing*, *ayawaakmts c_a_ts'up'akt I change gloves*, *ayam to trade*, *(icʔ)ayamtmacw to trade things with each other*, *nuʔayuik* (tr.) *to change the contents of a receptacle*, *nuʔayuaaxalusm to give something in exchange*, *ayaltwa the weather is changing*
- Proto-Salish *ʔay (Ku02)

- 244 *ayalhilaaxa a small type of whistle*

- 245 *√ayaw = √ay*

- 246 *-ayc to have been ...ed* (6.38); *to (happen to) have completed one's ...ing* (6.39, 6.40); *to be in a ...ing state or position*; *to be able, manage* (6.40); *to have* (6.40): *tcayc to have been cut*, *qwlxwayc to have been hired, contracted*, *walayc to have been left*, *skw'ayc to be undone*, *tumpaaxalitsayc there is something (stuck) between one's teeth*, *numnlhatayc to have fathomed the water*, *xwlhaycaw they have brushed past*, *tl'apayc to have gone*, *alhq'lumayc to have climbed*, *alhq'pstayc to be tasty*, *mtaaxutsaycaw they are sitting around the fire*, *iixwayc to be burning*, *ustcwayc to manage to come in, to get in*, *lhxwtayc to be able to go through*, *sqw'iikayc to manage to jump over something*, *axw tsikwaycts I cannot move*, *sucnayc to have hands*, *icnayc to have feet*, *itsnayc to have teeth* (cf. -lc)

- 247 *ayk' ancient, to be or take a long time*: *alh_tu_ayk'_txw a long time ago*, *ayk'ts alh_txw I was there for a long time*, *ayk'liwa to be slow, late*, *ayk'alh to be slow in arriving*, *ay_ʔayk'uutsts ti_sʔalhpsts I am a slow eater*, *ayk'malhh not having eaten for a long time, to be very*

hungry, ayk'mlh old object, ayk'mlhaalh wa, qinx old shoes, ayk'miis sʔalhis he stayed for a little while

248 -aylayc, -alayc *to accidentally ...; to manage to ...; to complete...ing* (6.42): nupq'talayc *to fart accidentally*, lq'aylayc *to conceive an idea*, lhut'aylayc *to catch a whiff*, q'pstalayc *to happen to have a taste*, alh.ʔalhtsimalayc *to manage to speak*, ksnmakaylayc *to be able to work*, alhpsaylayclh *he has finished eating* (cf. -ayc, -layc, -lc)

249 -aynic (tr.) *to happen or manage to ... something* (6.43): musaynic *to happen to feel something*, lq'aynic *to happen to think of, guess something*, q'pstaynic *to accidentally taste something*, apcwaynic *to manage to lift something*, tsaaxnaynic *to manage to get rid of somebody*, q'lhkwaynic *to manage to repair something*, sts'apaynic *to manage to subdue somebody*

250 -ayqs = -aqs

251 ayts'aym = ay.ts'aym *boa kelp*: snuʔay.ts'aymaqw's *boa kelp (in the water)*

Oo/Kw c'ac'aym, He c'ác'áym 'eelgrass' (LR80)

252 √ayu = √ay

C

- 253 c, *by (means of), via, through* (3.7)
 Upper Chehalis š ‘to, into’ (Ki91)
- 254 caʔm *to gather gooseberries (by stripping the branches)*
- 255 cap’ *to evacuate, escape*: cap’nicits *I let him escape*, cap’timut = cap’,
 nucap’ik (tr.) *to clean out a container*
- 256 cil (tr.), cila (itr.) *to nibble, gnaw on something*: ciluulhis ti, apls *he
 is nibbling an apple*
 Proto-Salish *xil ‘to bite, gnaw, chop, cut’ (Ku02)

- 257 √cip (tr.) *to lessen, diminish something*: cipayc wa, knicilh, ts *our food stuff is diminishing*
- 258 cli *penis*: ascli *to have a penis*, k'ilhccli *to have no penis*
Sq šəl', Cowichan šələ (Kuipers 1969)
- 259 clh- *to have, possess* (10.1): clhm_nalc *to have, beget a child*, clhʔatsi *to have a boat*
- 260 √clhh *away from* (3.9): akwalhits t'ayc ticlhh, ta, Xala *I bought this from Xala*, ulxlhis t'ayc tsiclhh, ilhaʔilh *he stole this from her*, alhk'ctx wiclhh, t'axw! *look at it from over there!*, wiclhts Holland *I am from Holland*, tsiclhhalhilh ts'ayc sʔixq'mlh *we are walking away from her*, ta, imlk ta, ticlhhahls ta, mans, tx *the man who moved away from his father* (cf. -lh (652))
- 261 cm (tr.), cma (itr.) *to snap, break something*: cm_nalus (tr.) *to break something into pieces*, nucmik (tr.) *to break something in half*, nucmikta *deadfall for bear*
- 262 √cm *to be broken*: nucm.cmiik *to have a broken spine*, cmak *to have a broken arm*, cmaaxak *to have a broken wrist*, cmlxsak *to have a broken finger*, cmiixwalst *to have a broken shoulder blade*, nucmanlhlayc *to have a broken rib*, nucman *to have a broken collarbone*, cmaaxapsm *to have a broken neck*, cm.cmi *pocket knife*
- 263 cmanwas *guardian spirit, spiritual guidance*: cmanwastimut *to follow one's intuition*, be one's own counselor, kalhcmanwastsut *to seek guidance*, ascmanwastumx Mnaakays! *guide me, oh Lord!*
Proto-Salish *xəm-an(-was) 'other side, alter ego' (Ku02)
- 264 cnas *woman, wife*: anuscnas *widower*, cnasam, ts' *she is a woman now*, cn.cnaasi *girl*, cnaaslh *female animal*, cnasaaxta *female cousin*, only female sibling in family, skulhcnas *female cousins*, cnasuliits *woman's clothing*, cnasuliitsta ti, nup *it is a lady's shirt*, ascnastamim

lha.ʔna c.ta.ʔna *she had a tryst with him*, Cn.cnas *the name of a constellation* (cf. scnts)

Cf. Proto-Salish *xən ‘to lie flat’ (Ku02), Upper Chehalis šanáʔs ‘lie on one’s back’ (Ki91)

- 265 cp (tr.) *to squeeze a string dry by running it between the thumb and forefinger* (= pc)
- 266 √cs *all, whole, entire* (13.15): csaalhaw stl’apaw *they are all going*, iscsiilh *to do something for an entire month*
- 267 csuuts *all*: csuuts wa.qwanilh *all the spoons*, csuutsilh sʔalhilh ala.ats *we are all here*, csuutsaw syanictits *I like all of them*
- 268 cuk’, √cuuk (tr.) *to bathe somebody*: cuk’m *to take a bath*, nuscuuksta *bath tub*, nuscuk’msta *bathroom*
- Proto-Salish *xʷi/akʷ ‘to wipe, brush, smooth, clean, bathe’,
Columbian xʷukʷn ‘to clean, wipe’ (Ku02)
- 269 √cul (tr.) *to drill*: culta *drill*, cul.culm *to apply the firedrill*, alhcul.culuulh *biscuit, pilot bread* Proto-Salish *xʷul ‘to turn, spin, drill’ (Ku02)
- 270 cum *ice*: (s)nucumiixw *glacier*
- cf. Proto-Salish *ʔuxʷ ‘to freeze’ (Ku02)
- 271 √cuuk = cuk’

CW

272 -cw 2 *sg. subj. tr./caus.* (1.9, 1.15)

All-Salish: Squamish -(a)x^w ‘2 *sg. subj.*’ (Ku67), Shuswap -əx^w ‘2 *sg. subj.*’ (Ku74)

273 cwaacwi, cwaacwcwi = cwaa.cwi, cwaa.cw.cwi *light of weight*:
cwaa.cwaalhi *to tread lightly*

Proto-Salish *x^wa (Ku02), Quileute x^wóʔw (Powell and Woodruff 1976)

274 cwilm *to itch*: nucwilmalsikan *to have an itchy ear*,
nucwilmulhaqw’s *to have an itchy eye*

- 275 √cwin *to have seen, be aware*: cwin(n)imut *to know that something is around or happening*, axw cwinimutts *I do not know what is going on*, nucwinnimutikts *I have a feeling that something is going on*, cwinⁿmacwaw *they both heard something (simultaneously)*, scwincw *omen*
- 276 cwiq' *cow parsnip, Indian rhubarb*
 Cf. Nisgha & Gitksan χeeq 'sea foam, foamy white blossoms (those of cow parsnip or elder)', from Nuxalk via *x^weʔq ~ *χ^weʔq (Nater 2018)
- 277 cwl (tr.) *to pull, grab*: cwliixw (tr.) *to pull somebody's hair*, cwlaaxuts (tr.) *to pull somebody's whiskers*, cwla *to fight, wrestle*, cwlamtsinu *I will fight you*, unusicwlamaw ulh_hlmillh *they came to us with the intention to fight*, cwl.cwla *to be wrestling*
- 278 cwm *warm*: cwmtsut *to warm oneself* (cf. kwcwm)
- 279 cwnalh *well, spring*: Nucwnalhayc *a geographical name*
 NW x^wnis (√x^wn) (LR80)
- 280 cwp (tr.), cwpa (itr.) *to try to free or untangle something*:
 cwm.cwmp_{tx}! *keep untangling it!*, cwptsut *to try to free oneself*,
 cwm.cwmp_{ts}ut *to struggle, press on (e.g. when climbing a mountain or going through thick brush)*, alhcwpaycts_{ts} ' *I am done with my work now, I am free, available*
 Proto-Salish *x^wap 'to unfold, spread out' (Ku02)
- 281 √cwp *to come to an end, be released, come loose, relax, drop, lean*:
 cwplxs *end (e.g. of a story)*, cwplxsnicits ta_halqulh_htx *I have finished reading the book*, cwplxslayc *to be at the end (of one's life)*,
 nucwpaaxmtu- *to reach the end of the river*, nucwpiixwmtu- *to reach the end of the valley*, cwpakm (tr.) *to let go of, put down*

something, cwpalhh to die, pass away, cwpaalh one's foot slips, uncwpts my pants are coming down, nucwpulhaaq baby's diaper is coming off, scwputs drop-off in sea, cwpank (tr.) to lean something against something, alhcwpanktsut to lean on something, alhcwpankiiqw deadfall for small game, axw cwpakmutsis ta, sucas ta, kukwpits, tx ula, ska, tmsclcs he (wolverine) did not release his bite on my grandfather's arm until he got tired

- 282 cwp' (tr.), cwp'a (itr.) *to unhook, untangle something: cwp'uutsits ti, smlhk, tc I take the fish off the hook, cwp'uuts ti, tu.tup, tc the trout is taken off the hook, cwp'uutslaycts = cwp'uutsmlaycts (the fish) freed itself from my hook*

Proto-Salish *xʷp' 'unhook' (Ku02)

- 283 cwt', cwt'm *to fall in, collapse: cwt'uus house collapses, scwt'un, t'uus deadfall, anucwt'uulh there is a hole in the side of a bottle, anucwt'aaq there is a hole in the bottom of a bottle, anucwt'ikiixw there is a hole in the neck of a bottle, cwt'nicits I caught it (animal) in a trap, cwt'maalhts my leg went through (ice or hole)*

- 284 cwts (tr.), cwtsa (itr.) *to discharge, remove, undo, unpart: to spill, pour out; to take apart, tear down, wreck: cwtsm to pour berries into a box; be broken down (e.g. engine), nucwtsik (tr.) to spill a granular substance (e.g. sugar) from a container, nucwtsiklayc to have spilled a granular substance, cwtsalusm to fall apart, cwtsalustu- to take something apart, cwtslcakm to wreck one's product*

No √xʷac 'crumbling' (Davidson 2002)

H

285 haʔm *pigeon*: haʔmmuks *pigeons*

Cognates exist in a large area: He haʔm, No hiʔí·b, Lillooet
hámiwaz', Yurok heʔmiʔ (Nater 2013)

286 Hamats'a *a NW term for Lxulhla*

287 hatst! = hatsst! = tst! = tsst!

288 haʔu *tent caterpillar*: haʔui *dim.*

289 Haw.haw *a mythical bird with a long beak*

Northern Tsimshian hawhaw ‘fabulous monster’, Oo hauhawk^w
‘mythical bird’; Oo hauhawk^w is derived from ʋhwk^w (Nater 2018).
Copying direction is likely Oo > Nuxalk > Northern Tsimshian.

290 huuqwat, uuqwat *term used to pacify a baby*

291 huyp! *a dance cry*

No hury, hory ‘shout used to introduce mask dance’ (Davidson
2002:413)

I

292 $\sqrt{i}$ *close, proximal* (10.5: tculi, cf. ti.)

293 -i- *3 sg. obj. tr.* (1.9) (cf. -a (5), -n)

Probably from PS *-n- ‘transitivizer’: Squamish -n- (Ku67), Shuswap -n(t) (Ku74), Lillooet ...-n (VE13)

294 -i- *euphonic vowel* (as in -m-i-tsut, -i-mut, -t-i-mut, -n-i-mut, see 6.19, 6.21, 6.3)

295 -i, -í, -ii, -y(i) *diminutive suffix* (5.8, 5.9)

Cf. Shuswap -éy'e 'not real, small' (Ku74), Li -áz' 'playingly' (VE13)

296 ʔi... *interrogative marker* (15.32, 15.55)

Cf. Shuswap -y(?) in swety' (beside swet) 'who?', stem'y (beside stem) 'what?' (Ku74)

297 ʔi...k, ʔit...k *contrastive: consequently, consecutively* (15.34, 15.51, 15.55)

298 ʔi...ka, ʔit...ka = ʔi...k, ʔit...k

299 ic- *intensive-distributive* (10.4): icʔakw.kwa *to be shopping*, icliikw'iitis *he is rolling it back and forth*, icp'iixlanaw *they are floating around*, icpqw'm *blizzard is blowing*, icmusa *to be feeling around*, icʔayak *to distribute presents, give things away*, icntl' *it is very dark*, iclq'm *to be thinking*, icka.ku (tr.) *to support a table leg that is too short (e.g. by putting a book under it); making a chief's seat firm by piling up gifts*

300 ica, √icn *lower leg, foot*: wa.ɿc.ʔicats,ts *both my feet*, icnayc *to have feet* (cf. suca)

Proto-Coast Salish *yəxən (Ku02)

301 icaasnic (icaalasnic in one song) (tr.) *to search, look for something*: icaasnm *to be searching*

302 icaʔi, in.ʔicaʔi *to be incomplete, defective; to almost or soon ...*: alhʔicaʔi *baby with a physical defect, malformed*, icaʔitimut *to be lost, wandering around*, in.ʔicaʔinaw ska,tl'apaw *they will go soon*

NW √ʔixa 'draw near, almost' (LR80)

303 iclh *to have arranged a date with a woman*: iclhts ulh,ilh *I have dated her*

- 304 $\sqrt{\text{icn}} = \text{ica}$
- 305 iculh *mother of illegitimate child*: $s\sqrt{\text{icu}}(\text{u})\text{lh}$ *illegitimate child*,
 $\text{alh}\sqrt{\text{icu}}(\text{u})\text{lh}$ *wild, shy*
 Proto-Salish $*s\sqrt{\text{ix}}^{\text{w}}\text{al}/\text{t}$ ‘baby, child’ (Ku02), Quileute $\sqrt{\text{ix}}^{\text{w}}\text{á}\sqrt{\text{k}}^{\text{w}}\text{al}$
 ‘(to give) birth’ (Powell & Woodruff 1976)
- 306 $-\text{ii} = -\text{i}$
- 307 $-\text{iik} = -\text{ik}$
- 308 iiklhii , $\sqrt{\text{iklh}}$ *near, close*: ikhlci *to come closer*, $\text{alhtam}\sqrt{\text{ikhlcaalhi}}$ *to make a gradual approach*
 From $*\sqrt{\text{ik}}^{\text{h}}\text{lh} \sim * \sqrt{\text{i}}\sqrt{\text{7klh}}$, cf. $\text{si}\sqrt{\text{ik}}^{\text{h}}\text{lh}$, $\sqrt{\text{k}}^{\text{h}}\text{ilh}$
- 309 $-\text{iilh} = -\text{ilh}$
- 310 $-\text{iilh-uts}$, $\text{nu} \dots -\text{iilh-uts}$ *lips* (7.3): as.iilhuts *both lips*, tqnkiilhuts *lower lip*, $\text{tctl}^{\text{h}}\text{uk}^{\text{h}}\text{iilhuts}$ *upper lip*, $\text{nusp}^{\text{h}}\text{iilhutsayc}$ *to have been hit on the lip(s)*, nupusmiilhuts *one’s lips are swollen*
- 311 $\sqrt{\text{iin}} = \sqrt{\text{in}}$
- 312 $\text{i}\sqrt{\text{ipts}}$, iipst *to dream*: $\text{i}\sqrt{\text{iptsnictsinu}}$ *I dreamt of you*, $\text{i}\sqrt{\text{iptsilh}}$ *to have a wet dream*, *wet the bed*
- 313 $\sqrt{\text{iiqm}} = \text{iixm}$
- 314 $\sqrt{\text{iiqw}} = \text{iixw}$
- 315 $-\text{iiqw} = -\text{iixw}$
- 316 iixlhp *yellow cedar*: $\text{ic}\sqrt{\text{iixlhp}}$ *several yellow cedars* (probably $\sqrt{\text{iix}}$ combined with $-\text{lhp}$ *tree, plant*: compare iixm *to stink, having an*

unpleasant odor; the freshly cut wood of this tree emits a bitter scent)

- 317 iixm, √iiqm *to stink*; iixmaalh, iiqmaalh *to have stinky feet*,
nuʔiixmik *vessel stinks*, iixmlc *to begin to stink*
- 318 iixsa, √iixsn *medicine*; nuʔiixsnutsta *poison*, nuʔiixsnutsayc *to have been poisoned*
He ʔiχsá (Rath 2010), NW √ʔiq ‘to treat with medicine’ (LR80)
- 319 iixw, √iiqw *to burn*: nuʔiixw *to burn one’s throat*, iixwlaycts *I burnt my pot*, iixwtu- *to burn something*, iixwliits’ *to burn one’s skin*,
iixwak *to burn one’s hand*, iiqwaliits *to burn one’s tongue*, iixwayc *it is burnt*, nusʔiixwtsta *oven, stove*, iixwsulh *to build a fire*, ic.ʔiixw *red cod*, ic.ʔiixwtalhp *red alder* (cf. niixw, sʔixwalhkw)
Proto-Salish *yəqʷ, həyqʷ ‘fire’ (Ku02)
- 320 -iixw, -iiqw *top, head, hair; sprout* (7.3); *hat, lid, lock, door* (7.13):
tctl’uk’iixw *the top of something*, nuʔmtiixwayc *to sit on top of something*, tqwmiixwayc *to be hanging over a rail or line*, as.siiqw *crown of head; plant top, sprout*, pliiwx *headless*, piq’iixw *having a broad head*, nuk’tsii.tsqw *to bump one’s head*, p’wiixw *halibut head*,
mnts’iixw *having blond hair*, mukwiixw *having red or brown hair*;
red lid, pusiixw = putl’iixw *to bud, sprout*, tslhiixw (tr.), tslhiixwa (itr.) *to weed plants*, tayamkiixwm *to throw away one’s hat*, tpiixw *lid, cover*, tpiixw (tr.) *to close something*, skw’iixw (tr.) *to unlock something*, nutpiixw *next door*
Cf. Proto-Coast Salish *-iqʷ(an) (Ku02), possibly < *-iw-qin
- 321 -iixw-aax-ilh *pubic hair*: lhliixwaaxilhn̄m *to pull out somebody’s pubic hair*
- 322 -iixw-ak *tip of finger, fingernail* (7.3): cmiiixwak *to have a broken fingernail*, tl’pii.pqwakm *to cut one’s fingernails*

- 323 -iixw-als-t *shoulder*(7.3): alhpus.pusmiixwalst *to have a swollen shoulder*, tuk'miixwalst *to have a sprained shoulder*, sp'iixwalstayc *to have been hit on the shoulder*, tsik'iixwalst(n) (tr.) *to stab somebody in the shoulder*, sak'amiixwalst *to have an injured shoulder*, skulhiixwalst *shoulder*
- 324 -iixw-alst-uts-ak *elbow*(7.3): sts'iixwalstutsakts (*I fell into a puddle and*) *water splashed up from my elbows*, anulhkwmiixwalstutsakmlhits *I carried it by (hanging it over) the elbow*, k'tsiixwalstutsak *to have a chopped up elbow*, sp'iixwalstutsakayc *to have been hit on the elbow*, skulhiixwalstutsak *elbow, upper arm*
- 325 -iixw-alh *tip of toe, toenail*(7.3): scwtl'iiqwalhmtsnu "I missed you by a toe" = *I could not jump as far as you*, tl'pii.pqwalhm *to cut one's toenails*, k'tsiixwalh *to bump one's toe, to trip*, q'awiixwalhayc *one's toes have gotten hooked on something*
- 326 -iixw-an *head of penis*(7.3): skulhiixwan *head of penis*
- 327 -iixw-layc *knee*(7.3): tuk'miixwlayc *to have a sprained knee*, t'tsiixwlayc (tr.) *to tap somebody on the knee*, sp'iixwlaycayc *to have been hit on the knee*, nm.nmiixwlayc *both knees*, kmayxwlayc *one's knee hurts*
- 328 -iixw-nk *hip(bone)*(7.3): sp'iixwnkayc *to have been hit on the hip*, cmiiixwnk (tr.) *to break somebody's hip*
- 329 iixwsila *to miss a meal*: iixwsilanictscw *it is your fault that I missed the meal*
- 330 -ik, -iik *top surface: roof, table top*(7.6): nust'cwmikta *table cloth*, tspiikta *cloth used to wipe the table*, sxik (tr.) *to scrape a surface*, anupi.pk'miik *sparks are coming from the chimney*, tpik (tr.) *to*

stretch a hide on a frame, tkwik ti_v kulhik_v tc the roof is dirty, stapik steep roof, plikm to capsize

- 331 -ik, -iik, nu...-i(i)k *back* (7.3); *desiderative* (6.57): *sxp'ik, sxp'ii.p'k spine, sqwlhik dorsal fin, nutu.tkw'mik to sprain one's back, nucm.cmiik to have a broken spine, alh.ʔalhtsimikts I want to speak, anusu.qw'ptamiknu, a? do you want to smoke?, nutl'apikts I want to go, nuwnts'iikm (tr.) to want to kill somebody*

Proto-Salish *-ik(n) 'back' (Ku02)

- 332 ika_v = ka_v

- 333 -ik-ak *upper surface of hand* (7.3): *skulhikak upper surface of hand*

- 334 -ik-alh *ground surface* (7.6): *sts'ixikalh sandbar, slawsikalh grassy plain, meadow*

- 335 -ik-alh, nu...-ik-alh *shin* (7.3): *squplhikalh hair on shin, ts'xlhnikalh (tr.) to kick somebody in the shin, sp'ikalhayc to have been hit on the shin, skulhikalh = uts'ikalh shin, nukm.kmaykalh to have a pain in the shin, sts'qii.qkalh marrow*

- 336 -ik-an *ear* (7.3): *tcikanim his ear was cut off, taykanayc to have been hit on the ear, tsqikan (tr.) to pierce somebody's ear, tsa.tskwikan to have long ears, iixwikan to have frostbitten ears*

- 337 -ik-aqw's, nu...-ik-aqw's *center of eye, pupil* (7.3): *mn.mnts'ikaqw's to have hazel eyes, numukwikaqw's to have brown eyes*

- 338 v_iklh = iiklhi

- 339 -ik-nalus *joints; between two houses*: *as.siknalus joints, between two houses*

- 340 *√iks* (tr.) *to drag something*: *alhʔiks* (tr.), *alhʔiksa* (itr.) *to be dragging something*, *anuʔiksaaq* (itr.) *sleigh*, (tr.) *to pull something on a sleigh* (from */ic-ks/, cf. ks)
- 341 -ik-us *part of house* (7.6): *asqaykus* *outside front of house*, *tcatl'sikus* *back room, kitchen*
- 342 -ik-uus *axe blade* (7.6): *tipikuus* *single-bladed axe*, *nm.nmikuus* *double-bladed axe*
- 343 -ik-uuts *edge* (7.6): *kulhikuuts* *edge*, *tqnkikuuts* *lower edge*
- 344 ik'ax = ik'axw (15.54)
- 345 ik'axw = k'axw (14.5)
- 346 ik'nuas = i.k'nuas *fog*: ik'nuasmtap, aʔ *did you have fog?* (cf. sk'inwas *cloud*)
- 347 ikw *pounded cedar bark*
- 348 ikwlhamk (tr.) *to throw aside, discard something*: *ikwlhamkayc* *to fall full length*
- 349 ikw'lst *rockslide* (if < *l.kw'l-lst, cf. kw'lh *to pour out*)
- 350 *√il* (tr.) *to pass, go past or around something*: *illxs* (tr.) (= [ʔiləɣs]) *to go around a point*, *ilus* (tr.) *to go past somebody*, *ilusayc* *to be able to pass*, *ilusaynic* (tr.) *to manage to pass somebody*, *sʔilusaycsta* *passage*, *nuʔiliilh* (tr.) *to coil a rope*, *ilayc* *to go around*, *sʔil.ʔilayc* *rainbow*, *ilaaxayc* *to pay visits*, *nuʔilulhaaqta* *diaper*, *nuʔilals* (tr.) *to line a wall* (cf. *nulmaax*, *ʔyalq*, *yul*, *ʔyul*)

Upper Chehalis yá'l- 'go by, pass by' (Ki91)

- 351 -ila formative suffix (9.1): mukwila *boy reaching puberty*, Tsuusila *name of a small bay*, m.tl'msila *to be restless in one's sleep, to sleepwalk*, qw'aykila *small red cod*, iixwsila *to miss a meal*
NW -il'a 'steep' (Rath 2010)
- 352 ilk *northern riceroot (plant and edible bulbs)*
Proto-Salish *ʔi/alk (Ku02)
- 353 √ilt (tr.) *to put a cover over something*; kalhʔiltta *bed sheets*
Cf. Proto-Salish *s-yalt 'watertight basket, woven dish' (Ku02)
- 354 -ilh 1 pl. subj. itr. (14.2) (cf. -lh (653))
- 355 ilh, ʔilh *definite deictic, feminine remote sg.* (2.6)
- 356 ilh, *indefinite article, feminine remote sg.* (2.1) (= lha,)
- 357 -ilh, -iilh *ring-like* (7.10); *relation, relative* (7.6); *months* (7.14); *pertaining to genital area or sexual intercourse* (7.3): Sts'kiilh *name of a former village*, musilh wa.yu.yucw *four bracelets*, alhts'ktiilhilh *ulh, ts we are closely related to them*, ixwilh alh, nts *he is a distant relative of mine*, musilh *(to do something for) four months*, asilh *private parts*, sxwatilh *urine bladder*, tlhilh *to copulate in an aggressive manner*, tsixilh *to be newly wed* (cf. √il)
- 358 ilhaʔilh, ʔilhaʔilh *demonstrative, feminine remote sg.* (2.6) (= ilh-a-ʔilh)
- 359 -ilh-alh *month's travel* (7.14): ismawilhalh *one month's travel*, ilhnusilhalh *two months' travel*
- 360 ilhicw *shaded pool where fish congregate* (Saunders 'stream on flat ground'); Ilhicwani *wife of North Wind*

If < *i.lhɬcw, cf. either √lhɬcw or Proto-Interior Salish *ɬuxʷ ‘thicket, bushes’ (Ku02)

- 361 ilhk’ (tr.), ilhk’a (itr.) *to delouse somebody*: ilhk’iixwtsinu *I will delouse your head* (from i.lhk’ ~ *lhik’, cf. lhk’)
- 362 ilhm *standing up, erect, vertical, steep*: ilhmals *steep mountain side*, nuʔilhmalth *steep road*, ilhmik *steep roof*, ilhmuuts *steep shore*, alhʔilhm *standing up, erect*, alhʔilhmuutsaycts ala tmcwʔats *I am standing on the riverbank*, sʔanuʔilhmik *mast* (from *ic-lhm, cf. lhm)
- 363 ilht’mlh *flea*: ilht’mlhim ma ti wats’ tc *the dog must have fleas*
If < *i(-)lh.t’mlh, cf. Proto-Coast Salish *t’mɬ/t’ɬm (Nater 2013)
- 364 ilhtsay *to pick berries*: q’slits’lhts sʔilhtsaylhts ka sqaluts *I have been busy picking berries*
Cf. Southern Carrier ʔitcəl ‘blueberries’ (Nater field notes)
- 365 ʔilhu, ʔilhú *imperative enclitic: ... first!, ... for a while!* (15.45) (cf. ʔlu)
- 366 ilhul *to be away for one day* (cf. √il, -ul, wal)
- 367 ʔilhuukax = ʔilhu (15.46)
- 368 im (tr.) *to have sexual intercourse with somebody*: nusʔimc *obsessed with having sexual intercourse*
Cf. Upper Chehalis yó·mi- ‘copulate’ (Ki91)
- 369 √im (tr.) *to connect, tie (up), wind string*: imnalusta *knuckle*, imalht(n) (tr.) *to tie up a canoe*, imulh (tr.), imulha (itr.) *to roll up, wind a string*, sʔanuʔim *centipede*
- 370 -im 3 sg. pass. tr. (1.12) (cf. -i-, -m (732), -am)

Squamish -...m ‘passive’ (Ku67), Shuswap -(e)m ‘passive’ (Ku74)

371 imanta *bird’s nest*: imantni *dim*.

Proto-Salish *yman (Ku02)

372 imlk, √imlaakw *man, male*: iml.mllki *boy*, imlkam, ts’ *he is a man now*, imlkaaxta *male cousins*, sʔimlkuliitsta ti, nup *it is a man’s shirt*, asʔimlktamim ta, ʔna c, lha, ʔna *he had a tryst with her*, imlaakwlh *male animal*

373 imts *nephew, niece*: wa, imtsmtsts *all my nephews and/or nieces* (cf. slhʔimts)

374 -imut *reflexive suffix* (6.21): mnlhimut *to have a rest*, nmpimut *to go aboard*, nukw’ptimut *to have one’s fill of food*, iximut *fish is spawning*, alhʔnimuttum *he was given something* (cf. -mut)

375 in = n

376 ina, √in(a), √iin (tr.) *to bestow, present*: inatsx c, ti, smlhk, tc! *give me the fish!*, inayclhillh c, ats *these have been given to us*, iinalimtsk (tr.) *to distribute food*

377 inacw *morning*: inacuts *to have breakfast*, ya ti, sʔinacw! *good morning!* (cf. -lacw, kaynucs, suncw)

378 inic- *more, in addition* (10.6): inicʔixw, alhu? *is it much further yet?*, inicmawalhtxw! *let there be, bring another bottle!*, wa, inicʔalhhi *the remaining ones*, inictl’mstanaw, lhu ka, putl’ *there will still be more people coming*, inicknicim, malhu alhi *maybe there is still some (more) food left* (if < in.ic-, cf. ic-)

379 inʔiqw’i = in.ʔiqw’i *a brave, hero*: in.ʔiqw’im *to be brave*

- 380 inu *you (sg.)* (12.1): inu,aku? *is it you then?*, inulh t'ayc *this is yours*,
 inutxw ti,ka,tl'ap! *may you be the one to go!*, inu ti,sl'yukts *you are*
the one I am talking about
 Squamish nəw (Ku67), Lillooet núwa (VE13)
- 381 inut,ʔiks? *what did he say?* (12.10, 12.12, 12.16):
 in.ʔinutnictscw,ʔiks? *'what do you think I have been saying?'*, axw
 in.ʔinuts *he did not say anything*
 Proto-Salish *ʔinwat (Ku02)
- 382 v̥ip *narrow, thin*: nuʔipi *narrow*, nuʔipaalhi *narrow road*, ipliikti
narrow space, nuʔipiilhi *to have a small vagina*, nuʔipiiklayci *to have*
a thin penis
 If < “pinched”, cf. ip' (entry 386 below)
- 383 ipatsut *to store food*: nusʔipatsuutsta *larder*, nusʔalhʔipatsuutsta
refrigerator (cf. ipu, tsipa)
- 384 ipts *moss*: iptsliits *bark with moss on it*, iptslcik *moss starts to grow*
on the roof, iptsaak *lichen, limb moss*, iptsikit *they covered it with*
moss
- 385 ipu (tr.), ipum (itr.) *to hide something*: iputsut *to hide oneself* (cf.
 tsipa, ipatsut)
 Cf. Shuswap pwenm ‘cover root cellar’, and cf. Chinook Jargon
 ipsæt ‘to hide (oneself)’ (CTGR)
- 386 ip' (tr.), ip'a (itr.) *to catch, grab, hold, squeeze something*: ip'uulh
 (tr.) *to catch a ball*, alhʔip'uulhnm *to play lahal*, in.ʔip'uulhla *catcher*
in baseball game, in.ʔip'uutsta *fork*, alhʔip'utsm *to refrain from*
speaking, sʔip'ama *handle*, anuʔip'iklxsm *to squeeze one's nose*,
 ip'aqw's (tr.) *to crush berries*, ip'aaxnm *to be extracting juice from*
berries

Proto-Salish *p'əy 'to squeeze, press (grasp, push)' (Ku02), NW √ʔip
'to pinch' (LR80)

387 ip'tuus *to close one's eyes firmly*

388 √iq' (tr.) *to touch, disturb, move something*: axwtxw iq'aytucw! *do not disturb it!*, iq'usm *to move one's face around*, iq'alhm *to move*, iq'akm (tr.) *to touch, disturb something*, iq'tsut *to stir, move*

389 iq'im = i.q'im (tr.) *to braid somebody's hair*: i.q'imtsinu *I will braid your hair*, i.q'imtsut *to braid one's hair*, alhʔi.q'imaw *they have braids* (cf. √q'mstcw *to put together, make complete*)

390 iq'uts (tr.), iq'utsa (itr.) *to rasp, file something*: iq'utsaktsx! *file my tool!*, iq'utsta *file, grindstone*

Proto-Salish *yəq', *ʔiq' 'to file, whet' (Ku02)

391 is- *intensive-prolonged* (10.4): istuc (tr.) *to butcher fish*, ismusilhalh *to travel for four months*, istsk'nimut *to pine, be lonesome, homesick*, istscwimits sksnmakts *I worked enough, to my capacity*, istscwimit ti, amlh *they are busy throughout the summer*

392 is- *to gather; to consume* (10.1): iskwmlh *to gather firewood*, isʔuk'uk' *to gather skunk cabbage leaves*, istii *to drink tea*, isla.laq'alh *to eat something fried*, isʔalhʔikwlh *to eat something barbecued*, ismnts'aqw'stumulhx! *make us berry juice to drink!* (cf. as- (193))

393 isʔiisk(s)lhi = is.ʔiisk(s)lhi *to whisper*

394 ismts'm = ism.ts'm *to dip one's food in eulachon grease*

Cf. NW √c'p 'to dip food (in oil, syrup, or water)'

395 isq's (tr.) *to singe the hairs off a pelt* (cf. q'is)

- 396 $\sqrt{\text{issa}}$ = $\sqrt{\text{is.sa}}$ (tr.) *to put earrings on somebody*: $\text{alh}\sqrt{\text{is.sa}}$ *to be wearing earrings*, is.sa(a)ta *earrings*, is.saatatit *they made her wear earrings*
- Kw $\sqrt{\text{i}}\sqrt{\text{slà}}$ ‘abalone shells, to wear abalone shells’, $\sqrt{\text{i}}\sqrt{\text{is}}$ ‘abalone’
- 397 issut = is.sut = isut
- 398 ists'kw (tr.), ists'kwa (itr.) *to wet, splash water on something*: ists'kwiiwx (tr.) *to water plants*, ists'kus (tr.) *to splash water on somebody's face*, ists'kwalus (tr.) *to sprinkle water on, extinguish a fire* (probably from is-sts'(-)kw : cf. sts' ‘to disperse, scatter, spray, splash’)
- 399 $\sqrt{\text{isu}}$ *imperative enclitic*: ... *again!*, ... *some more!* (15.44) (cf. $\sqrt{\text{su}}$)
- 400 isut , is.sut *to paddle, travel by canoe*: isutus *to have a sunburnt face (having spent much time canoeing)*
- Squamish $\sqrt{\text{isun}}$ (Ku67)
- 401 $\sqrt{\text{it}}$ *imperative enclitic* (15.43)
- 402 it- *to speak* (10.1): itts'xlh *to speak English*, itNuxalkmc *to speak Nuxalk*, it'Atl'smc *to speak Tsilhqot'in*
- Nisgha $\sqrt{\text{it-}}$ ‘pronounce, utter’ (Tarpent 1987)
- 403 it- *to wear, clothing* (10.1): itkuut *to wear a coat*, itpik'uulh *to wear an oilskin coat*, ittsq'ts *I tore my clothes*, itkits'anlh (tr.) *to wash somebody's clothes*, itlhu.lhts'uulh *to be naked*, it'ayawanlhtmacw *to trade clothes*
- 404 it-...-am *to don, put on*: itnupam *to put on a shirt*, itsk'canlham *to dress in black*

- 405 ʔit...k(a), ʔi...k(a) *contrastive: consequently, consecutively* (15.33, 15.51, 15.55)
- 406 itqu (tr.) *to haul, tow something*: ka, alhʔitqwwaylayctumcw, a c, ti, qw'xwmtimutts, tc? *will you be able to tow my car?*
If < *i(c)-t-qu, cf. Proto-Interior Salish *qʷəw 'to slide, crawl' (Ku02)
- 407 ituuxt *to go fishing for one day*
- 408 itl' (tr.), itl'a (itr.) *to shift, move something*: nuʔitl'aaq (tr.) *to move a pan to another burner*, nuʔitl'ik (tr.) *to transfer the contents of a pot*, itl'alh (tr.) *to make somebody walk*, itl'aalh (tr.) *to move somebody's foot*, itl'alhm *to move, walk*, itl'alhm (tr.) *to move off somebody's path*, itl'aalhm (tr.) *to move something with one's foot*, itl'tsut *to move over, step aside*, iciitl'a *to play checkers*
Cf. Proto-Salish *yaʕ, *yaʕ 'come down, descend' (Ku02)
- 409 its (tr.) *to rub, scrub something*: itsulmcta *brush used for scrubbing the floor*, alhʔitsiik *washboard*, itsliikta *tool used during a massage*
Proto-Salish *yac 'to rub' (Ku02)
- 410 itsa, ʔitsn *tooth*: iits.tsn *dim.*, itsaatimut *false teeth*, k'ilhʔitsa *to be toothless*, itsnayc *to have teeth* (cf. -alits)
*yəncən < *yən(ə)s-ən (Nater 2013), cf. proto-Coast Salish *yə-ni/əs (Ku02)
- 411 itskw *to be remote, out of the way*: itskwix! *move over!*, let me pass!, itskwalhix! *get out of my way!*, itskwnulitxw! *move it a little further!*, alh, ta, itskwilh, txw *some months ago*, Nutcii.ctskwani *Necleetsconnay River* (cf. tsikw, tsakw)
- 412 ʔitsn = itsa

- 413 its'ama, its'amni *blanket*: its'amayanm *to don a blanket* (cf. sits'm, -lits')
- From *ʔic'a(m)-mn: Proto-Salish *ʔic'am 'to cover with a blanket' (Ku02)
- 414 its'kalimtsk (tr.), its'kalimtska (itr.) *to distribute presents* (cf. ts'k)
- 415 its't (tr./itr.) *to squirt (on or into something)*: nuʔits'tiklayc *to ejaculate*, nuʔits'talsikanaycts *somebody squirted water into my ear*
- Probably from *i.ts'(i)t, cf. Upper Chehalis t'íc'-, t'íc- 'splash, squirt' (Ki91)
- 416 ix (tr.), ixa (itr.) *to grind, apply friction to something*: alhʔixaalhm *to shuffle, drag one's feet*, iximut "rubbing oneself" = *fish is spawning*
- Proto-Salish *yəʃ, *ʔiʃ 'to grind, scratch, scrape' (Ku02)
- 417 ix- = ic- (10.8)
- 418 ixixi *snow goose*
- He χίχιχι 'northern goose' (vʃi) (LR80)
- 419 ixqlm *to swim* (from ic-qlm, cf. qla)
- 420 ixw *far, remote*: ixwam *to go on a long journey*
- 421 iʔyum *animal howls*

K

- 422 -k *allomorph of -ik* (found in e.g. slaq'k, lhkw'mk, almk, k'matk)
- 423 ka *hypothetical, irrealis, future* (15.1)
 Lillooet ʔka, ka 'obligation, expectancy, would, should' (VE13)
- 424 ka-...-s *next, following* (10.7): kamalacws *next year*, kaynucs *tomorrow*, kaʔa.ʔamlhanmiis *next spring*, kanukaliks *at noon* (*said in the morning*)
- 425 kakaatsi = ka.kaatsi *cute, charming*
- 426 ka ʔksʔ, ka ʔl...ʔ *which is it?* (12.10, 12.13, 12.16): axw alhnapits ti ʔkal *I don't know which one* (cf. ʔkan (433), wika ʔks)
 Proto-Salish *ka(n) 'do what?, be how?, be where?' (Ku02)
- 427 ʔkal *right, straight, in the proper way or place, to act suitably; to detect, find, meet*: nukalalhtxw wa ʔmn.mnta ʔts! *follow a straight path!*, nukaluutsts *it went right into my mouth*, nukaliilhn̄m *to play at ring-throwing*, alhkalliwa *handy, adroit*, alhkaltcwm (tr.) *to guide, look after somebody*, alhkaltcwmitsut *to look after oneself, behave, be careful*, kaluuts *to use the right word*, kalxs *to arrive at the right time*, nukalnicim c ʔa.skwatstas ʔts *he is given his rightful name*, nuka.kl̄stcutsm *to prepare one's food*, kalaalhm (tr.) *to find somebody*, kalaaqwsm (tr.) *to detect, descry something*, nukaltsinu *I will meet you*, kaltmacwm (tr.) *to meet somebody*, nukaltimut "to be met by oneself" = *to return to where one comes from* (cf. kalh- (430))
 Proto-Salish *kal 'go after, follow, chase' (Ku02)

- 428 ka₁...? = ka₁ks?
- 429 kalh- *down, below, under* (10.6): alhkalhk'ctsut *to look down from a height*, kalhst'cwmta *cedar bark mattress*
- 430 kalh-, kas- *to gather, collect, pursue, hunt* (10.1): kalhnm.nmk' *to hunt animals*, kalhmaaxts *to collect clay*, kalhqax = kasqax *to hunt rabbit*, kasmlhk *to fish*, ikalhcn.cnastimut *to seek a wife* (cf. √kal)
Proto-Salish *kal 'go after, follow, chase' (Ku02)
- 431 kamalh₁ *whenever, when, if* (15.7)
- 432 √kan *to be hit, bumped, hurt*: kannic (tr.) *to hurt somebody accidentally*, kannimut *to hurt oneself accidentally*, kannmacw *to bump into each other*, alhkanmacw "to have collided together" = *to resemble each other*
Proto-Salish *kən 'to touch, hold, keep steady; hit' (Ku02)
- 433 √kan *unspecified location*: kanmcnu₁ks? *from which country are you?* (cf. ka₁ks)
Proto-Salish *ka(n) 'do what?, be how?, be where?' (Ku02)
- 434 kanani = kan.ani *bracket fungus*
He kánán'a, Ha kakàn'i (√kn) 'fungus, punk' (LR80)
- 435 kanic, √kancw (tr.) *to wait for, worry about somebody*: kanicilh *we are waiting for him to come*, kancwlcits *I am starting to worry about them (they should have been here by now)* (cf. √kan (433))
- 436 kanus-...-m, nus-...-m *having a ... odor or flavor* (10.7): kanuscm *having a bad odor/flavor*, kanusyam *having a good flavor, sweet*, kanuslhuk'm *having a horrible odor/flavor*, kanusxawism *having a metallic flavor*, kanust'sm *having a salty flavor*, nusyamutsmits *I like its flavor*

437 kap'ay *humpback salmon*: kaa.kp'ayi *dim.*, ska.kp'ayslh *small biting*

*fly that abounds during the humpback salmon season, kap'aytam
season of the humpback salmon*

He k'áp'i, Oo k'ap'i, Ha k'áp'i (vk'ap) (LR80)

438 kas- = kalh-

439 kasmiw *golden eagle*: kasmiwi *dim.*, kasmiwlh *eggs of golden eagle*

< kas- 'to hunt' + *smiyiw 'dog-sized furry mammal', cf. *s-myaw
'large feline or canine' (Ku02)

440 kastsaw *to expect more, to bargain for more than the other party is
willing to give* (McI48 *kestcao*: The dormant waiting for power by a
shaman)

441 kats'an *tail*: kaa.kts'ani *dim.*

Possibly of Athabascan origin, cf. Proto-Athabascan *keʔ 'tail',
*(-)c'an 'bone' (Nater 1994)

442 kaw (tr.) *to accomodate, support, prop, pile; to transport, carry,
bring, deliver*: kawaalh̄ta *footstool*, nukawalh̄m *to climb on a chair
in order to reach something*, nukawaax̄ta *seat, chair*, kawams (tr.) *to
wedge something*, kawlstaw, ts' c̣a, t'xt, ʔats *they pile these rocks on
top*, kawnk̄ta *fat around kidneys*, kawtim ulx̄lh̄ *they were taken up
the river*, icka.ku (tr.) *to pack things around; to support a table leg
that is too short (e.g. by putting a book under it; making the chief's
seat firm by piling up gifts)*, nukawtstinilh̄ *people bring us food*,
kawalh̄ (tr.) *to walk somebody home*, kawak (tr.) *to give somebody a
job*, kulhk̄amut *to pay a prostitute* (McI48 *kulk̄amut*: Generic term
for presents given to a future bridegroom by the father of the future
bride)

- 443 kaycí *to be overly ...*: kaycí st'ss *it is very salty*, kaycínaw sʔixwaw *they are too far* (cf. yalh kayc)
- 444 kaynucs *tomorrow*: kaynucsakmits, ma *I may do it tomorrow* (from ka-ynuc-s, cf. inacw, √nic)
- 445 kc (tr.), kca (itr.) *to draw a straight line on something*:
icnukcalh.clhit wa, mn.mnta, ts *they are painting lines on the road*,
kclqs (tr.) *to strike a match*
If < *kəx 'go in straight line', cf. Proto-Interior Salish *kəx 'to go (along) on foot', *kx-ap 'to follow, chase' (Ku02)
- 446 kikya = ki.kya *grandmother*: kii.kya *great-grandmother*
Proto-Salish *kayaʔ, *kiyaʔ (Ku02)
- 447 kikyū, kikyūm = ki.kyū (tr.), ki.kyūm (itr.), √kyū *to chew something*:
nuki.kyutstx! *chew the food for him!*, si.sikyumaaxalits *molars*
- 448 kilm *to curl up, shrink*: nukilmanlhts *my dress has shrunk*
- 449 kinkin = kin.kin *water parsnip (root)*: kin.kinlhp *water parsnip (whole plant)*
- 450 kip' (tr.), kip'a (itr.) *to grasp, pinch*: kip'ta *clothespin*, kip'aaksta *clamp*, kip'lxsalhm (tr.) *to grab something with one's toes* (cf. k'aputs, ank'pts)
Proto-Salish *k'ip' 'to squeeze, pinch', NW √k'p 'hold by squeezing' (Ku02)
- 451 kits' (tr.), kits'a (itr.) *to twist, wring something*: kits'm *to twist cedar bark*, alhkits'liktn *it is twisted*, kits'anlhm *to wash one's clothes by hand*, nuskiitsta *washtub*, kits'maaxalh *to twist one's ankle*, kin.kits'muutstimut *to contort one's mouth, grimace*, anukits'm *whirlpool*, anukits'miixw *back eddy*

- *k'ic' ~ *k'əlc' ~ *c'əlk, cf. Squamish č'ič'-án 'to twist tr.' (*č'ic')
(Ku67), Sechelt c'lč'-át (Ti77)
- 452 √kits' *to be twisted*: kits'us *having a twisted face*, stikits'ank *lopsided*,
Nukits' "twisted water, eddy, whirlpool" = Hagensborg
- 453 klacw *muskrat*: kl.klaacwi *dim.*
Proto-Salish *kəla^w, Kw kəla^w (Nater 2013)
- 454 klkl = kl.kl *herring*: kl.klta *herring seine*
- 455 klkli = kl.kli *to be slow, take one's time*: kl.kliliwa *to be sort of slow*
?Cf. NW √gl 'to crawl, to go on all fours' (LR80)
- 456 klh (tr./itr.), klha (itr.) *to fall, drop something*: klhm *to take dried fish down (in smokehouse)*, klh ti, snx, t'ayc *the sun is setting*,
usklhanulhikts *something fell on my back*, usklhanulhiixwts
something fell on my head, klhnimut *to slip and fall*, nuklhakts *it fell from my hand*, nuklhutsts *it fell out of my mouth*
Proto-Salish *kəł 'to be detached, come off, separate' (Ku02)
- 457 klhʔan *to menstruate*: sklhʔanlhh *menstrual discharge*, sklhʔans
tsi, xwn.xwnm *scarlet spots on maple leaves*
- 458 klhc *to be awake*: alhklhciktinits *somebody stayed up (waiting) for me*, alhklhciknm *to be a night watchman*
- 459 klhm, nuklhm *to cross*: nuklhmts c, ats ala, anuxum, ʔats *I am going to cross the river now*, nuklhmaaxuts *to cross the road*, nuklhmikts *I want to go across*, nusʔalhlklhm *seven* (cf. klh)
- 460 kma *to be in pain*: kmalayc *to be ill*, nukma *to have a stomach ache*,
kmayankts *my side hurts*, nukmaykalusts *my chest hurts*, kulhkmats
my penis hurts, nukmayalmcts *my breasts hurt*, nukmayklxsakts *the tip of my finger hurts*, kmayulhikakts *the back of my hand hurts*,

nukmayalhhts *my throat hurts*, nukmayaaxts *my rectum hurts*,
 nukmayaalhts *my footsole hurts*, nukmaykiixwts *I have a headache*,
 kmayaaqalitsts *I have a toothache*, nukmayalsikants *I have an*
earache, kmayalusts *I have a cold*, kmayulhikts *my back hurts*,
 nukmayuulhⁿnakts *my testes hurt*, kmayulhaqw'sts *my eyes hurt*,
 kmalxsts *my nose hurts*

461 kmap's (tr.) *to put heated rocks in water*: kmap'sta *pliers used for*
putting hot rocks in water

462 knic (tr.) *to eat something*: sn.knic *food* (cf. knum)

Cf. Proto-Salish *kən 'to touch, hold' (Kalispel čənnten 'catch,
 grab') (Ku02)

463 kntaw *dear* (term of address)

464 knum *smoked fish fillet*: nuknumta *box in which knum is stored*,
 usknumayc *to crave knum* (cf. knic)

465 kp *each, every, all* (13.16): kplhaw, atu sputl'lhaw? *have they all*
come?, kpuslhaw, atu? *did each of them get his share?*, kputstutanx!
give each of them something to eat!, kpustxw ska, nut'qanicw! *put a*
stamp on each!, ala, alhkp wa, tsay suncw *every day*, alhkpiixwaw
 skmalaycaw *they all are ill*, alhkputsmits wa, smayusta, ts *each story is*
mine, anayks ska, kpalhmis wa, tsay alh, txw *then he wanted to go to*
all places, kpakmit s?usmntacwit *they have finished skimming it*

466 ks *interrogative marker* (wh... question) (12.10, 15.31, 15.55)

467 ks (tr.), ksa (itr.) *to take off, pull (off) something*: kstx! *pull it off!*,
 ksm *to pull or reel in (net or fishing line)*, ksiixwm *to take one's hat*
off, ksaalhm *to take one's shoes off*, ksuulhm *to take one's pants off*,
 nu.nuksaaxutsm *to breathe deeply*, anuksutsm *to inhale*,
 nuksaasktmacw *to play at tug-of-war*, ksalaagtntx kulhuutsam! *pull*
the canoe ashore!, axw ksalhaycts *I cannot get it off my feet*,

nuksaaxalhm *to retreat, walk backwards*, ksun.sulhayc *to have convulsions*, alhksulh “money removed” = *cheap*, ksalc *to get married*

Cf. NW √ks ‘push away’ (LR80)

468 ks *rich, nutritious*: ks t’ayc ssn.knics *this is rich food*

469 √ksnm *to be domestically active*: sksnmsta *hunting area*, ksnmak *to work*, ksnmaktu- *to make somebody work*, axw ksnmakaylaycts *I cannot work*

470 kstu-, kstcwa (itr.) *to do, make, fix*: kstcwaynicits ts’ *I already did it*, kstcwatumulhx! *fix it for us!*, tu kslhtcw txw *the ones who have made it*, kstcutsm *to fix (prepare, store) one’s food*, kstimut *to work*, kstim.timut *to be diligent*

471 ktl’i *short*: ktl’lci *to become shorter*, ktl’a.tl’aalhi *to be short-legged*, ktl’aa.tl’qi *short tree*, kuulhktl’i *to have a short penis*

Musqueam c’əc’íł’ (Nater 2013)

472 √ku *attenuative*: but ..., ..., sir/madam, ... then? (15.20, 15.55)

473 √kuks *but, unexpectedly, on the contrary* (15.27)

474 kukwpi = ku.kwpi *grandfather*: kuu.kwpi *great-grandfather*

Proto-Salish *kup-i? ‘elder’ (Ku02)

475 √kul *to borrow*: kulakts ulh inu *I want to borrow your tool*, kululhiixwts ulh inu *I want to borrow your hat*, kululhs c ta lhalas *he borrowed a boat*, kulits’ts c ti its’amninu tc *I want to borrow your blanket*, kulaktumx c ti qulh.quulhtanu tc! *lend me your pencil!*, kululhiixwtumx! *lend me your hat!*, kululhtumx! *lend me your vehicle!*

- 476 kult *to borrow*: kultts c_{ti}nictanu_{tc} *I will borrow your saw*,
kultstumx c_{ti}ictaala! *lend me a dollar!*, kultiixwtumx! *lend me your hat!*
- 477 √kulh *base combined with lexical suffix*: kulhnk *base of tree; foot of mountain*, kulhnkaaxalh *edge of roof*, kulhnalus *channel*, kulhlxs *tip of pointed object*, kulhlxsanilh *hip, hipbone*, kulhank *side*, kulhankus *hillside*, kulhals *wall*, kulhalsikan *back of ear*, kulhalxi *back of head, neck*, kulhalaalh *base of mountain*, kulhaax *back door*, kulhaaxuts *roadside; to be near a fire*, kulhaaxutstxw! *put it near the fire!*, kulhik *roof*, kulhikuuts *edge*, kulhikalh *to stand behind somebody*, kulhuts *edge, rim*, kulhuuts *shore, beach*, kulhuutsalh *to be on the shore*, kulhutsam *(to go) towards the shore*, kulhulmc *earth, land, ground*, kulh.kwlhulmc *earthbound spirit, ghost*, kulhulhuus *bow of boat*, kulhaliits *side of tongue*
- 478 kulh-, kus- *(having) much/many, being very ...* (10.1, 10.8):
kulhpapink *there are many snakes around*, kulhpats'alhta "having many awls" = *Scottish thistle*, kulhtaala *having much money, rich*, kulhk'ay *there is much snow*, kulhya "very good" = *clean*, kustpuus.ps *having many freckles on the face*, kustlh *very strong*, kuskw'alhla *very friendly*
- 479 kulh-, kus- *penis* (10.2, 10.8): kulhtsaakw *to have a long penis*, kulhtscwi *to have an average-sized penis*, kulhnaq'tm *to be sexually impotent*, alhkulhnm.nmaaxim *he is unable to urinate*, kulhkamut *to pay a prostitute*, kus?m *to have an erection*, alhkusuq' *circumcised*
- 480 kupi *coffee*: nukupiita *coffee pot*
- 481 kup' (tr.) *to skewer, run a stick through something*: kup'm *to put fish on a barbecuing stick*, kup'sta *skewer, barbecuing stick*

Proto-Salish *kʷupʷ ‘bar, rod’ (Ku02)

482 kus- = kulh-

483 kusi *potatoes*: nukusyals *root cellar*, nukusita *potato bed*
Gitksan sgusiit (Jensen & Gawa 1977)

484 kusu *pig*
Chinook Jargon kushu (CTGR) < French cochon

485 kuut *coat*: itkuut *to wear a coat*

486 √kyu *to chew*: see ki.kyu

K'

- 487 k'acw *to be empty, absent, nothing* (13.17): k'acwlhts *I have been away*, tick'acw *to catch nothing*, nuk'acwiik *container is empty*, nuk'aculhiik *house is empty*, k'acwlxslayc *the road ends*
 ?Cf. NW √k'iw, √k'u 'none, nil, non-existent'
- 488 √k'alh (tr.) *to whirl*: k'alhm *spinning top (toy)*, sk'alh.k'alh *sling (weapon)*
- 489 k'am- *equal, same* (10.4): k'amʔayliwanaw stalawsaw
 alh.ta.smawilh.tx *they got married in the same month*,
 k'amtsaylhtuts ta.tl'aplhtuts ulh.inu in t'ayc *I have given you and him the same amount*
 Cf. Proto-Interior Salish *√k'əm (followed by lexical suffix) (Ku02),
 which may be interpreted as 'the very (same) ..., that which is ...'
- 490 k'amk' *bull kelp*: k'amk'uk's *a mass of bull kelp* (note: -uk's (rather than -uks) due to progressive glottalic assimilation)
- 491 k'amwas *young beaver* (= k'manwas)
 Proto-Coast Salish *k'am 'beaver', Kw k'm-iwa 'young land otter',
 Proto-Salish -(n-)was 'chest' (Ku02)
- 492 k'anawilh *bow of boat*: k'anawilhts.ʔits'ik *and then I will be at the bow* (cf. k'ankuus)
 Unattested root *√k'an combined with Proto-Salish *-wil, *-(a)wił
 'canoe' (Ku02)
- 493 k'ankuus *deadfall*: k'ankuusm *to use a deadfall* (cf. -ik-uus)
 With the same *√k'an as in k'anawilh?

- 494 √k'apat *sharp*: k'apatuts *sharp blade*, nuk'apatlxs *sharp point*,
k'apatutslctu- *to sharpen a blade*, nuk'apatlxsctu- *to sharpen a*
point, k'a.k'patutslhp = a.k'patutslhp *spruce needles*
- 495 k'aputs *sucker fish*: k'a.k'puutsi *dim.* (*k'ap-uts, cf. kip', ank'pts)
Proto-Salish *k'ip' 'squeeze, pinch (grasp)' and *-uc 'mouth' (Ku02)
- 496 k'aqas *crow*: k'aqaasi *dim.*
He k'áqa (Rath 2010), Ha k'aax (LR80)
- 497 k'awn *blackmouth springsalmon*
Chinook Proper (Wishram dialect) √k'awan 'white salmon' (Nater
2010)
- 498 k'ax₁... = ax₂... (14.5, 15.54)
- 499 k'axw = axw (14.5)
- 500 k'ay *snow* (cf. sk'inwas): k'aymtinilh *we are having snow*, kulhk'ay
there is much snow, ay.k'aym *it is snowing*
Proto-Salish *k'ay 'cold' (Ku02), Quileute k'í'ʔiʔ 'cold (weather)'
(Powell & Woodruff 1976)
- 501 k'c (tr./itr.) *to see, look (at something)*: k'ctx! *look at him!*, k'cx usqa!
look outside!, ka, k'ctsínu, matuts'! (*I will*) *see you later!*, k'ctxw
tqwnl'! *make him look this way!*, k'ctmacw *to see each other*,
alhk'cits *I see it*, alhk'c tc usqa *he is looking outside*, nuk'calxim *to*
look back, alhk'calhits *I saw where he went*, alhk'custss *he looked me*
in the face, k'caksínu *I look at your hand*, nuk'c (tr.) *to inspect a net*
for fish, nuk'cik (tr.) *to look into a container*, alhk'can.cankm *to*
keep looking around, anuk'cikaktulht *they always look at everything*
we do, k'cuusnm *to look at a newborn infant*, sk'cta *telescope*,
nusk'ctnulhaqw'sta (...aaqws...) *glasses, spectacles*, nusk'cikulhaqw's

- center of eye, pupil*, alhtamk'c (tr./itr.) *to wait for, expect somebody*,
ic.k'icit *they keep checking it* (cf. $\sqrt{\text{kw'cw}}$, sk'c)
- 502 k'icw (tr.), k'icwm (itr.) *to gnaw at something*: alhk'icw *it has been gnawed at*
Lillooet k'iʔk'x^w-əm' 'to gnaw a hole' ($\sqrt{\text{k'ix'w}}$) (VE13)
- 503 k'ilh-, k'is- *lacking, not having* (10.1, 10.8): k'ilhmnta *to have nowhere to go, wander around aimlessly*, k'ilhman *to be fatherless*,
k'ilhʔamatalaaxt *orphan*, k'ilhcnas *having no wife, bachelor*,
k'ilhkwtmts *having no husband, single woman*, k'ilhʔitsa *toothless*,
k'ilhnús "(ten) minus two" = *eight* (13.1), k'ilhtcumat *to have lost one's way*,
k'ists'kaak *to be clumsy*, k'ists'kuuts *to mispronounce*,
k'islq' *mindless, stupid*, k'ismaw "(ten) minus one" = *nine* (13.1)
NW $\sqrt{\text{k'i(s)}}$ 'not there anymore, deprived of' (LR80)
- 504 k'im (tr.) *to look for a needed object (e.g. tool, part or material needed to complete one's work)*: sk'im *needed object*
- 505 k'inacw *crab*: k'i.k'naacwi *dim.*
NW $\sqrt{\text{k'nx'w}}$ (LR80)
- 506 k'ip *to erode*: k'ipuuts *riverbank is eroding*, k'iplxs *point of land is eroding*
Cf. Proto-Salish *k'əpx^w 'to break, crush, gouge out' (Ku02)
- 507 k'ipt *red elderberry*: in.k'iptlhp *red elderberry plant*, k'iptulh *wine made of red elderberries*
Proto-Coast Salish *k'ipt, NW $\sqrt{\text{k'ip}}$ (Ku02)
- 508 k'is- = k'ilh-

- 509 k'ita *herring rake*
NW ʷk'it 'catch herrings with a rake'
- 510 k'ita *little finger*: sk'italxsalh *little toe*
He k'idá, Ha k'idà (ʷk'i)
- 511 ʷk'l *coagulated, frozen, stuck*: k'lulmc *frozen ground*, nuk'laax *to be iced in* (cf. sk'l, k'ay)
Cf. Upper Chehalis č'əl- 'stuck on, fit together; caught in a hole' (Ki91)
- 512 k'lat *steelhead trout*: l.k'laati *dim.*, l.k'laatlh *cutthroat trout*
- 513 k'lay *bark of paper birch (Betula papyrifera)* (Turner, p.c.): l.k'laylhp *western birch*
Proto-Salish *k'əl-ay' 'treebark' (Proto-Coast Salish *-ay' 'tree, bush, plant') (Ku02)
- 514 ʷk'lc *to coagulate, solidify, freeze; to become stuck, be glued*: nuk'lc *water is freezing*, nuk'lcaaxilh *we are getting iced in*, k'lctu- *to freeze or glue something*, nuk'lculhaaxts *I am sticking to my seat*, l.k'lcaakts *something is sticking to my hand*, k'lcta *glue* (= k'l-lc)
- 515 k'lht, k'lhtn (tr.), k'lhtna (itr.) *to brace, support something*: nuk'lhtnik (tr.) *to boil half-smoked fish in a container with little cedar sticks on the bottom*, nuk'lhtnaaq (tr.) = nuk'lhtnik, k'lhtnta *supporting pole*
- 516 k'm (tr.), k'ma (itr.) *to bite something*: k'mamsm "to bite one's jaw"
= *to check oneself, not say anything*, k'mlhtinits "I have been bitten"
= *I have hooked a fish*, alhk'ma *to be holding something in one's mouth*
Proto-Salish *k'əm 'to grab a handful; squeeze, bite' (Ku02)

- 517 $\sqrt{k}'m$ (tr.), $\sqrt{k}'ma$, $\sqrt{k}'mn$ (itr.) *to squeeze in, catch in trap*:
 $m.k'mlqsakta$ “finger-squeezer” = *finger ring*, $k'maalhta$ *trap*,
 $k'maallhayc$ *animal is trapped, one's feet are trapped*, $k'maaksta$
clamp, vise, $m.k'mats ala, nupts$ *my shirts are too tight*, $ku.kulhk'ma$
to have the hiccups, $nuk'mnalhh$ *to choke*, $alhk'mnaalhts$ *my shoes*
are too tight
- 518 $k'mani$ *smelt (fish)*
 $Ha k'màn'i (\sqrt{k}'ma)$ ‘young herring’ (LR86)
- 519 $k'manwas = k'amwas$
- 520 $k'matk$ *to stay overnight*: $k'matkihl ala, awcwa$ *we will spend the*
night here (cf. $-k'mt$, $k'musm$)
- 521 $k'mlh$ *abdominal fin*
- 522 $-k'mt$ *day* (7.14): $musk'mt$ *four days*, $lhwaask'mtam s...s$ *he ...ed for*
two days (cf. $k'matk$, $k'musm$)
- 523 $k'musm$ *to do something for an entire year, complete an annual*
cycle, celebrate one's birthday: $k'musmakaw sksnmakaw$ *they*
worked for a year, $k'musmalh$ *to spend a year travelling*, $ya.yaatwi$
 $ti, sk'musnu!$ *happy birthday!* (cf. $k'matk$, $-k'mt$)
- 524 $k'nm$ *to shake, tremble*: $k'nmnicis$ *he shook it*, $alhk'nmakts$ *my*
hands are trembling
 $*k'n-m < \text{Proto-Coast Salish } *k'an$ (Ku02)
- 525 $k'nts$ *sperm whale*: $n.k'ntsi$ *dim.*
Cf. NW $\sqrt{k}'ns$ ‘chiton’ (LR80)
- 526 $k'ts$ (tr.), $k'tsa$ (itr.) *to chop, cut with an axe*: $k'tsaax$ (tr.) *to cut down*
a tree, $k'tsuulh$ (tr.) *to chop up a log*, $nuk'tsiiqw$ (tr.) *to cut the top*

off a tree, nuk'tsiktx! cut it in half, k'tslqsakayc his finger was chopped off, sk'ts "that which fells one" = disease, illness

527 k'tsaatsay = k'tsaa.tsay *licorice fern*

528 ʔk'u = ʔkw'

529 k'ucani *butter clam*: k'uu.k'cani *dim.*, k'ucanyalh *screw*, k'ucanita *screwdriver*

Proto-Coast Salish *k'wuxwani? 'clam species' (Ku02), He k'w'uxwání, Oo k'wuxwani (LR80)

530 k'ult *porpoise*: k'u.k'ulti *dim.*, k'ultaalh *running shoes*

Squamish and Sechelt k'w'únut', Kw k'ulut'a, ʔk'uʔ (Nater 2013)

531 k'umts' *dried clams*: k'umts'm *to put clams on a stick and hang them in the smokehouse to dry*

Oo k'wum'asa 'to dry clams' (LR80)

532 ʔk'up *to press (down), lower, crouch*: k'uplc (tr.) *to stalk, sneak up on somebody*, un.k'upt *to press hard when defecating*

533 k'us *it is calm, there is no wind*: nuk'us *the water is calm*, k'usmtinilh *we have no wind, we are becalmed* (cf. kw'as)

534 k'utsci *maggots*: k'uu.kw'tsci *dim.*

Proto-Salish *k'wəc' 'to bend, twist' and *-xən 'foot' (Ku02)

535 k'yuk (tr.) *to identify, recognize, know somebody*: k'yuktx! *find out who he is!*, alhk'yukits *I know him*

KW

- 536 -kw *formative suffix* (9.2): tsk'alhkw *devil's club*, √tsnkw *self*,
ts'xlhmkw *drowned*
- 537 √kw *quotative: reportedly, it is said that ...* (15.19, 15.55)
Lillooet √k^wuʔ 'as I was told' (VE13)
- 538 kwakwas = kwa.kwas *small type of owl* (McI48 *kwakwas*:
Unidentified bird of which the note is an omen of death)
cf. Lillooet s-k^wák^wak^w 'unidentified nocturnal bird' (VE13), He
g^wág^wúmá (Rath 2010)
- 539 kwanat *to cry, weep*: skwanat *mourning song*, nuskwanatmc *given
to weeping*
Cf. Proto-Athabaskan-Eyak *√k^wən(-)χ 'to cry' (Nater 1994)
- 540 kwatasyan *Dolly Varden trout*: kwataasyani *dim.*
- 541 kwaʔyalaqs *Steller's jay*: kwaʔyalaqsi *dim.*, kwaʔyalaqsaqw's *blue*
He k^wáy'alaqs, Ha k^way'alàχs (LR80)
- 542 kwayx *powdery, dusty*: alhkwayxuulh *bannock*
- 543 kwcw (tr.) *to match, fit something*: axw alhkcwcts alh_{tc} it
(*clothing*) *does not fit me*, kwcwaycts ulh_{tc} it *fits me*,
kwcwaqw'stmacwayc *the colors match*
- 544 kwcwm (tr.) *to place near a fire, to warm something*: kwcwmstut *to
warm oneself*, kwcwmtu- *to warm something up* (cf. cwm, kwmlh)
Cf. Southern Carrier k^wən 'fire' (Antoine 1974)

- 545 kwikwtik = kwi.kwtik *having a rough surface*
- 546 kwilh (tr.), kwilha (itr.) *to crush, crumble*: kwilhulh (tr.) *to crush cooked food; to clear an area of rocks*, kwilh.kwilha *to rummage* (cf. kwilh)
- 547 kwit' (tr.), kwit'a (itr.) *to crowd, squeeze in, wedge, separate*: kwit'alhnietscw = kwit'liwanietscw *you are in my way*, kwit'aaxlayc *to be stuck in a crowd*, csuuts sʔalhkwt'iks *all doors are locked*, kwit'ulmc (tr.) *to break up, loosen soil* (/kʷit'm/ 'to be left over' (DS80))
- 548 √kwitl' (tr.) *to stir, disturb something*: alhkwtl' (tr.), alhkwtl'a (itr.) *to stir a liquid*, anukwtl'm *something is stirring in the water, the water is rippling*
- 549 kwl *warm, hot*: nukwlaax *it is a hot day*, kwlaltwa *warm weather or season*, nukwluts *the weather is hot*, alhkwltsut *to warm oneself*, nukwl.kwli *lukewarm*, kwlctu- *to warm something up*, nukwlcuts *the weather is warming up*
Proto-Salish *kʷəl (Ku02)
- 550 kwlamk (tr.), kwlamka (itr.) *to distribute, hand out gifts*: kwlamkusnm *to be handing out food*, kwlamkusaycts *I received my share*, kwlamkuslhits c,lha,cnaslh *I have given him a woman*
- 551 kwilh (tr.) *to crack, split something*: alhkwlh *cracked*, nukwlhiktx! *split it!* (cf. kwilh)
Proto-Coast Salish *kʷəʔ 'to divide, split' (Ku02), NW (He, Oo) √kʷəʔ 'to collapse, become separated, disintegrate' (LR80)
- 552 √kwilh *to be cracked*: kwilhulhiixwlaycts *my kneecap is cracked*, nukwlhik ti,satl'ats,tc *my canoe is cracked*, nukwlhikiixw *jar has a crack near the lid*, anukwlhuulh *bottle is cracked on one side*, anukwlhuuts *neck of bottle is cracked*, alhkwlhals *bottle has a crack*

running from the neck to the bottom, nukwlhaaq bottom of bottle is cracked, alhkwlhalusm ta, assaaq bottom of bottle is all cracked up, alhkwlhaaxuts(ak) pitchwood torch

- 553 *kwm thick, bulky: kwm.kwmalh having thick legs, kwmaluulh rope is thick, kwmuulhla fat person, kwmuuts big whistle used in Si.saw dance*

Proto-Salish *kʷəm ‘lump, heap’ (Ku02)

- 554 *√kwma to wish well, say adieu: kwma,ʔit! goodbye!, to your health! (sg. addressee), kwmanaw,ʔit! goodbye!, to your health! (pl. addressee), ax,ku kwmanu! we will meet again!*

- 555 *kwmay tiny worm: kwmaytim ti, knum the knum is infested with worms*

- 556 *kwmlh firewood: kulhkwmlh there is an abundance of firewood, kwmlhalus wood stove, nukwmlhta woodshed, iskwmhl to gather firewood (cf. kwcwm)*

Cf. Carrier kʷən ‘fire’ (Antoine 1974)

- 557 *kwn (tr.) to transfer: get, take, bring something: kwntsnu I will take you with me, kwnm to go and get something, alhkwnxt! bring it!, kwnutsm to get oneself something to eat, kwnaaxsta box used for storing food, alhkwntsis ta, mans, tx c, a, sluq’ he brought eulachon grease to his father, nukwnus (tr.) to coil a rope, nukwnalh (tr.) to follow somebody, kwnikusayc to walk on the riverbank, kwnaaxutsayc to walk on a sandbar*

Proto-Salish *kʷan, *kʷən ‘to take’ (Ku02)

- 558 *kwntsalha a type of canoe*

NW *√kʷnc* ‘to use steam (ribs of canoe)’ (LR80)

- 559 kwpalh *liver*: kwpalh.plhi *dim*.
- 560 kws *rough*: kwsliits *skin disease (psoriasis)*, kwsikus *weather-beaten surface of wood or vehicle*, kwsaliits ti.pus.psi *kitten has a rough/raspy tongue*, kayciis skwsliwas t'ayc *this is too rough*
- 561 kwsaslhlm = kwsa.slhlm *to go somewhere in vain*
- 562 kwst *entire skin surface, exterior aspect of body*
- 563 kwtmts *husband*: k'ilhkwtmts = anuskwtmts *widow*
Proto-Coast Salish *k^wtamc (Ku02)
- 564 kwtus (tr.) *to lower somebody's face to the water*: kwtusm *to lower one's face to the water (in order to drink from it)*
- 565 kwtl' (tr.), kwtl'a (itr.) *to place on the ground, plant something, put in place*: kwtl'us (tr.) *to pile things on the floor*, alhkwtl'ikayc alh.ti.alhqulh.tc *it is lying on the book*, kwtl'ikayctu- *to put something on top of something*, alhkwtl'tmacwtu- *to place objects side by side*, kwtl'tx wa.nusk'ctnulhaqw'stanu.ts! *put your glasses on!*, skwtl'lhp *seed*, alhkwtl' *plant*, kwtl'aycs.kw.ska.kmalaycs *he was contaminated and fell ill*, kwtl'nalus (tr.) *to insert something*, kwtl'aaqalitsm *to put one's dentures in*, nukwtl'uts "words planted in mouth" = *(to be a) liar*, nu.nukwtl'uutsm *to tell lies*, nukwtl'aaq (tr.) *to boil something in a pot*, isnukwtl'aaqlh *to eat boiled food*, alhkwtl'tu- "to cause to be deposited" = *to give something as security, to pledge*
Cf. Upper Chehalis q^wáʕ'a- 'plant, grow, put down pl. obj.' (Ki91)
- 566 kwtsus *young mountain goat* (cf. Kwtsaax *a name*, sʔunkwtsta *body*)
- 567 kwwaaxa (tr.) *to fool, mislead somebody*

KW'

- 568 ʔkw', ʔk'u *frequently, repeatedly* (15.21, 15.55)
- 569 kw'alɕ *scorched*: kw'alɕnɕɕɕɕ *I scorched it*, kanuskw'alɕm *it smells scorched* (cf. qw'alɕuulh, ʔqw'ay, sqw'alhkɕ, sqw'ayxlh)
- 570 ʔkw'alh *good, complete, grown*: kw'alhtu- *to raise a child*, kw'alhtnɕɕ *to be raising a child*, k'ilhkɕ'alhtɕw *having no parents, waif*, kw'alhliwa *handy (object)*, kw'alhla *friendly, amicable*, kuskɕ'alhla *very friendly*, k'iskɕ'alhla *unfriendly, hostile*, kw'alham *to improve* (cf. kw'as)
- 571 kw'alhtn (tr.) *to delineate, outline, shape, mark*: kamalh ʔkw'alhtnɕɕ wa ʔsuncw ʔats *when the universe was created*, tmkɕ'alhtnaalhayɕ *only his footprints remained*, kw'alhtnaynɕɕɕɕ ʔts' *now I see, understand (what somebody is talking about)*, kw'alhtnakm (tr.) *to mark something*, alhkɕ'alhtnakm *marked, a sign*, kw'alhtnta *plan, intention* (McI48 qwatltnta: Crest)
- 572 kw'as *calm, peaceful*: kw'as ʔma ʔnas wa ʔkulhulumɕɕɕɕ *may there be peace in our land* (as found in a Christmas carol volunteered by Clyde Tallio), cf. k'us, ʔkw'alh, and possibly kw's)
- 573 kw'atsa (tr.) *to shake something*: nukɕ'atsayktx! *shake the container!*, kw'atsayaakm *to wave one's hand*, kw'atsayusm = kw'atsayxwm *to nod affirmatively*
- 574 ʔkw'cw *to look out, be observant*: alhkɕ'cwmitsut *to be cautious, careful*, kw'cwmitsutstu- *to make aware of risk, caution somebody* (cf. k'c)

Proto-Coast Salish *k'wəx 'to count' (Ku02), Upper Chehalis k'wíxw- 'think' (Ki91)

575 kw'la *belly, abdomen*

Sechelt k'wəla, Squamish k'wəl', Musqueam k'wəlʔə (Ku02)

576 kw'liwas, kw'lwas *brother-in-law*

Halkomelem sk'wəlwəs 'relative's spouse's relative' (Nater 2013)

577 kw'lsi *gills of fish*: kw'lsyams *fish cheeks*

NW ʔk'wnc (He k'wńzi, Oo k'wńzi) (LR80)

578 kw'lh (tr.), kw'lha (itr.) *to pour out, fill something with a liquid*:
nukw'lhiik (tr.), nukw'lhiika (itr.) *to fill a container with liquid, to*
can fish, nukw'lhta *stomach*

Proto-Coast Salish *k'wəł/l 'to spill' (Ku02)

579 kw'n (tr.), kw'na (itr.) *to point at something*: nukw'n (tr.), nukw'na
(itr.) *to aim at something*, kw'nustits *I'll show it to them*, kw'nusnm
to be showing things to people, kw'n̓m̓iixw *to nod affirmatively*

Proto-Salish *k'wən, *k'wən 'to inspect (try out, aim at)' (Ku02)

580 kw'ni *fur seal*: n.kw'ni *dim.*

Southern Carrier k'wəni, Eyak k'əmah 'sea lion' (Nater 2013)

581 kw'nta *plan, decision, resolution, instruction*: alhkw'ntnaaktinits
somebody showed me how to do it, alhkw'ntaliwa (tr.) *to instruct,*
tell somebody what to do, kw'ntatsutts ska ɣw'xwmts *I decided to*
move, Alhkw'ntam(aakas) *the supreme deity* (but Boas 1898 states
that Alk'untā'm is the second deity after SEnx), ickw'nta (tr.) *to*
marry off, give one's daughter away in marriage, ickw'ntatst
ta_mants_tx ulh_tī kwtmtsts_t'ayc *my father gave me in marriage to*

this husband of mine, alhkw'ntatam to have arranged a meeting, to be having a date

582 -kw'p *fathom* (7.14): makw'p *one fathom*, lhwaaskw'p *two fathoms* (cf. k'w'p)

583 kw'p *right, straight*: nukw'paalh *road is straight*, kw'piiqlwamtuts *I straightened it*, kw'plctu- *to explain something*, nukw'plcutstnm *to analyze, interpret (a text)*, kw'panlhutstimutx! *say it the right way!*, nukw'panlhik *to be helpful*, nukw'panlhaax *to go with the wind (in a boat)*, nukw'pallh (tr.) *to (go and) meet somebody*, kw'puts *fishing net*, kw'puu.pts *small fishing net*, nukw'putsals *net loft*

Proto-Salish *k'wəp 'straight' (Ku02)

584 √kw'pst (tr.) *to (re)arrange, restore*: kw'pstayc *to have recovered, sober up*, kw'pstakm (tr.) *to repair something*, kw'pstalus (tr.) *to stoke a fire*, nukw'pstaax (tr.) *to offer somebody a seat*, kw'pstutsm (tr.) *to repeat a word (and say it) properly*, nukw'pstaaxla (tr.) *to collect a liquid* (from *kw'p-st, cf. kw'p, -(s)tu-)

585 kw'pt *to become saturated (with water)*: alhkw'pt *to be waterlogged*, kw'pttu- *to soak something in water*, nukw'pt *to be satiated, full from eating*

586 kw'pwalht *wing, flight feather*: kw'pu.pwaalhiti *dim.*, askw'pwalhtulhiiqw *to wear a feather bonnet*, tamkw'pwalhttu- *to make wings for somebody* (cf. √k'up?)

587 kw's *to be somebody's steady date, fiancé*: kw'smtmacwaw *they are engaged*, is.kw'ismtmacwaw *they (animals) are constantly mating* (cf. kw'as)

588 kw'wa (tr.) *to bake food around a fire*

589 kw'wams, skw'wams *dimple in cheek*

L

- 590 -l- *connective* (9.3)
- 591 ʔl... *interrogative marker* (15.55)
- 592 -la *formative suffix found mainly in geographical names* (9.1)
 NW -la, -ala ‘continuous action, process, state’ (Rath 2010)
- 593 laakts *squirrel*: laaktsi *dim.*
 Proto-Athabaskan *ʎəʔk’ (Krauss & Leer 1981)
- 594 -lacw, -lancw, -slancw *year* (7.14): malacw *year*, maslancwakts
 sksnmakts *I work for one year*, lhwaaslancw *two years*, asmuslancwts
 sʔalhʔa.q’uts *I have been in prison for three years*,
 mawlxslancwamts ʔts’ *I am twenty years old now* (cf. suncw)
 Proto-Salish (-l)-an(a)xʷ ‘year, season, weather’ (Ku02)
- 595 lahal *lahal* (*a bone game*)
 Chinook Jargon sləhal (CTGR)
- 596 lalam = la.lam *to pole a canoe up the river* (cf. almk)
 Chinook Jargon lalam ‘paddle, oar’ (CTGR) < French la rame
- 597 lalaq’a = la.laq’a (tr./itr.), la.laq’am (itr.) *to fry*: isla.laq’alhh *to eat something fried*, la.laq’ata *frying pan*
- 598 lamatu *domestic sheep*
 Chinook Jargon limoto (CTGR) < French les moutons
- 599 -lancw = -lacw

- 600 lapayaak *rubber gloves*
- 601 laplit *priest, minister*
Chinook Jargon lip^hret (CTGR) < French les prêtres
- 602 ʔlats *sea cucumber*. ʔlaatsi *dim.*
He ʔl'ás (Rath 2010)
- 603 law *loose*: lawlc *it is coming loose*, lawnulitxw! *loosen it a bit!*,
lawalaaxttxw! *slacken the line!* (cf. √lu)
Proto-Salish *ləw/ʕ^w ‘to come off (as skin, bark)’ (Ku02)
- 604 -layc *circumstantial suffix* (6.41) (cf. -ayc, -aylayc, -lc)
- 605 -layc *tuber(cle), projection* (7.2, 7.3): -anlhlayc *ribs*, -alaaxtlayc
tongue, nu-...-aaxlayc *chin; heel*, nu-...-iklayc *penis*, -iixwlayc *knee*, -
uutslayc *nipple*
Lillooet -al'xən ‘tube’, -ay'xən ‘line, long cylindrical object’ (VE13)
- 606 -lc *inchoative suffix* (= -alc) (6.52): tmtlhlc “just getting strong” =
adult, grownup, tmyalc “just getting good” = *in the prime of life*,
tsn.tsnalc *to have a numb sensation*, nutskwlc “to become heavy in
the water” = *to sink*, tl'aplcts *I have to go*
Shuswap -ilx ‘body’ (Ku74), Lillooet -ilx ‘body, oneself’ (VE13),
Kalispel -ilš ‘developmental’ (Speck 1980)
- 607 ʔli... contraction of ʔl... and ʔi... (15.32, 15.55)
- 608 √lic *slimy, slippery*: licm *to slip, slide*, nulicmaq^w’s *knot is slipping*,
licmtu- *to make somebody slip*, licmlits’nicim *people slip on him*,
anulicmuts *saliva drips from one’s mouth, to drool* (cf. slic, lhic)
Proto-Salish *lix ‘slime, slimy’ (Ku02)

- 609 liclic = lic.lic *ripe, cooked*: alhlic.lic, ts' *it is already cooked*, lic.lictu-
to cook something
- 610 √licwm *to make noise*: alhlicwm, iclicwm, lic.licwm *to be making
noise*
- 611 -liikw = -likw
- 612 -liits = -lits'
- 613 liixw = lixw
- 614 -lik *body surface, (entire) skin, exterior, appearance* (7.3): tsic.tsik'lik
(tr.) *to stab a tree all over*, scwlik *having a dry ("burnt") skin*,
qwsml̥lik *to sweat profusely*, stl'mstalikta *appearance, personality,
character* (cf. -ik)
*-l-ik, cf. Sechelt -il-ič 'back' (Ku02)
- 615 -lik-t *body, personality* (7.3), *space, volume* (7.6): tspliktm *to wipe
one's body*, amatlikt "where body is contained" = *coffin*, atmalikt
totally paralyzed, yalikt *having a good, nice personality*, slikt *having
an angry disposition*, ipliikti *narrowly spaced*
- 616 lik' (tr.) *to fill something*: alhlik' *full*, lik'layct *my container (cup,
pot) is full*
Proto-Coast Salish *lək' (Ku02)
- 617 -likw, -liikw *performer of action* (8.1): ta.tiixwlikw *caster of spells,
witch*, nusxlikw *raider*, qalikw *ill-wisher*, an.ʔa.q'ulikw "he who
locks people in" = *policeman*, alhxapaliikw "packer" = *horse*
Lushootseed -alikʷ 'agent suffix' (Bates & Hess 2003)
- 618 likw' (tr.), likw'a (itr.) *to roll, turn something over*: likw'm *to be
rolling over or down*; to spin wool, nulikw'muulh *car rolls off the
road*, uslikw'manalhts c, ti, t'xt *a rock rolled over my feet*, likw'ta

spinning wheel, alhlik'ulh (tr.) *to roll a cigaret*, nulikw'tsut *to turn around*

619 lilwi *train*: aslilwi *to go by train*

620 lim *to fall, drop*: limulhiixwts *my hair is falling out*, nulimuts *to drop something from one's mouth*

621 lip' (tr.) *to fold something*: lip'tsut, lip'ayc *to return*, lip'tsutstu- *to return something*, lip'aynic (tr.) *to succeed in making somebody go back*, lip'us (tr.) *to fold a sheet*, lip'alcw (tr.) *to go around a corner*, lip'alhm = lip'tsut, lip'uulhtsut *to draw up one's knees*, slip'nalus(ta) *body joint*, (s)lip'nalusxsak *knuckle*, slip'akmsta *hinge*

Proto-Salish *lip' 'to bend over' (Ku02)

622 lis (tr.), lisa (itr.) *to push something*: lisusm *to push the bow of one's boat out*, lisaaxm *to push the stern of one's boat out*, nulisaaq (tr.) *to push a car*, listsut "to push oneself" = *to fight back, take revenge*, listsutm (tr.) *to take revenge on somebody*, alhlisaaktmacw, lisiiqwaktmacw *to have an arm-wrestling match*, lisalhm (tr.) *to push something with one's foot*, lisaalh (tr.) *to push somebody's foot*, listatsut *to push oneself up*, alhliis *plane (tool)*

Cf. Sechelt li.ls-t-áwł 'to wrestle' (Ti77)

623 lisaak *sack*

Chinook Jargon lisak (CTGR) < French les sacs

624 -lit *to make the sound of...* (6.58): ma.mawlit *to miaul*, ts'u.ts'uulit *to produce an alveolar click* ("tsk tsk!"), qwaxw.qwaxwlit *to caw, croak*, axwlit *to deny, refuse*, waylitm (tr.) *to give somebody permission to do something*

625 √litcw (tr.) *to roll, spin something*: litcwta *spinning wheel*, nulitcwta *rolling device used for launching a boat*, nulitcwtnutsaaq (tr.) *to install a nulitcwta under a boat (for launching) or house (for*

moving), litcwm (pl. subject) “to roll out” = *to go out en masse to see what is happening*

626 litux *striped*: lituxanlh *striped cloth*

627 -lits', -liits *sheet, cloth* (7.10, 7.11), *skin, bark, side* (7.3): smawlits' *one blanket*, pik'liits “(having a) shiny surface” = *gum boots*, tqw'liits' (tr.) *to singe hairs off a skin*, stpliits *fish scales*, plhtliits *thick bark*, alhxp'liits' *wet all over one's body* (cf. its'ama, sits'm, -uliits)

*-l-ic' ~ *-l-i?c < Proto-Salish -(al/ul-)ic'a? (Ku02)

628 -lits'-ak *back of hand* (7.3): squphlits'ak *(having) hair on the hands*

629 -lits'-alh, nu-...-lits'alh *calf of leg, side of lower leg* (7.3): nusp'liits'alhayc *to get hit on the side of one's lower leg*, sp'liitsalhayc *to get hit on the calf of one's leg*, squphlits'alh *(having) hair on the calf of the leg or side of the lower leg*, q'awliitsalhm *to wind bandages around one's lower legs*

630 -liwa, -liwn- *similar, ...like* (5.10): pcliwa *lovely, pretty*, malhliwa *sort of slow*, paaxulhlaliwa *fearsome, dangerous*, tsnlhliwa *selfish, self-centered, introverted*, tsaakwliwa “long-like” = *worm*, tsaakwliwni *little worm*, tsakw'liwa *right, correct*, scliwa *ugly-looking*, tl'iliwa *fast in work*, alhkalliwa *handy, adroit*, kw'alhliwa *handy (object)* (cf. -lun-, -nuli)

*-l-iwan, -l-iwən, -l-əwən ‘essence, spirit’: Squamish -iwan ‘spirit, mind’ (Kuipers 1969), Lillooet -aliwán ‘size, hulk’ (VE13), Upper Chehalis -aliw(a)n ‘appearance, looks’ (Ki91)

631 lixw, liixw (tr.), lixwa, liixwa (itr.) *to chase somebody away*:
anulixwaax (tr.) *to chase somebody out of the house*

632 lkw'lulhp = l.kw'lulhp *sweet gale*

- 633 lpli = l.pli *thin*: nuʔl.pluutsi *thin layer*
 Proto-Salish *pal (Ku02), NW √pl (LR80), cf. Upper Chehalis p'íl-
 'very thin' (Ki91)
- 634 -lqs = -lxs
- 635 lq' (tr.), lq'm (itr.) *to think of something or somebody*: lq'is, ts'n
 ilh, stans, ʔilh *now her mother came to her mind*, lq'ma, ts'
 ska, tl'apaw *now they thought of going*, alhlq', iclq' (tr.) *to be*
thinking of something or somebody, iclq'its, ma *maybe I will think it*
over, iclq'm *to be thinking things over*, lq'aynic (tr.) *to guess*
something, slq' *mind, awareness*, aslq' *to be sober-minded, level-*
headed, nuslq' *to be smart*, k'islq' *to lack sense, be stupid*
- 636 -lq' *around* (petrified suffix found in √tplq' and √xlq')
- 637 lq'llis = l.q'llis *giant kelp with herring spawn on it*
 He q'áq'l'isʔa *kind of kelp with stringy sides*' (Rath 2010)
- 638 -lst *rock* (7.6): kawlst (tr.) *to pile rocks on top of something*, qnklst
 "rock underneath" = *island* (cf. -als)
 Proto-Salish *-als(t) 'rock, round object' (Ku02)
- 639 -lt *offspring, child(ren)* (7.6): nulhnuslt *to have twins*, alhtqw'lt *to*
be holding a baby, atsiwlt *to be pregnant*, asimlt *to be brooding,*
hatching
 Proto-Salish *-alt, *-əlt (Ku02)
- 640 √lu (tr./itr.) *to (cause to) be loose, come off, peel*: lum *to remove the*
bark from a tree, lu.lwits ti, stn, t'ayc *I am peeling this tree*, lulc, lulc
bark comes off, lu.luliits (tr.) *to peel a tree*, luta *stick used for peeling*
bark (cf. law)
 Proto-Salish *ləw/ʕw 'to come off (as skin, bark)' (Ku02)

- 641 ʔlu, ʔlú, ʔluu, ʔlu, ʔlú, ʔluu *prolonged state or act (from past into present): all along, still, until now, eventually* (15.18, 15.55)
- 642 ʔluks *all along, as expected* (15.28, 15.55); ay maluks *it must have been the case all along*
- 643 lulusta = lu.lusta *mask: aslu.lusta to wear a mask* (cf. ʔlu)
- 644 luluxwam = lu.luxwam *to have sexual foreplay*
NW ʔluχ^w ‘to roll’, Kw ʔluχ^w ‘to gather, assemble’ (LR80)
- 645 -lun- *reduced form of -liwn-* (5.11); numutslunitx! *close the door a bit!*, naclunak *to have finished one’s work*
- 646 ʔluu = ʔlu
- 647 ʔlx *to make linear, stretch, pull taut; to jerk or pull down, make jerky motions*: lx (tr.), lxa (itr.) *to stretch, extend a rope*, alhʔicʔlxanlh *striped cloth*, icʔlxulmcmayc *running clubmoss; twinflower*, nulxmtnm *to ring a bell*, lxmuuts kwtsʔtski ti ayuts alh tu sulhs tʔax *it appears that a ringing sound came from his house then*, alhʔlx *to beat a fast rhythm*, lxaksta *stick for beating time*, lxakmaw *they do a rapid beat*, nulxik (tr.) *to rattle something*, nulxaksta *type of rattle*, Lxulhla *Cannibal dancer*, lxulhlatimut *to be drunk*
Upper Chehalis ʔəlχ ‘slide down, lower’ (Ki91)
- 648 -lxs, -lqs *nose* (7.3); *point, terminus* (7.13); *multiple of twenty* (7.14, 13.6): piqʔlxs (*having a*) *flat nose*, talxsayc *to get hit on the nose* (/tay-lxs-ayc/), tʔkwlxs *to have a nosebleed*, sl.pʔlqs, spʔlxsnm *to make a phone call*, nutxlxs (tr.) *to sharpen the point of something*, lhwaaslx *forty*
Proto-Salish *-əl-qs (Ku02)

- 649 -lxs-ak *finger* (7.3): mntsklqsakm *to count (on) one's fingers*,
 smawlqsak *one finger*, alht'tslqsakm *to rap with one's finger*,
 sp'llxsakayc *to get hit on the fingers*
- 650 -lxs-alh *toe* (7.3): smawlqsalh *one toe*, tclqsalh (tr.) *to cut*
somebody's toe off; sp'llxsakayc *to get hit on the toes*
- 651 -lxs-an-ilh *pocket*: alhplxsanilhms *my pockets are full*, umlxsanilhmts
I'll empty my pocket

LH

- 652 -lh (*dis*)*connection* (5.12, 5.13-15)
- 653 -lh *1 pl. subj. itr./tr./caus.* (1.1, 1.9, 1.15)
Cf. Upper Chehalis -čl '1 pl. completive' (Ki91)
- 654 lh- *dualis, ... and company, pair, group* (10.3): wicanaw ta, lhʔna *it is them two*, wicanaw txw ta, lhHank *it was Hank and somebody else*, lhXila *Xila and company*
- 655 lha_v = ilh_v (2.1)
Squamish ʔa 'definite present weak feminine' (Ku67), Upper Chehalis ʔa- 'definite feminine' (Ki91)
- 656 lhaaxta, lhaaxalh_{ta} *shoulderblade*
Cf. NW ʔaqʷdn 'shoulder blade' (ʷʔaqʷ) (LR80)
- 657 lhaclhakway = lhac.lhakway *big sealion* (McI48 *Stextekwailx*: Semi-anthropomorphized being responsible for power in this locality (i.e. ancient village))
- 658 -lhala *petrified suffix found in two bird names* (skwa.kwixlhala, t'iclhala) and t'ic.t'iixlhalam
Cf. Oo nɣʔala 'have flexible limbs, be double-jointed' (Rath 2010)
- 659 lhalas *boat, canoe*. lha.lhlaasi *dim.*

- 660 lhalya *copper (potlatch currency)*: lhalyalh *piece of copper*,
lhalyayanlh *copper-colored cloth*
Cf. He líála and Oo líala ‘to invite people from another village to a
potlatch’ (LR80)
- 661 lhaqa *basking shark*
He lága (Rath 2010)
- 662 lhaq’s *edible seaweed*
Gitksan łaq’asx^w, Nisgha łaq’ask^w, Northern Tsimshian łaʔas, Ha
łaq’s, łaq’sg (NW vłq), Tlingit łaaq’ásk; łaq’(a)s has likely been
copied from Tsimshianic to NW and Tlingit, and from Ha to
Nuxalk (Tarpent posits Proto-Tsimshianic *łaq-ʔ[a]s-k^w = vłaq-
ANTIP+epenthetic [a]-formative suffix (Nater 2018)). Compare also
Haida łqá’m ‘bull kelp’ (Lachler 2010).
- 663 lhawpla *to stack, pile up* (cf. lhawps, for ...pla cf. ts’ulapla)
Cf. Proto-Salish *ław ‘matting’ (Thompson ʔesłéw ‘loosely piled or
pressed together’) (Ku02)
- 664 lhawps *greedy, stingy*: lhawpsakmtmacw *to begrudge each other* (cf.
lhawpla, for ...ps see 7.3)
- 665 lhay *secondary nominal deictic: increased distance* (2.7)
- 666 lhcw (tr.) *to spur, incite, awake somebody*: lhcwtsut *to act on
impulse*, lhcwak (tr.) *to remind somebody of what he must do*,
lhcwtsinu ska, tł’apilh ska, ilhtsaylh *I remind you that we will go and
pick berries*, lhcwayctu- *to scold, bawl out somebody*,
lhic.lhlcwtmacwillh *we stimulate each other*, lhcwm *to make bustling
noises*, slhcwmlh *dried red elderberries* (when picking these berries,
the women make noise in order to deter bears) (cf. alh.ʔalhcw)
Proto-Salish *łax^w, x^wal/ł ‘to shake, hurry’ (Ku02)

667 √lhcw (tr.) *to close, cover*: uslhcwits *I will cover it*, nullhcw (tr.) *to shut the window, close the curtains*, nu(nuu)lhcwta *blind, curtain*,

nullhcwiixwta *smoke vent*, anulhcwm.cwmiiktimut *to mumble*,
 speak unclearly, lhcwilc *it is getting foggy*

Proto-Salish *łəxʷ ‘to draw on, wear’ (Ku02)

668 lhic *slimy*: nulhicmut *to drool*, nulhicmutsaynicits *I accidentally drooled on it* (cf. √lic)

Proto-Salish *lix ‘slime, slimy’ (Ku02), Sechelt sl̥iš ‘fish slime’ (Ti77)

669 √lhiixw *treasure(d)*: slhiixw *treasured object*, lhiixwnicits t’ayc *I treasure this*

670 lhima (tr.) *to take something away from somebody*: lhimatst *somebody took it from you*, lhimatss c̣inu *somebody took you away from me*

Proto-Salish *łim ‘to detach’ (Ku02)

671 √lhiqw’ = √lhqw’: lḥin.lhiqw’t, lḥic.lhiqw’ *to be sobbing*,
 nulhiqw’miixw *to burp*

672 lhk’ (tr.), lhk’a (itr.) *to pull (off or through), take apart*: lhk’m *to remove stems from fruit*, lhk’tmacw *to have a finger-pulling contest*, anulhk’aaq *the bottom has come off a bottle*, anulhk’ikiixw *the top has come off a bottle*, snulhk’iklxs “that which is pulled through the nose” = *nose ring* (e.g. *on a bull*), snulhk’ *canyon* (Saunders alh-ic-lhik’ ‘to be perforated’)

From ‘to pull or take apart’, cf. Proto-Salish *łik’ ‘to cut, sever’ (Ku02)

- 673 lhk'm *to speak*: slhk'msta *language*, axw lhk'maylaycs *he is unable to speak*, nu.nulhk'malhh *to mutter, mumble*
- 674 √lhkw (tr.) *to occupy, fill, close a hole*: lhkw (tr.), lhkw m (itr.) *to carry by a handle*, lhkwits *I will pick it up (by its handle or through its hole)*, lhkwmts c, a, sputc *I am carrying eulachons (with a branch stuck through the gills)*, anulhkwmut s (tr.) *to carry a fish by the gills*, anulhkwmiixwalstutsakmlhits *I carried it by (hanging it over) the elbow*, nulhkw *button hole*, lhkwmta, nulhkw manta *buttons*, lhkwmtsut *to button or zip up*, lhkw m *to plug a hole*
- 675 lhkw', √lhikw', √lhiikw *big*: lhk'uulh wa, sulhts, ts ala, sulhnu, ts *my house is bigger than yours*, lhkw'anaats *very big*, lhkw'lcanaats *becoming very big*, kulhkw' *having a big penis*, nulhic.lhikw'almc *having big breasts*, lhic.lhiikwaw sm^uanaw *they are children of royal descent*
- Sechelt ɬak'w 'to swell up' (Ti77)
- 676 √lhkw' *care, love, hang on to, covet*: kulhkw' "to care very much (about one's possessions)" = *to be stingy, a tightwad*, k'iilhk'w "to not care (about one's possessions)" = *to be generous, unselfish*, wa, lhkw'amktits, ts *my loved ones*, lhkw'm (tr.), nulhkw'ikm (tr.) *to love somebody*, lhic.lhikw' (tr.), lhic.lhikw'a (itr.) *to collect desirable objects*
- 677 lhkw'a *to take a shortcut*: lhkw'anu, kw' scatl'saaxalhnu, ts *you always take a shortcut through the back alley*
- 678 lhkw'lc *old*: lhl.kw'lcta *village elders*, lhl.kw'lcaaxta, lhikw'lcaaxta = lhl.kw'lcta (cf. lhkw')
- 679 √lhkw'm *to pound, bump*: nulhkw'miklxsalh *to bump one's toes on something*, lhkw'mk *to emphasize one's words by pounding the floor with a talking stick*, lhkw'mkaksta *talking stick (miniature totem pole used by a speaker in order to emphasize his words)*

Upper Chehalis ʔəkʷ- ‘peck’ (Ki91)

- 680 √hl (tr.) *to remove: to groom, clean, clip, cut; to quit, stop, leave:*
 lhliixw (tr.) *to cut somebody’s hair*, lhl.lhliiqwta *barber scissors*,
 nulhlxsm *to clean one’s nose*, nulhlalsikanm *to clean one’s ears*,
 nulhl.lhliik (tr.) *to remove pit from fruit*, lhlus (tr.) *to peel fruit*,
 lhlulmc (tr.) *to clean the floor*, lhlik (tr.) *to clean the table surface*,
 lhlaaxla (tr.) *to clean berries*, axw.ʔiluk lhlsutaylaycts *I am still*
unable to keep a clean house, lhlits tsi.cnasts.tsc *I will leave my wife*,
 lhlutsm *to stop eating*, alhlalhlim wa.qaaxlamim.ts *people stop*
drinking
- 681 lhlm *to give a feast, potlatch*: nuslhlmsta *building where potlatch is*
held
- 682 lhm *to stand up*: lhmtu- *to erect, stand something up*, lhmtimut *to*
stand up, rise, lhmta *corner posts of a house*, silhmak *fish weir*
(consisting of poles planted across a stream), Alhmutsamk “standing
 in an opening” = *Mystery Dancer* (cf. √ʔm)
- 683 lhmilh *we, us* (12.1)
 Sechelt nímuʔ (Ti77), Lillooet snímuʔ (VE13)
- 684 lhm.k’māni = lhm.k’māni *weasel*
 Proto-Salish *ʔk’am (Ku02)
- 685 lhm.k’māhp = lhm.k’māhp *lodgepole pine*: lhm.k’māhpak *lodgepole*
pine needles
- 686 lhnús *two* (13.1): k’ilhnús “lacking two” = *eight*, nulhnuslt *to have*
twins, snulhnusltlh *twins*, nulhnusakmitsut *to work together*,
 ka.lhnusanmaaks *at two o’clock (later today)*, lhnusaaxanmalh *(to*
take) two steps, lhn.lhnusaaxuts *double-barrelled gun* (cf.
 √lhwaas, -nalus)

*(ʔa)ʔ-ən-əws, cf. Lillooet ʔán'was (VE13), Proto-Salish *-an-was,
*-an-aws 'pair' (Ku02)

- 687 lhp (tr.), lhpa (itr.) *to fill something up*: nulhpik (tr.) *to fill a pot*,
nulhpaktulhx! *fill up our containers!*

- 688 -lhp, -alhp *tree, plant; use, function* (8.2): ic.p'iclh *crabapple tree*,
plhtkn.knlhp *bitter cherry tree*, t'a.t'kanalhp *yellow pond lily*,
a.q'miixalhp *cottonwood tree*, stamlhp ʔlks? *what is it used for?*,
what purpose does it serve?, qm.xmtalhp t'ayc *this serves as a shock*
absorber

Proto-Salish *-aʔp 'tree, bush, plant' (Ku02)

- 689 lhp' *rising, springy*: lhp'uulh *dough, yeast bread* (Saunders alh-lhp'-
aluulhla 'rise above the earth')

- 690 lhq *wet*: lhq (tr.) *to dampen something*, lhqm *to soak dried berries*,
alhq *cooked elderberries*, nulhqutsalh *sleet*, lhqaltwa *rainy season*,
lhqaqw's *wet soil*, anulhqmalsiixw *mucus in the posterior nasal*
cavity

Kw √ʔq 'wet, soaked' (LR80)

- 691 lhqm *to erode, collapse*: lhqmaaxuts *the riverbank is eroding*,
nulhqmals kw ti t'apalst *somebody told me a cave collapsed* (cf.
nulhi.lhq)

Proto-Salish *ʔəq 'worn out' (Ku02)

- 692 lhq' (tr.), lhq'a (itr.) *to slap; to slice, cut into slabs*: lhq'us (tr.) *to slap*
somebody in the face, lhq'akm *to applaud*, lh(a.)q'a *to make a guess*
in the lahal game, lhq'm *to be making shingles*, lhq'ayc *to be*
chipped, broken off, lhq'aynic (tr.) *to accidentally chip something*

Kw √ʔq 'flat, to flatten with the hand, to clap, to slap', He/Oo/Ha
√ʔaq 'to slap' (LR80)

- 693 -lhq' ...*fold* (7.14): malhq' *single*, lhwaalhq' *double*, asmúslhq' *triple* (cf. lhq')
- 694 √lhq'm (tr.) *to strap, secure, fetter*: lhm.q'mta *leash*, lhq'maalhta *shoelaces*, alhm.q'mtu- *to keep on a leash*, anulhq'miiqw *handle* (e.g. *for bucket or lantern*) (cf. slhq'an)
- 695 lhqw' (tr.) *to uproot, dig up*: lhqw'm c,a ilk *he is digging for ilk*, lhqw'aynic (tr.) *to accidentally dig something up*, lhic.lhiqw'a c,a sqitilhp *he is digging for roots*, lhqw'aax (tr.) *to pull a tree out*, lhqw'aaxm *to become uprooted*, lhiqw'alsmc "people of bare mountain side" = *former tribal division*
Upper Chehalis ʔəq'w- 'break, pull apart' (Ki91)
- 696 lhqw' *to fade*: lhic.lhiqw' *it is fading*
- 697 √lhqw' *to sob*: nu.nulhqw', lhic.lhiqw' *to be sobbing*
- 698 lhtn (tr./itr.) *to exert pressure, touch, bump, poke*: lhtnnu ulh,nts *you bumped into me*, nulhtnalsta *bone implement used to scrape a hide*, lhtnaakts alh,ʔ'ayc *I touch this*, lhtntmacw *to touch each other*, k'ilhtn *he moved around freely*, nulhtnikta *center post, pillar*, nulhtnutsaaxta *housepost*
- 699 lhtnm "to resist downward pull, conquer gravity" = *to climb up a slope*: lhtnmtits wa,yaki *I am climbing up the mountain in pursuit of mountain goats*
- 700 √lht' (tr.) *to attach to or catch with a hook; to lever, pry off, pull out*: lht' (tr.), lht'a (itr.) *to spike, hang something on a nail; to pry something off*, nulht'iiqw (tr.) *to hang something (hat or coat) on a nail or hook*, nulht'uus (tr.) *to hang something* (e.g. *picture*) *on the wall*, nulht'uulhnnak (tr.) *to castrate somebody*, nulht'nlxsaaliitstu- *to make somebody stick his tongue out* (so as to administer his

medication), lht'aax (tr.) "to lever the boat" = *to steer a boat or car*,
 alht'aaxm *to be steering*, lht'aaxta *rudder, steering wheel*

Proto-Salish *tət' 'to catch fish with hook and line' (Ku02)

- 701 lht'm *to rise, emerge, pop out*: lht'm ti,snx,tc *the sun is rising*,
 lht'mtinilh *the sun is rising in our area*, nulhm.t'maaquts wa,sulh,ts
 "the house is popping out of its edges" = *it is very crowded in the*
house, nulhm.t'maaqws wa,sqaluts *berries are emerging, ripening*,
 lht'mtimut *grasshopper*, anulht'muulh *to have a protruding navel*,
 lht'makts c,ta,alhquhls "my book popped out of my hand" = *my*
book has disappeared

Proto-Salish *tət' 'to jump, skip' (Ku02)

- 702 lhts' (tr.), lhts'a (itr.) *to hold or press down*: lhts'ma *belt, girdle*,
 lhts'tsut *to duck, dodge*, anulhts' "pressed flat" = *Indian cheese (sun-*
cured and compacted cake of fish eggs)
- 703 lhts'ancw (tr.) *to catch somebody ...ing*: lhts'ancuts (tr.) *to overhear*
somebody
- 704 ʔlhu, ʔlhu, ʔlhuu = ʔlu, ʔlu, ʔluu
- 705 lhuk, lhu.lhkw (tr.) *to pick up something*: lhu.lhkwihs *I will pick it*
up, alhuc.lhuk *objects that are placed in a mesachie box*, lhuu.lhkwa
 "to be busy picking up" = *to be sexually promiscuous*
- 706 ʔlhuku (tr.) *to penetrate a hole*: nulhukwwaax (tr.) *Hawhaw to stick*
his beak into somebody's rectum
- 707 ʔlhuk', ʔlhuuk *to be disinclined, repelled*: lhuk'layc *to have an*
aversion to eating, lhuk'layc *to get fed up, bored*, lhuk'laycmim
nobody likes him, kanuslhuk'm *having a horrible smell or taste*,
 nu.nulhuk' *reluctant to work, lazy*, lhuc.lhuukliwam (tr.) *to vex,*
irritate somebody

708 lhuk'is *toolbox*

709 lhukwala *student of supernatural power, shaman-to-be*: lhukwalanic (tr.) *to allow somebody to obtain supernatural power*, alhukwala *person with supernatural power, shaman*, lhukwalayamk (tr.) *to derive supernatural power from something or somebody*, alhukwalayxw *power song*, lhukwalatum *he was given supernatural power*, slhukwala *object filled with supernatural power*

Oo/Kw λug^wala (√lug^w) 'one who has found supernatural power' (LR80)

710 lhula *ring finger*

711 √lhulh *informed, having news*: lhulhtu- *to tell somebody the latest*, lhulhtnm *newsreader*, lhulhamktsinu *I have heard a story about you*, alhuulhalus *to be curious, inquisitive*, alhulhnic (tr.) *to perceive the presence of something or somebody*, lhulhnietsut *to feel a change in oneself, suspect one is ill*

712 lhulhkw = lhu.lhkw = lhuk

713 lhulhp = lhu.lhp *soft, spongy*: lhu.lhpulmc *muskeg*

Ha √lup 'soft, soggy' (LR86)

714 lhum (tr.), lhuma (itr.) *to sip something*: lhum.lhuma *to be taking little sips*, nulhumaaxnm *to have a cup of tea or coffee with somebody*, anulhumuuts (tr.) *to spoon-feed somebody*, anulhumuutsm *to consume liquid food with a spoon*

Proto-Salish *ʔum' 'to eat soup' (Ku02)

715 lhup *you (pl.)* (12.1)

Sechelt núwlap (Ti77), Lillooet snuláp (Van Eijk 1997)

- 716 √lhup' *smell, breath*: lhup't *it is smelling*, lhun.lhup't *to breathe*, lhun.lhup'tlxs *to breathe through the nose*, slhup'(t)sta *breath*, k'in.k'islhup'(t)stalc *to start having trouble breathing*

Upper Chehalis łúp'- 'sniff' (Ki91)

- 717 √lhuq' *peeled, skinned*: lhuq'lc *skin is peeling off*, lhuq'alht *inner bark of red cedar*

Upper Chehalis łúq'^w- 'bald, peeled' (Ki91)

- 718 lhut' (tr.), lhut'a (itr.) *to smell something*: lhu.lht'm *to sniff in, inhale*, lhut'aylayc *to catch a whiff*

- 719 lhuts' (tr.) *to strip, undress*: lhuts'uulh (tr.) *to undress somebody*, lhu.lhts'uulhm *to get undressed*

Sechelt łəw-íc'a-m (Ti77), Upper Chehalis łfw- 'come off, come out' (Ki91)

- 720 √lhuu = √lhu

- 721 √lhuuk = √lhuk'

- 722 lhuuxt *poisoned from eating clams caught during a red tide*: slhuuxt *red tide* (McI48 *sxlo'xt'*: Poisonous supernatural creature that travels with the War-Party of the Tides)

?Cf. Chinook Proper "ilō'xlox" 'oyster' (Boas 1910)

- 723 √lhwaas (√lhwaalh before tl' and lh) *two* (13.3): lhwaaslancw *two years*, lhwaaslx *forty*, lhwaask'mtts ska_alhits ala_ats *I will stay here for two days*, lhwaask'mtamts ska_lip'tsutts *I will return in two days*, lhwaahl't'aputsts snuyamlhts *I sang twice*, lhwaalhq' *double* (cf. lhnús)

*(ʔa)ł-waʔs, cf. Lillooet ʔán'was (VE13), Proto-Salish *-was, *-w'as 'pair' (Ku02)

- 724 *√lhx* *opposed, away from, other way around, inside out, negative, sinister*: *nulhxikam* *to turn away or against*, *nulhxikamtsinu* *I turn against you, become your opponent*, *lhxusm* *to turn one's face away in disgust or disagreement*, *lhxixw* *upended, upside down*, *alh* *to be quarrelsome with one's spouse*, (nu)*lhxanlh* “turned inside” = *self-centered, misanthropic*, *nulhxanlhannmikmitsut* *to be disgusted with one's situation, to leave in anger or frustration*, *lhxanm* *to go hunting*, *icnulhxlxsanm* *layc* “to continually be missing the terminus” = *to be wandering around*, *lhxlc̣tṣ* “I am becoming ill at ease (estranged) now” = *I begin to feel homesick, wish to leave now*
- 725 *√lhxus* *busy, occupied*: *slhxus* *work, occupation*, *kuslhxus* *to be very busy* (cf. *√lhxw*)
- 726 *√lhxw* *to be energetic, enthused*: *lhxutsmtulhs ska .aylh c̣tṣ* *he enthusiastically approved of our plan to act thus* (McI48 *lxwayx*, “Frenzied”: Term applied to Cannibals and other destructive *kukusiut* when in a state of madness)
- 727 *√lhxw* *to go through a narrow passage, pass through, escape*: *lhxwt* *to go through a hole or passage*, *lhxwtmmis ti .nutsq̣ .ṭ'ayc* *he went through this hole*, *lhxwtaycts* *I have passed through*, *lhxwm* *to flee, escape*, *lhxwtmtss* *he escaped from me*
Proto-Salish **ʔəχʷ* ‘to pass through a hole, escape’ (Ku02)
- 728 *lhxwt* (tr.), *lhxwta* (itr.) *to spit on something/somebody*: *nulhxwtaykts* *I want to spit*, *slhxwta* *spittle*, *lhxwtnamkits* *I spit it out*
Squamish *ʔəχʷ* (Ku67)

M

- 729 √ʔm *erect*: asʔmllxs *pugnosed*, asʔm = kusʔm *to have an erection* (cf. mt)
- 730 √m, √m...a *petrified formative base*: maaxsa *nose*, musa *face*, maka *testes*, mnlhkwa *hair*, mnk *faeces*
- 731 -m *3 sg. pass. caus.* (1.18) (cf. -im)
Squamish -...m ‘passive’ (Ku67), Shuswap -(e)m ‘passive’ (Ku74)
- 732 -m *medium, middle* (6.4-7) (cf. -im, -am, -amk, -(a)ma)
Squamish -m ‘itr. suffix’ (Ku67), Shuswap -m ‘itr. suffix’ (Ku74);
other Salish -mi(n) ‘relational applicative’, -(a)min ‘oblique object, means’ (Nater 2015)
- 733 -m-, -man(ts)- *1 sg. obj. caus.* (1.15) (cf. -ts-, -tsan-)
Upper Chehalis -mal- ‘1 sg. obj.’ (Ki91)
- 734 √m... *allomorph of √ma in enclitic strings* (15.52, 15.55)

- 735 *√ma* *one* (13.3): *maslancwakts sksnmakts* I *worked for one year*,
malacw year, *alh₁ tumalacwa last year*, *kamalacws next year*, *malhq¹*
single, *matl¹ap once*, *makwtl¹uusinaw they look identical*
 Possibly of NW origin, cf. He *√m¹n* ‘one’, *√m¹án* ‘simultaneously’
 (Rath 2010)
- 736 *√ma*, *√m...* *maybe, possibly, likely* (15.10) (cf. *√mas*)
 Tsimshianic origin: Nisgha & Gitksan *√(ə)ma* ‘dubitative (probably,
 I wonder if)’ (Tarpent 1987)
- 737 *-ma*, *-mn-* *implement* (8.1): *sk¹ma comb*, *sq¹ma knife for cutting*
salmon, *lhts¹ma belt (= -ama)*
 Proto-Salish: Lillooet *-mən*, *-amín* (VE13), Upper Chehalis *-min-*
 ‘instrument’ (Ki91)
- 738 *maask₁ʔiks?* *how much/many?* (12.10): *numaaskaw₁ks?* *how many*
are they?, *maaskulhtucw₁lits?* *how much do you charge for it?*,
maasklancwnu₁ks? *how old are you?*, *maaskanmaak₁ʔiks?* *what time*
is it?, *ala₁ka₁maaskaax* *for a number of days* (cf. *mntsk?*)
- 739 *maaxsa* *nose*
 Proto-Coast Salish **məqsn* (Ku02)
- 740 *maaxts* *clay*. *maaxts* (tr.) *to apply clay to something*
- 741 *macsays* *husband’s brother’s wife* (McI48 *maxsai:s*: Co-husband in a
 polyandrous household)
- 742 *macuuli* *water parsley* (McIlwraith 1948 *ma¹xwal¹i*: One of the
 parsleys)
 Ha *wàx^(w)uali* (*√wax^{w)}* (LR86)
- 743 *-macw* *reciprocal suffix* (see *-tmacw*, *-nmacw*)

Proto-Salish *-awalx^w (Kinkade 1990), Coast Oregon
 Penutian -mux^w/ -muχ^w, -mew (Nater 2018)

744 maka *testes*

Proto-Coast Salish *makn (Ku02)

745 √mal (tr.) *to mix something*: maliixw (tr.) *to mix something*,
 maliixwaqw's (tr.) *to mix paint*, numaliixwikayc *to get mixed up*,
confused, numalusayc *to choke*

Proto-Coast Salish *malq^w, Squamish mmlilč' 'get mixed up'
 (Ku02), NW √m(a)† 'to stir, mix by stirring' (LR80)

746 √malh *slow*: malhliwa *sort of slow, sluggish*, ma.malhaalhi *walking*
slowly, malhuts *eating slowly* (cf. mnlh (787))

Proto-Salish *ma† 'to rest' (Ku02)

747 mamawlit = ma.mawlit *to meow*

748 mamayu = ma.mayu *butterfly*: ma.maʔyui *dim.*

Oo and Kw hmumu (LR80)

749 mamis = ma.mis *black fly*: ma.miisi *dim.*

750 man *father*: anusman *having lost one's father*, mantimut *father-in-*
law, stepfather

Proto-Coast Salish *man (Ku02)

751 -man-, -mants- = -m-

752 maq'm *to have nothing to eat for a whole day*: ismaq'mlhhts *I had*
had nothing to eat all day

If < 'to feel very much like eating', cf. Proto-Salish *maq' 'to
 swallow, eat one's fill' (Ku02)

753 maqw'ants *heron*

Proto-Salish *(s-)məq'w-aʔ 'crane, heron', Kw maq'w'ns 'story name of Heron' (Ku02)

754 ʔmas *as expected, predictably, as usual, always (often said naggingly)* (15.11) (cf. ʔma)

Cf. Gitksan (P:140) ʔimaʔs 'might, must have ...' (Peterson 1999)

755 ʔmats (tr.) *to line up, align, arrange, spread, cover*: usmatsit *they covered his body*, numatsaax (tr.) *to spread boards on the ground*, numatsik (tr.) *to place boards on the bottom of a canoe*, numatsikta *boards placed on the bottom of a canoe*, kalhmatstsut *to spread hemlock bows out on the ground for bedding*, matsalh (tr.) *to launch a new canoe*

756 mats (tr.) *to put objects on a string, to thread*: numatsx! *put corks on the line!*

757 matskin *salmon heart*

He mcgn'í (ʔms) (LR80)

758 matskw' *frog, toad*: mn.mnntskw'í *dim.*, sn.knics ti ʔmatskw' = p'xwlht (cf. ʔma, tsakw', tskw'm)

759 matsta *side dish (nuts, dried springsalmon roe)*

NW ʔmas 'to eat a sidedish' (LR80)

760 mats'í *cured salmon roe*: axw is.ʔismats'its *I never eat mats'í*

Cf. Oo mazm 'Indian cheese (made from salmon eggs)' (ʔmas)

761 ʔmaw *one* (13.3): numaw *one person*, numawta *partner, friend* (McI48 *numao*, *vocative*, *numaotao*: Member of same sex and same ancestral family as speaker), numawaakmitsuti *to be alone at work*,

- mawlx *twenty*, mawlxsulh *twenty dollars*, mawlxslancwamts *I am twenty years of age* (cf. √ma)
- 762 maxwat'alaqa *dipper, water ouzel*
Ha maχ^wadài (LR86), He máχ^wada 'small bird resembling a sandpiper' (LR80)
- 763 mayas *raccoon*: mayaasi *dim.*
He máyás, Kw mayus (LR80)
- 764 -mc *population, inhabitant, native* (8.2): kanmcnu_{ks}? *what is your ethnicity/nationality, where do you hail from?* (cf. -almc, -ulmc)
Proto-Salish *-mix^w, *-mix 'person' (Ku02)
- 765 √mi *wide*: numyuts *having a wide mouth*, numyals *wide room*, miank *wide canoe*, numii(t) ti_{nutsq}tc *the hole is wide*, numilcuts *channel opens up; to become increasingly talkative*
- 766 -mi- *1 sg. subj. caus.* (1.17) (in -tu-minu *I cause you to ...*) (cf. -tsi-, -man(ts))
Proto-Salish *-mi-n- '2 sg. obj. - 1 sg. subj.' (Nater 2014)
- 767 micmikalhp = mic.mikalhp *Sitka spruce*
- 768 micmik'lh = mic.mik'lh *star* (cf. √pik')
- 769 mik't *arrowhead*
Ha mik't 'obsidian' (√mik) (LR86)
- 770 mikw'lh *salalberry*: mic.mikw'lh *salalberry plant*
Proto-Coast Salish *mik^wəł (Ku02), Ha nk^wł (LR86)

- 771 mil, ml (tr.) *to erase something*
Proto-Salish *məl (Ku02)
- 772 mila *cane, walking stick*
- 773 milicw *bearberry, kinnikinnick*: mil.milicwlhp *kinnikinnick plant*,
mil.milicwlhpaak *false box*
Coeur d'Alene (s)mil'x^w 'to smoke (tobacco)' (Ku02)
- 774 miltm *to rise, increase (of water)*: numiltm *to overflow*, miltmaq^w's
drink spills over (cf. mulm)
- 775 Milha *a type of dance*
Kw m'íł̥a 'teasing (a ceremonial)' (√m'íł̥) (LR80)
- 776 -minilh *1 pl. pass. caus.* (1.18) (cf. -tinilh)
*-min- + -ilh, with -min- copied from -minits below
- 777 -minits *1 sg. pass. caus.* (1.18) (cf. -tinits)
*-m-in- 'itr-1 sg. subj.' + -its '1 sg. subj.'
- 778 minnimut *to go into labor*: alhminnimut *to be in labor* (probably
min.nimut, cf. √mi)
- 779 -mitsut *reflexive suffix* (6.19): numawaakmitsuti *to be alone at work*,
t'umitsut, slaxmitsut *to have many relatives*, tsnkwakmitsutts *I can
do it myself*, nusci.ckmitsut *to be sad*, nutil'uk'ikmitsut *to consider
oneself superior, be conceited*, alhkaltcwmitsut, alhkw'cwmitsut *to
watch out, be careful*, ixq'nlhamitsut *to be irritated*
- 780 ml (tr.) = mil

781 mlk *milk*

782 -mn- = -ma

783 mna *child, offspring*: mnamits *I will adopt him*, as.ʔasmnayakaw
they had a child, mn.mnay *doll*, mn.mnaalh *animal cub* (cf.
mn.mnts)

Proto-Coast Salish *məna (Ku02)

784 Mnaakays *the supreme deity*

Is this the vocative form of *m(a)n-aakas ‘father -...’? (see man, -
aakas)

785 mnk *excrement* (cf. -nnak)

Proto-Salish *mnak, NW √mnk (Ku02)

786 mnlh (tr.) *to pay somebody*: mnlhayc ts’ *he has been paid now*,
mnlhtsutaw *they draw up a contract*

787 mnlh *to pause, interrupt*: mnlhlcakts *the pain is gone from my hand*,
has subsided, mn.mnlhlc *pain comes and goes*, mnlhalusm *to have*
missed somebody, to see somebody again after a long period of
separation, mnlhimut *to have a rest* (cf. malh)

*məʔ, cf. Proto-Salish *maʔ ‘to rest’ (Ku02)

788 mnlhat (tr.), mnlhata (itr.) *to measure*: numnlhat (tr.) *to measure the*
depth of water, numnlhatahs (tr.) *to measure the height of a room*
(cf. mntsk, mntcw)

789 mnlhkwa *hair of the head*: numnlhkwalsikan (< *nu-mnlhkwn...)
having hairs in one’s ears

Quileute boʔkʷ ‘hair’ (Powell and Woodruff 1976)

- 790 mnmnts = mn.mnts *children* (cf. mna)
- 791 mnmntsa = mn.mntsa *swamp gooseberry*; mn.mntsahp *swamp gooseberry plant*
- 792 mnta *way of going, route, vehicle*: stam₁ks ti₁ka₁mntanu? *how will you be going?*, mn.mnta *path, road*, mn.mnnta *steps, stairway, stepladder*, k'ilhmnta “*having no path*” = *to wander around*
- 793 mntcw, √mntacw (tr.), mntcwa (itr.) *to dip something up*; mntcuts (tr.) *to dip water*, mntcu(u)tsta *dipping cup, ladle*, usmntacuuts (tr.) *to skim off a liquid* (cf. mntsk, mnlhat)
- 794 mntsk (tr.), mntska, mntskm (itr.) *to count*: numntsktanx! *count them!*, mntskulha *to count money* (cf. mntcw, mnlhat, √ma, maask₁ʔiks)
- NW √m'nc ‘to measure’ (LR80)
- 795 mnts' *yellow, hazel, blond*: mnts'(ulh)iixw *having blond hair*, nu(mn.)mnts'ikulhaaqws *having hazel eyes*, mn.mnts'lhp *oceanspray*, smn.mnts'uulhak *catkin, pussy willow* (cf. mnts'lhta, √pits')
- 796 √mnts' (tr.) *to squeeze something*: mnts'aqw's (tr.) *to squeeze berries so as to extract the juice*, mnts'aqw'saliitsm (tr.) *to crush berries in one's mouth*, mnts'ulhiktsinu *I'll deep-massage your back* (cf. numts', mnts'lhta)
- Upper Chehalis míc'i- ‘squeeze, pinch’ (Ki91)
- 797 mnts'lhta *pus*: snumnts'lhtaylh *bloody part of fish backbone*
- Proto-Salish *māc'(-ul/ɬ) ‘pus, matter’ (Ku02) (cf. √mnts', numts')
- 798 -mt 2 sg. pass. caus. (1.18) (cf. -tst)
- Amalgam of -m- and -tst

799 mt *to sit, assume a sitting position*: mtaaxutsayc *to sit around the fire (pl. subject) or at the riverbank*, sʔmtsta *seat, chair*, siʔmt *solstice* (cf. amat, ʋʔm, minnimut)

Proto-Salish *(ʔa)mut ‘to sit’ (Ku02)

800 mtm *sea urchins; burdocks*

NW ʋʔmt (He ʔmdm̄, Oo ʔmʔdm, Ha ʔmdm̄) (LR80)

801 -mts *one’s (collective) relatives* (8.2): stan.tanmts “*one’s mothers of mothers*” = *one’s mother + maternal grandmother + maternal grandmother’s mother etc.*, slhʔimts.mts *all one’s grandchildren*, wa.su.sqwimtsts *all my younger siblings*

802 mu *fish weir made of cedar sticks* (McI48 mu: *Hand net for catching olachen*)

Proto-Salish *muʔ ‘fish weir’ (Ku02)

803 mucwmukwt = mucw.mukwt *bluegrouse*: mucw.muukwti *dim.*

804 mukw *red; dancer’s necklace made of cedar bark*: mukusi “*little red face*” = *newborn baby*, mukwila *boy reaching puberty*, mukwaluush *red springsalmon*, mukwaqw’s *brown; dancer’s headband*, numukwikaqw’s *having brown eyes*, mukusm *to paint one’s face red*, mucw.mukwlcclhp *goatsbeard (plant)*, mucw.mukuulh *gold*, mucw.mukwaaxakta *bracelet*, mucw.mukwaaxalh̄ta *anklet*

Cf. Gitksan and Nisgha mukʷ ‘ripe’ (Peterson 1999, Tarpent 1989)

805 mulm *to dive*: mulmtuts, ma ta, ʔna *maybe I will make him dive*, mulmits *I will dive for it*

Proto-Salish *mul ‘to dip, sink, flood’ (Ku02)

806 -mulh- *1 pl. obj. caus.* (1.15); *1 sg./pl. subj. caus.* (1.17) (cf. -tulh-)

Squamish -umuł- ‘1 pl. obj.’ (Ku67), Upper Chehalis -mul- ‘1 pl. obj.’ (Ki91)

- 807 √muqw’ *stale, bland, lacking color or taste*: muq’ulh *food tastes bland*, muqw’anlh *cloth looks faded*, muqw’alcw (tr.) *to rinse the soap out of laundered clothes*

NW √m’uqʷ ‘discolored, bland, stale’ (LR80)

- 808 muqw’lha *louse*: muqw’lhata *flea comb, fine comb*, muqw’lhatim *he has lice*, mucw.muqw’lhalhp *large-leaved avens*

- 809 mus (tr.), musa (itr.) *to feel, touch something*: musm *to spy*, musaynicits *I felt it*, musalcw *to feel around in the water for fish with a long tapered stick; to spy*

- 810 mús *four* (13.1): numusaw *they are four*, musulh *four dollars*, muslxs *eighty*, musaaqtnaalh wa qinxts ts *I have four pairs of shoes*

Proto-Salish *mus, areal *mu... (Ku02)

- 811 musa *face*

*musən, cf. Proto-Coast Salish *mʔus (Ku02), √m, -us

- 812 musmus = mus.mus *cow, bovine*

Chinook Jargon musmus (CTGR)

- 813 -mut *reflexive suffix* (6.20): q’amut (/q’aw-mut/) *to bury, attend a funeral*, kulhkamut (/kulh-kaw-mut/) *to pay a prostitute* (cf. -tsut) (for -tsut ~ -mut, cf. -tsan- ~ -man-)

Squamish -numut, -nam’ut (Ku67)

- 814 √mutsm *mistaken, confused, uncertain*: alhmutsm ka axws *maybe it will not be the case*, mutsmuts *to make a speech error*, mutsmallh *to*

go the wrong way, icmun.mutsmalhts I don't know which way to go, icmun.mutsmnictsinu I got you confused with somebody else

815 *muuxwa to stutter: mu.muuxwa to stutter repeatedly*

Cf. He ʔm̥qʷa, Oo ʔm̥qʷa, Ha ʔm̥qʷa ‘to stutter’ (LR80)

816 *muxwlht to utter a dance-cry: alhmuxwlhtaykila somebody who excels in the art of muxwlht*

817 *muxwmuxwlht’ulhi(i)kanta = muxw.muxwlht’ulhi(i)kanta big earring*

muxw.muxw... is originally Tsimshianic: Gitksan & Nisgha *max̥muxʷ* ‘earrings’, Gitksan & Nisgha *muxʷ* ‘ears’. The Nuxalk word is an unusual compound consisting of a non-native noun + verbal root (*wlht* ‘attach with a hook’) followed by *-uł-ikan-ta* ‘bulky-ear-gadget’ (Nater 2018).

N

- 818 -n *transitivizer* (6.15) (cf. -a (5), -i- (293))
 PS *-n- ‘transitivizer’: Squamish -n- (Ku67), Shuswap -n(t) (Ku74),
 Lillooet -Vn (VE13)
- 819 -n- *unintentionally* (6.3) (cf. -nic)
- 820 n, in *and* (16.5)
 Chinook Jargon ən ‘and, and also’ < English
- 821 ʔn... = ʔna: way ʔnisu! (from way ʔn(a) ʔi su) *repeat it!*
- 822 ʔna *determinative* (12.17)
- 823 ʔna, ʔʔna *forgotten*: nanic (tr.), nunanicikm (tr.) *to forget something or somebody*, nanimut “*to find oneself forgotten*” = *to mourn, sorrow*, alhʔnanic “*to find someone forgotten*” = *to mourn someone*
- 824 ʔna *imperative enclitic* (15.47)
- 825 na! *there you are!* (16.7)

- 826 naaxwm *to dance*: nac.naaxwm, nusnaaxwmc *always dancing*,
nunaaxwmalsim *dancing hall*, sinaaxwmixw *dancer's headdress*
(*made of cedar bark*), nac.naaxwmlhp *trembling aspen*
- 827 √nac *ready*: nacliwa *ready, finished*, nacliwanicis *he finished*
(*making*) it, alhnacliwa ts' ti tii tc *tea is ready now*, naclunak *work is*
finished (cf. √nayc, √alhʔn)
- 828 -nalus *joint* (7.3); *pieces; (being) between* (7.6): ts'lhpnalusta *joints*
of ribs, slip'nalus *joint*, cmnalus (tr.) *to break something into pieces*
(cf. lhnús)

*-l-anus < Proto-Salish *-(al-)an-was 'pair, middle' (Ku02)
- 829 -nalus-aax *crotch* (7.3): asnalusaax *crotch*
- 830 -nalus-aqw's *between the eyes, bridge of nose* (7.3): asnalusaqw's,
skulhnalusaqw's *bridge of nose*
- 831 -nalus-lxs-ak *joints of fingers, between the fingers* (7.3):
lip'naluslxsak *joints of fingers*, alhtmpnaluslxsakmits *I have it*
between my fingers
- 832 -nalus-lxs-alh *between the toes* (7.3): alhtmpnaluslxsalhmits *I have it*
between my toes
- 833 nalhm *ling cod*

He náʔm, Oo náʔm (LR80)
- 834 nan *grizzly bear*: nanʔni *dim.*, st'ls ti nan *devil's club berries*, sqaluts
ti nan = st'ls ti nan, nunanta *wild red columbine*

He nán, Oo nan (LR80)
- 835 nanaax (tr.) *to stick something into the ground*
- 836 nanitkw *digging stick; center of a boil*

- 837 nap, √nap (tr.) *to take something; to give something to somebody*:
 nap *what one has with or near oneself (availability, circumstance)*,
 tmsmawlh ti₁nap Hank *Hank has only one dollar*, maaskulh ʔiks
 wa₁napnu? *how much money have you got?*, napits *I will take it*,
 naputsm *to help oneself to food*, alh.ʔalhʔnapits *I will adopt him*,
 naptsinu c, t'ayc *I will give this to you*, napalimtsk (tr.) *to give out*,
distribute food, alh(ʔ)nap (tr.) *to know something*, alhnaputtsant
they know what I said, napamcw (tr.) *to find out about, learn*
something, alhnapamcwaakm (tr.) *to do something expertly, in a*
habitual way, napulhlam (tr.) *to make fun of somebody*, napusta
framework of sticks holding smoked salmon; stem of war canoe,
 napalitsta *front section of keel* (cf. nmp)
- 838 √nap = nap
- 839 -nap = -ap (14.2)
- 840 naq't *sexually impotent*: kulhnaq'tm = naq't
 Cf. Proto-Salish *nəq', *naq' 'to rot' (Ku02)
- 841 ₁nas *imperative enclitic* (15.48)
- 842 -naw(...) = -aw(...) (1.1, 15.43-6)
- 843 naxnx = nax.nx *mallard duck*: nax.nxi, nax.naxi *dim.*; *widgeon*
 Tsimshianic origin: Nisgha naχnaaχ, Gitksan naχnaaχt (Nater 2018)
- 844 -naxw = -axw (1.7)
- 845 √nayc, √napayc *to accompany, be complaisant*: nayctimut *to go along*,
be obedient, alhʔnayc *to accompany, go with somebody*,
 alhʔnaycuts (tr./itr.) *to join somebody in eating or crying*,
 alhʔnaycak (tr./itr.) *to work with, help somebody* (cf. √nac, √alhʔn)

- 846 -ncw, -ancw (tr.) = -nic (6.37): ts'xancw *to believe somebody*, kancw *to worry about a missing person*, wancw *to fail to get, miss (out on) something*, lhts'ancw *to catch somebody ...ing*, lhts'ancuts *to overhear somebody*
- 847 nic (tr.), nica (itr.) *to saw something*: nicta *saw*, nicuulhalusm *to cut firewood for oneself* (cf. nik', tc (1572))
- 848 √nic *reduced form of inacw* (10.7): alhtunica *yesterday*
- 849 -nic (tr.) *to accidentally cause something or somebody to (be) ...; to find, consider, think ... is the case* (6.35): t'kwlxsnic *to accidentally give somebody a nosebleed*, sak'amnic *to accidentally hurt somebody*, stn~~m~~ulhanknic *to cause somebody to have a laughing fit*, nits~~m~~nic *to revive somebody*, tsakw'liwanic *to understand something*, ts'xanic *to believe somebody*, k'axwnic *to think something is not the case*, inutnictscw ʔiks? *what do you think I said?*, acwsnic *to hear something or somebody*
- Squamish -nəxʷ, -n- 'transitive non-volitional' (Ku67), Kalispel -nú 'transitive success' (Speck 1980)
- 850 nicniq'xm = nic.niq'xm *to have a cramp*: nic.niq'xmlxsalhts *I have a cramp in my toes*
- If < *nu-ʔi.q'x-m, cf. Proto-Interior Salish *q'ix 'strong, hard, tight, etc.'
- 851 Nicps *a type of dance*
- 852 niixw, √niiqw *fire*: ni.niixwi *dim.*, nuniixwanayc *to have a fire in the corner; to sit beside a fire*, niiqwaliits *to have burnt one's tongue*, niixuts *to have burnt one's mouth*, nuniixwik *steamboat*, siniixw *firewood* (see iixw for etymology)
- 853 nik' (tr.) *to cut something with a blade*: nik'aaxnm *to cut grass, to hay*, nik'iixw (tr.) *to scalp somebody* (cf. nic)

Proto-Salish *nik' 'to cut' (Ku02)

854 -nimut *to accidentally cause oneself to (be) ...; to find, consider oneself...* (6.23): tcaakaycnimut *to have cut one's hand by accident*, tsik'aycnimut *to have stabbed oneself by accident*, sak'amnimut *to accidentally hurt oneself*, klhnmimut *to (slip and) fall*, kanimut *to accidentally hurt oneself*, q'uxlcnimut *to exhaust oneself*, yalcnimut *to cure oneself*, yanimut *to think highly of oneself, boast*, istsk'nimut *to be lonely, homesick*, nullhnusiinimutlhts *I thought there were only two of us*

855 niq'x *otter*: niiq'xi *dim.*

856 nist *to snort*

Proto-Salish *nis 'blow one's nose' (Ku02)

857 √nits *safe, alive*: nitstu- *to save somebody*, nitstimut *to save oneself*, ni.nits *alive*, nitsm *to hatch, emerge from an egg*, nitsmtnm *to be hatching eggs*, nitsmnic (tr.) *to revive somebody*

858 -nk *base, bottom: buttocks, small of back, tail; root of plant, stem, base of tree* (7.3): a.p'lunk, a.p'lunk *bare, exposed tree roots*, tsiiqnk (tr.) *to dig for roots*, ts'ayxnk *fireweed root*, kulhnk *stem of tree*, mnlhatnk (tr.) *to measure the circumference of a tree's base*, t'xwsus.usnk *quack grass*, slaq'nk *smoked fish tails*, scimnk *cooked fish tails*, skulhnk *buttocks*, sp'nkayc *to get hit on the buttocks, receive a spanking*, kawnkta *fat around kidneys* (cf. -ank, -nnak)

Proto-Salish *-anak 'belly (stomach, anus, buttocks)' (Ku02)

859 -nk-aaq-alh *hem of dress* (7.6): tucnkaaqlh (tr.) *to undo the hem*, stq'nkaaqlh (tr.) *to lower the hemline*

860 √nm (tr./itr.) *to occupy, cover, fill (up), stop: to spread, expand, swell (up); to be settled, completed, fulfilled; to be full, blocked, stuck, inert; to contain, withhold, suppress, obstruct:*
 nmaq̣w'stnmaw *they are spread, scattered all over*, nṃtsut *sore is swelling*, alhnm *animal is in his den*, nṃcliwa *to have given up, be resigned*, nṃlc̣ts' *it (e.g. dance) is over now*, axw nṃlcs *he did not complete his term*, axw nṃtsuts *it does not stop (e.g. bleeding)*, nṃlcalhts *I cannot walk anymore, my feet are getting numb*, nṃ.nṃlcalhts, ts' *I am stuck, cannot move around now*, nṃlcuts *to be no longer able to speak*, nṃ.nṃuuts *deaf-mute*, nṃlxs (tr.) *“to obstruct somebody’s nose” = to smother somebody*, alhnṃis ti, ṣʔaxxuts, tc̣ *he suppresses his cough*, nmaaxta *beaver dam*, snm *logjam*

Cf. Upper Chehalis n̄m- ‘buried’ (Ki91)

861 -nm *caus.-itr. suffix* (6.36); *habitual suffix* (6.55): acwsnm *to hear*, icaasnm *to search*, anutayaaknm *(to be the) pitcher in baseball game*, ts'xlhn.lhnuulhnm *to play soccer*, sun.p'uulhnm *to play baseball*, alhʔip'uulhnm *to play lahal*, alht'umulhnm *(to be a) leech*, nik'aaxnm *to cut grass, to hay*, nulhumaaxnm *to have a cup of tea or coffee with somebody*, qat'iixwnm *to pick elderberries*, nutsqwilhnm *(to be a) rapist*, sp'lxsnm *to be using the phone*

862 -nmacw *to accidentally ... each other; to find, consider each other ...* (6.29): sak'amnṃacw, kannṃacw *to hurt each other accidentally*, pakwnṃacw *to catch up with each other, to arrive together*, yanmacw *to like each other*, ts'xanmacw *to believe each other*, anusqwinmacw *to refuse to believe each other* (cf. -tmacw)

863 -nmc = -nm-mc (6.36): pakwnmc *to catch up*, alhʔacwsnmc *to hear*, wannmc *to be late, miss (e.g. a train or a meal)*

864 √nmnm = √nm.nm *both, double*; nm.nmak *both hands*, nm.nmiklxs
(*both*) *nostrils*, nm.nmaax *both legs*, nm.nmalsikan *both ears*,
nm.nmiixwlayc *both knees*, nm.nmikuus *double-bladed axe*

865 nm.nmk' *animal*

866 nmp (tr.), nmpa (itr.) *to put something into a container*: alhnmptuts
I have it in a container, nmpimut *to board a vehicle*, nmpayc *to have*
boarded a vehicle, nmplxakta *thimble*, alhnmpus *to be wearing a*
mask, nmpusmaw *they are going to have a mask dance* (cf. tmp)

Coast Salish-Thompson *nəp 'to put in' (Ku02)

867 -nnak *faeces* (7.3): qaxnnak *rabbit droppings*, nannnak *grizzly bear's*
droppings, tl'mstnnak *human faeces* (cf. mnk, -nk)

Proto-Salish *-anak 'belly (stomach, anus, buttocks, tail; excrement)'
(Ku02)

868 ntl' *dark(ness)*, night: icntl' (*it is*) *really dark*, icntl' alhm̥tsinu *I will*
pay you a surprise visit tonight, siʔntl'uts *to have supper*, sntl' *night*,
asntl' *last night*, alh, ti, sntl't *tonight*, nukalik ti, sntl' *midnight*

869 nts *I, me* (12.1): nts ti, staltmc *I am the chief* (cf. -ts (1760))

Squamish ʔəns (Ku67), Lillooet sʔənc (VE13)

870 -nu *2 sg. subj. itr.* (14.2); *2 sg. obj. tr./caus.* (1.11, 1.17) (from *nəw,
see inu)

871 nu- *inside* (7.4, 7.7, 10.6); *stomach* (10.2); *in the water* (10.6);
human (10.3, 13.2): nukmats *my stomach aches*, nukw'pt *to be full*
from eating, nup'aats *deep water*, nusic *there is blood in the water*,
numaaskaw, ks? *how many are they?*, nut'xulhaw *they are six in*
number

Squamish n-, nəxw- 'location' (Ku67), Shuswap n- 'at' (Ku74)

- 872 nu---aak *palm of hand* (7.3): assaak *palm of hand*, nusp'aa.p'kayc *to have been hit on the palm of one's hand*
- 873 nu---aalh, nu---alh *footsole* (7.3); *floor, road* (7.10, 7.13): numyaalh (*it is a*) *wide road*, icnukcalh.clhit wa.mnmnta, ts *they are painting lines on the road*, nust'cwmaalhta *floormat*
- 874 nu---aaq-layc *bottom projection: chin, heel* (7.3): asaaqlayc *chin or heel*, nustpaaqlayc *to have a freckle on one's chin*, nusp'aaqlayc (tr.) *to hit somebody on the chin or heel*
- 875 nu---aax *hole, rectum* (7.3): nup'atsaax *deep hole*, nutsqaaq *sewing needle*, nut'kwaax *to bleed from the rectum*, snuts'imnaax *rectum*, nuscntsaax *to be cowardly*, nutsakwaax *wolf*
- 876 nu---aax-ulh-ank = nu---ulh-aax-ank *button*: nutslhaaxulhankaycts *a button has come off my shirt*
- 877 nu---als *inner surface, dome: sky, ceiling, room, wall, hide, clothing, pants* (7.6): nusxa.xlsm *the sky is clear*, nutasals (tr.) *to poke the ceiling*, numyals *large room*, numnlhatala (tr.) *to measure a room*, numukwals *red wall*, wa.nutctl'uk'als, ts (*the rooms*) *upstairs*, nutscwalsilh *it is dark in our house*, nuts'sals *noise in the house*, nut'cwalsm *to sweep the house*, nunaaxwmalsim *dance hall*, nuqaa.qlamalsim *liquor store*, nu?akwnalsim *general store*, nutasals (tr.) *to poke, tan a hide*, nusxals (tr.) *to scrape a hide*, nutsik'alsta *hide scraper (made of bone)*, nu?aaxqnalsalayc *to accidentally wet one's pants*, nu?apsalsalayc *to accidentally defecate in one's pants*
- 878 nu---als-aaqws *visible part of eyeball* (7.3): nustpalsaaqws (*to have a*) *cataract of the eye*
- 879 nu---als-ilh *opening in wall*: sinuxyalsilh *window*
- 880 nu---als-uts *inside the mouth, voice* (7.3): nusxwatmalsuts (*to have a*) *blister in the mouth*, nuqlalcalsuts *one's mouth starts watering*,

- snuqlayalsuts *saliva*, nuʔastcwalsuts *inside of mouth, oral cavity*,
nuts'salsuts *to talk loudly*
- 881 nu-...-al-us-tcw-ilh *inner thigh (near groin)* (7.3):
nukmayalustcwilhts *my inner thigh hurts*, asalustcwillh *inner thigh*
- 882 nu-...-al-uulh-aak *line in palm of hand* (7.3): nusmawaluulhaak *life line*
- 883 nu-...-an-aax-apsm *side of neck* (7.3): nusp'anaaxapsmayc *to have been hit on the side of the neck*
- 884 nu-...-ank-al-us *side of chest* (7.3): nukmayankalusts *one side of my chest hurts*
- 885 nu-...-aqw's *knot; bed; bottom* (7.6); eyeglasses (7.13): nulicmaqw's *knot is slipping*, nuq'saqw's *knot is tight*, nulhnusaqw's *two are in bed*, asaqw's *bottom of water*, nut'xtaqw's *bottom of cave*,
nutsiqw'aqw's (tr.) *to break somebody's glasses*
- 886 nu-...-aqw's-an-ilh *upper thigh (near groin)* (7.3): asaqw'sanilh *lower aspect of groin (near genitals)*, nuskw'maqw'sanilhayc *one's hip is dislocated*, nukwm.kwmaqw'sanilh *(to have) fat thighs*
- 887 nu-...-ik, nu-...-iik *mind* (7.3); *hollow, contained inside; middle, half, in two* (7.6): nutsutik *to think*, numaliixwikayc *to be mentally confused*, nuniixwik “(having) fire inside” = *steamboat*, numatsikta *boards on bottom of canoe*, nutkwik ti, satl'a, tc *the canoe is dirty inside*, nutupmik *something is frothing in a vessel*, nutspik (tr.) *to wipe a pot clean*, nusxik (tr.) *to scrape a pot clean*, nuscmiklaycts *I burnt my pot*, nut'tsik (tr.) *to break an egg*, nutcikim ti, kw'las, tc *his belly was cut open*, nutpiik *next room*, nuʔap'luiik *hollow tree*, snut'xtii.tk *seed, stone in fruit*, inulh ti, nutpik *the other half is yours*, nutcik (tr.) *to cut something in two*, nustq'iktmacw *to be joined together*, anutqwmik *to hang draped over something*,

nutiq'ik (tr.) *to sew together*, nut'upik (tr.) *to split a rock in half*,
nutslhik (tr.) *to break something in half*, nukalik *center, middle, half*

- 888 nu-...-ik-ak *upper arm* (7.3): nutlhi.lhkak *biceps*, nusp'ikakayc *to have been hit on the upper arm*, nusquplhikaak *hair under arm*, anustnmikak *to have a stiff elbow*, asikaktu- *to carry something on the elbow*
- 889 nu-...-ik-als *inner ear* (7.3): nusquplhikals *hairs in ear*
- 890 nu-...-ik-al-us *chest* (7.3): nusp'ikalusayc *to have been hit in the chest*, nusxikalus (tr.) *to shave somebody's chest hair off*, nukmaykalus *to have a sore chest*, nuqat'ikalusm *to fold one's arms*
- 891 nu-...-ik-alhh *throat* (7.3); *what one eats, food*: asikalhh = snukalikalhh *throat*, anumnlhatikalhhm *to eat with moderation*
- 892 nu-...-ik-aqw's *bed* (7.6): nuspuxikaqw's *feather bed*
- 893 nu-...-ik-iixw *in the head; crown of head* (7.3): nukmaykiixw *to have a headache*, nukwlhikiixw *the crown of one's head is cracked*
- 894 nu-...-ik-iixw-alits *front teeth* (7.3): asikiixwalits *front teeth*, anutl'xmikiiqwalitstimut *to crack, crunch something between one's teeth*, anuxwi.xwqw'mikiiqwalits *to grind one's teeth*
- 895 nu-...-ik-layc *tube, tire* (7.6); *penis* (7.3): nup'siiklaycayc *to have a flat tire*, nu?its'tiklayc *to ejaculate*, nu?ipiiklayci *to have a thin penis*, anuxu.xumiiklayc *to have gonorrhea*
- 896 nu-...-ik-lxs *nose, nostrils* (7.3): nupiq'iklxs *to have a flat nose*, nutsqiklxs *to have a pierced nasal septum*, anutsxmiklxs *one's nose is dripping*, squplhiklxs *hairs in nose*, nm.nmiklxs *both nostrils*, nusp'ikllxs (tr.) *to hit somebody on the nose*, nukmaykllxs *one's nose hurts*

- 897 nu-...-ik-lxs-ak *tip of finger* (7.3): nukmayklxsak *one's fingertip hurts*, nusp'i.p'kllqsakayc *to have been hit on the fingernails*
- 898 nu-...-ik-lxs-alh *tip of toe* (7.3): nulhkw'miklxsalh *to bump one's toes*, nusp'i.p'kllqsalhayc *to have been hit on the toenails*
- 899 nu-...-ik-t-ak *middle of season*: nukaliktak ti, sutk *midwinter*
- 900 nu-...-ik-ulh-aqw's *center of eye, pupil* (7.3): numnts'ikulhaaqws *to have hazel eyes*, nuts'wikulhaqw's *to have grey eyes*, nutsimikulhaqw's *to bump, get hit in the eye*
- 901 nu-...-ik-us *forehead* (7.3): asikus = skulhikus *forehead*, snuqm.qmikuus *soft spot on baby's head, fontanel*, nusp'ikus (tr.) *to hit somebody on the forehead*, nuqat'ikusta *headband of packstrap*
- 902 nu-...-ik-uulh *body, flesh*: nutsakwikuulh *long-bodied, tall*, nuxupikuulh (tr.) *to insert something in a hole*, nuta.tkanikuulh *half-ripe fruit*
- 903 nu-...-ilh, nu-...-iilh *circle, ring, hoop* (7.6); (*female*) *private parts, vagina* (7.3); *backbone of salmon*: nu?iliilh (tr.) *to coil a rope*, nukaliilhtnm *to play at ring throwing*, nuyalqiilh *hoop*, nusp'ilhayc *to have been hit in the genital area*, numilh *to have a large vagina*, nut'kwilh *to bleed from the vagina*, splilh *vagina*, snumnts'lhtaylh *bloody part of salmon backbone*, nusxilh (tr.) *to scrape out the bloody part of salmon backbone*
- 904 nu-...-lxs-aliits *tip of tongue* (7.3): nusxwatmlxsaliits *to have a blister on one's tongue*, nulht'nlxsaliitstu- *to make somebody stick his tongue out*, nu?iixwlqsaliits *to burn one's tongue*
- 905 nu-...-lxs-nk *tail* (7.3): aslqsnk *fish tail*, nutkalqsnkayc *its tail was shot off*, nutclqsnk (tr.) *to cut an animal's tail off*, nutsa.tskwlqsnk “(having a) long tail” = *wharf rat*

- 906 nu-...-ulh *belly, abdomen* (7.3): nutayulhayc *to have been hit in the belly*
- 907 nu-...-ulh-aax *base, seat, posterior* (7.3): asulhaaxs ti,quna *base of the thumb, nucwpulhaaq diaper is coming off; to slip off one's chair, nuʔilulhaaqta diaper, nupa.payulhaaq to squat*
- 908 nu-...-ulh-aax-ank *button* (7.6): nutslhulhaaxank *button has come off*
- 909 nu-...-ulh-an-alh *anklebone* (7.3): nutʔtsulhanalhm *to knock on one's ankle, nuspuʔulhanalhayc to have been hit on the ankle*
- 910 nu-...-ulh-aqw's *eye, glasses* (7.3, 7.13): nutayulhaqw'sayc *to have been hit in the eye, nutʔkulhaqw's to have a bleeding eye, tsipyulhaaqws having one eye, one-eyed, nutspulh.plhaqw'sm to wipe one's glasses*
- 911 nu-...-uts *flat layer* (7.6); *weather* (7.6); *door* (7.10, 7.13): nuʔl.pluutsi *thin(ly) layer(ed), nuplhtuts ti,stʔcwm.cwm,tc the mattress is thick, nuskʔluts weather is cold, nukwluts weather is warm, numyuuts ti,numutsta,tc the door is open, nuqwyuts (tr.) to open the door, nuqʔilhutsa to be scratching at the door*
- 912 nu-...-uts-aax *under house or floor* (7.6); *buttocks* (7.3): nulhtnutsaaxta *housepost, asutsaax to be under the house, usutsaaxam to go under the house, asutsaaq buttocks, nukm.kmayutsaaq one's buttocks are hurting*
- 913 nu-...-uulh-an *side of face, temple* (7.3): skulhuulhan, asuulhan *temple, nusxuulhanm to shave one's sideburns*
- 914 nu-...-uulh-ik-alhh *throat* (7.3): nutsic.tsikwmuulhikalhh *one's throat is moving, nuspulhuulhikalhh Adam's apple,*

- nusp'uulhikalhhayc *to have been hit on the throat*, asuulhikalhh
throat
- 915 nu-...-uulh-nnak *testicles, scrotum* (7.3): nutcuulhnnak (tr.) *to castrate somebody*, nusp'uulhnnakayc *to have been hit in the testicles*, nucwilmuulhnnak *to have an itchy scrotum*, nm.nmuulhnnak *both testicles*, tsipyuulhnnak *to have one testicle*
- 916 nuʔaws *inhospitable, stingy with one's food*: nu.nuʔaws *never sharing one's food*, nuʔawsmtsinu *I will not share my food with you*
- 917 -nuc (*recorded in a song*) = -nucw
- 918 nucim *to growl* (McI48 *nunuxim*: The cry of *hi, hi*, uttered by Cannibals)
- 919 nucs *quiet, silent*: nucstimut *to keep quiet*
- 920 -nucw = -nic (6.37)
- 921 nukakals = nuka.kals *flounder*
- 922 nukalik *center, middle, half*: nukalik ti,suncw *noon, midday*, nukalik ti,sntl' *midnight*, anukaliiklh *afternoon*, nukalikutstam *lunchtime, to have lunch*, snuka.klikaycs wa,sulut,ts *the middle of the channel*, nukaliktak ti,sutk *midwinter*, anukalikayc *center beam*, anukalikuuts *half tide*, nukalikuulhla *half moon*, anuka.kliktmaculh = nukalikuulhla, nuka.kliktmacwtuts ulh,inu *I will give half to you* (cf. √kal)
- 923 nukum (tr./itr.) *to like, love, desire*: nukumts alh,ts'ayc *I desire her*, nukumtmacw *to love each other* (McI48 *nuqom*: Envy, in the sense of desire for something from which one is debarred by lack of prerogative)

- 924 nuk's (tr.), nuk'sa (itr.) *to extinguish a fire*: nuk'slc *fire goes out*, nuk'saaxuts (tr.) *to extinguish a cigaret*, nuk'stsut *to turn off the lights in the house*
- 925 nukwi *sea otter*
NW √nuk^w 'fur seal' (LR80), Ha nùk^wi (√nuk^w) 'sea otter' (LR86)
- 926 nulaxlx = nulax.lx *clear water* (cf. nusxl)
Proto-Salish *laχ 'clear, bright' (Ku02), Kw √laχ 'clear, weak, watery (said of a liquid)'
- 927 -nuli *metathetical variant of -luni* (5.11): lawnulitxw! *loosen it a bit!*, q'slcnulitxw! *tighten it a bit!*, alhksulhnuli *a bit cheaper*, qi.qtnuli *a bit smaller*
- 928 nulmaax *to turn around and go back, retrace one's steps* (this may be a syncopal variant of *nu-yulm-aax)
- 929 nulhi.lhq *to be frail, sickly* (cf. lhq)
Proto-Salish *ɬəq 'worn out' (Ku02)
- 930 √nulhkw' (tr.) *to pierce, perforate*: nulhkw'm *to knit, make a net*, nulhkw'aqw's (tr.) *to insert sticks into fish heads (prior to barbecuing them)*, nulhkw'aqw'sta *sticks used for barbecuing fish heads*
Proto-Salish *ɬik^w 'to hook up, spike, string (beads), pierce' (Ku02)
- 931 Nulht'i *the dwelling place of Nuakila and Nusmata* (cf. √lht')
- 932 √numilik (tr.) *to confuse somebody*: numilikaynictss *he got me confused*
Proto-Salish *mal, *məl 'to be aimless, lost' (cf. Ku02)

- 933 numlhak (tr.) *to pay somebody for completing a job* (McI48
numlutsnəm: Recom pense, virtually pay, given to carpenters and
other craftsmen at a mourning ceremony) (cf. mnlh (786))
- 934 numts' (tr.) *to squeeze out somebody's boil* (cf. √mmts')
Proto-Salish *m̥ac' 'pus, matter' (Ku02)
- 935 numus *to be consistent, balanced, evenly distributed*: axw numus
ska_ astcws *he is not always home*, numustulh_ ts' wa_ ulhqnuks_ ʔats
c_ ti_ smawlh ti_ t'xt *now we put one rock into each of these buckets*
- 936 numuts (tr.) *to close the door*: numutslunitx! *close the door a little!*,
numutsta *door*
- 937 nunk'ik (tr.) *to cut something in half*: nunk'ikayc *half moon* (cf.
nik')
- 938 nup *shirt, dress*: nu.nupi *dim.*
If < *nu-(w)p, cf. Proto-Interior Salish *wəp 'hair, fur, cover' (Ku02)
- 939 nupalhtcwik (tr.) *to offer advice to somebody*: nupalhtcwiknm (*to*
be an) *advisor, counsellor*
- 940 nupapayulhaaq = nupa.payulhaaq *to squat*
- 941 nupapnt = nupa.pnt *to boil*: nupapnttxw! *boil it!*, nupa.pntstuts
ti_sq'alh_ tc *I am boiling the meat*
Proto-Salish *p̥ət (Ku02)
- 942 nupits'tsut *to turn away in disgust*
- 943 nupq't *to fart*: nupq'talayc *to fart accidentally*
- 944 nuqaaxp *slough in tidal flats* (possibly from *nu-qaa.xp, cf. √qap')

- 945 √nuqatq (tr.) *to cup something with one's hand*: nuqatquts (tr.) *to cover somebody's mouth* (e.g. *so as to stifle him*), nuqatqalsikanm *to cover one's ears*, nuqaa.xtqutsm c̣.a.q̣la *he is scooping up water with his hand (and drinking it)*
- 946 nuqaykm (tr.) *to wish, hope, anticipate something*: nuqaykmits skạ.putl's kaynucs *I hope he will come tomorrow*, nuqaykmaynicits skạ.putl's *I anticipated his coming*
- 947 nuq'ayaaxalh (tr.) *to block somebody's way*
Proto-Salish *q'aʔ 'stuck, wedged into something' (Ku02)
- 948 nuqw'aat *to burp*
Proto-Salish *q'waʔ (Ku02)
- 949 nus-...-m = kanus-...-m
- 950 nu-s-...-mc *preoccupied with, always ...ing* (6.56): nusts'kmc *always fixing things, adroit person*, nuscalimc *morbidly jealous, always suspecting one's spouse of infidelity*, nusnaaxwmc *professional dancer*, nusʔimc *preoccupied with sexual intercourse*
- 951 nusʔalhklhm *seven* (13.1)
- 952 nuskum *to start smiling*: anus.uskum *to be smiling* (cf. nukum)
- 953 Nuskut'ini *Nazko Carrier people*
- 954 nuspkwnuutsta *porch, veranda*
- 955 nusq'aaxm *to yell, scream* (possibly nu-sq'-aax-m, cf. sq')
- 956 nustq' (tr.), nustq'a (itr.) *to patch something, sew together, join something*: nustq'atxw! *tell him to start patching!*, nustq'iktnacwtxw ti.stṇ.tc! *join the stick to it!* (cf. tiq')

- 957 nustl'ikw *cover, shelter*: nustl'ikwanm *to take shelter*
 Proto-Salish *ʔ'ikʷ 'shelter' (Ku02)
- 958 nustl'p *pool, pond*
 Proto-Coast Salish *ʔ'əp 'deep (water)' (Ku02)
- 959 √nustsaax (tr.) *to cover a horizontal surface*: nustsaaxiktʃ! *put boards over the crosspieces!*, nustsaaxta *sheet, covering*, nustsaaxutsta *tablecloth* (cf. sts)
- 960 nusxl *smart, clever* (cf. nulax.lx)
 Proto-Salish *laχ 'clear, bright, light, intelligence, mind' (Ku02)
- 961 nusxwaapsta *brooch, safety pin* (cf. xup)
- 962 √nusxwataax *unwilling, reluctant, lazy*: nusxwataaxalh *to not feel like walking*, nusxwataaxak *to not feel like working*, nusxwataaxuts *to not want to eat or talk*, nusxwataaxliwa *generally lazy* (cf. sxwat)
- 963 nuk'am *to fall over*: nuk'amankiiqw *to fall sideways*, nuk'amaax *to fall backwards*
- 964 nut'axwm *to bathe* (a Kimsquit word) (Boas 1895 cites nut'axtis 'he washed them')
 Proto-Salish *t'əqʷ 'to bathe, swim' (Ku02)
- 965 nut'qwalm (tr.) *to step over an obstacle*: nut'qwalmik (tr.) *to step over a log* (cf. t'qwla)
- 966 √nutsik'lam *to turn around, look over one's shoulder*:
 anutsik'lam(timut) *to turn around, look back (as if expecting something)*, icnutsi.tsk'lamtimut *to constantly be turning around*
 (cf. alhk'ilhtu-)
 Cf. Shuswap c-k'l-em 'wait' (Ku74)

- 967 nutsnm (tr.) *to remember something* (cf. √tsn)
- 968 nutsunuts (tr.) *to ask somebody's permission*, nutsunutsamktsut *to ask permission to leave, excuse oneself* (cf. alhʔalhʔsim, tsut)
- 969 nuʔumtaax *to holler*
- 970 nuʔupts *bad smell, stink*: nuʔuptstinitis *I am overcome by a stench*
- 971 nux (*fish*) *caught in a net*
- 972 nuxwanitsut *whirlpool* (if this is nuxw-ani-tsut, cf. nux)
- 973 nuxwski *soapberries*: nuxw.nuxwskillhp *soapberry bush*,
nuxw.nuxwskyak *soapberry leaves or branches*
- NW has a root √nχ^w from which soapberry-related words are derived, e.g. He nχ^wsk, Kw nχ^wskn 'soapberries'. On the other hand, Central Carrier has √wəs (where w < *ɸ^w, s < *š) in hawəs 'foam' and niɲwəs 'soapberries' (Antoine 1974) (Morice 1932 nînrwoc = [ninɸ^wɔ]), Southern Carrier nowəs (Nater field notes)). Nuxalk nuxwski strongly resembles pre-Carrier Athabaskan *nə(...)ɸ^wəš, and we may infer that older Nuxalk copied *nəɸ^wəš, devoiced *ɸ^w, shifted *š to s, replaced *nə- with nu- and added *-(i)kən (which later became -ki) (in effect applying *nu-...-(i)kən 'having ... inside'), then dropped *ə (*ɸ^w > χ^w, *š > s, *ən# > i#, *ə > zero are regular shifts in Nuxalk). Prior to *nə- > nu- and *-kən > -ki, *nəχ^wəskən made, via older Nuxalk, its debut in NW, where the sequence *skən was then construed as a native suffix ('short pipe or conduit' (Rath 2010)), yielding a new root *√nχ^w.
- 974 nuyulaax (tr.) *to cause to disappear, annihilate something*:
nuyulaaxayc ta_alhquhhts *my documents have disappeared* (cf. yul)
- 975 nxt *to blow one's nose*: snxt *snot*

P

976 -p *2 pl. subj. tr./caus.* (1.9, 1.15) (see -ap for cognates)

977 paalhats *potlatch*

Chinook Jargon palach, pałach (CTGR)

978 paaqiʔyala *a type of storing box*

Ha pàqi'ala 'vessel with board on top' (√paq) (LR86), NW √paq 'to put a flat object somewhere' (LR80)

979 √paaqu = paaxu

- 980 paax, √pa(a)q (tr.), paaxa (itr.) *to name somebody*: alhpaax (*having been*) *named, having a name*, alhpaaxtus *he gave him a name*, pa.pqlhis ts' ta_mans_tx *now he named his father (i.e. mentioned his name)*, pa.pqtsuts ts' c_a_skwatstas *now he mentioned (enumerated) his own names*, paa.pqa *to make a guess in the lahal game* (cf. alhʔapq)
- 981 paaxlh *stern of boat*: paaxlhaaxnu! *be at the stern!*
- 982 paaxu, √paaqu *to be afraid*: pac.paaxu *always afraid, cowardly*, pac.paaquulhlamtill *we are going to scare them*, pac.paaquustu- *to scare somebody*, paaxulhla *strong, heady (said of wine)*, paaxulhlaliwa *causing fear, terrifying, dangerous*
Coast Salish-Lillooet *paqʷu, *p'aqʷu (Ku02)
- 983 pacw_ʔiks? *when is it?* (12.10): ala_pacw? *when was it again?*, pacw_lituts' ska_waltulhs? *when will he leave us again?* (for ...cw cf. -la(n)cw, suncw, inacw)
Upper Chehalis pánuxʷ- 'time' (Ki91)
- 984 paktulhk *mesh board used for making nets*
- 985 √pakw *caught up with, having reached*: pakwnic (tr.) *to catch up with somebody*, pakwnmacw *to catch up with each other, arrive together*
Tsimshianic origin: Gitksan pakʷ 'arrive pl.', Nisgha pakʷ 'return pl.' (Nater 2018)
- 986 panya (tr./itr.) *to smoke fish*: nuspanya(a)sta *smokehouse*
- 987 papink = pa.pink *snake*: pa.pinki *dim.*, kullhpa.pink *there are many snakes around* (McI48 *bābink*?: Supernatural animal) (cf. pay, -nk)
- 988 papnlh = pa.pnlh *to bark*

- 989 √paq = paax
- 990 √pats *young, early*: patsilh *young girl's vagina*
- 991 patsalh *to go first, ahead*: patsalhx! *go first!*, patsalhnu stakannu *you are the first one to arrive*, patsalhustuminu *I will serve you the first cup*, wa.patsalh wa.lhk'uulh wa.sulh *the biggest house*, ala.ka.patsalh ska.ustcws *before he will go in*, pan.patsalhx! *be the leader!*
- 992 pats' (tr.), pats'a (itr.) *to pierce, prick something or somebody*: pats'tsinu *I will give you an injection*, pats'ta *hypodermic syringe*, pats'alhta *awl, piercer*, kulhpats'alhta *Scotch thistle*
Proto-Salish *p'ac' 'fix with string, sew' (Ku02)
- 993 pay *lacking flavor or feeling: bland, tasteless, numb*: payuusi "to be slightly numb in the face" = *drunk, intoxicated*
- 994 pays *flounder*: pa.piisi *dim.*, paysta *flounder hook*
He páis, Oo pais (LR80)
- 995 pc (tr.) *to run a wet string between one's thumb and forefinger so as to squeeze the water out of it*(= cp)
Proto-Salish *pəx, *xəp 'to comb (out)' (Ku02)
- 996 √pc *positive, giving pleasure: nice, enjoyable, entertaining, funny*: pcaqw's *having a pretty color*, pcliwa *lovely, pretty, funny*, pcl.cliwaatimut *comical, clownish*, pculh.culhla *happy, feeling fine*, nu.nupc *active, always busy* (McI48 *nunupx*: Fisherman with inherited right to use of a salmon-weir or of a place for catching olachen)
If < *pix, *piy-(l)x, cf. Proto-Salish *pəy 'happy, joyful' (Ku02)

- 997 pik' *bright, brilliant, shiny, sparkling*: pik'anlh *oilskin pants*,
pik'uulh *oilskin coat*, pik'ulhiqw *oilskin hat*, uspi'k'uuts *water
reflects the sunlight*, spik' *spark*, alhpik'm *sparks are flying*,
anupi.pk'miik *sparks are coming out of the chimney* (cf. mic.mik'lh)
Proto-Salish *p'ik' 'glitter, shine' (Ku02), NW √bix 'to glow, sparkle'
(LR80)
- 998 pilik't *eel, lamprey*
If the original meaning is 'twister, twirler', cf. Proto-Salish *p'alk' 'to
turn (around, over)' (Ku02)
- 999 piq' *wide, broad*: pi.pq'aak, nupi.pq'lqs *broad-leaved plantain*,
pi.pq'uulh *bug characterized by a grey stripe across its body*
Sechelt p'iq' (Ti77)
- 1000 pisman *to fish with a net*
- 1001 pispis = pis.pis (tr.) *to train, educate somebody*: pis.pistsut *to study,
take lessons* (cf. ps)
- 1002 pitl' *dirty*
- 1003 √pits' *light, milky, pale*: nupits' *muddy water (beigish in color)*,
pits'mus *having a pale face* (cf. mnts')
- 1004 pk'm *mosquito*: pk'm.k'mi *dim*.
Cf. Upper Chehalis p'áčéw-qs (Ki91)
- 1005 √pl *to have lacking, missing*: plaalh *one-legged*, plalits *toothless*
- 1006 √plc *having reached the end, gone, finished*: plcalaaxt *both his
parents have died*, nuplcaax *to be extinct, deserted (village,
population)*, plclxslayc *he cannot speak anymore*, plclxsalhts *I
cannot go any further* (from pl-lc)

- 1007 plik (tr.) *to tip, turn over something*: plikm *to capsize*, pliktsut *to play at turning over canoe*, pl.plikusm *to empty one's cup by tipping it over into one's mouth*
Proto-Salish *pul, *pəl 'to tip over' (Ku02)
- 1008 plkiʔwa *cedarwood box used for storing food*
*plkiʔwan (Mackenzie "till-kewan") < *pəkyuʔ-wan (cf. -liwa): Kw pkuʔ 'coiled Salish basket' (LR80), Quileute pí'kʷoʔ 'basket (watertight)' (Powell and Woodruff 1976)
- 1009 plst *scale of fish* (cf. l.plii)
- 1010 plxani *inner surface of abalone shell, mother-of-pearl*: plxanyuulh *buttons made of plxani*, Plxanimc "Abalone People" (*mentioned in a myth*), Plxaniixas *daughter of the chief of the Plxanimc*
Northern Tsimshian pilhaa, Nisgha & Gitksan pilaa, Ha plχʔà; either of substratic origin or copied from Ha to Tsimshianic and Nuxalk. Formative suffix -ani added in Nuxalk (Nater 2018).
- 1011 plht *thick*: nuplh̥ta.tlsikan "thick-eared" = *slow learner* (cf. √pulh)
Proto-Salish *pəʔ (Ku02)
- 1012 plhtkn *bark of bitter cherry tree*: plhtkn.knlhp *bitter cherry tree* (from plht-*kn "thick-top surface")
Reshaped from Proto-Salish *pəkʔan 'bitter cherry' (Ku02)
- 1013 pnaaxta, pnaaxsta *dancer's apron*
*pn-aax-(s)ta, cf. Sechelt pən-íč(n)-tn 'lid' (Ti77)
- 1014 √pqw' *fine, particled (snow)*: spqw'lh *fine snow, blizzard*, icpqw'm wa_suncw *there is a blizzard blowing* (cf. qw'pm, q'up)

Proto-Salish *pəqʷ, *pʼəqʷ ‘to scatter, powder’ (Ku02)

- 1015 ps (tr.), psa (itr.) *to shape, mold something* (cf. psc, pis.pis):
 lhkwʼanaats wa ʔpsliwatas ta ʔstaʔapsulhts *the ʔpsliwata of my people are very big* (Boas 1895: lkoanāʼats wa ʔpsliuāʼtas ta sta ʔpsōʼLts. Boas does not provide a translation for this sentence. His ʔpsliuāʼta is found in a story about – among other things – an aquatic man-eating monster (Skʼāmskʼ = Skʼamtsk), and may be interpreted as ‘cultural and/or environmental concept, idea, creation, creature’).

NW ʔps ‘to soak, to clean and soften by soaking’ (LR80)

- 1016 ʔps *to blow, hiss*: sps *cold north-east wind*, nupsлитаax *to release a hissing flatus*

Proto-Interior Salish *pəs ‘break wind’ (Ku02), NW ʔpis ‘to whistle’ (LR80)

- 1017 -ps constituent of -alps and -apsm (7.3)

- 1018 psayct, spsayct *pitch of fir tree*

- 1019 psc (tr.) *to train, educate somebody*: pscik (tr.) *to scrape roots smooth so as to make them pliable* (cf. ps)

- 1020 pscm *to pit-lamp*

- 1021 pskwn *to have a chiefs’ meeting* (pl. subj.)

Cf. Upper Chehalis pəs ‘including, all together’ (Ki91)

- 1022 pukwʼs *a mythological ape-like creature*

NW bkʷs ‘wild man of the woods, sasquatch’ (ʔbkʷ) (LR80)

- 1023 ʔpulh *to swell, be swollen*: pulhm *it (e.g. dough) is rising* (cf. pus, plht)

- 1024 √pun *to accept, receive*: puntuminu c,t'ayc *I will present this to you*,
punmacw *to exchange gifts*
Proto-Salish *pun 'to find, get' (Ku02)
- 1025 puqw' *ample, loose*: pu.pqw'aalhts *my shoes are too big*
- 1026 pus *to grow*: pustu- *to raise, bring up somebody*, axw pum.puus *he is not growing*, pusiixw *to bud, sprout*, spus *leaf*, spuustimut *weed*,
su.puslhp *young willow having light thin bark* (cf. √pulh)
Proto-Salish *pu... 'to blow, breathe, swell' (Ku02), NW √bus 'to swell' (LR80)
- 1027 pusp *to swell, be swollen*: nupusmiilhuts *one's lips are swollen*,
nupusmalmcts *my breasts are swollen*, nupusm *to float up*,
nupusmutsta *floaters line*, anupus.psm *to be floating around*
- 1028 putl' *to come*: putl'm (tr.) *to come to, visit somebody*, putl'tu- *to bring something*, anuputl'uts *saliva comes from one's mouth*,
putl'uuts *the river rises*, putl'iixw *to bud, sprout*, putl'aynic (tr.),
putl'aylayc (itr.) *to get, catch fish or game*, putl's *and, plus* (13.5, 16.6)
Proto-Salish *put', *p'ut' (Ku98)
- 1029 putsq' *false hellebore*
- 1030 putsut *to swell, rise (of water)*: nuputsutik *it is rising (boiling liquid in a pot)*, anuputsutik *it keeps rising* (cf. pus)
- 1031 puts'tn *bow for shooting arrows* (cf. pats', -ta)
- 1032 puut *boat*: puuti *dim.*
- 1033 puux *moldy*: puuxlc ti,saplin *bread gets moldy*, spuuxaltswa *oval-leaved blueberry*

- 1034 pux (tr.), puxa (itr.) *to poke, stir something, rummage, search for something*; puxalus (tr.) *to poke the fire*, puxulmca *to clear the ground, remove rocks from the soil*

Proto-Salish *pəɬʷ ‘to prod, knock’ (Ku02)

- 1035 √pux *hairy, furry, fluffy*: spux *eagle down*, alhpucw.puxmutsaalh *“having very furry legs” = mature male mountain goat*

- 1036 puʔyaas *Labrador tea*

He púy’ás (√pus) (Rath 2010), Ha puy’ás (LR80)

P'

1037 √p'aats = √p'ats

1038 p'alc *to come to, wake up*: p'alcalus *to get better, sober up* (cf. √p'alu)

*p'al-lc < Proto-Coast Salish *p'al 'conscious, sober' (Ku02)

1039 √p'alu *loosened, freed, elevated, high*: p'alwaax *tree or post is loose*, stip'alwaaq *to have one leg up*, nup'alwaaq *one leg (e.g. of bed or chair) is not level with the others*, p'alulc *to rise, go up*, sp'alu *waist, middle* (cf. √ap'lu, p'alc, -liwa)

If < ‘separated, removed, elevated’, cf. Proto-Coast Salish *p’al
 ‘conscious, sober’, Upper Chehalis p’alúxw ‘come back to life’,
 Samish and Saanich p’əł ‘hatch, come out of egg’ (Ku02)

1040 p’anilhp *green alder, mountain alder*

Proto-Salish *p’an(i) ‘misc. trees/plants’ (Ku02)

1041 p’as (tr.) *to pay for something*: p’asilts c̣tu ṣalhkultts txw *I will
 pay for what I borrowed*, p’asilttuminu *I’ll pay for you*

1042 √p’ats, √p’aats *deep*: p’atsuuts *drop-off in sea*, nup’a(a)ts *deep water*

1043 p’c *crabapple*: ic.p’iclh *crabapple tree*

Cf. Tlingit x’áx’ (Edwards 2009), Haida k’áy (Lachler 2010)

1044 p’iix (tr.) *to apply steam to something*: p’iixm *to be steaming*,
 nup’iixmaax *exhaust fumes*, icp’iixm *to take a sweat bath*, sp’iix
vapor, steam, sp’iixutslh *vapor issuing from one’s mouth*

Proto-Salish *p’ix ‘to sear’, *p’əɬ ‘to burn’ (Ku02)

1045 p’iixla *to drift downstream*: p’iixlatalulhts *the boat is drifting away
 from me*, p’iixlatimutts ala anuxum *I am drifting down the river*

1046 p’lha *to wink, blink one eye*: p’lha.lha *to blink both eyes*

NW √p’ł ‘to blink’ (LR80)

1047 p’lht *warm*: anup’lht *lukewarm*, nup’lhtutstimut *to warm up one’s
 drink*

1048 p’s (tr.), p’sa (itr.) *to bend something*: alhp’sm *it is bent*, p’stsutx!
bend over!, axw nup’sms *he does not yield, is adamant*

NW √p’s ‘dented, to bend, to flatten’ (LR80)

- 1049 p'ts (tr.) *to hold something under water*: nup'tsiixw (tr.) *to submerge somebody's head*
- 1050 p'ulhkwm *to bubble up*: nu.nup'ulhkwm *it keeps bubbling up*
Cf. Upper Chehalis p'ó-l- 'swell up' (Ki91)
- 1051 p'ulhm (tr./itr.) *to go and meet newcomers*: p'ulhmlh *we will go and meet (them)*, p'ulhmtsínu *I will go and meet you (there)*
- 1052 √p'uy, √p'wi *to tip, fall over*: p'uyaax *tree falls down*, u.p'wi *to nod off, nid-nod*
- 1053 p'wi *halibut*: up'wi *dim.*, p'wita *halibut line*
He p'uái, No p'o'ʔi, Proto-Coast Salish *p'əway' (Ku02)
- 1054 p'xwlht *bunchberries (Cornus unalaschanensis)*: p'xwlhtlhp *bunchberry plant*
Proto-Salish *p'uqʷ-ay 'a shrub' (Coast Salish 'type of currant' (Ku02))

Q

- 1055 qa (tr.) *to wish somebody dead*: qalikw *ill-wisher*, qayaynicits *I have brought about his death*, qayutsmtsínu *I wish you would die*
- 1056 √qa, √qam *to ask, beg*: qaa.xayutsmts c, ti sikalit *I am asking for a cigaret*, qaa.xam (tr./itr.) *to ask somebody for something*, usqam (tr.) *to remind somebody of a debt, tell him how much he owes*, qam.xamila *term of respect used to address a salmon after catching it*

Proto-Salish *qəm ‘to ask for something’ (Ku02)

- 1057 qaax *salmonberry*: qaax.aaxlhp *salmonberry bush*, qaaxulh *salmonberry juice*

Tsimshianic origin: Northern Tsimshian qaxaax ‘berries in bloom’ = qa- ‘noun-forming prefix’ + *χaaχ/*χeeχ ‘foam, blossoms’ (Nater 2018)

- 1058 qaaxapwala *joist* (?cf. xapa)

- 1059 qaaxatsci (tr.) *to tickle somebody*: nuqaaxatscyaalh *to have ticklish feet*

*qa(?) .qas-xən, cf. Proto-Salish *qə/as ‘to scratch, tickle’, *-xən ‘foot, leg’ (Ku02)

- 1060 qaaxatscili *swallow*

- 1061 qaaxla *to get water, drink*: qaaxlam (tr.) *to drink something*, qaaxlamim *drink, beverage, liquor*, qaaxlatu- *to give somebody something to drink*, unqaaxlamc *always drinking, being a drunkard* (cf. qla, -aaxla)

- 1062 √qaaxp’ = √qaa.xp’ = √qap’

- 1063 qaaxqi *unbalanced, (afraid) to lose one’s balance*: axw qaaxqis *he does not lose his balance*, k’isqaaxqi *steady, never losing one’s balance* (cf. qxyu)

Proto-Salish *qayχ ‘to err, be drunk’ (Ku02)

- 1064 √qaaxt’ = √qaa.xt’ = qat’

- 1065 qalxalulhm = qal.xalulhm (tr./itr.) *to welcome, deliver a speech of welcome*: qal.xalulhmlh ulh, lhup = qal.xalulhmtulhap *we welcome you*

- 1066 qalxm *to dig for spiny wood fern rhizomes*: Siqalxm *the month when people dig for fern rhizomes*
From qalx-m < Proto-Coast Salish *qalχ ‘digging stick’ (Ku02)
- 1067 √qalh *to be attached to something, to hang (from something)*: axw ti,ka,qalhlits’tas *he is not committed to anyone, has unlimited freedom*, qalh.qalhm *to be hanging, dangling*, alhqalhm (tr.) *to hang on to, not let go of somebody*, alhqalh_mlikw *person who never leaves his wife out of sight*
NW √gaλ ‘to gaff, hook’ (LR80)
- 1068 qalhayu *gaffhook*
NW √gaλ ‘to gaff, hook’ (LR80)
- 1069 qalhqa *raspberries*: qalhqalhp *raspberry bush*
- 1070 qama, qamay *term of endearment, dear*: ax,ku qamayts *no, (thank you,) my dear*
- 1071 qamats *dead fern fronds*
- 1072 qamits’a, √qamits’n *to have a communal meal*: nuqamits’naaxnm *entire community is participating in a festive meal*
- 1073 qapsmuulhm *to put one’s arms around oneself*
- 1075 qaqtalhp = qa.qtalhp *ninebark* (cf. qa (1055))
- 1076 qat’, √qaa.xt’ (tr.), qat’a (itr.) *to press something against oneself, pull towards oneself*: qat’alsikanm *to press one’s hand on one’s ear*, nuqat’alxm *to put one’s hand on one’s neck*, nuqat’ikalusm *to fold one’s arms*, nuqat’aaxm *to close the door behind oneself*, qaa.xt’usm *to jerk one’s head back, tilt one’s face up, beckon*, qaa.xt’usmim c,tx *he was beckoned by him*, nuqat’ikus (tr.) *to strap something around one’s forehead*, nuqat’ikusta *headband of packstrap*, qat’ta *trigger of*

gun, qat'alusakta *poker*, qat'iixwnm *to be gathering elderberries*,
 qat'iixwta *type of hook used to gather elderberries*, qat'akm (tr.) *to*
beckon somebody, alhqat'iiqw *oar*, alhqat'iiqwnm *to row*,
 qaa.xt'aksta *boards that are attached to the hands and used to propel*
oneself when swimming (cf. q'aat)

Proto-Salish *q'at' 'to hoist up' (Ku02)

1077 qatsqilh *ant*: qatsqii.qlhi *dim*.

Tsimshianic origin: Northern Tsimshian {qasq}acax, Gitksan
 s{qansq}ocinyt, Nisgha {q'asq'}ocinχ (Nater 2018)

1078 qatsx *starfish*: qaa.qtsxi *dim.*, alhqatsx *crossed, crosswise*,
 qatsxtmacwaak *to cross one's arms*, qatsxtmacwaalh *to cross one's*
legs

Gitksan {qasq}aac, Oo gacχ (NW √gəz/c/s), Quileute {qasq}ayap,
 No {qasq}eyap; a wide-spread term that originated either in a
 substrate language or in NW (from where it would have been copied
 into Tsimshianic, Nuxalk and Quileute) (Nater 2018)

1079 qaw (tr.), qawa (itr.) *to enclose, surround something*: alhqawit
 wa.sulh.ts *they are surrounding the house*, anuqawaax *cuddled up*
in bed with one's lover

1080 qax *rabbit*: qaax.qxi *dim*.

Nisgha & Gitksan qax, Tlingit-Eyak-Athabaskan *gəχ, *gəχ, Oo
 qaax; likely diffused from Tlingit-Eyak-Athabaskan to Tsimshianic
 and Nuxalk, and from Nuxalk to Oo (Nater 2018).

1081 qay *stick used in a gambling game, stake*

1082 qayt *hat*: snuqa.qaytiiqw *mushroom*

He qít, Oo qait, Ha/Kw qet (LR80), Tsimshianic qayt, qaayt 'billed
 hat' (Nater 2018)

- 1083 qiixa, √qiixn *glad, happy*: qiixam (tr.) *to be happy about, enjoy something*, qiixnamk (tr.) *to be proud of something*, sqiixa “happiness” = *Sunday, weekend, week*
- 1084 qiku, xiku *dragonfly* (McI48 *qe·ko*: Unidentified migratory bird, black in colour)
- 1085 qilic (tr.) *to belittle, insult somebody* (cf. sqili)
If < *qil-nix ‘consider bad’, cf. Proto-Coast Salish *qəl ‘bad’ (Ku02)
- 1086 qinx *shoe*: qi.qnqi *dim.*
NW √qnχ ‘to put on shoes’ (LR80)
- 1087 qiqipi = qi.qipi *small ones, little children*: nuqi.qipalmci *having small breasts* (cf. qpi)
- 1088 qiqti = qi.qti *small one; little child*: qi.qtlqsi *having a small nose*, qi.qtalmci *having small breasts*, kulhqiqti *having a small penis*, qi.qtaalhi *small vehicle or container*
Sechelt qíqti ‘youngest in family’ (Ti77)
- 1089 qism *to avoid contact*: qismak *to refuse to touch something*, qismuts *to refuse to eat something*
- 1090 √qits’ *out of reach, secluded*: qits’an *to spend time in seclusion when having one’s first menstrual flow*
- 1091 qits’lc *to abhor, avert, evade*: qits’lcuts *to refrain from saying something*, alhqits’lcnicits *I abhor it, cannot stomach it*, nuqits’lcik *to feel faint, sick to the stomach (from fright)*, nuqits’lcalxi *one’s neck shudders*
- 1092 qla *fresh water*: nuqlaata *water bucket*, nuqlalcalsuts *one’s mouth starts watering*, snuqlayalsuts *saliva*, usqlayayc *to crave water, be thirsty*, smqla *to be thirsty*, smqlam (tr.) *to want to drink something*,

q̣layulh *soup is watery*, ql.xlayulmc *soil is wet*, ṣnuql.xlayk *Alaska blueberry*

Proto-Coast Salish *qal (Ku02)

- 1093 √qlam *thoughtful, feeling pity, having consideration*: qlamta *pity, consideration, respect*, kulhqlamta *to be very considerate*, k'ilhqlamta *to have no pity or consideration for anyone*, anuqlamikts alh_{tc} *I take pity on him*, nuqlamikmts! *have pity on me!, help me!*

Cf. Proto-Coast Salish *qəl 'bad' (Lushootseed qələb 'poor, pitiable, orphan') (Ku02)

- 1094 qlcwila (tr.) *to mix food with grease*: qlcwilatits wa_sqaluts *I am mixing berries with grease*

NW √qlxʷ 'to preserve food by pouring grease over it' (LR80)

- 1095 qlum *blister*: ql.xlumalh *to have blistered feet* (*'ocular, orbicular', see qluq's)

- 1096 qluq's *eye*: ql.xluq's *both eyes* (cf. qlum)

*qlu(m)-(a)qʷs (Nater 2014), cf. Squamish qlum' (Ku67), Sechelt qəlum (Ti77)

- 1097 qlh (tr.) *to touch somebody where it hurts*: qlhaycts *I start hurting again*, qlhaynictscw *you have touched me where it hurts*, alhqlhtsutts *the pain keeps coming back to me*

?Cf. Proto-Salish *qil 'to wake up, be awake' (Ku02)

- 1098 qlhm *black cod*: qlhm.lhmi *dim*.

- 1099 qlhpulx *water hemlock*

- 1100 qm (tr.) *to cover, wrap, shelter something*: qmtx ti_{st}sals! *wrap the bottle!*, qmta *insulation; armor*, qm.xmtsut *to cover oneself*, nusqm.xmtsut *to build a shelter for oneself*

Proto-Coast Salish *qəm ‘to fold, pack’ (Ku02)

- 1101 qmqmi = qm.qmi *soft*: snuqm.qmani *temple*, snuqm.qmikuus *fontanelle*, qm.xm *weak, breaking or tearing easily*, qm.xmlc *to start decaying*

Proto-Salish *qəm ‘soft, lukewarm’ (Ku02)

- 1102 qnk *deep*: nuqnk *water is deep*, nuqn.qnki *water is a bit deep*, Asqnkuts *name of a dance involving the dead*, qnklst “*deep rocks*” = *island*, qn.qnklsti *small island*
- 1103 qpi *thin, narrow*: qpa.pluulhi *thin string*, nuqpai.pqwi *having a small voice*, s(nu)qpl.plxs *animal with a long snout (mammoth?)*
- NW √pq, √paq ‘flat’
- 1104 qp’a *egg*: qp’aa.p’ayi *dim.*
- 1105 -qs = -aqs
- 1106 √qt’ *pointed*: qt’aaqlayc *to have a pointed chin*
- 1107 qtl’ *to trip, stumble*: qn.xntl’ts *I keep tripping*
- 1108 qts (tr.) *to pass a condition on to somebody*: qtstsinu *I will infect you, you will catch my disease*, qtsaynictscw *you have passed your illness to me*, qtsuutsaynictscw *you have made me yawn (eat) too*, qtsikak (tr.) *to lend somebody a hand*
- 1109 qtsamk (tr.), qtsamka (itr.) *to throw something overboard, cast a net*: alhqtsamktnm *to have a net in the water*, qtsamkayc *to have fallen overboard*, qtsamktsut *to jump overboard*
- 1110 qts’a = xts’a
- 1111 qts’us, xts’us *rack used for drying food*

He qc'ús 'rack for drying things' (vqs) (LR80)

- 1112 qululuuxu *strawberry* (qul.uluuxu or qulu.luuxu)

NW √G^wuʔ 'salmonberry, any berry' (He gúláli, Ha g^wulàli) (LR80)

- 1113 qulun *beaver*: quluní *dim.*

If < *qələw-wən, cf. Proto-Salish *s-qələw' (Ku02) and *-iwan (for which see entry 630); He q^wúlún, Oo q^wuln, Ha qulùn (LR80) were probably copied from Nuxalk

- 1114 qulutsi *skunk*: qu.qwluutsi, qwl.qwluutsi *dim.* (cf. qu.quulikn, qulh)

If < *q^wəl-ucn "with marked edges", cf. qulh and Proto-Interior Salish *q^wəl 'dust, ashes, powder' (Ku02)

- 1115 qulh (tr.), qulha (itr.) *to make marks on, write something*: qulhax ulh_{nts}! *write to me!*, alhqulh *written: book, letter, document*, alhqulhuus *picture, photograph*, qulhu(u)sm *to apply paint to one's face*, qulh.quulhta *pen*, asqulh.quulhtnak *to use a pen*, qulhiixw (tr.) *to decorate, make designs on a lid*, quulhalus *swamp robin, varied thrush*, alhqulh.qwlhanlh *cloth with a design on it*, anuqulh.qwlhaak *lines in palm of hand*, qulhm *to organize a feast during which all masks are given away* (cf. qulutsi, qu.quulikn)

If < *q^wuʔ 'to use, mark with powdery substance', cf. Proto-Interior Salish *q^wəl, *q^wəʔ 'dust, ashes, powder' (Ku02)

- 1116 quna *thumb*: squnalxsalh *big toe*

NW q^wuna, quna (LR80)

- 1117 qup', √quu.xwp' (tr.), qup'a (itr.) *to punch, hit something with one's fist*: qup'lx (tr.) *to punch somebody on the nose*, nuqup'ikalus (tr.) *to punch somebody in the chest*, quu.xwp'lits' (tr.) *to pummel, beat somebody up*, quu.xwp'ustmacw *to punch each other in the face*,

alhqup'a *to be beating a drum*, qup'ta *drum*, qup'aaksta *drumstick*,
 qup'ulhayc *to be knocked down, fall over*

1118 quqani *a supernatural bird that brings luck* (cf. qux, -ani)

1119 ququulikn = qu.quulikn *porpoise* (cf. qulutsi, qulh)

If < *q^wə.q^wəl-ikn “with marked back”, cf. qulh and Proto-Interior
 Salish *q^wəl ‘dust, ashes, powder’ (Ku02)

1120 quts', √quu.xwts' (tr.), quts'a (itr.) *to wash something*: quts'aalhtx!
wash his feet! or *wash the car!*, quu.xwts'tsut *to wash up, clean*
oneself, quts'usm *to wash one's face*, quts'usta *toilet soap*, quts'alhm
to wash one's feet, quts'ulmcm *to mop the floor*, nuquts'alsm *to*
wash the walls

Proto-Salish *q^wəc' ‘to wash, launder’ (Ku02)

1121 quts'ik *wolverine*: qu.qwts'iiki *dim.*

If < *q^wuc(')-ik “with a fat back”, cf. Proto-Salish *q^wəc' ‘fat, stout’
 (Ku02)

1122 quts'ulhkw *western yew*

1123 quuxuux *swan* (quu.xuux or quux.uux)

He q^wG^wúq^w, Ha/Kw GGuq^w (LR80)

1124 √quuxwp' = √quu.xwp' = qup'

1125 √quuxwts' = √quu.xwts' = quts'

1126 quuxwwa *salmon milt*: nuquuxwwa *it has milt in it, it is a male fish*

1127 qux (tr.), quxa (itr.) *to cover something*: quxstut *to cover oneself*,
 quxuulhta *pillowcase*, quxalst (tr./itr.) *to steam-cook something*,
 quxm *to simmer food (leaving the lid on the pan)*

1128 qxyu *uncommon, unusual, useless*: qi.xyumts *I am good for nothing*
(cf. qaaxqi)

*qχ-iw(ən), cf. Sechelt qi.qχ-iwán-m ‘tell a lie’ (T’i77)

Q'

- 1129 q'aat *small baited hook* (cf. qat')
 Proto-Salish *q'at' 'to hoist up, fishhook' (Ku02)
- 1130 q'akwts *blue lupine*: q'akwtsnk *root of blue lupine*
- 1131 √q'al (tr.) *to twist, spin something*: alhq'alikw *spun, braided*,
 anuq'alikwaluulh *type of rope* (/...q'al-likw.../) (cf. q'lm, q'lscw)
 Proto-Salish *q'al 'to spin, curl, wind/tie around', NW √q'ał 'braid,
 plait' (Ku02)

- 1132 q'alm *to twist, spiral, zigzag (e.g. fish in the water)*: al.q'almaalh *drill*,
anuq'almaalh *drilled hole*
- 1133 Q'amiix *a geographical name* (cf. √sq'amta)
- 1134 q'anas *chiton, periwinkle*
He q'ánás, Ha q'q'anas 'sea prune' (LR80)
- 1135 q'aq'atsuulh = q'a.q'atsuulh *wild strawberry*
- 1136 q'aticts (tr.), q'atictsm (itr.) *to steam-cook food*: q'atictstsut *to take a
sweat bath*
- 1137 q'atm *chisel*
NW √q'at 'cut with a chisel' (LR80)
- 1138 q'aw (tr.) *to pack, wrap, store, bury something*: q'awtsm *to store
one's food*, sq'awals *box used for packing fruit*, aw.q'awtsut *to pack
one's belongings*, q'awlh (tr.) *to wrap something up*, q'awiixw (tr.)
to lock a door, q'awlxsak (tr.) *to bandage somebody's finger*,
q'awaalh (tr.) *to bandage somebody's leg*, q'awliitsalhm *to bandage
one's lower leg*, q'awim *he was buried*, q'amut *to attend a funeral*,
alhq'awik *confined to the house*
Eyak q'əw 'provisions' (Nater 1994)
- 1139 q'awlhtaqs *grebe, helldiver*
Ha q'əuʔt'a 'straight out to the water' (√q'a) (LR86)
- 1140 q'ay *basket made of cedar bark*: q'a.q'ayi, a.q'ayi, a.q'i *dim.*
- 1141 q'ay *black hawthorn berry*: a.q'ilhp *black hawthorn bush*
- 1142 q'ay *poor, pitiful*: nuq'aykm (tr.) *to feel sorry for somebody*,
nuq'aykmitsut *to feel sorry for oneself, be sad*

He q'í, Ha q'ε (LR80)

- 1143 q'ilh (tr.), q'ilha (itr.) *to scratch something*: nuq'ilhutsa *to be scratching at the door*, q'ilhulhik (tr.) *to scratch somebody's back*, q'ilhtsut *to scratch oneself*, nuq'ilhikaycs, kwts'n sʔanayks ska, k' cis “and then his mind had been scratched as he wanted to see him” = and then he badly wanted to see him, nuq'ilhanm (tr.) *to ask somebody a favor*, nuq'ilhaaxta *spider*
- 1144 q'im *filled up: complete, entire, whole; closed, tight*: q'imaw *they are all present*, q'imulhlamim *both his parents are still alive*, q'im *it is sealed, does not leak*, nuq'imlcalhh *one's windpipe gets stopped up, to choke*, snuq'imaax *windowless inner back wall of house*, sq'im *scar*, sq'imus *having a scar on one's face*, sq'imlc, ts' *a scar has formed, it has healed* (cf. √q'mstcw)
- Proto-Salish *q'im ‘joined together, repaired, healed’ (Ku02)
- 1145 q'inakwlilh *droning cry*
 He q'inák*lá ‘increase in number gradually’ (√q'i ‘much, many’)
 (Rath 2010, LR80)
- 1146 q'is (tr.), q'isa (itr.) *to singe, burn the surface of something*: q'isits ti, satl'a, tc *I will fire the canoe*, q'isits ti, knum, tc *I will toast the knum*, alhq'is *toasted*, q'ism *to toast one's food* (cf. isq's)
- 1147 q'is *stink currant*: in.q'islhp *stink currant bush*
 He/Oo/Ha √q'is ‘wild currant’ (LR80)
- 1148 q'itsm *to stink* (cf. entries 1090-91)
- 1149 q'lax *fence*: q'lax (tr.) *to fence in*, Alhq'laxlhh *name of a former village*

Proto-Salish *q'laχ (Ku02), Ha q'làχn (LR86), Tahltan q'anarχán
(Nater field notes)

- 1150 q'lm *to stagger*: icl.q'lm *to stagger repeatedly* (cf. √q'al)
- 1151 q'ls *cottonwood cambium*
(1) If q'ls < *q'ns, cf. Proto-Athabaskan *q'anəx-ɬ 'cambium' (Nater 1994) and NW √q'n 'for tree sap to stop running' (LR80)
(2) If q'ls < *q'lc 'tree sap (as a slow-flowing liquid)', cf. NW √q'lc 'oil, grease' (LR80)
- 1152 q'lscw *rope*: l.q'lscwi *dim.* (cf. √q'al)
- 1153 q'lst (tr.), q'lstm (itr.) *to steam-cook something*: q'lsttsut *to take a sweat bath*
*q'l-lst, cf. Proto-Salish *q'al 'to steam-cook' (Ku02)
- 1154 √q'lu (tr.) *to stick one's finger into something*: q'lulhaqw'sm *to stick one's finger into one's eye*, nuq'lualhhm *to stick one's finger into one's throat*
- 1155 q'luk *barbecued salmon*
- 1156 q'lum *to go up, climb*: q'lumliitsayc *to have climbed a tree* (cf. √q'lu)
- 1157 q'lhkw (tr.), q'lhkwa (itr.) *to fix something up*: q'lhkwaynic (tr.) *to get something done, fixed*, q'lhkwalus (tr.) *to build a fire*, q'lhkwatu- *to help, do something for somebody*, q'lhkwakm (tr.) *to repair something*, q'lhkwtsut *to get dressed*, q'lhkwta *clothes*, nusq'lhkwta *suitcase*, sq'lhkw *what one has (on) or uses: belongings, tools, clothes*, sq'lhkw.lkwliwa *belongings*, sq'lhkwak *tools*
?Cf. Proto-Salish *q'al 'to build a structure, raise a tent' (Ku02)
- 1158 q'lhq *amabilis and/or subalpine fir* (Turner, p.c.): q'lhpnk *root of amabilis/subalpine fir*

Proto-Interior Salish *c'q'-əłp 'fir' (Ku02)

- 1159 q'm (tr.), √q'm (itr.) *to step (on something): q'mtx! step on it!, q'malustx! step on the fire!, ixq'm to walk, travel on foot, ic.ʔixq'mtimut to be walking around, ixq'mayctu- to help, enable somebody to walk, ic.ʔixq'muustu- to walk around holding a child so as to pacify it*

- 1160 √q'm (tr.) *to scorch, toast something: q'muulh (tr.) to toast something, q'muulhutsu to toast one's food, q'muulhutsta toaster, q'mlc to get scorched, sq'mlhh charred, charcoal*

Cf. Proto-Athabaskan *√q'a'n 'burn' (Nater 1994)

- 1161 √q'mstcw (tr.) *to start working on something, get something ready, complete something: axw alhq'mstcws it has not been started on yet, alhq'mstcw stl'mstas "he is a complete(d) person" = he holds a high position, is a dignitary, nuq'mstcwixw (tr.) to (start) mending something, q'mstcwlwatsut to prepare oneself, get ready for an occasion, q'mstcutsayc ts' "what he says is complete now" = he is making sense now, axw alhq'mstcutsaynicits I cannot make sense of what he is saying, alhq'mstcutstimut to be speaking half-sensibly, be mumbling(cf. q'im)*

Proto-Salish *q'im 'joined together, repaired, healed' (Ku02)

- 1162 √q'nlha *vexed, irritated: alhq'nlha fed up, alh.ʔalhq'nlhaatu- to annoy somebody, alhq'nlhamuutstsinu I do not like what you are saying, ixq'nlhaatnm to be annoying people, ixq'nlhalcaw they got fed up, ixq'nlhamitsut to be cranky, irritable*

Ha q'n̓ł̓a 'react angrily' (LR86)

- 1163 √q'p *dull: q'puts having a dull edge, nuq'plxs having a dull point*

- 1164 q'pst (tr.), q'pstm (itr.) *to taste something: q'pstalayc he had a taste, q'pstaynicits I had a taste of it, alhq'pstayc tasty*

NW ʋp'q (LR80), Tsimshianic paq 'to feel, try, taste' (Nater 2018)

- 1165 q's *tight, firm; to ... solidly, thoroughly, to be very ...; to be rough, violent*: q'slctu- *to tighten something; to hug somebody*, q'slcnulitu- *to tighten something a little*, nuq'saqw's *knot is tight; to gaze, stare*, nuq's *water is flowing fast*, nuq'slcik *to sob*, axwtwx q'snu ska.alh.ʔalhʔaynu! *don't overdo it!*, q'slits' *to be busy*, q'slits'lhts sʔilhtsaylhts *I have been busy picking berries*, q'slits'amktsut *to have a busy or hard time, to suffer*, q's skmalaycs *he is very ill*, q'silh st'saaxilh *we salt it thoroughly*, q'su.slmclhp = alhaa.q'likw, nu.nuq'sm (tr.) *to bawl out, scold somebody*, q'sakm (tr.) *to beat somebody up*, is.q'isaakm (tr.) *to handle something roughly*, axwtwx q'snu ska.is.q'isaakmicw! *don't handle it too roughly!*

Proto-Salish *q'əs 'to be of (too) long duration' (Ku02)

- 1166 q'tsiixwalh *to trip over something*

From q'ts-iixw-alh 'intertwined-toes', cf. Proto-Salish *q'ac' 'to intertwine' (Ku02)

- 1167 q'tsm *to creak, make a sharp or metallic sound*: q'tsm.tsm *it is creaking (e.g. a falling tree)*, q'tsm.tsmllxsak *to make one's fingers creak*, nuq'tsm.tsmiiknm *to be playing the trumpet*

- 1168 q'um *high, large*: alhq'um alh.nts *he is higher (in rank) than I am*, alhq'umlhtuts ta.tl'aplhtuts ulh.inu alh.t'ayc *I have given you more than him*, um.q'um *large waves, swells*, q'umik *hunchbacked*

Proto-Salish *q'wum 'top, high' (Ku02)

- 1169 q'umniqw' *skull*

*q'wum(n)-iq'w, cf. Proto-Salish *q'wum 'head, skull' and Proto-Coast Salish *-iq'w 'head' (Ku02)

- 1170 q'umsciwa *whiteman*: q'umsciwni *dim.*, q'umsciwaalhh *cat*

He q^w m̥ksiwa, Ha q^w m̥ksiwa

- 1171 q'up (tr.), √u.qw'p (tr.), q'upa (itr.) *to treat something with smoke, expose something to smoke: q'upm to emit smoke, nuq'upmaax exhaust fumes, q'upmiixw wa sulh, ts there is smoke rising from the chimney, sq'up smoke, nusq'upiixw smoke coming from chimney, nusu.qw'p(s)ta tobacco pipe, nusu.qw'p(s)tam to smoke tobacco, anusu.qw'p(s)tamiknu, a? do you want to smoke?, nusq'upta stovepipe, kusq'uptnm to create a smudge (cf. qw'pm, √pqw')*

Proto-Salish *pəq^w 'to scatter, powder' (also 'smoke' in Songish and Samish) (Ku02)

- 1172 q'ux (tr.) *to invite somebody*, u.q'x (tr.) *to call somebody: q'uxtinilh somebody invited us, q'uxayc to have been invited, q'uxlikw inviting people, nusq'uxlikwsta building where feasts are held, icu.q'xtmacwaw they called each other*

- 1173 q'ux *filled to capacity, unable to contain more: q'uxts, mas ti, s?alhps "I am always full as an eater" = I never eat much, q'ux ti, lhalas, tc the canoe is filled to the brim, q'uxliwa to be fully occupied, not find the time or energy to do what one is asked to do, q'uxlc tired, q'uxlcnimut to exhaust oneself*

- 1174 q'x (tr.), q'xa (itr.) *to carve something: alhq'x carved, q'xuusnm to be carving a face (in rock)*

- 1175 q'x *rank, rancid*

Cf. Proto-Interior Salish *q'iχ 'strong, hard, tight, tough etc.' (Ku02)

- 1176 q'xnxna = q'xn.xna *berries of false Solomon's seal or star-flowered Solomon's seal: q'xn.xnalhp false or star-flowered Solomon's seal*

- 1177 q'xtis *fish weir made of rocks*

QW

- 1178 qwaax(w)qwiklhp = qwaax(w).qwiklhp *mountain ash*
 Proto-Coast Salish *q^wu/aχ^w ‘grey’ (Ku02)
- 1179 qwaaxwn *youngest sibling*: qwaax(w).qwni *dim.*
- 1180 qwalas *lizard*: qwa.qwlaasi *dim.*
 NW √G^wał (He G^wálás, Ha G^wálas) (LR80)
- 1181 qwals *hemlock needles* (McI48 *kwals*: Evergreen bough)

Proto-Salish *q^walc ‘conifer bough’ (Ku02)

1182 qwanilh *wooden spoon*: qwa.qwniilhi *dim*.

He g^wání ‘ladle made of goat horn’ (LR80)

1183 qwaqwaws = qwa.qwaws *sawbill duck*: qwa.qwawsi *dim*.

He q^wg^wáus, Kw GGɔs (LR80)

1184 qwaxw *raven*: qwaax(w).qwxwi *dim.*, qwaxw.qwaxwlit *to caw*,
qwaxwaalh *round type of snowshoe*

He/Oo √G^wax^w ‘to croak’, Kw √G^wax^w ‘raven’ (LR80), Upper
Chehalis q^wáq^w ‘raven’ (Ki91)

1185 √qwi (tr.) *to open something*: nuqwitz wa_nulhcwta_{ts}! *open the
curtains!*, nuqwyuts (tr.) *to open a door*, nuqwii.xwyutsitx! *open the
door a little!*, qwiixw (tr.) *to take the lid off a container, open a can*,
qwin.qwiiqwa *can opener*

1186 √qwi *untrue, dubious*: qwinic (tr.) *to have doubts about somebody*,
qwinictits ska_alhinaw *I doubt they were there*, nuqwinicutsmts *I
deny having said that*, anusqwinictsinu *I do not believe you*, axwtxw
anusqwinmacwnu! *let there be no doubt between us!*

1187 qwilats *to crush, bruise*: sqwilatslh *fruit juice, wine*, qwilatsaalh *to
bruise one’s foot*, qwilatsiixwalst *to bruise one’s shoulder*,
qwilatsiixwlayc *to bruise one’s knee*

NW √q^wif ‘to squeeze, crush’ (Ha q^wilàs ‘juice of berries’) (LR80)

1188 qwilatsm *to be bruised*: qwilatsmiixwalst *to have a bruised shoulder*,
qwilatsmaak *to have a bruised hand*

1189 qwit *blue*: qwitaq^w’s *having a blue color*, itqwitanlh *to wear blue
clothes*, nuqwitals *the sky is blue*

Proto-Salish *q^way ‘blue, green’ (Ku02)

- 1190 qwli *green, yellow*: nuqwlikaqw’s *having green eyes*, sqwli *grassy side of mountain*, nuqwl.qwli *lemon extract*, snuqwl.qwlik *root of western dock*, snuqwl.qwlials *cascara bark*

Proto-Salish *k^wəl, *q^wəl ‘green, yellow’ (Ku02)

- 1191 qwls (tr.), qwlsa (itr.) *to look through one eye, to aim one’s gun at something*: nusqwls *one-eyed, always looking through one eye*

Cf. Upper Chehalis q^wil- ‘look out attentively’ (Ki91)

- 1192 qwlxw (tr.) *to hire somebody*: alhqwlxw *hired*, alhqwlxwx alh_unts! *be my assistant!*, qwlxwayc *to be hired, have a job*

Squamish q^wáyaχ^w (Ku67)

- 1193 √qwsk (tr.) *to wind string on a spool*: qwshta *spool*, qwsaktsx! *put the string on my spool!*

- 1194 qwsm *to sweat*: qwsmus *to have a sweating face*, qwsmaalh *to have sweating feet*, qwsmlik *to sweat all over one’s body*

- 1195 qwt *crooked*: nuqwt *river is crooked*, nuqwtaalh wa_umnmnta *the path is crooked*, qwtus *carving knife*, qwtulh *cradle*

- 1196 qwwas *cooked sockeye salmon*

QW'

- 1197 qw'ala *empty, gone*. nuqw'alayk *container is empty*, qw'alayalus *to have no firewood left*, qw'alalaycts c, a, tl'awqw' *I have no tobacco left*, nuqw'alayaax *to have no children*, nu.nuuqw'ala *to have nothing left*, qw'alayutsts *I have finished eating*
- 1198 qw'alm *older sibling*: wa, al.qw'almtsts *all my older brothers and sisters*, anusqw'alm *having lost one's older siblings*, sqw'almlxsalh *big toe*

- 1199 qw'almuulh (tr.), qw'almuulha (itr.) *to roast potatoes under sand*:
 alhqw'almuulh *roasted potatoes*, qw'almuulhnm *to be roasting*
potatoes (cf. √qw'ay, sqw'alhkw, sqw'ayxlh, kw'alc)
 Proto-Salish *q'wal/y- 'to scorch, burn' (Ku02), Upper Chehalis
 q'wāl- 'cinder' (Ki91), NW √q'wāt 'burn to cinders' (LR80)
- 1200 qw'alxs *parsnip*: qw'a.qw'lqsi *dim.*, nuqw'alqsta *parsnip bed* (if <
 *qw'al-lxs, cf. qw'almuulh)
- 1201 qw'aqwina *dogfish*: qw'aaqwinayi *dim.*
 NW √q'wāq'w (He q'wág'wíná, Ha q'wāg'wínà) (LR80)
- 1202 qw'asta *mountain goat wool*
 Proto-Coast Salish *q'wāstan (Ku02)
- 1203 √qw'ay *ashes, charred, black(ened)*: alhqw'ay *smearred with ashes*,
 qw'ayusm *to apply charcoal to one's face*, qw'ayaqw's ti.stn.tc *the*
stick is charred, ay.qw'ayulhank "blackened abdomen" =
appendicitis, ay.qw'ayulhanktinits *I have appendicitis* (cf.
 qw'almuulh, sqw'alhkw, sqw'ayxlh, kw'alc)
- 1204 qw'aykila *small red cod*
- 1205 √qw'i (tr.) *to split, divide, separate something*: ixqw'itmacwaw *they*
are separating, axw qw'yaycs ti.slq's "his mind is not divided" = *he is*
determined, has made up his mind, alhtamqw'yakm (tr.) *to keep*
putting things aside, nuqw'ik (tr.) *to separate, divide in two*,
 nuqw'iktmacwilh *we will divide it among ourselves*,
 nuqw'iktmacwtutilh *we will divide it among them*
- 1206 qw'ilays *young seal*
- 1207 qw'las *strange, different, other*: alats'its.suts' c.ti.qw'las ti.sʔalats'i
and now I will tell another story, qw'laslh *stranger*, L.qw'lasmc *Bella*

Bella native, qw'lasalst *to act in an unusual manner, abnormally*, ixw ti sqw'lasams *he has become very different*

- 1208 qw'laxw *thimbleberry leaves*: l.qw'laxwlhp *thimbleberry bush*,
qw'laxuulh *paper bag*

- 1209 qw'litq *seagull*: l.qw'liitqi *dim*.

An areal term: Proto-Coast Salish *q'wəlitəq, No q'walit-q- (Nater 2013)

- 1210 qw'lh *to laugh*: ilh.qw'nlhtimut *to be laughing*

- 1211 qw'na *pubic hair*: (nu7)n.qw'nayalakt *hair in armpit*,
nuqw'naykalus *chest hair*, nuʔn.qw'nayklxs *hair in nostrils*

Proto-Coast Salish *q'wan, *q'wənaʔ... (Ku02)

- 1212 qw'p *bare, empty*: nuqw'pals *house is empty*, nuqw'piixw *to be bald*,
qw'pulhikus *to be balding, have a receding hairline*, qw'pulmc *bare, treeless area*,
qw'pl.plcalaaxtlayc *to have no parents, be an orphan*, nuqw'pii.pqwlhp *pineapple weed*

Proto-Salish *q'wəmp 'be all gone, disappear' (Ku02)

- 1213 qw'pm *to be particulate, misty, powdery, dusty*: qw'pmulmc *(there is) dust on the ground or floor*,
nuqw'pm *(there is) dust in the water*, qw'pmals ti smt *snow is blowing around on the mountain side*,
sqw'pm *dust, spray, mist* (cf. pqw', q'up)

Proto-Salish *pəq'w, *p'əq'w 'to scatter, powder' (Ku02)

- 1214 √qw's *to leak, ooze, flood*: qw'sm wa suncw ʔats *the world is flooded*,
qw'smiixwlaycts *the water comes up to my knees*, qw'st *to leak, ooze*

Cf. He/Oo √q'ws 'drizzle' (LR80)

- 1215 √qw'wa (tr.) *to impel, urge on*: qw'watsut, qw'watsutamktsut *to persist, persevere*, qw'wata *perseverance*
- 1216 qw'waax *old mountain goat*
 *q'wu-aq, cf. Proto-Coast Salish *q'wuy 'wilt', *-aq(?) 'crotch' (Ku02)
- 1217 qw'xw (tr.), qw'xwa (itr.) *to move something*: qw'xwm *to be moving, to travel*, siqw'xwm *engine*, qw'xwmtimut *automobile*, asqw'xwmtimut *to travel by car*, qw'xwaaxm *to move to another seat*, nu.nuqw'xwmnts *my stomach is growling*
- 1218 √qw'xw (tr.) *to slow down, delay something*: nuqw'xwalh (tr.) *to delay somebody*, nuqw'xwalhayc *to be delayed*, qw'xwm.xwmi *to take one's time, take it easy*, qw'xwmakix! *slow down (in work)!*, qw'xwm.xwmutsi *to eat or speak slowly*

S

1219 *s-* *connector-nominalizer* (10.3, 10.9 ff.) (an all-Salish prefix)

1220 *-s* *3 sg. subj. itr./tr./caus.* (1.1, 1.4, 1.9, 1.15)

All-Salish, e.g. Squamish -s ‘3 sg. poss.’ (Ku67), Shuswap -s ‘3 sg. poss.’ (Ku74)

1221 ,s... *enclitical element* (15.53, 15.55)

1222 saaxwan *tidal flats*

Tsimshianic origin: Gitksan & Nisgha sax^w ‘mouth of a river’ (Nater 2018)

1223 sacwa *dipnet (used at sea)*; sacwam *to fish with a dipnet*

Ha sàx^wa ‘use dipnet’ (√sax^w) (LR86)

1224 √sak’ (tr./itr.) *to spread (something)*: sak’ak *to raise and spread one’s arms*, sak’ak c̣a mnmntṣtṣ *the children are out of his control, he cannot keep them together*, sak’akim *his arms were spread apart*, nusak’ak (tr.) *to try to pry somebody’s hand open*, sak’alhim *his legs were spread apart* (cf. √sk’ik)

1225 √sak’a “to go for it”: *to move straight ahead, do something without delay, immediately, straight through, all the way*: sak’ayalh *to walk right in*, sak’ayalh usaqw’sam *he went right down to the bottom of the river*, nusak’ayaaxtimut *to enter and leave again right away, to walk right through a house*, nusak’ayustus *he killed him with one shot*, nusak’a *to go from house to house (begging)*

1226 sak’am *to be injured*: sak’amak *to have an injured hand*, sak’amnic (tr.) *to injure somebody*, sak’amnmacw *to injure each other*, sak’amnimut *to injure oneself*

1227 sak’ima *twine, string*

1228 sakwm *bracken fern*: sakwmlhp *bracken fern (plant and leaves)*, sac.sakwmlhp *bracken fern plants*, sac.sakwmlhpnk *bracken fern root*

Oo/Kw sag^wm (LR80)

1229 sala *cellar, root house*

1230 saʔlkuus *a type of crab* (from */s-a.ʔlkw-uus/, cf. alkw)

1231 salmamktsut “*to sell oneself, make oneself available commercially*” =
(to be a) prostitute

1232 samllh *sockeye salmon*: samllhtam *sockeye season* (cf. amlh)

1233 saplin *flour, bread*: nusaplinta *flour sack*, tamsaplin *to bake bread*
Chinook Jargon saplel (CTGR)

1234 saqwaaksta *axe made of sqwalst*
NW √saq^w ‘to peel off bark’ (LR80)

1235 saqw’ *holding much, insatiable*: nusa.sqw’iiklayc *to take a long time*
urinating, saqw’tnulhikim *it takes a while to fill it*

1236 sasa = sa.sa *suckling*
NW √sas ‘offspring (of one couple)’ (LR80)

1237 sast *to move house, change residence*: sa.saast *it is moving*

1238 satic *chum, partner*: saticmtmacwaw *they have a very close*
friendship, are intimate friends

1239 satsqwla *raft consisting of logs fastened together*: satsqwlam *to use a*
log raft, asatsqwlamlhtxw! *let’s go rafting!*
If < *s-acq^w-la, cf. Proto-Salish *cəq^w ‘to begin, set out’ (Ku02)

- 1240 sats'alan *echo*: sats'alanlh *echo (when heard)*, sats'alanlhaycts *I heard my echo* (cf. ts'lh)
Possibly from *s-a.c'al-an, cf. Proto-Salish *c'al 'shade, shadow; outline, similar' (Ku02)
- 1241 sats'm *old springsalmon*
Comox sac'm 'tyee salmon' (Harris 1977), NW √sas (Ha sàc'm, Oo sac'm) (LR80), Quileute sá·c' 'salmon (king, chinook, spring, tyee)' (Powell & Woodruff 1976)
- 1242 sawa, saw.sawa *pillow, cushion*
- 1243 sawanaaxkw *raft*: sawanaaxkwit ta, satl'anaw, txw *they made a raft with their canoes (by tying them together and putting boards over them)* (= awanaaxkw)
- 1244 sʔayk's *grave*: nusʔayk'sta *graveyard* (cf. ayk') (McI48 *saik's*: 1--- Skeleton, 2---Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story)
- 1245 sʔayk'saʔna *caterpillar that develops into tiger swallowtail*
- 1246 sʔaylh *waste, leftover*: sʔayutslh *leftover food, scraps*
- 1247 sʔaym (tr.), sʔaymis (to) *always (...)* (16.2): sʔaymits sksnmakts *I always work*, sʔaymip ska, alhkaltcwmitsutap! *always be careful, folks!*, sʔaymtx ska, ya.yaatwiinu! *always be happy!*, sʔaymistxw! = sʔaymtx!, xlhahhts sʔaymis *I am always hungry*
- 1248 sʔayt *year*: alh, ti, sʔayt (in, during) *this year*
- 1249 sʔayulh, Sʔayulh *thunder, Thunderbird*: sʔay.ʔayulhm (there is a) *thunderstorm*, sʔay.ʔayulhmtinilh *we had a thunderstorm*
- 1250 sc *bad*: scm *to be gravely ill*, sctu- *to forbid, prevent somebody from doing something*, nuscm (tr.) *to hate somebody*, kanuscm *having a bad odor or flavor*, sclayc *to have bad luck*, scliwa *clumsy*, scliht

angry, scl.cliktm *to leave in anger*, nuscliktik = sclikt, scliktnic (tr.) *to anger somebody*, nusclits' *ugly*, scanm *to wear out, deteriorate*, scali *jealous*, nuscalimc *given to jealousy*, scanmtimut *envious*, scaltwa *bad weather*, scak *witch*, nuscaaksta *mesachie box*, nuscaakstatim *a spell has been placed on him, he is bewitched*, scaqw's *having an ugly color; to have poor vision*, nusci.ckmitsut *to feel sorry for oneself, be sad*, scuutsm (tr.) *to swear at somebody*, nuscmankamk (tr.) *to crave something (food)*, sculhla *to disallow, not give consent*, sculhlamim, kwalukw' c, ilh, stans, ʔilh ula, anaykmtis ska, umats ska, talaws *his mother repeatedly discouraged him to marry the ones he wanted to marry*, scuukstu- *to beat a team (in a game or race)*

Cf. Lillooet √səx 'to degenerate' (VE13)

1251 scimnk *cooked fish tails*: iscimnkulh *to eat stew made of fish tails* (cf. cm?)

1252 sclhh *afterbirth* (?cf. sic)

1253 scnts *transsexual, hermaphrodite*: nuscntsaax *cowardly*, scn.cntslhp *old willow having dark greyish thick bark* (cf. cnas)

Possibly from *s-xənəs 'womanhood, effeminacy' (see cnas)

1254 sculm = scwilm

1255 scw (tr.), scwa (itr.) *to burn something*: sic.sicwits, alu *I keep trying to burn it*, scwaak (tr.) *to burn somebody's hand*, scwm *to burn, be on fire*, scwm.cwm(altwa) *lightning*, scwmta *gunpowder*, nuscwmiklaycts *I got my pot burnt*, ascwmalus *to suffer from indigestion, heartburn*, siscwmtnmak *kindling*

1256 scw *to leak*: nuscwaax *pot or boat leaks*, nuscwaaxik *roof leaks* (cf. sic)

Proto-Salish *six^w, *səx^w 'to pour, spill' (Ku02)

- 1257 scwilm, sculm *salmon roe*
NW $\sqrt{x}^{(w)}$ uł ‘fresh boiled salmon eggs’ (He x^wúlí, Ha xulès) (LR80)
- 1258 scwpanilh *whitetail deer*: scwpa.pniilhi *dim.* (if this is from *s-cwp-an-ilh “with untangled groin”, cf. cwp)
- 1259 $\sqrt{scwtl}$ ’ *to be inadequate*: scwtl’alh *to not get somewhere in time*, scwtl’iiqwalhmtsínu “*I missed you by a toe*” = *I could not jump as far as you*, nuscwtl’aax *to fail to make it to the bathroom in time*, be *incontinent, dirty oneself*, anuscwn.cwntl’ alh_{ta} qaaxlamim_{t’}axw *he did not have enough to drink of that*
- 1260 si- *paraphrasing prefix* (10.3, 10.25): siʔastnak *crutches*, siscwmtñmak *kindling*, si.sikyumaaxalits *molar*, sinuxi *lamp*, siniixw *firewood*, sinaaxwmiiixw *dancer’s headdress*
Possibly from *s-(ə)n-, cf. nu-
- 1261 sic *blood*: nusi.sciik *blood vessel*, siculh *water mixed with blood* (cf. scw (1256))
- 1262 sʔickw’cw *bushtail rat*: sʔickw’cwi *dim.*
Proto-Salish *k’^wax^w ‘rat, mouse’ (Ku02)
- 1263 siʔik’lh *spouse* (cf. iiklhi, $\sqrt{k}$ ’ilh)
- 1264 siiscmi = sii.scmi *mosses of the Mnium group (with drawing powers)* (Turner 1973)
Possibly from si-ʔi.sc-m-i “for (si-) ...ing (letting) a little bit (-i) of one’s (-m) blood ($\sqrt{i}$.sc = sic)”
- 1265 sik’m (*there is a*) *noise*
- 1266 sik’s *trap, snare*

- 1267 $\sqrt{\text{sikw'ik}}$ (tr.) *to line things up*: asikw'ikaw *they are lined up*,
 $\text{asikw'ikulh ti \text{.}lhts'ma}$ (*it is a*) *cartridge belt*, nusikw'ikta *quiver for*
arrows (cf. skw')
- 1268 silin *kidney*: si.slini *dim.*
- 1269 sim *limbs of red cedar* (cf. $\sqrt{\text{im}}$)
- 1270 $\sqrt{\text{sipi}} = \sqrt{\text{tsipi}} = \sqrt{\text{tipi}}$: $\text{sipyaaqts squts'alhm\text{ts}}$ *I am washing (my) one*
leg
- 1271 Siqyulc *name of a month (around April)* (cf. qxyu)
- 1272 siq'aax *fish that is about to die (after spawning)*
- 1273 $\text{siqw'yuu\text{slh}} = \text{si.qw'yuu\text{slh}}$ *chickadee* (probably from s-i.qw'y-uus-
 slh 'with a split face', cf. $\sqrt{\text{qw'i}}$)
- 1274 Sisawk *higher class dance society*: Sisawkiixw *higher class song* (= *Susawk*)
- 1275 $\text{sisksum} = \text{si.sksum}$ *aunt*
- 1276 $\text{sisk'uulh} = \text{si.sk'uulh}$ (tr.) *to peel a fruit* (cf. skw')
- 1277 $\text{sissi} = \text{sis.si}$ *uncle*
Squamish sísí? (Ku67)
- 1278 $\text{sisyulh} = \text{si.syulh}$ *mythical double-headed sea serpent*
He sísíuł, Kw sisyuł, sisyułł ($\sqrt{\text{sis}}$) (LR80)
- 1279 sitaaxsu *catfish*

- 1280 sits'm *sheet: leather; paper money*: ik'axw ti_ka_sits'mts *I have no money*, sits'maalh *moccasins*, usits'maakam c_a_ts'up'akt *he put on leather gloves* (from *s-(ʔ)its'm, cf. its'ama, -lits')
- 1281 sʔixwalhkw *charcoal fire, glowing embers*: sʔixwalhkuhuus *glowing, red-hot* (cf. iixw)
- 1282 skalkw *porcupine*: ska.klkwi *dim.*
- 1283 √ski *to knead, massage*: skim (tr.) *to massage somebody*, si.ki, skimlikw *masseur*, skimaaxutsis ti_squlh_tc wa_sxi.ximuuts_ts *the bee massages the flowers*
- 1284 skip' *carrots*: skii.kp'i *dim.*, nuskip'ta *carrot garden* (?cf. kip')
- 1285 skli *supernatural being that decides when one is going to die* (cf. kl.klii)
- 1286 skma *moose*: sm.kmayi *dim.*
- 1287 sksi *in-laws*
- 1288 sktsulhkh *heart*: sktsulhktinits *my heart is troubling me*
- 1289 skulukt *canoe pole*
- 1290 √skulh *body part*: skulhnh *buttocks*, skulhnalus *joint*, skulhnalusaqw's *bridge of nose*, skulhnalusxsak *web-like structure between the fingers*, skulhlxsalh *toe*, skulhlxsak *finger*, skulhapsm *neck*, skulhank *side*, skulhankus *side of face*, skulhankutsalh *side of lower leg*, skulhankutliitsalh = skulhankutsalh, skulhalakt *glands in armpit*, skulhaaxams *jaw*, skulhaaxalh *ankle*, skulhaaxak *wrist*, skulhikalh *shin*, skulhikak *upper surface of hand*, skulhikus *forehead*, skulhiixwalst *shoulder*, skulhutsak *lower arm*, skulhuutslayc *nipple*, skulhuulhan *temple*

- 1291 skupik *rosehip*: sku.kwpiklhp *rosebush*
 If < *s-k^wup-ik “with a stuffed center”, cf. Proto-Salish *k^wup ‘to push together, stuff’ (Ku02)
- 1292 sk’ (tr.), sk’a (itr.) *to scrape, card, rake, comb something*: sk’iixw (tr.) *to comb somebody’s hair*, sk’iixwm *to comb one’s hair*, sk’ma *comb*, sk’ulmcta, sk’mnulmcta *rake*
- 1293 sk’alhutslayc *eyelashes* (cf. √k’alh)
- 1294 Sk’amtsk *a fish-like monster*
 Cf. Upper Chehalis č’ám’čš ‘salmontrout’ (Ki91)
- 1295 sk’aptsanilh *posterior abdominal fin*
- 1296 sk’awlht *dead alder tree* (cf. aw.k’awalh)
 Proto-Salish *k’aw ‘old, decrepit’ (Ku02)
- 1297 sk’c *black*: sk’cus *of African descent*, sk’caqw’s *black soil* (?*s-k’c *visible, conspicuous*, cf. k’c))
- 1298 √sk’ik (tr.) *to spread (something)*: sk’ikmtu- *to unfurl, spread something out* (cf. √sak’)
- 1299 sk’ilcts *golden-eye duck* (McI48 *sk’elixts*: Merganser)
 If < *s-k’il-lx-c “(with) cut mouth” (as a descriptive term inspired by the round white patch behind the male’s beak and below his eye), cf. Proto-Salish *k’əl ‘to cut, rip’ (Ku02)
- 1300 sk’inwas *cloud* (cf. ik’nuas, k’ay)
 If < *s-k’i-nwas, cf. Proto-Salish *k’ay ‘cold (season)’ (Kalispel č’ei ‘shade’) and *-(i)n-was ‘middle, center’ (Ku02)
- 1301 sk’l *cold*: sk’l (tr.) *to cool something off*, sk’laltwa *(it is) cold weather, cold season*, nusk’luts *(it is) cold weather*, sk’luulhm *to cool off*

- (*food*), sk'laaxutsm *to cool one's drink*, nusk'lctu- *to cool something, put something into a cooler* (/...sk'l-lc.../) (cf. √k'l, k'ay, slk'laaxt)
- 1302 sk'llatap *unidentified small sea fish*
- 1303 sk'st *charcoal* (cf. nuk's)
- 1304 sk'stlits' *skin*
- 1305 sk'ult *porcupine quill*
Proto-Salish *k'wəl' 'skin, feather, quill (porcupine)' (Ku02)
- 1306 skwakwixlhala = skwa.kwixlhala *bluebird* (cf. kwayx)
- 1307 skwatiwa *imaginary monster, bogeyman* (McI48 Kwatiwal'a, "The Big One": Lustful male supernatural being)
Possibly from *s-k^wat-iwan (with unidentified *√k^wat, and cf. -liwa), cf. Proto-Salish *k^wutwan 'eel' (Chilliwack k^wátəwi) (Ku02)
- 1308 skwatsta *name*, √skwats *to name*: skwatstatsinu *I will give you a name*, skwa.kwatstimut *nickname*
Proto-Salish *k^wac '(to) name' (Ku02)
- 1309 skwlatn *ptarmigan* (McI48 sqwal'ätun: Large, unidentified bird)
Smith (July 1923) mentions "Scholätin" 'pileated woodpecker' (= Lillooet (s)k^wlátən 'id.' (VE13))
- 1310 skwp (tr.) *to moisten, spray water on something*: skwpanlh (tr.) *to spray water on somebody's shirt*, askwpa.payaalhi *April shower, light rain*
- 1311 skwipay *inner bark of fir tree*

*skwp-ay, where -ay is Proto-Coastal Salish *-ay' 'tree, bush, plant' (Ku02)

1312 skwtsals *cheek*: skwtsa.tslsi *dim.*, skwtsa.tsls *both cheeks*, skwtsuusal = skwtsals (cf. sʔunkwtsta)

1313 skwts' *wrinkled*: skwts'us (*having a*) *wrinkled face*
Cf. Proto-Salish *kʷəc' 'to bend, twist' (Ku02)

1314 skw' (tr.), skw'a (itr.) *to undo, untie something*: skw'alaaxt(n) (tr.) *to untie a boat*, skw'm *to come loose*, skw'ayc *to have come loose*, skw'iixw (tr.) *to open a lock*, nuskw'maqw'sanilhayc *one's hip is dislocated*

If < 'take apart, break', cf. Lillooet səkʷ-ən 'to break something (that shatters)' (VE13)

1315 skw'anik's *black twinberry*: sa.kw'nik'slhp *black twinberry bush*

1316 √skw'p (*to the*) *right*: skw'paalh *right leg or foot*, skw'palmc *right breast*, skw'panlhaqw's *right eye*, skw'panslh *right side*, skw'paakslh *right hand*, skw'paaqslh *right leg* (cf. kw'p)

1317 skw'wams = kw'wams

1318 skw'yan *knee*: si.kw'yan *both knees*, si.kw'yanaaxikus *to kneel* (cf. skw'?)

1319 sl (tr.), sla (itr.) *to slice something, cut boards*: slulhuus (tr.) *to plane sticks for eulachon net*

1320 slaax, √slalh = slax

1321 slalimts = sla.limts *great-grandchild*: wa.sla.limts.mtsts_{ts} *all my great-grandchildren* (cf. slhʔimts)

- 1322 slalimtskak *cone of fir or pine tree* ('like hands sliced (out) all over?')
- 1323 √slalh x = slax
- 1324 -slancw = -lacw
- 1325 slaq'k *filleted and smoked salmon*: slaq'nk *smoked salmon tails* (cf. sl)
 *sl-aq'-k; *-aq' = -aax (Nater 2018)
- 1326 slaws *grass*
- 1327 slax, sláx, slaax, √slalh x *much, many* (13.10): slaxulh *expensive*, slaxmitsut *having many relatives*, is.ʔislaax *to eat much*, axw slalhxiinaw *they were not many*, nuslalhxaax *clubmoss* (cf. nulax.lx)
 *s-laχ < Proto-Salish *laχ, *ləχ 'spaced apart' (Comox ʒíχit 'take apart', Cowichan ləχ, Twana ləχ, Thompson ʔesláχ) (Ku02)
- 1328 slaylhxuts *to misbehave, be obstinate*: kuslaylhxuts *never following people's advice, always misbehaving*
- 1329 slic *slime*: slictinits *I have tuberculosis* (cf. √lic, lhic)
- 1330 sliixw *salmon head stew*: tamsliixw *to prepare sliixw* (cf. sl)
- 1331 slilhqwam.ams *fish cheeks*
 If < *s-di.ɬqʷ, cf. Proto-Salish *s-tiqʷ 'flesh, meat'
- 1332 sliq'uts *saliva*: nusliq'uts *to drool*
- 1333 slis *gall*
- 1334 slk'laaxt = sl.k'laaxt *crystal; icicle* (cf. sk'l)
 NW √k'ɬ 'stone, mineral' (He k'ík'láq, Oo k'l'aq 'crystal') (LR80)

- 1335 slqw' *to find*: slqw'amk (tr.) *to find something*
- 1336 slucta *crosspiece of canoe*
- 1337 sluq' *eulachon grease*
- 1338 -slh *characteristic, typical (of...)* (5.17): sl.t'liislh *horsefly*,
tsi.tstumnalslh *night moth*, ts'aaqaluuslh *white springsalmon*,
ska.kp'ayslh *small biting fly that abounds during the kap'ay run*,
slhxankslh *left side of the body*, skw'pankslh *right side of the body*
- 1339 slhʔimts *grandchild*: wa slhʔimts.mtsts, ts *all my grandchildren* (NB
with ...tststs...) (cf. imts)
Proto-Salish *ʔimac (Ku02)
- 1340 slhip'nakt *branch*: slhip'naakti *dim.*
If < *s-ʔip'-n-ak-t, cf. lip' and Proto-Salish *ʔap' 'hang bent/folded'
(Ku02)
- 1341 slhq' *barbecued and dried springsalmon*
If < *s-lhq', cf. Proto-Salish *ʔaq' 'wide, to spread, stretch' (Ku20)
- 1342 slhq'an *collar*: slhan.q'an *necklace* (cf. ʋlhq'm)
- 1343 slhul *sliver*: slhulxsakaycts *I have a sliver in my finger*, slhulxsalhaycts
I have a sliver in my toe, aslhulakaycts *I have a sliver in my hand*
- 1344 ʋslhulhani *cover, shelter*: slhulhanim *to camouflage oneself, make
use of a blind when hunting*, nuslhulhani(m)ta *blind, shelter used by
hunter to conceal himself*
- 1345 slhum (tr.) *to boil down food (e.g. berries, fish) in order to make
juice or soup*: nuslhumta *cooking box*

- 1346 √slhx *left*: slhxalmc *left breast*, slhxanlhaqw's *left eye*, slhxaak *left-handed*, slhxaakslh *left hand*, slhxaaq *left-legged*, slhxaaqslh *left leg*, slhxaalh *left foot* (cf. √lhx)
- 1347 sm- *already, right away, from the very beginning, innately, truly* (10.4)
 Tsimshianic s(i)m- 'real, genuine' (Nater 2018)
- 1348 sma *myth(ical), legend(ary)*: sm.sma (*to tell a*) *myth, legend*, sm.smayuus (tr.) *to tell somebody a myth or legend (the listener is the grammatical object)*, smayusta *myth*, smallhh *myth(ical being), story*, smallhham *to become a myth, legendary* (from */s-ma/ 'number one, that which came first', cf. √ma)
- 1349 smak *to prepare eulachon grease*: nusmaaksta *eulachon box*
- 1350 √smam *to be in constant motion*: smamiiqw *to work without interruption*, icsm.mam, icsa.mam *to sway back and forth*
- 1351 smamatstnak, smamatstnalhp = sma.matstnak, sma.matstnalhp *fir cone*: smn.mntstnaaki *dim.* (from s-matstn..., see matsta)
- 1352 smatic = smatmc
- 1353 smatmc *friend, relative*
- 1354 smáw *one*: smawlh *one dollar*, smawaax *one tree or stick*, smawlqsak *one finger*, smawaaxalh *one day's travel*, smawanmaak *one hour, (it is) one o'clock* (cf. √maw)
- 1355 Smayana *a woman's name* (i.e. sma + -ana)
- 1356 smicmixwts = smic.mixwts *thrush*
- 1357 smiks *musse!*: sm.smiiksi *dim.*

- 1358 smlhk *fish, salmon*: sm.smlhki *dim.*, sm.smlhkuts *to talk about fish*
A widespread term: Proto-Salish *s-młik, Oo młik ‘sockeye’, Wiyot
bołàk ‘salmon’ (Nater 2013)
- 1359 smt *mountain*: sm.smmti *dim.* (Boas 1895 cites older ‘smnt’)
Proto-Coast Salish *s-man(i), *s-man(i)t ‘stone, mountain’ (Ku02)
- 1360 smʔulha *to do something right away, take immediate action*:
smʔulha.kw tʰax ulh.ta.putsʰtns.tx ska.tʰksnis *right away he went*
for his bow and shot him, smʔulha.kw itsʰik tʰax sʔalhaʔitimutis
c.a.stlʰyuks wa.kwʰntas *and right away he did what he had said he*
would do
- 1361 snaax *slave*: snaax (tr.) *to enslave somebody*
Comox nanʔqʰ (Harris 1977)
- 1362 snanik *pitch, gum*: snaniklhp *pitchwood*, nusnanikaalhaycts *I have*
gum on my shoes
- 1363 sniniqʰ = sni.niqʰ *an ape-like creature*
Oo/Kw ʔunuqʰwa ‘sasquatch’ (ʔʔuqʰw)
- 1364 sninya = sni.nya *earthquake*: sninyatim Nuxalkmc *the Nuxalk*
suffered an earthquake
NW ʔni ‘to shake, tremble, wobble’ (He níniá, Ka niàla, Kw ninini
‘earthquake’) (LR80)
- 1365 snqwʰs (tr.) *to be very angry with somebody*
- 1366 snx *sun*: snxaalh *sunbeam*, sn.snxaalh *northern lights*, snxana *cricket*
- 1367 spakwank *ray, skate*
He báqʰáná, Ha bàqʰana, Kw bagʰani (LR80)

- 1368 spatl'tn (tr.) *to put roofing on a house*: spatl'tnta *roofing material*,
shingles, nuspatl'tnuutsta *porch*
Cf. NW √baʕ 'to measure using spread arms or fingers'
- 1369 spikw' *groundhog*: spii.pkw'i *dim.*, spikw'anlh *blanket made out of*
groundhog pelts
- 1370 splilh *vagina*: splilhata *opening of the world, beginning of creation*
From *√spl 'bodily orifice' and -ilh, cf. proto-Interior Salish *s-pl-ap
'buttocks' (Ku02), Shuswap s-pl-ucin 'mouth' (Ku74)
- 1371 spulh *lump*: spulhanalh *lump of ankle*, spulhanak *lump of wrist*,
nuspulhuulhikalhh *Adam's apple*
- 1372 sputc *eulachon*: spuu.ptci *dim.*, sputcm (*it is the*) *eulachon season*
?Cf. Ha √but 'to swell, swelling, to boil (tide), to bud or flower'
(LR80)
- 1373 spyu *auklet*
Proto-Salish *s-pyuʔ 'bird' (Ku02)
- 1374 sp' (tr.), sp'a (itr.) *to hit something with a stick*: sp'lxsnm "*to hit the*
end" = *to apply the Morse key, cable a telegram, use the telephone*
(the latter meaning now prevails), sp'(ulh)ixwta *war club, salmon*
club, sp'alustnm, sa.p'lusm, sa.p'a *to be splitting wood*,
sun.p'uulhnm *to play baseball*, nusp'uts "*hit in the mouth*" = *good*
at dancing, sp'aknm *to hit the branches of a fruit-bearing tree so as*
to shake the fruit off
Proto-Salish *səp' (Ku02)
- 1375 sp'u *to fart*: nusp'u *farting all the time*
Proto-Salish *p'uʔ (Ku02)

- 1376 √sqa, √sqn (see asqa, usqa)
- 1377 sqala *red huckleberry*: sqaa.xlалhp *red huckleberry bush*
Halkomelem sqé'le (Nater 2010), cf. Gitksan kale'a 'wild rose fruit'
(Jensen & Gawa 1977)
- 1378 sqaluts *mountain bilberry; any fruit*: sqaluts ti.nan *devil's club berries*, sqaluts ti.nutsakwaax *queenscup*, asqalutsak *branch bearing fruit*, sqaa.xlutsлhp *mountain bilberry bush* (from *sqal(a)-uts, cf. sqala)
- 1379 sqapts *old springsalmon*: sqa.nqptslh *tiger swallowtail*
Proto-Salish *(s-)qap(-c/s) (Ku02), NW √qap (He qáps, Ha qaabs) (LR80)
- 1380 sqili *woman of slave ancestry* (cf. qilic)
- 1381 sqitilhp *root* (probably from *s-qiti-lhp, cf. qiqti)
- 1382 sqma *chest*
*sqə(p)mən, cf. Proto-Salish *s-qəp-min 'breast, brisket' (Ku02)
- 1383 sqts' *sand, gravel*: sqts'a.ts'ls *gravelly mountain side*, nusqn.xnts'ta *bird's appendix, gizzard* (cf. sts'ix)
- 1384 squlh *bee, wasp*: squulh.qwlhi *dim.*, nusqulhta *beehive* (cf. qulh?)
Proto-Salish *s-qʷuł (Ku02)
- 1385 √squm (tr.) *to spread, open up (something)*: nusqumalhhik (tr.) *to spread-eagle and disembowel somebody* (cf. √anuqum)
- 1386 √squp, √su.qwp *hair*: squpaqw's *eyebrows*, squputs *beard, whiskers*, asquputs "bearded" = *grey cod*
Squamish and Sechelt *qʷup (Kuipers 1969, Ti77)

- 1387 √squplh *superfluous hair*: squphlits'alh *hair on lower leg*,
squphlits'ak *hair on lower arm or hand*, squphalakt *armpit hair*,
squplhaak *hair on arm*, squphlklxs *hairs in nose*, squplhikals *hairs in*
ear, squphikaluus *hair on chest*, squphikalh *hair on shin*,
squplhutsak *hair on lower arm*, squplhulhiik *hair on back*,
squplhaalh *hair on leg*
- 1388 squsa *leftover food that one takes home*
- 1389 squts' *sack made of cedar bark* (McI48 *sqot's*: Large, flat, soft basket
of broad strips of bark)
- 1390 sq' (tr.), sq'a (itr.) *to tear, cut something open*: nusq' (tr.) *to cut an*
animal's belly open (prior to skinning it), nusq' *the sky opens up, the*
clouds disappear, asq' *cut, wound*, sq'ma *knife used for cutting*
salmon, sm.q'mni *small salmon knife*, kusq' *"all cut up, torn apart"*
= tired from walking, sq'alh *it has stopped raining*, sun.q'uts *to yawn*
- Gitksan saq' 'to split', Nisgha saq' 'to crack', Northern Tsimshian
saʔqt 'be split', Proto-Salish *səq' 'split, crack'; Salish or substrate
origin (Nater 2018).
- 1391 sq'alh *flesh, meat*
- 1392 √sq'amta *greed, avarice*: nusq'amta *given to greed*, k'isq'amta *"to lack*
avarice" = to be generous
- *s-q'am-ta, cf. Proto-Interior Salish *q'am 'to covet, crave', Proto-
Salish *q'əm 'to swallow' (Ku02)
- 1393 √sq'atc *nails*: sq'atciixwak *finger nails*, sq'atciixwalh *toenails*
- 1394 sq'sk *saskatoon berry*: sq'sklhp *saskatoon berry bush*
- 1395 sq'talhp *Douglas maple*
- 1396 sq'usa *knothole*

- 1397 sqwaax(w)qwa *bullhead* (McI48 skwa·akwa: River sculpin)
- 1398 sqwal *love song*: sqwal.xwalm *to sing a love song*
- 1399 sqwalst *type of rock out of which axes were made (described as having a pale green color)*: sqwalstulh *a piece of sqwalst*
 If < *s-qʷal-lst, cf. qwli, -lst, and Proto-Salish *kʷəl ‘green’ (Ku02)
- 1400 sqwinacw *flesh of crushed eulachons* (cf. qwilats)
- 1401 sqwlitq *dried up rotten fish (such as found on river banks)*
- 1402 sqwlh *fishbone*: nusqwlhalhh *to have a fishbone (stuck) in one’s throat*, sqwlhan *collarbone*, sqwlhik *dorsal fin*
- 1403 sqwsn *loon*: sqwsn.sni *dim.*
- 1404 sqwtsilh *posterior abdominal fin*
- 1405 sqw’ *to fly, jump*: sqw’tum tpyaaxam *he was flown across*, sic.siqw’ *to be flying or jumping*, sic.siiqw *airplane*
 Proto-Salish *saqʷ, *səqʷ (Ku02)
- 1406 sqw’alm *type of fern (Dryopteris expansa)* (Turner, p.c.):
 sqw’aa.qw’lmi *dim.*, sqw’a.qw’lmlhp, sqw’almiixw *fern plant*
- 1407 sqw’alhw *ashes*: nusqw’aalhwta *ashtray* (cf. qw’almuulh, √qw’ay, sqw’ayxlh, kw’alc)
- 1408 sqw’ayxlh *ashes* (cf. √qw’ay, qw’almuulh, sqw’alhw, kw’alc)
- 1409 sqw’m *to be startled*: ka.sqw’m.ma alh.nts *I think he will be startled to see me*, sqw’mtu- *to intentionally startle somebody*, sqw’mnic (tr.) *to unintentionally startle somebody*, sm.qw’mtimut *to be*

skittish, sm.qw'mtnm *always startling people*, sqw'maaknictss “*it startled my hand*” = *I quickly withdrew my hand from it* (cf. sq’w)

1410 sqw’xwlun *kneecap*

*s-q’wəχ^w-ləwən, cf. proto-Salish *q’wəχ^w, *q’wəχ^w ‘claw, leg, foot’ (Ku02) and -liwa

1411 -st- *causative suffix* (1.16, 6.31)

1412 -sta = -ta

1413 stakaw *sibling-in-law*

If < sta-kaw (where sta- = stam- (1415)), cf. Proto-Salish *kaw ‘in-law’ (Ku02)

1414 staltmc *chief*: staltmctimut *would-be chief*, sta.taltmc *dignitaries*

*s-tal(t)-məx, cf. Proto-Coast Salish *tal-mix(ʷ) ‘person, chief’ (Ku02)

1415 stam- *together with* (10.6) (cf. sti-)

Tsimshianic st... ‘companion, half of symmetrical items’ (Nater 2018). Tarpent states that st... is “common in some Northern Penutian with ‘dual’ meaning” (p.c.)

1416 stam₁ks? *what is it?* (12.10, 12.16): ti₁stam *something*

Proto-Salish *s-tam (Ku02)

1417 stan *mother*: stan.tanmts “*one’s mothers of mothers*” = *one’s mother + maternal grandmother + maternal grandmother’s mother etc.*, anustan *having lost one’s mother*, stantimut *mother-in-law, stepmother*

*s-tan: Proto-Coast Salish *tan (Ku02)

- 1418 √stap *steep*: stapals *steep mountain side*, stapik *steep roof*, sta.tputs *steep shore* (cf. √tap?)
- 1419 √staq' *to contact, touch, grab*: staq'akayc *to grab hold of a branch (e.g. when near drowning)*, staq'alhayc *one's feet have touched bottom, to reach shallow water* (cf. tq')
- Proto-Salish *t'aq' 'to cross over' (Ku02)
- 1420 stcus *opponent*: stcusm (tr.) *to play against somebody*, stcusmtmacw *to have a contest*
- Upper Chehalis tæx^wás-, tæx^ws 'enemy' (Ki91)
- 1421 √stcw (see astcw, ustcw)
- 1422 -stcw = -tcw
- 1423 stcwts' *cottonwood buds* (cf. √stcw, -lits'?)
- 1424 sti- *asymmetrical* (10.1): stikits'ank *lopsided*, sti?atmnus *to be paralyzed at one side*, astistnmaaq *having one stiff leg*, stits'yalsm *to wink, blink one eye*, stistnaaq *having one wooden leg*, stimukuulhals *having a port-wine stain (birth mark) on one cheek*, stiktl'aa.tl'qi *having one leg shorter than the other* (cf. stam-, √t(i)pi)
- Tsimshianic st... 'companion, half of symmetrical items' (Nater 2018). Tarpent states that st... is "common in some Northern Penutian with 'dual' meaning" (p.c.)
- 1425 stilwa *fat floating on top of jarred or canned fish* (if < *s-ti-ləwən, cf. √ti, -liwa)
- 1426 stip *understudy, double (in movies)*: stiiplh *shadow, projection, picture*, stiiphlthinilh *they are taking our picture, they are filming us*, nustipusta *mirror* (cf. √tip)

- 1427 stits', nustits' *watery excrements, diarrhoea*
- 1428 stlkw'a *jellyfish*: stl.tlkw'i *dim.*
 ?Cf. Kw √tlkʷ 'to splash', tlkʷala 'splashing noise' (LR80)
- 1429 -stmacw *causative reciprocal suffix* (6.34)
- 1430 stn *tree, pole, stick*: stn.tni *dim.*, stnaalh *wooden spoon*, stnaax *timber*, siʔastnak *crutches*
 Proto-Athabaskan *√tən 'sticklike object' (Nater 2013)
- 1431 -stn- = -tn-
- 1432 √stnm *stiff*: astistnm_{aaq} *having one stiff leg*, anustnm_{mikak} *having a stiff upper arm or elbow*, stnm_{anlh} *stiff clothes*, stnm_{ulhank} "having a stiff belly" = *to have a laughing fit, laugh one's head off*, astnm_{aalh} *to wear stiff shoes* (cf. stn)
- 1433 stp *spot, freckle*: stpuus.ps *having a freckled face*, stpuulhals *having a freckle on one's cheek*, nustpalsaaqws *having a cataract*
- 1434 stq' (tr.) *to add to something*: stq'tx! *add to it!*, stq'aaxtx! *put more (meat) in the stew!*, stq'alusits *I will put more wood on the fire*, stq'ulhits *I will add (a tea bag, spice) to it (tea, soup), I will strengthen its flavor*
- 1435 stqw *mud*: nustqw *muddy creek*, nustqwaqw's *muddy water*, nustqwaalh.qwlhays *to have mud on one's shoes* (cf. tqwlc)
 NW √tqʷ 'covered with dirt, dust, soil' (LR80)
- 1436 -stu- = -tu-
- 1437 stulkw *dolphin*: stu.tulkwi *dim.*
 He cdúlkʷ, sdúlkʷ

- 1438 stup *stove*
- 1439 stuq' *snag*: stuq'tsut, stuq'aycnimut *to get tangled up in a net*, astuq' *snagged*, stuq'layc *to get snagged*, astuq'aqw's *knot in wood*
- 1440 stuu(a) *store*
- 1441 -stxw = -txw
- 1442 st'ala *hemlock bark*: sa.t'lalhp *western hemlock*
- 1443 st'aʔm *to be (on a) flat (surface)*: st'aʔmtuts ula, kulhulmc, ts *I laid it down on the floor*, st'aʔmulhank *to lie flat on one's stomach*, st'aʔmus *flat-faced*, nust'aʔmiklqs *flat-nosed*
- 1444 st'anikw *boil, carbuncle*
- 1445 st'awlht *whetstone*: st'awlhulh (tr.) *to sharpen a tool*
- 1446 st'axw *hard, difficult*: st'axwaalh ti, snxaalh, tc *the sunlight is too bright*, st'axwanaats *very difficult*
- 1447 st'cwm *mat, mattress*: st'cwm.cwmi *dim.*, nust'cwmikta *table cloth*, nust'cwmaaqutsta *napkin*, kalhst'cwmta *cedar bark used for mattress*, nust'cwmaaxta *bark on top of which kalhst'cwmta is placed*, st'cwmulmc *floor*, st'cwmulmcta *floor covering, linoleum*, nust'cwmaalhta *floor mat*, anust'cwmaaxmis ilh ta, lhalya, tx *she had the copper for a cushion* (cf. t'cw)
- 1448 st'ls *highbush cranberry*: sl.t'lslh *cranberry bush*, st'ls ti, nan = sqaluts ti, nan, sl.t'lsanilh *lymph nodes in groin*
Proto-Salish *t'əls, NW vt'ls (Nater 2013)
- 1449 st'n *nits*
Proto-Salish *(k'ə)st'an' (Ku02)

- 1450 st'uc(w)si *swell, big wave*: st'uu.t'cwsī *dim*.
NW √t'ux^w 'waves, breakers, tidal swell' (LR80)
- 1451 st'umts'a *ripe crabapple*
- 1452 st'win *hide*: st'winlits' *bark*, nust'winuulhnnak *scrotum*
Proto-Salish *s-t'əwin 'skin' (Ku02)
- 1453 stl'axt *caribou*: stl'act.l'aaxti *dim*.
- 1454 √stl'cw *to act properly, behave well*: nustl'cw *well-behaved*,
alhtamstl'cw (tr.) *to tell somebody how to act, give advice*
If < *s-λ'əx^w, cf. Proto-Salish *λ'əx^w 'to win, beat in game'
- 1455 stl'kw *wart*: stl'kwapsm (*having a*) *wart on one's neck*, stl'kusals
(*having a*) *wart on one's cheek*, stl'kuutsalmc *nipple* (cf. tl'kw)
- 1456 stl'luts (tr.), stl'lutsm (itr.) *to put eulachons into a bin*: stl'luts,
nustl'luutsta *eulachon bin*
- 1457 stl'mstayts' *cranberry*
He λ'msdáic', Ha λ'msdèc' 'bog cranberry' (LR80)
- 1458 sts (tr.) *to spread something (mass or substance) evenly over a surface*: stsits wa₁ nuxwskī ts *I will spread the soapberries out (on a board, floor, or table)*, stsulmc (tr.) *to dampen the floor with a mop*, stsilikmtu- *to spread rocks in a pit*
- 1459 Stsalh *Necleetsconnay Basin*: tcastsalh *wind blowing from the north*
(cf. tsalh)
- 1460 √stsay *which is of interest: curiosity, news, information*: kastsayulh
(tr./itr.) *to ask somebody something, to seek information from somebody*, kastsayulhtx! *ask him!*, axwtxw asqw'mnu
ala₁ kastsayulhts ulh₁ inu! *don't be alarmed at what I will ask you!*

kastsatsyulhm *to be nosy, inquisitive*, stsayulhayc *to have news*,
 astsayulhm *to bring news, report something*, anustsayanm (tr./itr.)
to pay attention, listen to somebody, anustsayanmtsx! *listen to me!*
 (cf. sts?)

1461 stscalt *bridge* (cf. sts, tscwyakm)

1462 stsli (tr.) *to keep caught fish alive on a line in the water*

1463 stsltsli, astsltsli = stsl.tsl, astsl.tsl *bush of dwarf blueberry*

1464 stslh *frost*: stslhulmc *frost on the ground, dew*, stslhlculmc *dew is forming*, nustslhlc *the window is fogging up*, thin ice is forming on water surface

1465 stsuc *film, thin layer*: ustsucuutsayc ti, q̣la *there is a film (e.g. of oil) on the water surface* (cf. sts)

1466 stsucm *fish breaks the surface, jumps*: stsuc.tsucm *fish are jumping*

1467 stsulhk *words of a song, lyrics*: stsulhkt, ʔit! *make words to it!, apply words to the melody!*, sktsulhkm *to use words in a song* (cf. tsut, nutsunuts)

Cf. Shuswap *cuʔ ‘show, point’ (Ku74)

1468 stsumay *ice or snow floating on the river is clustering, river is gradually freezing over*

1469 stsunxwa *tear stains*: stsunxwayuts *to have a tear-stained face*

Upper Chehalis có-qʷa ‘a tear’ (Ki91)

1470 stsutswanyulhiixw = stsu.tswanyulhiixw *to have dandruff*

1471 sts’ *to disperse, scatter, spray*: sts’aak *something is sprayed on one’s hand*, asts’alh *waterfall*, asts’alh.ts’lh *heavy rainfall*, sts’iixwalstutsakts *water splashed up from my elbows*, sts’in.ts’ikalh *water splashes up*

from under one's lower legs, ists'uuts to chatter, ramble, sts'ta stick used for beating a fast rhythm, nusts' food or drink enters nasal cavity, nusl.ts'llxs water enters one's nose

1472 √sts'ap (tr.) *to subdue somebody*: sts'apayc *to submit, resign oneself*, sts'apaynicits_{ts} *I have subdued her now* (cf. ts'p)

1473 sts'ayuts, asts'ayuts *arrow used for hunting grouse*

1474 sts'icin *skein holding fish roe together; greaves, cracklings*

1475 sts'iknulh *half-decayed tree stump* (McI48 *Tciknutl*: One of the first men to settle on the upper Dean River in the beginning of time)

1476 sts'its'xwatwalalhp = sts'i.ts'xwatwalalhp *waxberry, snowberry* (cf. ts'xw)

1477 sts'ix *sand, gravel*: sts'ixaqw's *sandy soil*, sts'ixikalh *sandbar in river*, sts'ixuts *sandbar in ocean*

Proto-Coast Salish *c'iχ (Ku02)

1478 √sts'l *rough, thorny, prickly*: sts'ltculh *having a rough surface, rasp*, sl.ts'l *porcupine quills*, asl.ts'lus *to have porcupine quills stuck in one's face*, kusl.ts'l *Scotch thistle*, sts'laaxlh *board*

Cf. Proto-Interior Salish *c'əl 'arrow' (Ku02) (and cf. ts'ulapla)

1479 sts'mas *devilfish, octopus, squid*: sm.ts'maasi *dim.* (McI48 *stśmās*: Octopus)

1480 sts'piilh *unidentified bird* (cf. ts'p) (McI48 *tśpetl*: Small woodpecker)

1481 sts'q *animal fat*: (nu)sts'qii.qkalh *marrow*

1482 sts'qaaxqa *wren*

- 1483 sts'qyaaxaksta *tree stump*
- 1484 sts'qwasma *red face paint (a mixture of goat fat and clay or iron rust)*: sts'qwasmayaqw's, sts'xwasmayuus = sts'qwasma
- 1485 sts'up *to itch*: sts'upak *to have an itchy hand*, sts'upanm *to start itching*
- 1486 sts'uuxin *brains*
Proto-Nuxalk *s-c'uʔ-qin, cf. ts'u, -xin
- 1487 ʔsu *surprisingly, unexpectedly* (15.17, 15.55)
- 1488 suca, ʔsucn *hand, lower arm*: wa ʔsuc.sucats ʔats *both my hands*, sucnayc *to have hands* (cf. ica)
Possibly from *s-yuxʷ-xən 'limb that one is familiar with, uses a lot', cf. Proto-Salish *yuxʷ 'to be acquainted with, used to', *-xan, *-xən 'foot, leg' (Ku02)
- 1489 ʔsuks, ʔsuuks *impatience* (15.29)
- 1490 ʔsuk', ʔsukw' *wind blows*: asuk' *wind*, asuk'(m)tinilh *we are having wind*, nusuk'tsut *storm*, nusuk'aax *to follow the wind (in sailboat)*, suk'ta *sail*, suk'tnulh *tent*, nusuk.skw'iiqw *brome grass, pussy toes, sweet cicely*
Proto-Salish *sukʷ 'be blown along' (Ku02)
- 1491 sukwa *sugar*: nusukwaata *sugar bowl*
- 1492 sukwwaat *cat's cradle*: sukwwaatm *to play cat's cradle*
- 1493 ʔsukw' = ʔsuk'
- 1494 sukw'ptus = su.kw'ptus *mountain lion*: su.kw'ptuusi *dim.* (cf. ʔk'up)

- 1495 sulicts *food-to-go*: sulicts (tr.) *to give somebody food to take*,
sulictstsutts *I will bring my own food*, asulictsts *I have brought my
own food along*, nusuliictsta *provision box, lunch box* (cf. ulic)
- 1496 sʔulm, sʔulus *stakes used in the lahal game* (cf. ulic)
- 1497 sulut *sea, inlet*: su.sluuti *dim.*
- 1498 sulh *house*: suu.slhi *dim.*, suulh *root house* (a Kimsquit word),
tamsulh *to build a house*, tamsulhtu- *to build a house for somebody*
- 1499 sum (tr.), suma (itr.) *to lap, sip something*: sum.suma *to be sipping*
- 1500 sum *pants*: suu.sumi *dim.*
- 1501 suncw *universe, world, sky, weather, day*: ya ti suncw *it is a nice day*,
the weather is nice, su.suncw *moonlight*, suncwt *day*, alh ti suncwt
today (cf. -(s)la(n)cw, inacw)
- *s-əw-ənəxʷ, cf. Proto-Salish -anaxʷ ‘year, season, weather’
(Squamish -aw-anəxʷ ‘years’, Cowichan -əwu:nxʷ ‘years’) (Ku02)
- 1502 sʔunkwtsta *human body*: sʔunkwtstalh *human corpse* (cf. kwtsus,
skwtsals)
- 1503 supt *to whistle*: sun.supt (= tsun.tsupt) *to be whistling*,
nusuptaqʷsnm *swamp robin*
- Upper Chehalis sóʔpq, sóʔpaq- (Ki91)
- 1504 suqʷ (tr.), suqʷa (itr.) *to peel, skin, remove the bark of something*:
alhkusúqʷ *circumcised*, suqʷm *to peel a tree*, suqʷulhiixwayc *to have
been scalped*
- Proto-Salish *suqʷ ‘to strip off’ (Ku02)
- 1505 √suqʷu = √suqʷ

- 1506 suq'uuxin *tadpole* (*s-u.q'u(m)-qin “(with a) large head”), cf. q'umniqw')
Proto-Salish *q'wum and *-qin ‘head’ (Ku02)
- 1507 √suqwp = √su.qwp = √squp
- 1508 √suqw', √suq'u hump, *lump*: suqw'(w)alakt *lump on tree; lymph nodes in armpit*, nusuw'ik, nusuw'wiik *old humpback salmon*
- 1509 Susawk = Su.sawk *higher class dance society* (= Sisawk)
If < *su.saw-k, *su.su-k ‘secret ...’, cf. Proto-Salish *səw ‘to whisper’ (Ku02). However, if Sisawk (1274) is an older form derived from *si.s-yaw-k, we may compare Proto-Salish *yəw ‘spirit power’ (for which see entry 1535)
- 1510 susqwi = su.sqwi = suuxi
- 1511 susu = su.su *berry sauce made by boiling dried berry cake in water*
- 1512 sutk *winter*: su.stkanmi *late fall, autumn*
Proto-Salish *sutik (Ku02)
- 1513 ʔsuts' *again (unexpectedly)* (15.49, 15.55)
- 1514 suts'm *pimple*
If *s-ts'u-m < √ts'u, cf. Proto-Salish *c'uʔw ‘sore’ (Ku02)
- 1515 suts'mus *barnacle*
- 1516 suuxi, su.sqwi *younger sibling*: anusuuxi *deprived of, having lost one's younger sibling*, wa.su.sqwimtsts *all my younger siblings*, su.sqwimtmaw *they are siblings* (cf. uuxi)
*s-ʔuʔqʷəy < Proto-Salish *ʔuq'wəy (Ku02)

- 1517 swalut, √swal (tr.) *to leave behind, by oneself*: swalutaycilh ulh inu *we are longing for you*, nuswalutaaxnm *to stay in (and look after) somebody's house*, swalaaxm *to be left behind* (cf. wal)
- 1518 swanalhkw *green algae, aquatic moss*
- 1519 sx (tr.), sxa (itr.) *to plane, scrape something*: sxm *to scrape off the inner bark of the western hemlock*, sxta *plane, scraper*, sxalsta *scraper used to remove fat from a hide*, nusxilh (tr.) *to scrape out the bloody part of fish*, sxaaxutsm *to shave oneself*, nusxik (tr.) *to scrape the bottom of a pot*, sxik (tr.) *to scrape the surface of something*, sxuulh (tr.) *to peel fruit*, nusx (tr.) *to raid a village*, Sxulmcnm *name of a month*, sxalc *rockslide or snowslide*, nusxalctu- *to make something slide*
- Proto-Salish *saχ ‘to scrape’ (Ku02)
- 1520 sxan *lover, sweetheart*: sxa.xni *dim.*, sxa.xnmtmacwaw *they are lovers*, wa_sxa.xnmtsts, ts *all my sweethearts* (sxa was copied in Southern Carrier as ʔisyan ‘lover’ (Nater field notes))
- Upper Chehalis χaʔá-(n) ‘love, attached to, fond of’ (Ki91)
- 1521 sxayaxw *taboo, evil*: sxa.xyaxwi *girl who has her first menstrual period*
- 1522 sxiilhla *boastful song used by chiefs (e.g. on war expeditions or at potlatches)*
- Kw χiʔla ‘shout’ (√χiʔ) (LR80)
- 1523 sxitsta *bed*: sxii.xtstni, sxin.xiitstni *dim.*, ya ti_sxitstas “his bed is good” = *he is successful, has good luck (e.g. in hunting)* (from s-xits-ta, cf. √axts)
- 1524 sxp (tr.), sxpa (itr.) *to tie something up*: sxpayc *he has been tied up*, sxm.xmpit *they were tying him up*, anusxpikuulh *a type of hammer*

- 1525 *sxp'ik, sxp'ii.p'k spine: usxp'aax small of the back*
 Proto-Salish * $\chi\text{əp}$ 'to sew, lace up, fasten' (Ku02)
- 1526 *sxtl'ik fish backbone: sxtl'ikm to prepare fish backbone for consumption*
- 1527 *sxts thimbleberry and salmonberry sprouts*
- 1528 *sxwat sphere, globe, bulb: sxwatilh urine bladder, sxwa.xwtaaxlhp hollow-stemmed umbel*
 Kw $\sqrt{\chi^w}$ at 'testicle' (LR80)
- 1529 $\sqrt{\text{sxwatmlxs}}$ (having a) blister: *sxwatmlxsak to have a blister on one's hand, sxwatmlxsaliits to have a blister on one's tongue*
- 1530 *sxwaxwa = sxwa.xwa mud: sxwa.xwayanmtimut to change oneself into mud (done by Raven in a story), nusxwa.xwa mudpool*
 Proto-Salish * $\text{sə}\Gamma^w$ 'to flow, wetness' (Ku02)
- 1531 *sxwayxw (tr.) to wash somebody's head*
 Proto-Salish * $\text{sə}\Gamma^w$ 'to flow, wetness' (Ku02)
- 1532 *sxwilh arrogant, conceited: sxwilh.xwiilhliwa sort of conceited, making the impression of being conceited*
- 1533 *sxwlxwli = sxwl.xwli mole (animal)*
- 1534 *sxwnata nickname: sxwnatatsut to give oneself a nickname*
- 1535 *syut powerful, supernatural phenomenon: supernatural being; killerwhale; song; a type of musical instrument (horn): syu.yuuti, si.syuuti small killerwhale, Kusyut lower class dance society, kusyutiixw lower class song, acwsannaw s Γ asyutaw 'they are good at (playing/writing/reading) music'*

If < *s-yu-t, cf. Proto-Coast Salish *yəw ‘spirit power’ (Ku02)

T

- 1536 t- *locative prefix* (10.5) (cf. tc-, tx-)
 Proto-Salish *t-...: Shuswap t(k)- ‘on’ (Ku74), Squamish tx^w- ‘direction’ (Ku67)
- 1537 t- *reduced non-feminine article* (2.6, 2.7, 2.9) (cf. ti_v)
- 1538 -t *3 pl. subj. tr./caus.* (1.9, 1.15)
 Cf. Squamish -wit ‘3 pl. subj.’ (Ku67), Lillooet -wit ‘3 pl. itr. subj.’ (VE13)
- 1539 -t- *causative suffix* (1.16)
- 1540 -t *formative suffix* (9.2): numiit *wide, to widen*, suncwt *day*, tl’aqw’t *Douglas fir bark*
 Cf. Li -t, -it, -ut ‘formative’ (VE13), Shuswap -t ‘status form’ (Ku74)
- 1541 -t- *intentionally* (6.3) Squamish -t ‘volitional’ (Ku67)
- 1542 -t *tr. participial suffix* (sg. obj.) (1.10)
 Cf. Squamish -t ‘tr. suffix’ (Ku67)
- 1543 ta_v *indefinite article, non-feminine remote sg./pl.* (2.1)
 Squamish ta ‘definite present weak plain’ (Ku67), Upper Chehalis tat ‘definite’ (Ki91)
- 1544 -ta, -tn-, -sta, -stn- *tool, implement* (8.1): tcutsta *table knife*, qulh.quulhta *pencil*, nusu.qw’p(s)ta *tobacco pipe*, at’aaksta *paint brush*, qup’aaksta *drumstick*, paysta *flounder hook*, nicta *saw*, asnictnak *to use a saw*

Proto-Salish *-(s)tən: Shuswap -tén, -(ə)tn ‘means’ (Ku74), Squamish
-tn ‘implement’ (Ku67)

1545 taala *money*; nutaalaata *wallet*, kulhtaala *rich*

Chinook Jargon dala (GRCT)

1546 takan *to arrive*: nutakan *tide is going out*, anutakananm *the tide is low*, nutakanalsikan *to have an earache*, nuta.tkanikuulh *to be ripe*
(if from *(a)-kan, cf. t- (1536) and √kan (432))

1547 takws *willow grouse*: taa.tkwsī *dim.*

Proto-Salish *tak^w (Ku02)

1548 takwta *medical doctor*

1549 talaws *to get married*: talawsmis *he married*, wed *her*, alhtalaws
married, unusitalawsmtus *he sent her somewhere to get married*

1550 tam- *iterative* (10.4)

1551 tam- *to make, construct* (10.1): tamʔakw’na *to make a war canoe*,
tamsulh *to build a house*, tamsulhtuminu *I will build you a house*,
tamts’la *to make a basket*, tamqnk (tr.) “*to make somebody low*” =
to ridicule somebody, tamʔulx (tr.) “*to make somebody (look) silly*”:
to fool, cheat somebody

Cf. Squamish taʔ- ‘undergo’, taʔ-s ‘to make’ (Ku67) (and cf. tu.tu-)

1552 -tam *the time of...* (8.2): kap’aytam *season of the humpback salmon*,
nukalikutstam *lunchtime*

1553 -tan *tr./caus. participial suffix (pl. obj.)* (1.10, 1.16)

Li -tan ‘3 pl. obj./pass.’ (VE13)

1554 tanaps *turnips*

- 1555 tanksta, √tankstn *ear*: tankstni *dim.*, ta.tanksta *both ears*
- 1556 √tap (tr.) *to spread, open, expose something*: tapus (tr.) *to spread out a sheet or blanket*, tapalhutstx! *open the door wide, all the way!*, anutapalhuts *the door is wide open*, stan.tapilhm “*exposing one’s genitalia*” = *bat (animal)*, kulhtap (tr.) “*to expose somebody to much*” = *to lavishly give money to somebody, shower somebody with money* (cf. √tp (1625))
- Proto-Salish *pat ‘*arrange, line up, spread*’ (Ku02)
- 1557 -tap 2 pl. pass. (1.12, 1.18) *-t-ap ‘tr./caus.-2 pl. itr.’
- 1558 tapa *to meet one’s obligations, return somebody’s belongings*: tapa *dowry*, tapatutis *he returned the things on their behalf*, tapanm *to visit a sick person*
- 1559 √taq’ *thick, dense*: taq’aax *dense foliage or bush*, taq’aqw’s *clustered branches*
- 1560 taqw’lh *downstream area* (10.5, and cf. uqw’, √aqw’lh)
- 1561 tas (tr.), tasa (itr.) *to poke, push, bump, hit something*: nutasaqw’stx! *poke the fire!*, nutasalsta *tanning stick*, tastmacwaycaw *they bumped into each other*, tasulmc (tr.) *to clear land with a bulldozer*, nutas.tsiik [tæst^hs...] *musket*
- NW √ts ‘*push*’ (LR80)
- 1562 tas *blunt arrow used to stun birds with*
- Tahltn tas ‘*arrow*’ (Nater field notes)
- 1563 tata = ta.ta *daddy (term of endearment)*: Taa.taw! *Oh God!* (*exclamation used to address the supreme deity*)

- 1564 *tatiixw = ta.tiixw (tr.) to cast a spell on somebody, throw something at somebody: ta.tiixwlikw witch, black magician, alhta.tiixw bewitched, under a spell, snuta.tiiqw thimbleberry (cf. tay)*
- 1565 *√tats' (tr.) to press, put one's hand down on something: tats'aak (tr.) to place one's hand on somebody else's hand, tats'alxi (tr.) to place one's hand on somebody's neck, tan.tats' (tr.) to press the eulachons down when making sluq'*
 Cf. Proto-Interior Salish *t'i/ac' 'smooth, straighten', Shuswap tic'm 'to press, iron (clothes)' (Ku02)
- 1566 *tax, √tax interrogative form of tx (2.6)*
- 1567 *-taxw, -twaxw caus. imp. pl. (1.16)*
- 1568 *tay (tr.) to hit, pound something: taym (tr.) to pound cedar or hemlock bark so as to make it soft, tay.taymlhh a type of lhalya (said to be hammered out of a fish), nutaykalus (tr.) to hit somebody in the chest, anutayaaknm pitcher in baseball, tayulhiixwayc to have been hit on the head, tayaaqalitsayc to have been hit on the teeth, talxsayc to have been hit on the nose (/tay-lxs-ayc/), alhtaya to call out the words of a song, announce the lyrics*
- 1569 *tay term of endearment for young boys*
- 1570 *tayamk (tr.) to throw away, discard something: tayamkiixwmnts I threw my hat away, icta.tyamkis she kept throwing it away (a frog that would not leave her alone)*
- 1571 *taynacw the morning past: alh √taynacw this morning (said later in the day) (cf. inacw)*
- 1572 *tc (tr.), tca (itr.) to cut something with a knife: tcalustu- to cut up meat, tciikanim his ear was cut off, tcutsm to cut one's food, tcutsta table knife, tcaakaycnimut to accidentally get one's hand cut (cf. nic)*

If < ‘to sever, separate’, cf. Proto-Salish *tax ‘to comb, card’

- 1573 tc, tc *definite (article), non-feminine close sg. (2.6) (= t-c)*
- 1574 tc- *locative prefix (10.5):* tctl’uk’ams *upper jaw*, tctl’uk’iilhuts *upper lip*, ala_nutctl’uk’als_ts *upstairs*, wa_tcamatlhh *where one comes or originates from*, wa_tcamatlhhalh *where one has (recently) come from*, tcatl’sikus *back room, kitchen*, tcatl’saax *outside back of the house, back porch*, tcats’aaxlh *south-east wind*, tcastsalh *north-east wind*, tcalsqalh *west wind*, tcitskwaaxalh *to stand on the other side of the river*, tcu.cwnikwlh *south wind* (cf. t- (1536))
- Squamish tx^w- ‘direction’ (Ku67), Upper Chehalis taš’at, across, through, around’ (Ki91)
- 1575 tcalh- *locative prefix complex (10.5)*
- 1576 tcncni = tcn.cni *owl*
- NW √dx (He txtxní, Ha dxdxnì, Kw dxdxliḥ)
- 1577 tcu-, tcul(h)- *directional prefix complex (10.5, 16.3):* tculatl’suuts *tide is coming in*, tculsqamus *facing towards the channel*
- 1578 tcukawk *to go down towards the riverbank*
- From tcu-kaw-(i)k, cf. Proto-Salish *kaw ‘down, downhill area (beach, lakeshore)’ (Ku02)
- 1579 tcul(h)- = tcu-
- 1580 tculh?aylikt *as long as one ...s*: tculh?ayliktaw ska_alhinaw ala_ats *as long as they will be here*
- 1581 -tcw, -stcw *caus. participial suffix (sg. obj.) (1.16)*
- 1582 √ti *hard, firm, steady*: tyak *to hold something firmly*, tyaqw’s *wood is hard to split*, tyalh *to stand firm*, tiliwatxw! *steady it!*, tyaaxik *flat*

roof, tyaxam *to steady one's boat*, tyax ti,lhalas,tc *the boat is steady*, sityaax *steering fin* (?cf. tlh)

1583 ti- *bound non-feminine article* (3.9, 12.3, 12.13) (cf. t-, ti.)

1584 -ti- *3 pl. obj. tr./caus.* (1.9, 1.15)

From *-tən-, cf. -i- and -tan

1585 ti, *indefinite article, non-feminine close sg.* (2.1)

Squamish ti 'definite present strong proximate plain' (Ku67), Upper Chehalis tit 'definite non-feminine' (Ki91)

1586 tic, ,tic *interrogative form of tc* (2.6)

1587 tic *non-feminine sg. identifier* (12.3) (cf. ti.)

1588 tic- *to catch* (10.1): ticmawlxsts c,a, smlhk *I caught twenty fish*, tick'acw *he caught nothing at all*

Cf. Proto-Salish *tix^w 'to obtain, add to a store' (Ku02)

1589 tictik' = tic.tik' *piece of wood used for kindling* (Saunders tik' (tr.) 'raise a sliver of wood')

Cf. Upper Chehalis ʔitč' 'go after firewood' (Ki91)

1590 tictsa, √tictsn *tongue*: nutictsnalsiixw *uvula* (cf. -aliits, -aliicts)

From *tix^wcən < Proto-Salish *tix^w...c(a) (Ku02)

1591 tictsamulh *red-hot rocks*

1592 √tictsn = tictsa

1593 tii [ti-] *tea*: istiialus *to want to drink tea*, nustiista *teapot*

1594 tiilh (tr.), tiilha (itr.) *to bait a line or trap*: tiilhm (tr.) *to use something for bait*, tiilh *bait*

NW √tił ‘bait, to bait’ (LR80)

1595 √tiiq = tiq’

1596 tiixw (tr.) *to hit something with a hammer*: nutiixw (tr.) *to drive in a plug or dowel*, nutiixwta *plug, dowel*, tiixwaqw’s (tr.), tiixwaqw’sa (itr.) *to drive in a nail*, tiixwaqw’sa *nail, spike*, tic.tiixwm *to drive poles for an eulachon net*, alhtiixw *eulachon net*, tiixwama *sledgehammer*, anutiixw *tanning frame*, nutiixwalsta *tanning stick*, tiixwm (tr.) *to spread rumors about somebody*

NW √diq^w ‘drive in piles’ (LR80)

1597 √tilc *to come to a stop, settle*: tilculh *the slide has subsided*, tilcalhts *my feet hit something, something prevented me from sliding further down*, tilcuulh = tilcalaaxt *the anchor holds*

1598 tiltilit = til.tilit *eagle is calling*

1599 -tim 3 pl. pass. tr./caus. (1.12, 1.18) (cf. -ti-, -m)

1600 -timut *to purposely cause oneself to (be) ...* (6.22): spuustimut *weed*, mantimut *father-in-law, stepfather*, tupmaaktimut *to apply soap to one’s hands*, staltmctimut *would-be chief*

1601 -tinilh 1 pl. pass. tr. (1.12) (cf. -minilh)

*-tin- + -ilh, with -tin- copied from -tinits

1602 -tinits 1 sg. pass. tr. (1.12) (cf. -minits)

*-t-in- ‘tr-1 sg. subj.’ + -its ‘1 sg. subj.’

1603 √tip (tr.) *to show, reveal, make visible*: tipmaq^w’sm (tr.) *to catch a glimpse of something*, ictiptsuut, mas ulh, nts *he is forever showing off to me* (cf. √tp, √tup)

1604 √tipi *single, mono-, having one ...*: tipyaaq *one-legged*, tipyaaqts alh ti lhalas tc *with one foot I am standing on the boat*, tipikus *single-bladed axe*, tipyaakmi (tr.) *to hold something with one hand* (= √tsipi, √sipi, cf. √tpi)

1605 tiq', √tiiq (tr.), tiq'a (itr.) *to sew, stitch something*: tiq'tmacwtu- *to join, sew things together*, nutiq'ik (tr.) *to sew things together*, tiq'anlhm *to sew one's clothes*, tic.tiiqta *thread, yarn*, ti.tq'uulhta *paper* (cf. nustq')

Possibly from proto-Salish *t'aq' 'to cross over' (Ku02)

1606 tka (tr.), tkaya (itr.) *to shoot something with a gun*: tkata *gun*, tkatsuut *to shoot oneself*, nutkalqsnkayc *its tail has been shot off*

1607 k' *sticky*: k'us *to have a sticky face*

1608 √k'ilh *nearby, at this side*: tsi.k'ilhank tsc *the girl on this side*, k'ilhaaxutsalh *to stand on this side of the river* (cf. siʔik'lh, iiklhii)

Proto-Salish *k'ih, *k'i-t 'near' (Ku02)

1609 tkw *dirty*: tkusnu *your face is dirty*, tkwa.kwaknu *your hands are dirty*, tkulh ti stup tc *the stove is dirty*, nutkwik ta satl'a tx *the canoe's inside was dirty*, nustkwmal *it smells dirty in the house*

1610 tkw' (tr.) *to dig something up*: tkw'm *to dig for edible roots*

Sechelt tək'w-t 'to pull' (Ti77)

1611 tlkw (tr.), tlkw (itr.) *to swallow something*: tl.tllkw *pill*

1612 tlqw' (tr.), tlqw'm (itr.) *to swallow something*

1613 tltlkw = tl.tlkw *slippery*

1614 tlh *strong*: nutlh *(there is a) strong current*, tlhm.lhm *to be showing off one's strength*, tlhulh *vehicle is fast*, s(nu)tlhuulhikak *biceps*,

stlhuulhlits' alh *muscle of lower leg, calf*, kustlhuulhlits' *hefty, muscular* (?cf. √ti)

?Cf. Proto-Salish *t_a/u/ə/ 'to extend, stretch, untie; fathom' (Ku02)

1615 tlhmas *Indian paint*

If < *t_m-as, cf. Proto-Coast Salish *təmt 'red paint' (Ku02)

1616 tm- *just, only* (10.4): tmlimlhaw *they just dropped down*,
tmʔaxtsmlclhts *I just had to go to bed*, tm_{sc} *weak*, tmtlhlc *grown, adult*, tmyalc *in the prime of life*

1617 -tmacw *to consciously (be) ... (to) each other* (6.25, 6.34):
nukumtmacw *to desire each other*, saticmtmacwaw *they are intimate friends*, alhpstmacw *to eat together*, pac.paaquustmacw *to be afraid of each other*, alhk'ilhtmacw *to wait for each other* (cf. -nmacw)

1618 tmcw *river*: wa₁ tmcw₂ ts *the river*, wa₁ tmcuks₂ ts *the rivers*
Proto-Salish *tmix^w 'nature, earth, river' (Ku02)

1619 tmkwa *cured salmon roe*

NW √tmk^w 'to cure salmon eggs, to eat cured salmon eggs' (LR80)

1620 tmp (tr.), tmpa (itr.) *to insert something*: tmp_{tx} t'ayc! *put this into your mouth!*, alhtmpaaxalitsmits *I have it between my teeth*,
alhtmpnalusxsalhmits *I have it between my toes*, tmp_{lx}sanilhmtx! *put it in your pocket!* (cf. nmp, nap)

1621 -tn- = -ta

1622 -tnm *caus.-itr. suffix* (6.33); *habitual-communal suffix* (6.54):
pustnm *to raise, bring up, be a parent or guardian*, scuukstnm *to win a contest (pl. subject)*, nitstnm *to hatch an egg*, alhxwtnm *to be a newsreader, show the news*, lhulhtnm *to have news, be a newsreader*,

ksnmaktnm *to have work for somebody, be an employer*, alhpstnm
“to feed everyone” = to give a feast, banquet, alhwnts’tnm *to be a
murderer*, nukaliilhtnm (= nukaliilhn) *to play at ring throwing*,
nukw’plcutstnm *to analyze, interpret (a text)* (cf. -nm)

1623 -tnmc = /-tnm-mc/ (6.33): kw’alhtnmcts *I am raising a child*,
(a)alats’tnmc *to tell on somebody*, alhk’ilhtnm *to be waiting for
somebody*

1624 tntn = tn.tn *bell, alarm, siren*

Chinook Jargon tintin ‘bell, hour’ (CTGR)

1625 √tp (tr.) *to spread, put something onto a frame*: tpik (tr.), tpika (itr.)
to stretch a hide on a frame, tpiksta *frame used for drying hides*,
tputsta *stick used for drying eulachons*, nutputslxsta *stick used for
drying salmon*, tpiixw (tr.) *to cover, close a container*, tpiixw *cover*,
lid (cf. tap)

Proto-Salish *pat ‘arrange, line up, spread’ (Ku02)

1626 √tp *spot(ted), dot(ted)*: alhtpanlh *dotted shirt* (cf. √tip, √tup)

1627 √tpi *next, adjacent, (a)side, half*: nutpiik *next room*, nutpiixw *next
door, next house*, inulhtxw ti, nutpik, tc! *you have the other half*,
tpyalus *one side of one’s chest*, ti, tpyusts, t’ayc *this one that is next to
me*, tpyankus *other side of hill*, tpyaaxuts *other side of river, across
the channel*, tpyams *one side of jaw*, tpyaaxam *to cross a river or
road*, i.tpyaalh *fifteen* (cf. √tipi)

1628 √tplq’ (tr.) *to turn something inside out*: nutplq’ (tr.), nutplq’a (itr.)
to turn something inside out, alhtplq’ak *to have shingles, herpes
zoster* (cf. √xlq’)

Proto-Salish *p’əlq’ ‘turn around’ (Ku02)

1629 tqan *deaf, unable to understand*: tqants alh, ti, slhk’mstanu, tc *I do
not understand your language*, tqants ala, kstucw, ts *I do not*

understand what you are doing, tqan ti, wats' inu! you are a dumb dog!

Proto-Salish *təq 'to pin down, touch, obstruct' (Chilliwack təqan' 'deaf' (Ku02))

1630 √tqm *to have something sticky on oneself: tqmalh to have stepped into something sticky, have sticky soles, tqmalhts ala, sxwa.xwa there is mud on my shoes, tqmakts ala, mnk there is excrement on my hands*

1631 tqnk (to be) underneath: tqnkam *to go under something, tqnkusam to crawl under something facing up, stick one's face under something, tqnkus ala, its'amni, ts he is under the blankets, tqnkams = tqnkaaxams lower jaw, tqnkiilhuts = tqnkanlhaaxuts lower lip, tqn.qnk underwear, chemise, tqnkuulh underwear, ustqnkaa petticoat (from t-qnk)*

1632 tq' *to arrive by boat, land alongshore: tq'aw, alhu they made an attempt to land, ax, ku tq'aqw'sts alh, tc "my eyes did not land alongside him, you know" = you know, I am not surprised at what he did; I knew what he was up to, stq'ta port, harbor, nutq'ankis t'ax ta, apsulh, tx he moored his boat alongside, touched at the village (cf. √staq')*

Proto-Salish *t'aq' 'to cross over' (Ku02)

1633 tq'lha, √tq'lh *knife: tq'lhaa.lhay dim., astq'lhnahts stcits I use a knife to cut it*

1634 tqwlc *to get spoiled (cf. stqw)*

1635 tqwm (tr.), tqwma (itr.) *to hang something over something: alhtqwm hanging, anutqwmik to hang draped over something, tqwmiixwayctu- to hang something over a bar or line,*

nutqwmawqʷsayctu- *to hang something on a branch*, nutqwmiktsut
to swing or climb over an obstacle

Cf. Proto-Interior Salish *təqʷ ‘to get dented, arched’ (Ku02)

- 1636 tqwntł’ *hither, this way* (16.3): putł’s tqwntł’ *he came this way*,
utqwntł’ = tqwntł’

From *t-qʷə(n)ł̥’, cf. Sechelt qʷəł̥’-mít ‘to approach’ (Ti77)

- 1637 tqw’ (tr.) *to lift, hold up*: alhtqw’ltnụa? *are you holding the baby?*,
tqw’amkaalhtmacw *to cross one’s legs*, tqw’amkaalhıts tsc *I placed*
my leg over her, tqw’amkaalhımts ulḥı tsc *I am placing my leg over*
her

- 1638 tqw’ (tr.), tqw’a (itr.) *to remove fur from a hide*: tqw’lıts’ (tr.) *to*
singe hairs off a skin, tqw’ıixwts *my hair is falling out*

- 1639 tts *term used to address little boys*

- 1640 tụ *indefinite article, remote pl.* (2.1) (amalgam of tạ and ...u...
remote pl.)

- 1641 ıtu *really, indeed* (15.12)

Cf. Lillooet ıtu? ‘definite past’ (VE13)

- 1642 -tu-, -stu- *to purposely cause something or somebody to (be)...*
(1.14, 6.31)

From *(s)-t(u)-: Shuswap -st- (Ku74), Upper Chehalis -(s)t(u)-
(Ki91)

- 1643 tu-...-a *last, previous* (10.7)

- 1644 tuc (tr.), tuca (itr.) *to unwind, unravel something*: tucayc̣ıts’ *it is*
unreveled now, istuc (tr.), istuca (itr.) *to butcher fish* (cf. pc, tuk’)

Cf. Chinook Jargon stux ‘untied’ (CTGR)

1645 ʔtuksʔ *wh... exactly?* (15.30)

1646 tukʔ, ʔtukwʔ, ʔu.tkwʔ (tr.), tukʔa (itr.) *to stretch something*: tukʔm *to become sprained*, tukʔmaaxalh *to sprain one's ankle*, tukʔanilh̄m *to dislocate one's hip*, tukʔusm (tr.) *"to extend one's face towards somebody"* = *to pay somebody a visit*, nutu.tkwʔmik *to sprain one's back* (cf. tuc)

Cf. Lillooet ʔʕʔikʔ 'to strain' (VE13)

1647 tultaya *mountain trout*

1648 tulu, tuulu *to manage, succeed, win*: axw tu(u)luts ska kʔcits *I cannot see him*, tulwamktsut *to successfully complete something*, tulumits *I defeated him*

Chinook Jargon tulu 'to win, beat, overcome, earn' (CTGR)

1649 -tulh- *1 pl. obj. tr.* (1.9); *1 sg./pl. subj. tr.* (1.11) (cf. -mulh-; for -t- ~ -m- cf. -tinits ~ -minits)

Upper Chehalis -tul- (Ki91)

1650 tum (tr.) *to impale, poke something with a stick*: tumutsit ti numutsta tc *they ram the door*, anutumuts *spear*, tu.tmuulh (tr.) *to roast mountain goat fat on a stick*

Cf. Upper Chehalis tʔw- 'sink in, be driven in, wedge' (Ki91)

1651 tum *to protrude*: alhtumikusts *I have a lump on my forehead*

1652 tums *woman's breast*: tumstu- *to give somebody the breast*, tumstnm *to be giving a child the breast*, tums (tr./itr.) *to suck on something*, kulhtums (tr.) *to perform fellatio on somebody*

1653 ʔtup *foam, bubbles, specks*: tupm *to bubble up, froth*, nutupm *to*

foam, nutupmik it is bubbling in the pot, nu.nutuupm carbonated beverage, beer, stuplh bubbles, foam, tu.tup trout (cf. √tp, √tip)

NW √tup ‘speck, dot’ (LR80)

1654 tupa, tuupa *navel*

1655 tutu- = tu.tu- *to prepare, work on something* (10.1) (cf. tam- (1551))

1656 tutustiq’ = tu.tustiq’ *flying squirrel*

1657 tuts (tr.) *to wet, soak something*: tutstsut *to get oneself wet, walk in water*, tutsm *to soak dried fish*, stutsm *dried fish that has been soaked*, tamstutsmts *I will prepare some stutsm*

1658 ˌtuu *exactly, just, even, too* (15.13)

1659 tuulu = tulu

1660 tuupa = tupa

1661 tux(w), ˌtux(w) *interrogative form of txw* (2.6)

1662 twa, √tw(i)n *to ask, beg*: twax ulh ˌts! *go and ask them!*, tu.twayutsm *to ask for food*, Tu.twayuus *name of a mask*, stu.tw(i)niitscw! *“your (turn to be) asking me!” = thank you!*, stu.tw(i)nakmtscw! *thank you for your help!* (16.7)

1663 -twaxw = -taxw

1664 √twin *to be(come) visible*: stwin *grave marker, memorial pole, monument*, twinaalh *footprint*, nutwinuts *whistle used in a Sisawk dance*, twinm *to emerge, show up from behind something*, twinmuts *to reveal, report something to the police*, twinmtu- *to show something*

1665 √twin, √twn = twa

- 1666 tx (tr.), txa (itr.) *to carve something with an adze*: txta adze, nutxlxs
(tr.) *to sharpen the point of something with an adze*
- 1667 tx, ʔtx *definite (article), non-feminine remote sg.* (2.6) (= t-x)
- 1668 tx- *locative prefix* (10.5): ti ʔtxaqw'lhankiixws ti smt *lower side of mountain* (cf. tc-)
- He tχ... , tχa.s ... 'the geographical place of ...', Northern Tsimshian
tχa- 'locative', Nisgha tχas- 'all along a place'. The Nuxalk and
Tsimshianic prefixes have likely been copied from NW (where it is
more productive than both Nuxalk tx- and Tsimshianic tχa-) (Nater
2018).
- 1669 txu- *directional prefix complex* (10.5): nutxuuxnkalh *road is going down, descending*
- 1670 txuq' *to go downriver*: txuq'am *fall, autumn* (cf. uqw', ʔaqw'lh)
- 1671 txw, ʔtxw *definite (article), remote pl.* (2.6) (= t-xw < *t-(ə)w-x)
- 1672 -txw, -stxw *caus. imp. sg. (sg. obj.)* (1.16, 6.31)
- 1673 txwnayaax *across the river* (16.3): tayamkits txwnayaaxutsam *I threw it across the river*

T

- 1674 t'aaxw (tr.), t'aaxwa (itr.), t'aaxwm (itr.) *to lick something*
Proto-Salish *t'aqʷ 'to lick' (Ku02)
- 1675 t'akw *sanitary towel* (cf. t'kw)
- 1676 t'amas *cockle*: t'a.t'maasi *dim.*, nut'amasikta *scraper used to smooth the inside of a canoe*
Proto-Coast Salish *t'am... 'clam' (Ku02)
- 1677 T'ants'ni *Carrier native from Anahim lake*
- 1678 t'apalst *cave* Sechelt st'áp'as (Ti77)
- 1679 t'as *wren* (Saunders 'bush tit')
- 1680 t'at'kanalhp = t'a.t'kanalhp *yellow pond lily*
If < *t'ak-ana- 'supported (in water, floating) ear', cf. Proto-Salish *t'ək 'to support' and -ana 'ear' (Ku02)
- 1681 t'aws *wet, damp*: t'awsulmc *wet ground, dew*
- 1682 t'ax, ʔt'ax *demonstrative, non-feminine remote sg. (2.6) (= t-ʔa-x)*
- 1683 t'axw, ʔt'axw *demonstrative, remote pl. (2.6) (= t-ʔa-xw < t-ʔa-w-x)*
- 1684 t'ayc, ʔt'ayc *demonstrative, non-feminine close sg. (2.6) (= t-ʔay-c)*
- 1685 t'cw (tr.), t'cwa (itr.) *to brush, sweep something*: t'cwanlhata *clothes-brush*, nut'cwalsm *to sweep the house*, t'culmcm *to sweep the floor*, t'c(un.c)ulmcta *broom*
Proto-Coast Salish *t'əxʷ (Ku02), Tsimshianic t'axʷ (Nater 2018)

- 1686 t'iclhala *robin*: t'ic.t'iclhala_yi *dim.*, t'iclhala_yulh *robin's egg*, sqaluts
ti t'iclhala = skw'anik's
- 1687 t'ict'iixlhalam = t'ic.t'iixlhalam *to hop on one leg*
- 1688 t'in *small dorsal fin; clitoris*: snut'inalhh, snut'inalsiixw *uvula*
- 1689 √t'ka (tr.) *to move something up and down*: t'kayxwm *to nod in approval*, alht'kalqsakm *to drum with one's fingers (on the table)*
- 1690 t'ksn (tr.), t'ksna (itr.) *to shoot something*: t'ksn(i)mta *arrow*,
ast'ksnimtnak *to shoot with bow and arrow*, nut'ksnimta *quiver for arrows*
- Possibly related with Sechelt and Squamish t'əkʷs 'to explode' (Ti77, Ku67)
- 1691 t'kw *to bleed*: nut'kulhaqw'sts *my eye is bleeding*, t'kwlx's *to have a nosebleed*, t'kus.kwstalh *Indian hemp, spreading dogbane* (cf. t'akw)
- Proto-Salish *t'əkʷ (Ku02)
- 1692 √t'kwi *chipped*: st'kwiihlh *chip*, alht'kwi *it is chipped*,
nut'kwyuuts_{ma} ti mntcuutsta_{t'ayc} *this dipping cup may be chipped*
- Upper Chehalis t'əkʷ- 'bite' (Ki91), NW √t'kʷ 'scrape, scratch, claw, etc.' (LR80)
- 1693 t'li *dog salmon*: l.t'li *dim.*, t'lianm *dog salmon season*, sl.t'liislh *horsefly*
- 1694 t'miixw *tree stump drifting in the water*
- From t'm-iixw 'cut-top', cf. Proto-Salish *t'əm 'to cut' (cf. Ku02)
- 1695 t'niixulh *tumpline* (cf. t'nxw)

1696 t'nxw *head*: t'n.t'nqwi *dim.*, t'nxwlh *skull*, ist'nxulh *to eat salmon head stew*

No vt'uḥ (Davidson 2002), Quileute ʔo·-t'iḳʷ (Powell & Woodruff 1976)

1697 vt'q *to be in close contact, adhere to a surface: to come close; to stick, be pasted on; to be spread over a surface*: t'qalc *to get stuck; to float towards the shore*, t'qmuuts *high tide*, t'q (tr.), t'qa (itr.) *to stick, paste something*, t'qaakta *bandage for hand*, t'qalc (tr.) = t'q (tr.), nut'qan (tr.) *to affix a postal stamp*, nut'qanta *postal stamp*, alht'qalcanlh *many little objects are stuck to a net or cloth*, t'qus.qwsi *"little thing sticking to the face" = gnat, no-see-um*, t'qus (tr.), t'qm (itr.) *to spread berries out to dry*, alht'q *crushed berries that are going to be spread out and dried*, t'qim wa.st'ala.ʔats *this hemlock bark is spread out to dry*, nut'ql.qlqsaki *chickweed*

Proto-Tsimshianic *t'Aq 'flattening, especially by applying pressure', NW vt'aq 'scatter, spread', proto-Interior Salish *t'əq 'to put down, pile soft material' (Nater 2018)

1698 -t'q *span, distance measured between spread thumb and middle finger* (7.14): mat'q *one span*, lhwaast'q *two spans*, must'q *four spans*, ma(n).maat'qa *inchworm*

Possibly from Proto-Salish *t'əq' 'to cross over' (Ku02)

1699 t'qwl (tr.), t'qwla (itr.) *to braid, weave something*: t'qwlus (tr.) *to snare an animal*, t'qwlusta *snare, trap* (cf. nut'qwalm)

Proto-Salish *t'əqʷaʔ 'to interweave' (Ku02)

1700 t'qwm *rotten*: t'qwmhc *to rot*

1701 t's *salty*: nut's *salty water*, t'sulh *salty food*, t'stu- *to salt something*, st's *salt*, st'saax (tr.) *to put salt in food*, st'sals *"with a salt-like surface" = glass bottle* (cf. t'xt)

Cf. NW $\sqrt{t}$ 'is 'stone, to be stony'

- 1702 $t'ts$ (tr.), $t'tsa$ (itr.) *to knock on, strike (and break) something*: $t'tsiixwlayc$ (tr.) *to rap somebody's knee*, $alh't'slq'sakm$ *to rap with one's fingers*, $nut'tsayc$ *to knock on a window*, $alh't'slits'$ *branded, tattooed*, $nut'tsik$ (tr.) *to bust an egg*, $nut'tsmiiknicis\ ta\ nuxsimta\ tx$ *he shattered the crystal*

NW $\sqrt{t}$'s 'pound, bang, etc.' (LR80)

- 1703 $t'tsuulh$ (tr.) *to light, set fire to something*: $t'tsuulhalus$ (tr.) *to light the oven*, $nut'tsuulhiiqw$ (tr.) *to light something with a match*, $nut'tsuulhiiquts$ (tr.) *to light somebody's cigaret*

- 1704 $\sqrt{t'u}$ *filled, more than sufficient, extra, numerous*: $t'umitsut$ *having many relatives*, $t'ulcaaxlaycts$ *I put a little too much (e.g. water) in the container*, $nut'wiik$ *container is full*

- 1705 $t'uka$, $\sqrt{t'ukwa}$, $\sqrt{t'ukwn}$ *mink*: $t'uu.t'kwni$ *dim.*, $t'u.t'kwayana\ mats'$ $ka\ aluuxalhilh$ *it looks like our offspring will now be minks*

- 1706 $t'um$, $\sqrt{u.t'm}$ (tr.), $t'uma$ (itr.) *to suck (on) something*: $alh't'umap'sm$ *having a small bruise ("hicky") on the neck*, $alhu.t'umap'sm$ *having several "hickies"*, $alh't'umlq'sakm$ *to suck on one's finger*, $t'umut'sm$ *to smirk, simper*, $alh't'umuulhnm$ *(to be a) leech*

Proto-Salish $*t'um$ (Ku02)

- 1707 $t'uma$, $\sqrt{t'umn}$ *stuck, jammed*: $t'umnalhts$ *my foot is stuck*

- 1708 $\sqrt{t'up(i)}$ (tr.) *to break, split something*: $nut'upik$ (tr.), $nut'upika$ (itr.) *to split a rock in half*, $nut'uplxs$ *tip is broken off*, $t'upyalqi$ *handle is broken off*, $t'upnklhh$ *"split bottom" = Raven's canoe in the beginning of time*

- 1709 $t'upilhts$ *sealice* (cf. $t'upiwass$)

Oo t'up'i'iac'i 'flea', Ha t'ubiac'i 'ant' (√t'up 'spot, spotted') (LR80)

1710 t'upiwās *fawn* (cf. t'upilhts)

He t'úpiw'a (√t'up 'spot, spotted') (LR80)

1711 √t'uuts *to get diverted, sidetracked*: t'uutsutliwa, mastuu ti sʔalats'i
he always changes a story in the middle, never tells a story to the end
(cf. √t'u, -uts)

1712 t'xt *rock, stone*: t'xtuulh *sinker, anchor*, snut'xtii.tk *stone, seed of fruit*, t'xtulmc *rocky soil* (cf. t's)

NW √t'ix 'dead weight, ballast, to use as ballast' (LR80)

1713 t'xúlh *síx* (13.1)

Proto-Salish *t'əχ 'to open up, branch out; six' (Ku02)

1714 t'xwsus *springbank clover rhizomes* (Turner, p.c.): t'xwsuslhp *clover plant*, t'xwsu.susiixw *clover leaves*, t'xwsu.susnk *quack grass rhizomes*

Ha t'χʷsús 'clover root', He t'qʷá 'to go after clover root'

TL'

- 1715 tl'a *black bear*: aa.tl'ayi, tl'aa.tl'ayi *dim.*, tl'ata *deadfall for bear*,
tl'ayanlh *coat or blanket made of bear hide*
He ʔ'á, Oo ʔ'aa, Kw ʔ'ε? (LR80)
- 1716 tl'aaqwitkw *red cod*
NW √ʔ'aqʷ 'red' (LR80)
- 1717 tl'aaqw' = tl'awqw'
- 1718 tl'aayaqm *song sung in order to shame one's deserting spouse*
- 1719 tl'akix! *come on!*: tl'aki ʔit lhk'mnu! *come on, speak!* (cf. tl'alhix!,
tl'ap)
Lillooet √ʔ'ak 'to go' (VE13)
- 1720 tl'akwani *elbow* (Mc148 *tʔakwan'i*: Knife of mountain goat bone)
NW √ʔ'akʷ 'to lean on or push with the elbow' (LR80)
- 1721 tl'aʔlaya, tl'aʔyala *beads*
He ʔ'áy'álá, Kw ʔ'ay'ala 'beads' (√ʔ'iʔ) (LR80)
- 1722 tl'alh (tr.), tl'alha (itr.) *to dry something*: tl'alhm *to dry meat or berries*, tl'alhama *clothesline* (cf. tl'lh)
Cf. Proto-Coast Salish *ʔ'at 'bitter, salt' (Ku02)
- 1723 tl'alhix! *come here!*, *come on!*: tl'alhanix nulhumaaxnmnu c_a_tii!
come on, have some tea!, tl'alhaninaxw! *come on, folks!*, tl'alhtxw!
give it to me! (cf. tl'akix!, tl'lhax!)

- 1724 tl'amk (tr.), tl'amkm (itr.) *to bring somebody something that needs repairing*: tl'amktsinu c, t'ayc *I have brought this for you to fix*, tl'amktsut *to visit a doctor for a medical checkup*
- 1725 -tl'ap *times* (7.14): matl'ap *once*, lhwaahl'tl'ap *twice* (cf. tl'ap)
- 1726 tl'ap *to go, start (going)*: tl'apm (tr.) *to go towards somebody*, tl'aputs *to start eating, talking, or crying*, tl'apak *to start a manual activity*, tl'apliwam (tr.) *to try something*, tl'apamk (tr.) *to get, catch something* (cf. tl'akix!)
- Cf. Upper Chehalis ʔ'áp'a 'go and see if something is somewhere' (Ki91), Lillooet ʔ'ak 'to go' (VE13)
- 1727 tl'aq'an *snail, slug*: tl'aa.tl'q'ani *dim.*
Proto-Salish *ʔ'(y)aq'an (Ku02)
- 1728 tl'aqw't *douglas fir bark (peeled off)*: stl'aqw'tlits' *Douglas fir bark (still on tree)*, tl'ac.tl'aqw'lhq *Douglas fir*
NW ʔ'aq'w 'red' (LR80), He ʔ'aq'wt 'shredded cedar bark' (Rath 2010)
- 1729 tl'awqw', tl'aaqw' *tobacco*
He ʔ'auq'w, Oo/Kw ʔ'auq'w (Rath 2010)
- 1730 tl'axw *hard, stiff*: nutl'axwals *fat inside hide that is hard to remove*, tl'axwaqw's *wood is hard to split*, tl'axulmc *ground is hard (to dig into)*, tl'axwaalh *dress shoes*
Proto-Salish *ʔ'əʔw 'hard' (Ku02)
- 1731 tl'aʔyala = tl'aʔlaya
- 1732 tl'i *fast, quick*: tl'its sputl'ts *I came quickly*, tl'iliwa *fast worker*, tl'yalh *to walk fast*, tl'yaktimut *to hurry in work*, tl'yuts *to eat fast*, i.tl'yaahtmacw *to have a foot or car race*, im.tl'imtmacw *to have a*

canoe race, *nutl'ik to think quickly, be intelligent*, *tl'ikm to run*,
tl'ikmtimut to be on the run, escape, *ictl'ikm to participate in a race*,
tl'ic.tl'iktnm̓naw they are having a race

Sechelt ʔ'ʔ'ʔ' (Ti77)

1733 *tl'ima, √tl'imn sinew, tendon: stl'imnalaaxalht Achilles' tendon*

Proto-Coast Salish *ʔ'imin 'muscle, sinew' (Ku02)

1734 *tl'ina eulachon grease*

NW √ʔ'in 'oolachen grease' (He ʔ'in'á, Oo/Kw ʔ'in'a) (LR80)

1735 *tl'iq'lhkn dwarf blueberry: tl'in.tl'iq'lhknlh dwarf blueberry bush*

1736 *tl'ixin sealion: tl'ii.tl'xini dim.*

NW √ʔ'iχ (LR80), Ha ʔ'iχʔn (LR86)

1737 *tl'kw (tr.), tl'kwa (itr.) to gather tiny objects: ictl'ikwats I am going around picking up little things, tl'kwanlh (tr.) to remove lint from clothes*

Upper Chehalis ʔ'ək'w- 'to pick, pick up, peck' (Ki91)

1738 *tl'l (tr.) to cover something with a sheet: tl'lusta, alhtl'lus curtain, ustl'lits I'll cover it over, nutl'l canyon, nuʔl.tl'li small canyon*

1739 *tl'lh dry: nutl'lh shallow water, tl'lhaltwa dry season, tl'lhulh reef, tl'lhūscl fish is drying up, nutl'lhlc̓mim he is withering, becoming lifeless, nutl'lhālhh to have a dry throat (cf. tl'alh)*

1740 *tl'lhax! come on!: tl'lhaxw uq'xip lha,na! come on, folks, call her! (cf. tl'alhix!)*

1741 *√tl'ms to dream, have a vision, be inspired: m.tl'msila to have a nightmare, be restless in one's sleep, stl'ms love charm, sm.tl'msim*

she was made to fall in love with somebody, *nustl'msak to make use of a stl'ms* (cf. *tl'msta*)

- 1742 *tl'msta, √tl'mstn human, person: tl'mstnamtimut to become a person, tl'mstaliwa well-to-do, self-sufficient, stl'mstalikta body, appearance, personality, stl'mstanelus mortal, truly human, civilized*
Cf. Sechelt *λ'mstan* 'house' (Ti77), but also *√tl'ms*

- 1743 *tl'p* (tr.), *tl'pa* (itr.) *to pinch, snap, cut something off, to stop something (short): nutl'p* (tr.) *to pinch somebody, tl'palqi* (tr.) *to cut somebody's hair (in the neck), tl'pa to cut a dress to size, tl'pii.pqwalhm to trim one's toenails, nutl'panlhtha scissors, alhtl'palistmacw "cut into teeth (so as to fit) together" = log cabin, axw tl'ptsuts it does not cease, nutl'pikalhm to stop walking, nutl'pikakm to stop working*
No √λ'ap 'cut with scissors' (Davidson 2002)

- 1744 *tl'pa fish spear with three prongs: tl'paa.pay dim., tl'pa* (tr.) *to spear fish with a tl'pa*

- 1745 *tl'panta head of penis*

From **tl'p-an-ta*, cf. NW *√λ'ip* 'to roll up (sleeves, trouser legs, foreskin)' (LR80)

- 1746 *√tl'q to stick up or out, protrude: tl'qalii(c)tsm to stick one's tongue out, tl'qulh hill, mound, tl'qlculhtu- to pile things up, tl'qmulh it is over-priced, alhtl'qmulh to overtop, be higher*

Proto-Salish **λ'aq* 'to protrude' (Ku02)

- 1747 *√tl'ql(a)* (tr.) *to scoop, bail something: nutl'ql, nutl'qlayulh* (tr.) *to bail a canoe, (nu)tl'qlayulhta bailer, (nu)tl'qltsut to abandon ship*

Proto-Salish **λ'əq* 'dig up/out' (Ku02)

- 1748 tl'qmtu- *to extend something to somebody, to present*: tl'qmtuminu c, t'ayc *I give this to you*, tl'qmlhtums c, ta, ts'lhtaa. talhs *he has given me his umbrella*, nutl'qmalhhiituminu c, t'ayc *I give this to you to eat*
- 1749 tl'tuu! *expression of irritation: damn it!*
From unknown *√tl'(...), √tuu
- 1750 tl'uk' *high; moon, month*: tl'uk'ikus *high riverbank*,
nutl'uk'ikmitsut *high-handed, arrogant*, tl'uk'uuts *the water is high*,
ala, nutctl'uk'als, ts *upstairs*, utl'uk' *upwards*, tl'uk'uts *to boast, brag*,
alh, ta, patsalh ta, tl'uk', tx *last month*
Upper Chehalis ʔ'úk'w 'high' (Ki91)
- 1751 tl'ulay *basket made of birch bark*
Cf. Proto-Athabaskan *√ʔ'uɾ 'rope' (Nater 1994) (from *√ʔ'u 'to bind' (Krauss & Leer 1981))
- 1752 tl'upana *cormorant*: tl'upani *dim.* (McI48 tʔopän-ɪ)
Oo ʔ'ubana, Kw ʔ'ubani (LR80), No ʔ'upu's, ʔ'ipu's (Davidson 2002)
- 1753 √tl'x *to rattle, crackle, burst, sparkle*: stl'x *spark*, tl'xm *to fire, go off (gun)*, stl'xusmalh *it is hailing*, stl'xl.xlxsm *woodpecker*,
alh tl'xmaaqaalitsts *my teeth chatter*, nutl'xm *it (e.g. bottle) is cracked*,
nutl'xmik *it (e.g. balloon) has burst*, anutl'xmikiqwalitstimut *to bust something between one's teeth*, Sʔanutl'xmuhlalt *Happy Boy Dance*
Cf. Upper Chehalis ʔ'éʔxilqs 'hail' (-ilqs 'skirt, apron') (Ki91)
- 1754 tl'xa *having holes, meshes*: tl'xaa.xay *open-work weaving, meshwork*,
tl'xayalxi *having bald patches in one's hair*, tl'xalcalus ti, sq'lhkw *clothing is wearing out, becomes holey*

1755 Tl'xus *Sliammon*

Although superficially analyzable as */tl'x-us/ “rattle-mask”, this ethnonym has been copied from Comox-Sliammon “Klahoose” (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Klahoose>)

1756 √tl'xwi (tr.) *to break something off*: tl'xwiixw (tr.), tl'xwiixwa (itr.) *to break off a fish head*, tl'xwiixw *its neck is broken*, nutl'xwyalitsts *I have broken a tooth*

Kw √ʔ'qʷ ‘break off sticks’ (LR80)

1757 Tl'xwtsaytxw *Kitlope*

?Cf. tl'xwtsn; NW -ytχʷ ‘person or people from ..., geographical place, area’ (Rath 2010)

1758 tl'xwtsn *onions*: tl'xwtsn.tsni *dím.*, tl'xwtsn.tsnlhp *onion plant*, tl'xwtsniixw *onion leaves*

Pre-Southern Carrier *ʔ'əχʷ-čən ‘grass-stink’ (Nater 1994)

1759 tl'yuk *to talk, discuss, argue*: wic ats wa √stl'yukts *this is what I am talking about*, nustl'yukaw *they talk too much*, tl'yukamk (tr.) *to talk about, discuss something*, nuʔi.tl'yukiiknm *to be talking on the phone*, i.tl'yukmtmacw *to have an argument*, i.tl'yuktimut *to grumble, mutter*, nuʔi.tl'yukalpsm *to mumble*

TS

- 1760 -ts *1 sg. subj. itr./tr./caus.* (1.1, 1.9, 1.15) (cf. nts)
 Proto-Salish '1 sg. obj.': Squamish -c- (Ku67), Shuswap -c(e)m, -
 c(e)l- (Ku74)
- 1761 -ts *allomorph of -uts*: kwntsis c₁a₂qla *he will bring him water*, sulicts
"selected food" = victuals, food-to-go, q₁'aticts (tr.) *to steam-cook*
food, watstum₁ks? *what is his name?*
- 1762 ts, ₁ts *definite (article), close pl.* (2.6) (cf. tsi₁)
- 1763 ts- *reduced feminine article* (2.6, 2.7, 2.9)
- 1764 -ts-, -tsan- *1 sg. obj. tr.* (1.9) (cf. -ts and -m-)
 Cf. Squamish -c- (Ku67), Shuswap -c(e)m-, -c(e)l- (Ku74), Upper
 Chehalis -c(al-) (Ki91)
- 1765 tsaatsaws *church*
- 1766 tsaatsi = tsaa.tsi *a little bit* (13.13): alhpsx c₁a₂tsaa.tsi! *eat a bit!*,
 tsaa.tsilhtuts ta₁tl₁'aplhtuts ulh₁inu alh₁t'ayc *I have given you less*
than him, tsaa.tsyuulhi *cheap*
- 1767 tsaatsti = tsaa.tsti *youth, youngster*: tsaa.tstluninu₁ts' *you are looking*
young yet, alhtamtsaa.tstlci ti₁lhkw₁'lcam₁t'ayc *he looks younger as*
he grows older
- 1768 tsaaxa, ₁tsaaxn (tr.) *to chase somebody out*: ik'axw tsaaxnaynicits *I*
cannot get rid of him
 NW ₁caq 'to chase away' (LR80)

- 1769 tsakw *long*: stsakw *length*, tsakwaax *tall tree*, tsac.tsakwaax *tall trees*, tsac.tsakwalh (*to be a*) *tall (person)*, nutsa.tskwalsikan “*having long ears*” = *curious, inquisitive*, tsakwaalh *butcher knife*, tsaakwliwa *worm* (McI48 *tcakwliwa*: White slug with black and red face), nutsa.tskwlqsnk *wharfrat*, nutsakwaax *wolf*, Sa.tskw *Kimsquit River and village* (cf. tsikw, tskwm, tsakw’)

Proto-Salish *cək^w, *cək^w ‘to pull (out), drag’ (Ku02)

- 1770 tsakw’ *straight*: nutsakw’ *straight river or channel*, tsakw’alxi *having lank hair*, tsakw’liwa *right, correct*, tsakw’liwanic (tr.) *to understand somebody correctly, get his meaning*, tsakw’ (tr.), tsakw’a (itr.) *to straighten, stretch something*, tsakw’ayc “*strung out*” = *not having eaten for a long time, hungry*, alhtsa.tskw’anktmacw *to lie side by side* (cf. tsakw)

Proto-Salish *cək^w, *cək^w ‘straighten’, NW √zak^w ‘straighten out’ (Ku02)

- 1771 tsalaatsti *young people, adolescents*: snutsalaatst *dwarf, pygmy* (cf. tsl.tsluksi)
- 1772 √tsalc (/√tsay-lc/) *to change one’s mind, give up*: tsalcakm (tr.) *to give up one’s job, drop one’s work*

- 1773 tsaltcw *bark of red cedar*

- 1774 tsalh *lake*: tsa.tsaalhi *dim*.

Proto-Coast Salish *cal’ał, Kw ʒl’ał (Nater 2013)

- 1775 -tsan- = -ts- (cf. -man(ts)-)

- 1776 tsan *harpoon* Ha zan ‘harpoon for catching seal’ (LR80)

- 1777 tsap *bone*: tsaptinits *I have arthritis*, stsapanikiixw *lateral aspect of the skull*, tsapiixw *steelhead trout*

Tsimshianic origin: Nisgha c'ip, Gitksan sip, Northern Tsimshian sayp (Nater 2018); Nuxalk tsap appears to be a hybrid of the different Tsimshianic forms

- 1778 √tsatsaslhq' = √tsa.tsaslhq' *so many* (13.18): tsa.tsaslhq' wa₁its'amni wa₂sʔuskwtl'tinits sk'lcts ʔiluk *no matter how many blankets they piled on me, I was still cold*, tsa.tsaslhq'uulhamts *I wrapped myself in so many blankets*
- 1779 tsatsaʔyayu, √tsatsaʔyaw = tsa.tsaʔyayu, √tsa.tsaʔyaw *shotgun pellets*: nutsa.tsaʔyawik *shotgun*
Oo cacay'ayu 'shotgun pellets' (LR80)
- 1780 tsatstawlhp = tsa.tstawlhp *red cedar*: tsa.tstawlhpak *cedar boughs*
Proto-Salish *cataw (Ku02)
- 1781 tsaxwm (√tsaxw in place names) *to wade* (cf. alhtsxwmalh)
Proto-Salish *ciχ^w, *cəχ^w 'waterfall, mountain stream' (Ku02)
- 1782 tsay *girl (term of address)*
- 1783 tsay *to stop, finish; all* (13.14): tsayuts *to finish talking or eating*, tsayak *to stop working*, tsayalh *to stop walking*, k'axw alhtsayakms *it is unfinished*, wa₁tsay wa₂nm.nmk' *all animals*, ala₁tsay kulhulmc *in all countries*, tsa.tsi₁tu sʔalhnapi₂ts *that's all I know*
- 1784 tsaʔyamu(u)s *red, yellow, and pink Indian paint brush (plant)*
- 1785 tsc, ʔtsc *definite (article), feminine close sg.* (2.6) (= ts-c)
- 1786 tscm *to disappear*: nutscmaax *to disappear behind something* (cf. tscw)
Cf. Squamish cəx^w (Ku67)

- 1787 tscw *dark*: nutscwaltwa *the sky is dark, it is a dark day*, nutscwals *it is dark in the house* (cf. tscm)
- 1788 tscwi, √tscw *sufficient, adequate* (13.12): axw tscwis *it is not enough*, tscwinaw ts' *there are enough people (in here) now*, tscwi.cwyuulhi *medium-sized*, nutscwyusnicit uuxnk *they figured it was deep enough*, istscwimits sksnmakts *I have done enough work*, tscwlc ts' *now is the time to act*
- 1789 tscwyakm (tr.) *to reach for something* (cf. stscalt)
Proto-Coast Salish *cixʷ 'to reach' (Ku02)
- 1790 √tsi (tr.) *to cause something to move forward or protrude*:
tsi.tsyutsms sʔalhʔalhʔsim *"he makes his voice ring out as he talks" = he speaks resonantly*, anutsyalsikanm *to perk one's ears*, tsyalhm *to stretch one's legs*, tsyakm *to reach out*, tsyakm (tr.) *to pass something on*, tsyus (tr.) *to hand somebody something*, tsyusim t'ayc c ti lhuk'is *a toolbox was handed to him*, tsyaaxm *"to move one's leg forward" = to take a step*
- 1791 -tsi- *1 sg. subj. tr.* (1.11) (in -tsinu *I...you*) (cf. -mi-, -tst)
Proto-Salish *-ci-n- '2 sg. obj. - 1 sg. subj.' (Nater 2014)
- 1792 tsi- *bound feminine article* (3.9, 12.3, 12.13) (cf. ts-, tsi,)
- 1793 tsi, *indefinite article, feminine close sg.* (2.1)
Squamish ci 'definite present strong proximate feminine' (Ku67),
Upper Chehalis cic 'definite feminine' (Ki91)
- 1794 tsi, tsi *interrogative form of ts* (2.6)
- 1795 tsic *feminine sg. identifier* (12.3) (cf. tsi,)
- 1796 tsic, tsic *interrogative form of tsc* (2.6)

1797 tsictsik = tsic.tsik *wagon, railway train, vehicle*: astsic.tsik *to travel by wagon or railway train*

Chinook Jargon ts'ikts'ik (CTGR)

1798 √tsiiq = tsiix

1799 tsiix, √tsiiq (tr.), tsiixa (itr.) *to dig for something*: anutsiixlh *hole dug in the ground*, tsiixm *to dig clams*, tsiinqn (tr.) *to dig up roots* (cf. tsq)

Proto-Salish *ciq 'to dig, stab' (Ku02)

1800 tsiixwt *wedge*

Cf. Kw √ziq^w 'spear, point, prong'

1801 tsik' (tr.), tsik'a (itr.) *to poke, stab something*: tsik'alus (tr.) *to poke the fire*, tsik'alusta *poker*, tsik'aycnimut *to get oneself stabbed*, nutsik'alsta *implement used for fleshing a hide*, tsik'aaxalitsm *to use a toothpick*, tsin.tsik'uutsta *fork* (cf. √tsk')

Sechelt cič'-m 'to pick up with fork, spike' (Ti77)

1802 tsikw (tr.) *to move something*: tsikwm *to be moving*, axw tsic.tsikwaycst *I cannot move*, tsikwalhm *to start walking*, nutsic.tsikwmuulhikalhh *one's Adam's apple is moving* (cf. itskw, tsakw, tskw)

1803 tsim *to get hit, bumped*: tsimlxs *to bump one's nose*, tsimak *to bump one's arm*, tsimaalh *to bump one's leg*, nutsimikulhaqw's *to get hit in, bump one's eye*

1804 tsimani *horseclam*

He címáni, Oo cimani (LR80)

1805 tsimilt *draw in mountain, gully*

- 1806 tsipa *subterranean shelter, kickwillie house* (cf. ipatsut, ipu)
Proto-Salish *cipwn ‘pithouse, cellar’ (Ku02)
- 1807 √tsipi *single, mono-, having one ...*: tsipyulhaaqws *having one eye*,
tsipyaaq *one-legged*, tsipyuulhnnak *having one testis*, tsipyaaakmits
sʔapcwits *I lift it with one hand* (= √tipi, √sipi)
- 1808 tsipsc *fisher (animal)*: tsii.tspsci *dim.*
Proto-Salish *cix-(u)ps (Ku02)
- 1809 tsiqw’ (tr.), tsiqw’a (itr.) *to bust, break, smash something*: alhtsiqw’
broken, smashed up, tsiqw’alus (tr.), tsiqw’alustu- *to smash*
something up, tsiqw’aalh (tr.) *to break a cup*, nutsiqw’ (tr.) *to break*
a window, nutsiqw’aqw’s (tr.) *to break somebody’s glasses*,
nutsiqw’aaq (tr.) *to break a pot or saucer*, anutsiq’uuts *the top of a*
bottle is smashed, anutsiqw’aaq *the bottom of a bottle is smashed*,
alhtsiqw’als *bottle is cracked*
- 1810 tsituma, √situm(n) *to sleep*: tsitumlc *to fall asleep*, stsitumlcta
sleeping pill, tsi.tstumlnslh *night moth* (cf. atma)
*ci-tumən < Proto-Salish *tumn ‘dead; sleep, dream’ (Ku02)
- 1811 tsitsstsip = tsi.ts.tsip *bird (large)*: tsits.tsipi *bird (of average size)*,
tsits.tsiipi *small bird*
Squamish cip.cpíʔl̥-tn ‘nest’ (Ku67)
- 1812 tsix *new, fresh*: tsixaalh *new shoes or vehicle*, tsixuulh *new house*,
tsixanlh *new clothes*, tsi.tsxuulh *fresh berries*
- 1813 ʔsk(i) *wh...ever, I gather that ..., as far as I can tell, ... must be the*
case (15.14)
Cf. Nisgha sgi (sentence-initial) ‘circumstantial (weak) necessity’
(Matthewson 2013)

- 1814 tsklh *term used to address little girls*
- 1815 √tsk' *pointed, sharp, stinging*: tsk'm(aliits) *hot-tasting, spicy*, stsk' *sliver of Douglas fir bark*, tsk'alhkw *devil's club*, istsk'nimut "to find oneself panging intensely" = *to be lonesome, homesick* (cf. tsik')
tsk'lh *ribs* may have a different origin, cf. Columbian ck'aṭp, Colville ck'iṭp (Ku02)
- 1816 tskw *heavy*: nutskwlc *to sink in water*, tskwaltwa "heavy sky" = *(it is) very cloudy*, tskwalh.kwalh *to walk with heavy steps*, tskusta *sinkerline*
Proto-Salish *cəkʷ, *cəkʷ 'to pull (out), drag' (Ku02)
- 1817 tskwm (tr.) *to draw, pull something out* (cf. tsakw, tsikw, tskw, tskw'm)
Proto-Salish *cəkʷ, *cəkʷ 'to pull (out), drag' (Ku02)
- 1818 tskw'm (tr.), tskw'ma (itr.) *to pull something out*: tskw'maak (tr.) *to fillet fish*, tskw'maax (tr.) *to pull a pole out of the ground*, tskw'maaqalits (tr.) *to extract somebody's tooth* (cf. tskwm)
- 1819 tsllik, tslʔlik *coyote*
Tsilhqot'in čəlʔík (Nater 2013)
- 1820 tsltsluksi = tsl.tsluksi *youngsters* (cf. tsalaatsti, -uks)
- 1821 tslh (tr.), tslha (itr.) *to break or pull something off*: tslhalaaxt (tr.) *to break a rope*, tslhm *to gather seaweed*, tslhlits' (tr.) *to pluck a bird*, tslha.lha *to pull hairs out*, tslhliixw (tr.) *to remove weeds*, nutslhik (tr.) *to break something in half*, nutslhulhaaxank = nutslhaaxulhank *the bottom has come off a bottle*, tslhlacyc "to have broken (the string)" = *to win a race*, tslh(t)nm = tslhlacyc

1822 *√tsn self*(12.18): *alh.tsnlh to, for oneself*, *alh.ti.stsnlhs.tc by himself*, *tsnlhakmtx! do it by yourself*, *tsnlhliwa introverted, not paying attention*, *clumsy*, *tsnlhakmitsut to do something “just for the heck of it”*, *not control one’s actions, commit an offense*, *tsnkwakmitsutts*

sʔalhpssts I am eating by myself, *alh.ti.stsnkwaw.tc =*
alh.ti.stsnlhaw.tc by themselves

Sechelt cóna (Kuipers 1998), Upper Chehalis cóni ‘he, she, it’ (Ki91)

1823 *tsna stinging nettle*: *tsn.tsnay dim.*, *tsn.tsnalc to have a tingling sensation*, *“pins and needles”*, *tsn.tsnalcakts my hand is tingling*
Kw √3nk (LR80)

1824 *tsp (tr.)*, *tspa (itr.) to wipe something*: *nutspik (tr.) to wipe a pot clean*, *tspusm to wipe one’s face*, *tspaalhta doormat*, *tspum.puusta face towel*

1825 *tsq (tr.)*, *tsqa (itr.) to make a hole, opening in something*: *nutsq hole*, *tsqta chisel*, *tsqm to open one’s mouth*, *nutsqalsikan to have a pierced ear*, *nutsqaaq needle*, *stsqaaq anus*, *stsqiklxs nostrils* (cf. tsiix)

1826 *tsq’ (tr.)*, *tsq’a (itr.) to grab, pull, tear (at) something*: *alhtsq’ torn*, *ripped*, *nutsq’iiktx t’ayc c.ka.sqaluts! grab this (bowl) for (putting) berries (in)!*

Cf. Proto-Salish *c’əq’, *cəq’ ‘to hit’ (Ku02)

1827 *tsq’m to curl up, shrink*: *alhtsm.q’mulhiiqw*, *alhtsm.q’malqi having curly hair*

1828 *tsqw (tr.) to begin doing something*: *tsqwistxw! let him start on it!*, *tsqwakm to begin a manual activity*, *tsqwalhm to start walking*, *tsqutsm to start talking or eating*, *axw anutsqwilhs she has not been deflowered, she is a virgin*

Proto-Salish *cəqʷ, *qʷəc ‘to begin, set out’ (Ku02)

1829 √tsqw *wet*: tsqwanlh *wet clothes*, tsqwaltwa, tsqwaltm *wet season*

1830 -tst 2 *sg. pass. tr.* (1.12) (cf. -tsi-, -mt)

< *-c-t: cf. Upper Chehalis -ci- ‘2 *sg. obj.*’ (Ki91), Shuswap -c(i)-t ‘2 *sg. pass.*’ (Ku74)

1831 tst!, tsst!, hatst!, hatsst! *calling attention: hey!, pst!* (16.7)

1832 tsum *to make a rustling sound*: anutsum *water is boiling in kettle, sizzling*, alhtsumalh *to make a crackling sound when treading on frost*, alhtsumaak wa, stn, ts *the wind whistles in the trees*, alhtsumals ti, smt, tc *the wind is howling around the mountain*, alhtsumalits ti, lhalas, tc *the water is splashing softly around the bow of the boat*

1833 tsumtsumis = tsum.tsumis *giant horsetail, scouring rush* (Turner, p.c.)

1834 tsuntsupt = tsun.tsupt *to whistle* (= supt)

1835 tsup (tr.), tsupa (itr.), tsupm (itr.) *to pound cedar bark so as to soften it* (cf. tsupts)

1836 tsupinaalh *shinbone* (McI48 *Tcopinātl*: Mountain near Dean Channel)

1837 tsupts (tr.) “*to fill an orifice with soft material*” = *to plug, cork something*: nutsupts (tr.) *to plug a hole*, nutsuptsta *plug*, nutsuptsalsikanaycts *my ears are plugged* (cf. tsup, -ts = -uts)

NW √ʒup ‘to fill, stuff, or plug up with soft material’ (LR80)

1838 tsut *to say*: tsutm (tr.) *to tell somebody something*, nutsutik *to think*, nutsutikm (tr.) *to think of somebody* (cf. nutsunuts)

Proto-Salish *cu-t (Ku02)

- 1839 -tsut, -tsuut *reflexive suffix* (6.18): p'stsut *to bend over*, lip'tsut *to return, come back*, tkatsuut *to shoot oneself*, tuk'tsut *to stretch oneself* (cf. -mut)
- Squamish -t-sut (Ku67), Shuswap -cut (Ku74)
- 1840 tsutsa, √tsutstn *mouth*: tsuu.tstni *dim.*
- Proto-Coast Salish *cucin (Ku02)
- 1841 -tsuut = -tsut
- 1842 -tswa *formative suffix* (9.1): Ximtswa *a personal name*, Qwaatswa *a personal name* (cf. -altswa)
- 1843 √tsx (tr.), tsxm (itr.) *to drip on something*: tsxtinilh *our house is leaky*, stsx *trickle, drop*, tsxmaax *water is dripping from the roof*, anutxsmiklxs *to have a running nose*
- 1844 tsyap *loincloth*: ustsypaaqta *skirt*

TS'

- 1845 ʔts'(n), ʔts'i *now, already* (15.15)
- 1846 ts'aaqaluuslh *white springsalmon*: ts'a.ts'qalusuulh *golden form of soapberry; pale form of any berry*
- 1847 ts'aaxwm *red clouds at sunset*
- 1848 ts'acam *fermented, sour-tasting*
- 1849 ʔts'akw *optative* (15.16)
- 1850 ts'alh *sea wrack, rockweed*
 Cf. He c'ála 'tide, flow of the tide water' (Rath 2010)
- 1851 ts'ap'ax *bough tips of red or yellow cedar*
 He c'áp'aχ, Ha c'ap'aq 'cedar branches' (LR80)
- 1852 ts'awikalh *long snowshoes*
 Ha c'àw'ikał (√c'aw'ik) (LR80)
- 1853 ts'ayc, ʔts'ayc *demonstrative, feminine close sg.* (2.6) (= ts-'ay-c)
- 1854 ts'ayx *fireweed*: ts'ayxnk *fireweed root* (McI48 *t'saix*: Stonecrop)
 Proto-Salish *c'ayχ, Ha c'aχm̐ (Nater 2013)
- 1855 ts'cm *to drip*: ts'cm̐nicis wa sic ʔts alh ti alh qulhts tc *he let the blood drip on my book*, ts'cmus *to drool*, ts'cm.cmalh *raindrops are falling*

Kw $\sqrt{c}x^w$ ‘to drip’ (LR80)

1856 $\sqrt{ts}^i$ (tr.?) *to close one’s eye(s), wink*: stits’yalsm *to blink one eye,*

i.ts’yalsmtss *she winks at me*, ts’imuus *to close one’s eyes for a moment* (cf. McI48 *tse:th*: Green barnacles on water-covered stones)

Cf. Proto-Athabaskan $*\sqrt{c}^i(w) \dots \text{ʔ}$ (Nater 1994)

1857 $\sqrt{ts}^i = \sqrt{ts}^i(n)$

1858 ts’icw (tr.), ts’icwa (itr.) *to grate, scour something*: ts’icwta *sandpaper; unbranched horsetail*, sts’ic.ts’icwtalhp *scouring rush* (McI48 *tcixtciwxwtehp*: Unidentified hollow-stemmed plant)

1859 ts’icw *five* (13.1)

Proto-Coast Salish $*c^i x^w$ (Ku02)

1860 ts’ikm *dirty*: nuts’ikmaq’s *water is dirty*, sts’ic.ts’ikmlhp *lamb’s quarters*

Ha $c^i xc^i km$ ‘dirty face’ ($\sqrt{c}^i ik$) (LR80)

1861 ts’ikwa, $\sqrt{ts}^i ikwn$ *clam*: ts’ii.ts’kwni *dim.*, ts’ikwnals “*with a clam-like surface*” = *drinking cup*

He $c^i k^w a$, Ha $c^i k^w a$ ‘butter clam’ (LR80)

1862 ts’ikw’its’ *sea urchin*

Nisgha $c^i k^w ic^i$, Northern Tsimshian $cük^w iic$, He $c^i k^w ic^i$, $c^i k^w isa$, Quileute { $ci \sim ck^w$ } $ók^w a?$ (and cf. No $\sqrt{k^w} ic^i$ ‘spiny’) (Nater 2018); either originally NW (from where it would have diffused to Tsimshianic, Nuxalk, and Quileute) or of substrate origin.

1863 ts’ima, $\sqrt{ts}^i imn$ *guts, intestines*: snuts’imnaax *rectum*

- Ha c'im, Kw c'y'm 'intestines' (√c's 'tube shaped') (LR80)
- 1864 ts'ipscili, √ts'pscili *trailing currant (Ribes laxiflorum)* (Turner, p.c.):
ts'in.ts'ipscililhp, ts'psci.clilhp *currant plant*
- 1865 ts'it *call of the kwakwas announcing a death*
Cf. Lillooet c'it '(1) whistle hawk, (2) nightbird' (VE13)
- 1866 ts'ix (tr.) *to burn, scald something*: ts'ixliitsayc *to have burnt one's skin*, ts'ixaakayc *to have burnt one's hand*, nuts'ix (tr.), nuts'ixa (itr.)
to refine eulachon grease
Proto-Salish *c'ix 'prickly, stinging; burn, fry; cold' (Ku02)
- 1867 ts'k (tr.) *to fix, prepare something*: alhts'k *fixed*, nuts'k (tr.) *to string up, prepare a hide*, nuts'kta *tanning stick*, k'ists'kaak *to be clumsy*, k'ists'kuuts *to mispronounce*, nuts'kmc *handy, dexterous*, nuts'kik (tr.) *to divide something in two* (from *'make complete', cf. ts'klákt, ts'kt)
- 1868 ts'klákt *ten* (13.1) (from *ts'k-(a)l-ak-t 'complete [counting on] one's hands', cf. ts'k, -al-ak-t)
- 1869 ts'kt *to come near to, arrive at*: ts'ktulh *to arrive by boat*, ts'ktmim *"it has come to him" = he is ready to start dancing*, ts'ktakmim *he was beset, attacked*, alhts'ktiilh *to be closely related* (cf. ts'k)
- 1870 ts'kta *"doings": event, happening, circumstance*: stam ks wa ts'ktanu? *how are you doing?*, iclq' ms ula ka ts'ktas *he was thinking of what to do next, thinking ahead* (cf. ts'k)
- 1871 ts'la, √ts'ln *basket*: asts'layak, asts'lnak *to have, use a basket*
NW √c'l 'to weave (basket, etc.)' (He c'lá, Oo/Ha c'la 'basket') (LR80), Lillooet c'la? 'basket' (VE13)

- 1872 ts'łkt *bald eagle*. l.ts'łkti *dim*.
If < *c'əl=l-ik-t 'shaded body', cf. ts'lh and Proto-Salish *c'i/al 'shade, shadow' (Ku02), or cf. Chinook Proper "tc'āk" 'eagle' (Boas 1910)
- 1873 √ts'ln = ts'la
- 1874 ts'ls *to be mistaken, confused*
- 1875 ts'lh (tr.), ts'lha (itr.) *to shelter, cover, shade something*: nuts'lhaax *shade in the bush*, nuts'lhals *the sun is covered by the clouds*, ts'lhtaa.ta *umbrella* (cf. sats'alan)
Proto-Salish *c'i/al 'shade, shadow; outline, similar; shelter'
- 1876 ts'm *forefinger*
NW √c'm 'index finger' (LR80)
- 1877 ts'mtaaq *smoked eulachons*
Oo/Kw c'mdaq, Ha c'mdàq 'smoked oolachen' (LR80)
- 1878 √ts'n = √ts'(n)
- 1879 ts'n *tidal lagoon*
NW √c'n 'tidal rapids' (LR80)
- 1880 ts'p *stuck, blocked*
Proto-Coast Salish *c'ap 'derange, interrupt' (Ku02)
- 1881 √ts'pscili = ts'ipscili
- 1882 ts'qamin *mountain jack, whiskey jack, gray jay*
- 1883 ts's *loud, noisy*
Proto-Salish *c'əs 'to rattle, hit' (Ku02)

- 1884 ts'u grey: ts'waaxuts *having a grey beard*, nuts'wikulhaqw's *having grey eyes*, ts'wiixw *having grey hair*, ts'ulciixw *one's hair is greying*, su.ts'wakt *old man's beard lichen*, sts'waktaak *lung lichen*
- 1885 √ts'u *to suck*: ts'u.ts'uulit *to produce an alveolar click* (cf. ts'um)
- 1886 ts'ulapla *quiver for arrows* (cf. sts'l, for ...apla cf. lhawpla)
If < *ts'ul-apla 'arrow-container', cf. Proto-Interior Salish *c'əl 'arrow' and *-áplaʔ 'handle, attachment' (Ku02)
- 1887 ts'um (tr.) *to suck on something*: ts'umuus (tr.) *to kiss somebody*, ts'umaak (tr.) *to kiss somebody's hand*, ts'umnk (tr.) *to suck on a (cooked) fish tail*
Proto-Salish *c'u/ám 'to suck' (Ku02)
- 1888 ts'umlc *half-smoked fish*: ts'umlctu- *to half-smoke fish*, ts'umlcuus *surface of half-smoked fish*
- 1889 ts'upillm *to scratch one's private's parts*
- 1890 ts'up'akt *glove, mitten*
He c'úp'ax, Oo/Kw c'up'ax 'glove, mitten' (√c'up) (LR80)
- 1891 ts'usm *dusk*: us.ts'usmi *early evening*, ts'usmtim *they were overtaken by the darkness*
Sechelt c'úsus (Ti77)
- 1892 ts'uts'qw = ts'u.ts'qw, √ts'uux *having sores*: ts'uuxlc *to develop sores*
Proto-Salish *c'uʃw 'sore' (Ku02)
- 1893 √ts'x(a) *real, true, credible*: ts'xlh *true*, ts'xlhuts *to tell the truth, be right*, ts'xmayc *to be really the case*, ts'xanic = ts'xancw (tr.) *to believe somebody*, ts'xancwikmits sʔatmas *I was convinced he was*

dead, ts'xanmacw to believe each other, ts'xanmacwayctimut to see if something is true, verify something

If < *c'əχ 'visible, obvious', cf. Proto-Interior Salish *ʔac'χ, *c'əχ 'to look at' (Lillooet ʔac'χ 'be seen') (Ku02)

1894 ts'xlhm *to fall in the water, drown: ts'xlhmkw drowned*

1895 ts'xlhn (tr.), ts'xlhna (itr.) *to kick something/somebody:*
ts'xlhn.lhnim *he was kicked repeatedly*, ka, t̥m̥nuts'xlhnaaxmlhts *I will just push ("kick") off my boat*, ts'xlhn.lhnuulhnm *to play soccer*
Cf. Chinook Jargon ts'əqʰən (CTGR)

1896 ts'xw *white: nuts'xulhaax white-tailed deer, ts'xwaluuslh white springsalmon*

Possibly related with Sechelt c'əχʷ 'clean' (Ti77), Upper Chehalis c'əχʷ 'be clean' (Ki91), and cf. NW c'uχʷ 'to wash, launder' (LR80)

1897 ts'xwtalhp *red willow, red-osier dogwood*

1898 ts'yaaxw *flicker (bird): nuts'yaaxwanim whirlwind, i.ts'yaaxwlhp yarrow, Queen Anne's lace*

Proto-Salish *c'yaqʷ (Ku02)

1899 ts'yawlh *sack made of sealion's stomach or bladder*

Cf. Ha c'iạla 'use bucket or dipper' (√c'i) (LR86)

U

- 1900 u- *directional prefix* (10.5) (cf. usqa, ustcw)
Proto-Salish *ʔu- (Ku02)
- 1901 -uks *plural suffix* (5.2, 5.3-7)
Chinook Proper -ukš (Nater 2010)
- 1902 -uk's = -uks (5.6)
- 1903 uk'uk' = uk'.uk' *skunk cabbage*: uk'.uk'nk *skunk cabbage root*,
uk'.uk'uk's *pl.* (cf. k'amk')
Proto-Coast Salish *k'wuk'w, He k'wk'wúk'w (Nater 2013)
- 1904 uk'um = u.k'um *to groan (e.g. when carrying a heavy load)*:
u.kw'.k'umaax *sound made by somebody walking on swampy ground*
- 1905 √ukw'p = √u.kw'p *to lower oneself, crouch*: icukw'plc (tr.) *to sneak up on somebody* (cf. √k'up)
- 1906 √ul (tr.) *to come close to, reach the end of something; to bring something out or forth*: alhʔulik(us) (tr.) *to stay with, keep somebody company*, alhʔul *to be unable to contain oneself any longer*, alhʔults ska_aaxqats *I am almost wetting myself, have an urgent need to urinate*, alhʔulcilhts = alhʔults ska_aaxqats, ulamktx!

bring it out!, show it!, ulamcwits ulh,ts wa,its'amni,ts I give them the blankets that I made, anuʔulaaxits ska,wlis wa,qla,ts ulh,tc I will persuade him into spilling the water on him, nuʔulaaxayc to have reached a dead end, nuʔulaaxta dead end, sʔulus stakes used in gambling game

1907 -ul *formative suffix* (9.2): sxitl'ul *skinny person*

Cf. Squamish -ul 'diminutive', -ulʔ 'young specimen' (Ku67)

1908 ula = *ulh,wa (3.3)

1909 ʋula *thither, over there* (10.5, 16.3): ixq'maw tcula *they walked that way* (cf. u-, ʋa)

Sq ʋʔuy 'enter' (Ku67))

1910 ʋulatl's *towards the Interior* (10.5, 16.4): tl'apaw tculatl's, tculatl'saw *they went to the Interior*

1911 ʋuli *hither, over here* (10.5, 16.3): ixq'maw tculi *they walked this way* (cf. ʋi and ʋula)

1912 ulic (tr.), ulica (itr.) *to choose something*: ulicutsm *to choose food, decide what one is going to eat*, ulicatimutts c,ti,ka,kwtmts *I keep myself busy looking for a potential husband*, sulicts *food-to-go, victuals*

Possibly from *ul-(n)ic, cf. knic, Proto-Salish *ʔul 'to gather' (Ku02), Upper Chehalis ʔúlayi 'pick, gather' (Ki91)

1913 -ulits', -uli(i)ts (*through a hole; clothing*) (7.6): t'umuulits *gun barrel*, kw'pu.pliits tiixwaqw'sta,ʔats *these spikes are straight* ("go straight through a hole"), cnasuliits *lady's wear*, sʔimlkuliitsta ti,nup *it is a man's shirt*, siʔaxtsuliits *nightshirt, pajamas*, sʔixqlmuliitsta *bathing suit*, kululits'tumx! *Lend me your clothes!*, xtl'ulits'ta *object*

used in a “washing ceremony” (cleansing ritual, during which amends are made for a wrongdoing) (cf. -lits’)

*-ul-ic’ ~ *-ul-iʔc < Proto-Salish -ul-ic’aʔ (Ku02)

- 1914 -ulmc *land, ground, floor* (7.6): piq’ulmc *wide country*, puxulmc (tr.) *to remove rocks from the soil*, tculmcta *plough*, tkulmc *the floor is dirty*, t’culmcm *to sweep the floor*, t’c(un.c)ulmcta *broom* (cf. -mc, -almc)

Proto-Salish *-ul-mix^w, *-ul-mix (Ku02)

- 1915 √ulq = √ulx

- 1916 √ulsqa *towards the west* (10.5): tculsqa(m) *to go towards the west*

- 1917 ulx (tr./itr.) *to steal (something)*: ulxayc ti slq’s tc *his mind has been stolen*, nusʔulxmc *to be given to stealing*, ulxiixw (tr.) *to steal somebody’s hat*, ulxiixwlhtinits ma c ta qaytlhts *somebody must have stolen my hat*, nuʔulxuts (tr.) *to steal somebody’s food*, ulxalstn (tr.) *to rob somebody*

- 1918 √ulx, √ulq *to be dizzy, silly, foolish, mischievous, criminal*: ulxanm *to faint*, ul.ʔulxanm *to keep fainting*, ulxanmus *to be drunk*, ulxusi *to be slightly intoxicated*, ulxliwa, u.ʔlqliwa *crazy, silly, stupid*, tamʔulx (tr.) *to fool, cheat somebody*, tamʔulqliwa (tr.) *to make a fool out of somebody*, Ulx *a dance*

- 1919 ulxlh (to be) *going up the river* (10.5, 16.4): tl’apaw ulxlh or ulxlhaw *they went up the river* *-ul-xlh, cf. aaxlh

- 1920 ulh_v, ulh_v (going) *towards* (3.1, 3.6, 10.5) (amalgam of alh_v and u-)

- 1921 -ulh, -uulh (capable of) *containing something, to have bulk, be inflated*: (1) *human body*, (2) *ball (egg, moon)*; *rock (metal, money)*, (3) *large container, vessel: vehicle, car; house*, (4) *clothes, garment, hat*, (5) *food contained in cup or bowl (soup or beverage)* (7.3, 7.6,

7.9, 7.10): qapsmuulhm *to put one's arms around oneself*, plhtuulh *obese*, pi.pq'uulh *bug with a grey stripe across its body (larder beetle?)*, yalquulh *ball*, sun.p'uulhnm *to play baseball*, k'aqasulh *crow's egg*, qwaxulh *raven's egg*, kasmiulh *golden eagle's egg*, smawlhtxw ti.ka.la.laq'aticw! *fry one egg!*, pusulh *the moon is waxing*, piq'uulh ti,t'xt *it is a flat rock*, sk'culh *black rock*, mucw.mukuulh *gold*, t'xtuulh *sinkerline with anchor*, mawlxsulh *twenty dollars*, t'xulhulh *six dollars*, mntskulha *to be counting money*, tlhulh *fast vehicle*, tmsculh *slow vehicle*, pik'uulh *shiny car*, quts'uulhis ti.qw'xwmtimuts *he is washing his car*, lhk'uulh wa.sulh,ts *the house is big*, musulh wa.sulh *there are four houses*, at'uulhits wa.sulh,ts *I am painting the house*, lhu.lhts'uulhm *to get undressed*, ksuulhm *to take one's trousers off*, pik'uulh *oilskin coat*, tqnkuulh *underwear*, musulh wa.qayt *there are four hats*, maaskulh.ʔiks wa.qaytnu? *how many hats have you got?*, piq'uulh wa.qayt.ʔats *these are wide hats*, muq'ulh *bland food*, t'sulh *salty food*, ist'nxulh *to eat salmon head stew*, k'iptulh *elderberry wine*, nuxwskyulh *soapberry wine* (cf. -alh)

Proto-Salish *-wil, *-wił, *-iwł 'canoe' (Ku02)

- 1922 ʋulha *dependable, responsible*: alhʔulhats ulh.inu *I depend on you*, alhʔulhamim *people depend on him*, ulhalxstu- *to hold responsible, blame, accuse somebody*
- 1923 -ulh-als *cheek* (7.3): stpuulhals *to have a freckle on one's cheek*, sp'ulhalsayc *to have been hit on the cheek*
- 1924 -ulh-ank, nu...-ulh-ank *belly, abdomen* (7.3): tlhulhank *to have strong abdominal muscles*, tsi.tsk'ulhank (tr.) *to stab somebody in the belly*, (nu)sp'ulhankayc *to have been hit in the belly*, st'aʔmulhank *to lie flat on one's stomach*
- 1925 -ulh-iixw *head, hair, hat* (7.3, 7.13): tayulhiixwayc *to have been hit on the head*, sk'stlits'ulhiixw *skin of fish head*, mnts'ulhiixw *to have blond hair*, ts'xulhiixw *to have white hair*, alhtsm.q'mulhiixw (-iiqw)

to have curly hair, pik'ulhiiqw oilskin hat, ksulhiiqwm to take one's hat off, tayamkulhiixwlhim c, ta, qaytlhs somebody threw his hat away

- 1926 -ulh-iixw-layc *knee* (7.3): sp'ulhiixwlaycayc *to have been hit on the knee, kwlhulhiixwlayc to have a cracked kneecap*
- 1927 -ulh-ik, nu-...-ulh-ik *back* (7.3): kulhulhik *back, squplhulhiik hair on the back, tsik'ulhik (tr.) to stab somebody in the back, sp'ulhikayc to have been hit on the back, nutsn.tsnalculhik to have "pins and needles" sensation in one's back*
- 1928 -ulh-ik-ak *back of hand; upper arm* (7.3): sp'ulhikakayc *to have been hit on the back of one's hand, kmayulhikak the back of one's hand hurts, stlhuulhikak biceps*
- 1929 -ulh-ik-alh *top of foot* (7.3): sp'ulhikalhayc *to have been hit on one's foot*
- 1930 -ulh-ik-us *forehead* (7.3): tayulhikusayc *to have been hit on the forehead*
- 1931 -ulhla, -uulhla *bulk, total(ity), appearance, character, behavior* (7.6): q'imulhlamim *both his parents are still alive, nukalikuulhla half moon, nukalikuulhlatut snulikit they half-emptied it (the bottle) (/s-nu-wl.../), in.ʔip'uulhla catcher in baseball game, sculhla to refuse, not give permission, sculhlas ulh, tx ska... he did not give him permission to ..., yayulhlamim he is allowed (to ...), alhqap'uulhlatsut to put one's arms around oneself, sta.taltmcuulhlaliwanaw they look like dignitaries, napulhlam (tr.) to make fun of somebody, kwmuulhla to be fat, obese, ayulhla to be cranky, ill-natured, pculh.culhla happy, easygoing, paaxulhlaliwa scary, dangerous, pac.paaquulhlam (tr.) to scare somebody, lxulhla Cannibal dancer (cf. -ulh, -la)*

- 1932 ulhqn *pail, bucket*
- 1933 ulhtsax! *go ahead!*: ulhtsa(y)naxw! *go ahead, folks!*
- 1934 -ulh-us *joint, connection; surface of rock or metal* (7.6):
 skw'mulhuusayc *one's shoulder is dislocated*, alh?umatulhus
 ti,qla,tc *where the water pipe joins the main pipe*, s?ixwallhkulhuus
to be red-hot, Ya.yuulhus *a location at Kimsquit characterized by the*
presence of small pretty pebbles
- 1935 um *to get off, disembark (car, boat, airplane)*: umtu- *to let somebody*
off a car or boat, umalulhtu- *to unload a boat*, nu?umiktu- *to*
remove something from a box
- 1936 umat *where something (somebody) is taken (going) to* (10.5):
 ula,umataw,tsk *wherever they are going to*, k'ilh?umatliwa *not*
knowing where to go, tu,umatstus tu,ways,txw *the place he had*
taken the cohoes to, umatulmc *beams supporting the floor, girders*,
 umatalaalh *threshold* (cf. amat)
- 1937 √un (tr.) *to subject to strain or pressure, to try*: anu?unlaycts *I am in*
a rush to eat, unaakm *to stretch out one's hands with the palms*
turned up, nu?unaakm *to train, exercise*, nu.nu?untsut *to exercise*
oneself, practice difficult rites (DS80 nu-?un-is 'to test, check
 something', McI48 *no'onāthum*: 2—Any ceremony at which all
 kinds of dances are performed)
- 1938 un- *to have a predilection for, be fond of* (10.1): unqaaxlamc *always*
drinking, unsnanik *fond of gum* Cf. u-, nu-
- 1939 un- *waist, middle, small of back* (10.2): uncwpts *my pants are*
coming off, unqw'smts *the water comes up to my waist*
- 1940 unikw, un.nikw *towards the west*: k'c unikw *he looked towards the*
west, unikwlhaw *they are from the west*

If < *u-nikw, one may compare NW $\sqrt{\text{nik}}^w$ ‘(to do something at) night’

- 1941 unus(i)-...-m *to go somewhere with a purpose or intent* (10.1):
 unusinaaxwmlh *we are going (there) to dance*, axw unusʔaykʔmts *I will not (go there and) stay long*
 Probably from un.us(i)-..., cf. us-...-ayc
- 1942 upk (tr.) *to send, dispatch something*. upkamk (tr.) *to go to the post office and mail something out?* (cf. $\sqrt{\text{pak}}^w$)
- 1943 uqʼal *Pacific silverweed roots* (Turner, p.c.): uqʼ.qʼallhp *silverweed plant*, uqʼ.qʼaliixw *silverweed leaves*
- 1944 uqʼuuni = u.qʼuuni *throat*
 He qʼwúqʼwúnʼi, Ha qʼùqʼwni, Kw qʼuqʼunʼi ‘neck’
- 1945 uqʼx = u.qʼx (tr.) = qʼux (tr.)
- 1946 uqwʼ *to drift downstream* (10.5) (cf. txuqʼam, $\sqrt{\text{aqw}}^{\text{lh}}$, and perhaps aluux (if < *alh-(w)uux))
 Proto-Coast Salish *wuqʼw ‘to drift with stream’ (Ku02)
- 1947 $\sqrt{\text{uqw}}^{\text{p}}$ = $\sqrt{\text{u.qw}}^{\text{p}}$ = qʼup
- 1948 $\sqrt{\text{us}}$ *directional basis* (10.5): usutsaaxam *to go under the house*,
 usaqwʼsam *to dive to the bottom of the river* (amalgam of $\sqrt{\text{as}}$ and u-)
- 1949 us- *top surface*, us-...-uuts *surface of liquid* (10.6): usputlʼ *to come to the surface*, uspiqʼuuts *water is reflecting sunlight*
 If < *wəs, cf. Proto-Salish *wis ‘high, above’ (Ku02)
- 1950 -us, -uus *surface, outer appearance: face, looks* (7.3); *cover, blanket* (7.6): putlʼus *one’s face emerges from the water*, mukusm *to paint one’s face red*, alhtcutlʼukʼus *to lie face up*, makwtlʼuusinaw *they*

look alike, tqnkus ala₁its'amni₁ts *he is under the blankets*, tapus (tr.)
to spread out a blanket

Proto-Salish *-us 'face' (Ku02)

1951 us-...-aax *buttocks* (10.2): usp'aax (tr.) *to spank*, uskmayaax *one's buttocks hurt*

1952 us-...-am *to don, put on* (10.1): usqinxam *to put on shoes*, uskuutam *to put on a coat*

1953 us-...-an-ulh-iixw *top of head* (7.3): usklhanulhiixwts *something fell on my head*

1954 us-...-an-ulh-ik *upper back* (7.3): usklhanulhikts *something fell on my back*

1955 -us-als *cheek* (7.6): sp'usalsayc *to have been hit on the cheek*

1956 us-...-ayc *to long for, crave* (10.1): usknumayc *to crave smoke-dried fish*, usqlayayc *to be very thirsty* (amalgam of as- and u-)

1957 -us-ilh *private parts, narrow or sheltered location (beach, inlet)* (7.3):
 uts'usilh *region above private parts*, kwnit ulh₁ti₁ tcunikusilh₁t'ayc
they went to this more westerly inlet (beach) to retrieve him,
 iclisusiilhit ta₁ amataw₁ txw₁ *they kept pushing (their vessel) out of the tight spots (that the flooding water forced them into)*

1958 usmacmiksm = usmac.miksm *fat has come to the surface, is floating on top (of jarred fish)*

1959 usp'us = us.p'us *lungs*

Proto-Salish *p'us 'lungs, heart' (Ku02)

1960 usqa, √usqn *(to be) going outside* (10.5, 16.4): tl'apaw usqa =
 usqanaw *they went out*, usqatu- *to let somebody out*,
 alh₂usqayxwalh₁ *to have turned-out feet*, usqalits' *to have smallpox*,

nuʔusqa *to give birth*, nuʔusqnamkim *he was born*, nuʔusqatnm *to be a midwife*, snuʔusqaalhi *newborn baby* (cf. asqa)

Proto-Salish *ʔucq (Ku02)

1961 ustam_{ks}? *where is he going?* (10.5, 12.10) (= u-stam_{ks}, cf. astam_{ks})

1962 ustcw (*to be*) *going inside* (10.5, 16.4): tl'apaw ustcw = ustcwaw *they went in*, ustcwtu- *to let somebody in*, ustcwayc *to have come in*, nuʔustcwmntinilh c_a an.ʔaq'ulikw *the police entered our house*, alhʔustcwiiixwalh *to have pigeon feet* (cf. astcw)

Proto-Coast Salish *ʔus-tx^w (Ku02)

1963 usukw'lt = u.sukw'lt *blackcap berry*: u.sukw'ltlh *blackcap berry jam*, u.sukw'ltlhp *blackcap berry bush* (cf. √suk'?)

Ha k'w'lk'w'lt (LR80)

1964 usxlh (tr.) *to bring out, produce, exhibit something*: un.ʔusxlh *to always show off*

1965 utqwntl' = tqwntl'

1966 ut'ak *to vomit*: alhʔut'akalus *to want to vomit*

Proto-Salish wat'k, wat(')k' (Ku02); Eyak √wət' 'vomit', Proto-Athabaskan √wəʔt' 'belly' (Krauss & Leer 1981)

1967 ut'ikalh *instep, flap of moccasin* (cf. ut'itk)

Cf. Squamish ʔút-unʔ 'extend' (Kuipers 1969)

1968 ut'itk *third oldest sibling* (possibly from *ut'i.t'k < *ut'ik, cf. ut'ikalh)

1969 √ut'm = √u.t'm = t'um

- 1970 ut'p = u.t'p *rotten wood*: u.t'plc *wood is starting to rot*
 From *t'up', cf. Upper Chehalis t'up'áyi 'become decayed' (Ki91)
- 1971 ut'pi *widgeon* (cf. √t'up(i) and/or t'upiwás)
- 1972 utl'uk' *upwards* (10.5, 16.3): k'cx utl'uk'! *look up!* (cf. tl'uk')
- 1973 -uts, -uuts *orifice: oral, mouth, speech, eating, food* (7.3, 7.13); *rim (knife), beach, tide, ocean, river, water* (7.13): tspotsm *to wipe one's mouth*, squputs *beard, whiskers*, anupusmuuts *to have a swollen mouth*, anuputl'uuts *water is coming out of one's mouth*, alhnapiutstsant *they know what I said*, numilcuts *to become increasingly talkative*; *channel opens up*, malhuts *to eat slowly*, tcutsta *table knife*, mntcu(u)tsta *dipping cup*, q'puts *dull knife*, k'apatuts *sharp knife*, kulhuuts *beach, shore*, sta.tputs = ilhmuuts *steep shore*, sts'ixuts *sandbar in sea*, putl'uuts *river rises*, tculatl'suuts *tide comes in*, t'qmuuts *high tide*, p'atsuuts *drop-off in sea*, tpyuts *other side of river*, snoopapntuuts *bubbles in water*, uspi'k'uuts *water surface is shiny, reflects the sunlight*
 Proto-Salish *-uc 'mouth' (Ku02)
- 1974 -uts-ak *forearm* (7.3): skulhutsak *forearm*, squplhutsak *hair on forearm*, tcutsakaycts *my forearm is cut*
- 1975 -uts-alh *lower leg* (7.3): stputsalh *having a freckle on one's lower leg*
- 1976 utsi *having a certain (limited) size, having reached a limit*: utsi c. t'axw *that is all, the end (of a story)*, utsinaw tuu c. a. wats' ts *they are exactly the same size as dogs*, utsitimutiinaw s?is.sutaw *they are rowing at full capacity* (cf. tsay)
- 1977 √uts' *top, upper*: uts'alulh *mountain top*, uts'aak *top surface of leaf*, uts'aax *small of back*, uts'ik *table top*, uts'ikaaxuts *upper lip*, uts'ikalh *shin*, uts'usilh *region above private parts*

- 1978 -uulh = -ulh
- 1979 -uulhla = -ulhla
- 1980 -uulh-lits' *muscle* (7.3): kustlhuulhlits' *to be muscular*
- 1981 -uulh-lits'-alh, nu-...-uulh-lits'-alh *calf of leg* (7.3): stlhuulhlits' alh *calf muscle*, sxuulhliitsalhm *to shave one's calves*,
 nic.niq'xmuulhliitsalh *to have a cramp in the calf*,
 nutsn.tsnalcuulhlits' alh *to have "pins and needles" sensation in the calf*
- 1982 uuqwat = huuqwat
- 1983 -uus = -us
- 1984 -uuts = -uts
- 1985 -uuts-almc, nu-...-uuts-almc *nipple* (7.3): stl'kuutsalmc *nipple*,
 nukmayuutsalmcts *my nipple hurts*
- 1986 -uuts-layc *nipple* (7.3): skulhuutslayc *nipple*
- 1987 uuxi *to display jealousy towards one's younger sibling* (cf. suuxi)
- 1988 uuxnk *downwards* (10.5, 16.3): tl'apaw uuxnk *they went down*,
 uuxnki *a little further down* (cf. qnk)
- 1989 √uxw (tr.) *to cause something to come down*: uxwayc *to come down*,
descend, uxwilh (tr.) *to pull somebody's pants down*, uxwilhayc *his pants have come down*, uxwm *to have a miscarriage*

W

- 1990 *wa* ₁ *indefinite article, close pl.* (2.1) (cf. *wi*-, *wic*)
 Lillooet *wi* ₁ ‘*pl.*’ (with proper nouns) (VE13)
- 1991 *waats* *clock*: *waatsaaqakta* *wrist watch*
- 1992 *wakayak* *to overdo*: *wakayakiilhnu* ₁ *ma* *you may have overdone it*
- 1993 *wa* ₁ *ks?*, *wal* ₁ *...?* *who is it?* (12.10, 12.11, 12.15, 12.16): *wa* (1) *ts* ₁ *ʔiks*
 who am I?, *walnaw* ₁ *ʔisuks?* *who are they then?*, *alhk’ yuktsant swats*
 they know who I am, *wal* ₁ *ʔlmits’* *who might it be now?*, *walh* ₁ *ʔiks?*
 whose is it?, *ti* ₁ *ka* ₁ *wa* ₁ *c* ₁ *inu* *somebody like you*
 Proto-Salish **wat* ‘*who?*, *someone*’ (Ku02), Upper Chehalis *wá*·
 ‘*who?*’ (Ki91)
- 1994 *wal* (tr.) *to leave somebody*: *alhwaltuminu* *I am leaving you behind*,
 nuwalalhtsinu *I am falling behind you, cannot keep up with you*,
 alhwalm *to bequeath* (cf. *ilhul*, *swalut*)

Proto-Salish *ɬawal ‘to leave behind, abandon’ (Ku02)

- 1995 wal_...? = wa_ks?
- 1996 walasya *lynx*: walaasyayi *dim*.
 Kw w’alaxsia? (Rath, personal communication), and cf. Southern
 Carrier wasi (Nater field notes)
- 1997 waltstum_ks? = watstum_ks?
- 1998 √wan *to elapse*: wancwits ti_mntalhts_alu *I missed my transport*,
 wannmc *to miss, be late for a meal*
- 1999 wap *wharf*
- 2000 wapāt (tr.) *to turn something sideways, cause to be transverse*:
 anuwapatilh *having a transverse vagina (said about Japanese*
 women), alhwapattsut ala_sxitsta_ts *he is lying across the bed*,
 ic/wap.pattsut = ic-wap.pat-tsut *to constantly turn one’s head, look*
 to and fro (as birds do), wapataaxta *drying frame*
- 2001 wastu_ *and so* (15.8): wastu_alhʔay_tuya *and so he was really like*
 that, wastu_alhʔay_kwtuya ti_ts’xw alh_tu_asiixw *and so it is said that*
 there was a white thing near the smokevent
- 2002 watstum_ks?, waltstum_ks? *what is his name?* (12.10, 12.15):
 wa(l)tstumt_ʔiks? *what is your name?*, watstutim_ks wa_alhpus_ʔats
 ala_tsalh_ʔats? *what does one call these plants that grow around the*
 lakes? (from wa-ts-tu-, cf. wa_ks, -uts)
- 2003 wats’, √wnts’ *dog*: wn.wnts’i *dim.*, snuwats’ams *eyetooth*, snuwats’
 butterball duck
 NW √w’as, He w’ác’ (LR80, Rath 2010), cf. Gitksan os (Jensen &
 Gawa 1977)

- 2004 wawslc = wa.wslc *jumpy, skittish, nervous*
Possibly of NW origin, cf. NW $\sqrt{\text{was}}$ ‘to spawn’ (Rath 2010)
- 2005 waxtsya *cape, garment; corona around the moon*
He way^wsiwá ‘blanket with a hole to stick the head through’ ($\sqrt{\text{waq}}^w$) (Rath 2010)
- 2006 wax/waxtsya = wax.waxtsya *great-grandchildren* (McI48 waxwaxtsia: Brother or sister of grandparent)
- 2007 way!, wii! *well!, okay!, now then!* (16.7): way ustcwnu! *come on in!*, way ʔisu!, way nisu! *repeat it!*, waynaw ʔisu!, waynaw nisu! *repeat it, folks!*, way ʔilhu! *wait a while!*, waynaw ʔilhu *wait a while, folks!* (15.44, 15.45), waylit *to agree, consent*, waylitmtsingu *I agree with you, you have my permission*
He wái ‘well then!, go ahead!’, Kw wɛ ‘begin, continue’, wigaʔ ‘go ahead (and ...)’ (Li80)
- 2008 wayc *new, recent*: wayclh *to be a newcomer*, nuwayclh *fresh (food)*, waycis kw sʔatmas ta tlʔmsta tx *they say that the man had recently died*, ala wayci scwpakmis *he finally let him go*
Cf. Proto-Salish *way ‘to be visible, revealed’ (Ku02)
- 2009 ways *coho salmon*: wa.wiisi *dim.*, waystam *coho season*
He wás, Oo/Ha waas ‘old coho salmon that has spawned and is ready to die’
- 2010 wi- *bound pl. article* (3.9, 12.3, 12.13) (cf. wic, wa.)
- 2011 wic *pl. identifier* (12.3): wic s... *because ...*, wic txw s... *that is when ...*, wic ts si... *that is why ...* (12.5) (cf. tic, tsic, wi-, wa.)
- 2012 wii = way

- 2013 √wiiq, √wiix (tr.) *to pry something open*: wiiqamsa *to be prying traps open*, nuwiixalhhm *to open one's mouth wide*, nuwiixuts (tr.) *to pry somebody's mouth open*, nuwiixakayc *one's hand has been pried open*
Proto-Salish *wiq' 'take apart, open' (Ku02)
- 2014 wiisxw! = wisxw!
- 2015 √wiix = √wiiq
- 2016 wika(l)ks? *where is it?* (12.13, 12.15, 12.16): wika_lks
wa_ltcamatlhnhnu? = wikalhhnu_lks? *where are you from?*, wika_lks
wa_ltcamatlhhalhnhnu? = wikalhhalhnhnu_lks? *where did you come from?*, wika_lks sitl'apamkicw? *where did you get it?*, ala_lwika(l)
somewhere (cf. wi-, ka_lks)
- 2017 wik' (tr.) *to cut wood into shingles*: nuwik'uts *to have chapped lips*
- 2018 √wik' (tr.) *to shake, wiggle something back and forth, cause something to squeak rhythmically*: nuwik'utstx! *shake the door!*,
alhwik'm *it is shaking, squeaking*, alhwik'miiqw *tree is shaking back and forth*, alhwik'mtimut, alhwik'tsut *to rock back and forth*,
nuwik'aax *to wiggle one's posterior*
- 2019 wilc *to have something in one's way, be obstructed*: alhwilcts
alh_lt'ayc *this is pressing against me*, nuwilcalhts *I feel something under my foot*
- 2020 wilh wilh = wilh.wilh *mica*
Proto-Salish *wəl, *ʕwəl 'shiny, bright', Shuswap ʕwʔet 'to shine, sparkle', swəʔ.wet 'mica' (Ku02)
- 2021 win (tr.), wina (itr.) *to wage war against a community*: wintmacwaw
they are waging war against each other

- NW $\sqrt{\text{win}}$, $\sqrt{\text{wina}}$ ‘to raid, attack, make war’ (LR80)
- 2022 $\sqrt{\text{win}}$ (tr.) *to poke, skewer something*: win.win (tr.) *to dig for clover roots*, winaaxit wa, alhʔikwit, ʔats *they skewer their barbecue*
- NW $\sqrt{\text{wn}}$ ‘penetrate, drill, bore hole’ (LR80)
- 2023 winusm *to lower one’s face, bend over*: winusmaylayc *to fall forward*
- 2024 winwints = win.wints *sandpiper*
- 2025 winxt’a (tr.) *to assist in warfare* (cf. win)
- 2026 wisxw!, wísxw!, wiisxw! *yes indeed!* (16.7)
- 2027 witl’ax *horn, antler*
- Ha/Kw wʔ’aq (LR80)
- 2028 wl (tr.), wla (itr.) *to pour, spill a liquid*: wlaax (tr.) *to pour a liquid*, alhwlaalh *it is raining*, alhwlaalhmtinilh *we are having rain*, nuswlaasta *kitchen sink*, swl.wlaax *big waves, swells*, kuswl.wlaax *there are many swells*, nuwluts [noʔots] *bleeding from the mouth*
- Proto-Salish *wal ‘to tilt, tip over’ (Ku02)
- 2029 wwlwkatsut = wl.wlkatsut *to limp*
- If < *wəl-(i)kən-cut, cf. Proto-Salish *wal ‘to tilt, tip over’, -ikn ‘back’ (Ku02)
- 2030 wlxlha *lame*
- 2031 wnts’ (tr.), wnts’m (itr.) *to beat (to death), kill somebody*: ta, alhwnts’s, tx *the one he killed*, nuwnts’ikmim *somebody wanted*

*to kill him, wn.wnts'm to be in a killing mood, alhwnts'tnm
murderer*

2032 √wnts' = wats'

2033 wnts'lht (tr./itr.) *to fish for halibut*

X

- 2034 -x *sg. imperative* (1.7, 1.10, 1.16)
 NW -χa, -χi (Rath 2010), and cf. Coast Oregon Penutian -aχ, -nχ ‘2
 sg. subj.’ (Nater 2018)
- 2035 xaatcsya *to sneeze*: xan.xaatcsya *to sneeze repeatedly*
- 2036 Xaʔisla *Haisla, Kitimat people*
- 2037 xala *lady fern, sword fern*: xaa.xlay *dim.*
 Proto-Coast Salish *s-(c)χal-m ‘sword fern’ (Ku02)
- 2038 √xam *insulted*: xamnimut *to feel insulted*, xamnm^uacw *to insult each
 other*
- 2039 xamlayc *one’s eyesight is returning*

- 2040 xamlc *to be stuck, not moving (away from)*: alhxamlcnu alh, Nuxalk
you will never leave Bella Coola, xam.xamlctu- *to make somebody*
stay with oneself, xamlcaqw's *to stay in bed; to die in one's sleep*
 Proto-Salish *χəm 'heavy', *χi/am 'weigh down, grab to hold' (Ku02)
- 2041 xamu (tr.), xamwa (itr.) *to dip something out of a container*
- 2042 xapa, √xapn (tr.) *to pack, carry something*: xapayalhta *packstrap*,
 nusxapaasta *knapsack*, xapnamktsut *to mount a horse*, alhxapaliikw
horse, asʔalhxapaliikw *to travel on horseback*
 ?cf. Kw χapa, √χap 'to grasp (in hand or talons)' (LR80)
- 2043 √xaq'akw *protruding horizontally*: alhxaq'akw *tree having many*
short lower branches, anuxaq'akwalh *series of lower branches that*
have been trimmed so as to form a flight of stairs
- 2044 xaq'ants *crane, great blue heron*
 He qáq'ńc, Oo qaq'anis, Ha qaq'àns (LR80), Upper Chehalis sq'as
 sq'as sq'as 'what crane says while flying' (Ki91)
- 2045 xawis *galvanized, tin, metal*: xawisaalh *metal spoon*, xawisals *tin can*,
 xawisaltwa *the sky is tin-colored, grey*
 He χáwísgm, Oo χawisgm 'tin' (LR80)
- 2046 xawʔli *large mussel*
 He χu'Í (Rath 2010), Kw χul'a, χul'i (LR80)
- 2047 xaxaq' = xa.xaq' *goose*: xa.xaaq'i *dim.*
 Tsimshianic: Northern Tsimshian haʔa ~ haʔq ~ haaʔq, Gitksan &
 Nisgha haq (Nater 2018)
- 2048 xayaq'a, √xayaq'n *barnacle*: Xayaq'nanlh *a name "house made of*
barnacles"

He χáyáq', Ha χεq' (LR80)

2049 xayulh *west wind*

He χα?iúł, Oo χα?iúł'a westerly wind' (√χα)

2050 xi (tr.), xya (itr.) *to peek through a hole at somebody*: alhxitits *I am peeking at them*, alhxyanaw *they are busy peeking*, alhxyaynicis *he caught a glimpse of him*

2051 √xi *to be visible, shine, (be) light, bright*: nuxi *light, bright*, nuxyals *it is bright in the house*, nuxyakta, snuxyak *torch, lantern, flashlight*, sinuxi *lamp; window*, sinuxyalsilh *window*, nusxyals *cataract of the eye*, xilcus *to emerge from a hole or forest*, xilcustimut *to stick up one's head from behind something*

Squamish χi? 'appear suddenly' (Kuipers 1969) (but if √xi < *χəy ~ *χəl, cf. nusxl and nulax.lx)

2052 xiku = qiku

2053 xilaax (tr.) *to tilt a boat*: alhxilaaxtu- = xilaax, xi.xlaax *boat is unsteady, "tippy"*

2054 xilh *to be frequent, be or do something often*: xilhalh *to go often*, xilhak *to do something often*, ala, xilh wa, malacw *for many a year*
Proto-Salish *χil, *χił 'thus, like, similar; every' (Ku02)

2055 xim *early daylight, dawn*: xi.ximi *dim.*, sxim *daybreak*, ximuts *to bloom, blossom*, sximuts *blossom, flower*, sxi.ximuuts *flowers*, sxi.ximuutslh *picked flowers, bouquet* (from *xi-m, see √xi)

2056 -xin *formative suffix* (9.2): sts'uuxin *brains*, suq'uuxin *tadpole*
Proto-Salish *-qin 'head' (Ku02)

- 2057 xitl' *lean, skinny*: xitl' anaats *very skinny*, xin.xitl'alh *having thin legs*,
xitl'aaxuts *tea or coffee has no sugar in it*, sxitl'ul *skinny person*
- 2058 xits' *metal axe*: xits'lh *iron*, xi.xts'uulh *coins*
- 2059 xits' *raw*: isxii.xts' *to eat something raw*
Proto-Coast Salish *χic' (Ku02)
- 2060 Xixays *Carrier native from the vicinity of Ootsa lake*
- 2061 xixi = xi.xi *marten*: xii.xi *dim.*
- 2062 √xl *to be sent, directed*: xl.xl *messenger*, xltu- *to send somebody*,
xlaktum ska, ... *he was told to ..*, sxl.xltcw *postilion d'amour, love messenger*
- 2063 xlamanta *animal's den*
If < xl(-)am-an-ta, cf. Shuswap χl-em 'to build a log-hut', Kalispel χal
'to cover with planks, rugs, etc.' (Ku74)
- 2064 √xlq' (tr.) *to cause something to go around or across something*:
xlq'iixw (tr.) *to turn something around*, xlq'aaxm *to go across a road or body of water* (cf. √tplq')
Proto-Salish *χələq' 'turn, roll' (Ku02)
- 2065 √xlh *to lack, be deprived*: alhxlh *widow in mourning*, xlhalhh ~
xlhalh *hungry*
Cf. Proto-Salish *χəl 'to lose (ability)' (Ku02)
- 2066 xm (tr.), xma (itr.) *to bite something*
Proto-Salish *χəm 'bite' (Ku02)

- 2067 *xm* *dead, decayed*: *xmaaxuts* *dead vegetation, rotten trees*, *xmlc* *tree is decaying (lying on the ground)*, *xmcliixwlayc* *one's knees are "dead", feeling numb*
- Possibly related with Proto-Interior Salish *χəm 'dry' (Ku02)
- 2068 *xmxmaatslh* = *xm.xmaatslh* *minnow*
- 2069 √xnk (see uuxnk)
- 2070 √xp' (tr.) *to permeate, penetrate something*: (alh)xp' *permeated with water, saturated, soaked*, alhxp'aqw's *to see through, discern*, anuxp'ik stsitumas *he is sound asleep*
- 2071 *xs* *fat*: *sxs* *fat, grease*, *xsaaxutsm* *to apply grease or vaseline to one's beard*, *xsalh* "*precipitation is fat*" = *it is raining heavily*, *xsalhmtinilh* *it is raining heavily in our area*, *xsaaxuts* *drink is very sweet* (cf. *xws*)
- Proto-Coast Salish *χʷəs 'grease' (Ku02), Kw √χʷs 'seal blubber' (LR80)
- 2072 *xsasa* = *xsa.sa* *salmon roe on a skein*: *nuxsa.sa* *it has roe inside, it is a female fish*, *xsaa.say* *stonecrop*
- cf. Kw √χs 'to be somewhere (said of grass, roots, branches, hair); to put down branches' (Li80)
- 2073 *xt* *brittle*: *xtlc* *to become brittle, wither*
- 2074 √xtl' *to be half, incomplete, defective, faulty*: *xtl'* (tr.) *to find fault with, chide, reprimand somebody*, *xtl'uuts* (tr.) *to criticize somebody for what he has said*, *anuxtl'ikm* (tr.) *to be dissatisfied with somebody*, *nuxtl'uts* *to make a speech error*, *nuxtl'amktsut* *to have made a mistake, be in trouble*, *icnuxtl'liwa* *to continually make mistakes*, *nuxtl'ikayc* *to be halfway through*: *nuxtl'ikayc ti_tl'uk'* *it is half moon*, *nuxtl'ikayc ti_amlh* *half the summer has passed*

Proto-Salish *χaλ̥ ‘to want; difficult’ (Ku02) or Upper Chehalis
χəλ̥ - ‘break’ (Ki91)

2075 xts’a, qts’a *little furry thing: catkin, pussy willow; chipmunk*

2076 xts’a, qts’a *stick, rod: xts’a.ts’ay sapling, young tree, asqts’ayak to hold a stick in one’s hand*

Proto-Salish *χəc’-ay’ ‘log, stick, wood’, Oo χc’aʔi ‘canoe’ (Ku02)

2077 xts’us = qts’us

2078 xul (tr.) *to push or press something down: xulalulh (tr.) to launch a boat, xulayc to have been launched; to return to the spouse one has deserted, xu.xulusm to buck the wind, nuxuliixwakm (tr.) to cause a person’s health to deteriorate, nuxuliixutsm (tr.) to say negative things about somebody, xulikit_{ts}’ tu_{ts} sulhaw_{ts} txw now they pushed it off the roof of their house, xultsut to push off, begin a boat trip, nuxulaaxtsut = xultsut, nuxuluulh (tr.) to fold a corpse down into a semi-cubic coffin*

2079 xulxulis = xul.xulis *spring tide: xulaaxmis the tide is going up*

2080 √xum *to flow, stream: xumaqw’s one’s tears are running, sxumaqw’s tears, nuxumtu- to make water run, anuxum stream, river, anuxuu.xumi creek, anuxumikiixw to have a running nose, anuxu.xumiiklayc to have gonorrhea*

Squamish χ^wəm ‘run swiftly (about water)’ (Ku67), Lillooet χ^wəm ‘swift’ (VE13)

2081 xup (tr.), xupa (itr.) *to insert something; to cook something in an oven: alhxuplh oven-baked, roasted (food), isʔalhxuplh to eat something roasted, alhxuptnm to have a roast in the oven, xupats c_a kusi I am roasting potatoes, nusxuupsta cooky sheet, xuplqsak*

(tr.) *to put a ring on somebody's finger*, xupm *to get stuck in, sink into mud*

- 2082 xuq' (tr.), xuq'a (itr.) *to rasp, file something*: xuq'ta *file*, xuq'aalhta *rasp*, xuq'uts (tr.) *to file, sharpen a blade* (cf. xwiq'm)

Proto-Salish *χ^wu/aq'^w 'to grind, rasp' (Ku02)

- 2083 xuta *dipnet*: xutam *to fish with a dipnet*

NW √χut 'to scoop up' (LR80)

- 2084 xuts (tr.), xutsa (itr.) *to soak something in water, soften, make pliable*: xutsm *to soak dried fish in water*, xutsalh^m *to put one's feet into the water, wade*, xutslc *to become soft, pliable*, xutslcanlh *clothes get soft, "broken in"*, xun.xutslqs *"dipped tip" = crown pen, writing pen*, xuu.xwtsi *supple, bending readily*, xuu.xwtsliwa *lithe, flexible (person)*

Ha χ^ws 'to get soaked', NW √χus 'to sprinkle, splash' (LR80)

- 2085 xuxutsi = xu.xutsi *yearling mountain goat* (cf. kwtsus)

Tahltan xú'ze 'yearling mountain goat' (Nater field notes), and cf. He x^wúx^wssižá (where ss = [ts]) 'mountain goat suet' (Rath 2010)

XW

- 2086 xwalc (/xway-lc/) = xway: xwalctu- *to melt something*, xwal.xwalc *solder*

- 2087 xwalt *to snore*: nusxwaltmc *snoring habitually*

Cf. Upper Chehalis χ^wó·ln' 'snore' (Ki91)

- 2088 xwaxwi = xwa.xwi *eggs of housefly*

Proto-Salish *χ^way-aʔ 'fly, maggot' (Ku02)

- 2089 xway *to melt*
 Proto-Salish *χ^way ‘to perish, disappear’ (Ku02)
- 2090 xwiita (tr./itr.) *to eat eulachon flesh*
 Cf. NW √χ^wit ‘to stir or mash with spoon’ (LR80)
- 2091 √xwiits = √xwits
- 2092 xwiixn *a type of box*
- 2093 xwiq’m *to grate, creak, squeak*: xwiq’miilh *door creaks, squeaks*,
 anuxwi.xwqw’mikiiqwalits *to grind one’s teeth* (cf. xuq’)
 Proto-Salish *χ^wu/aq’w ‘to grind, rasp’ (Ku02)
- 2094 √xwis *fun, pleasure, play*: sxwis *game*, xwism *to play, joke*, xwism (tr.)
to make fun of somebody, xwismuutsm (tr.) *to give somebody a*
nickname, xwis.xwismuuts *to be saying funny things, joking*,
 sxwis.xwismuuts skwatstas *it is a nickname*, sixwis(m)ak toy (cf.
 √xwits, xwsanim)
 Proto-Salish *Γ^wəy, *Γ^wəys/c ‘play, joke, make fun’ (Ku02)
- 2095 √xwits, √xwiits (tr.) *to shake something*: alhxwitstsut *to shake oneself*,
 alhxwitsakm *to shake one’s hands*, sxwits *dance*, xwiitsana *restless*,
playful (cf. √xwis)
- 2096 xwlxwluulhi = xwl.xwluulhi *stocky, short (person)*: sxwluulhi =
 xwl.xwluulhi
- 2097 √xwlh (tr.) *to cross a barrier, press into, pass (through), surpass*,
exceed something: xwlhtsut *to press on, keep going*, əys, ts’ c, txw
 sxwlhaycs *at that moment he had already moved past*,
 alhxwlh(iiqw)is, ts’ əlh, ti, suncwt snusk’lutss *today it is much colder*,
 alhxwlhiiqwis ti, tl’ msta, tc ulh, ti, sc “*the man is going deeper and*
deeper into badness” = *the man is becoming increasingly evil*, anayk

ska xwlhikuutsalhms ulh tu taqw'lh tski t'axw *he wanted to travel further down that river, it appears*

2098 xwlhtn (tr.), xwlhtna (itr.) *to brace something*

2099 xwnxwnm = xwn.xwnm *hummingbird*; xwn.xwnmi *dim.*,
xwn.xwnmulh *hummingbird's egg*

Proto-Salish *χ^wən 'to buzz, hum' (Ku02)

2100 xws (tr.) *to oil, grease, lubricate something*; alhxws *oiled, lubricated*,
xwsta *ointment, oil*, xwsuulhutsta *butter* (cf. xs)

Proto-Coast Salish *χ^wəs 'grease' (Ku02), Kw √χ^ws 'seal blubber' (LR80)

2101 xwsanim *a gambling game (now obsolete)* (from xws-an-im, cf. √xwis; McI48 has xwosän·i)

All-Tsimshianic χsan 'gamble' (Nater 2018) copied from Nuxalk. Nuxalk -im '3 sg. passive' is found in a number of nouns denoting useful or enjoyable things: /knic-im/ 'eat-3 sg. passive' = 'food', /qaaxla-m-im/ 'drink-applicative-3 sg. passive' = 'beverage', /nu-ʔakwn-als-im/ 'inside-buy-space-3 sg. passive' = 'store'.

2102 √xwtn (tr.) *to hold something open*: xwtnutsta *sail pole*,
(nu)xwtnusta *frame made of sticks used for drying salmon*,
nuxwtnutsta *stick used to open eulachon net*

Y

2103 -y = -i

2104 ya, √?ya *good*: kanusyam *to have a good flavor, be sweet*, yalc *to recuperate, get well*, yalcnic (tr.) *to cure somebody*, yalcnimut *to cure oneself*, yalcntm *to be a healer*, yalayc *to be lucky, successful*, yalculh ti, tl'uk' *it is full moon*, nuyalcikta *pleasurable object*, nuyalciktutim c, ti, qiqti, tc *they enjoy the child*, nuya ti, qla *water is clear*, yalikt *to have a good personality*, yanimut *to boast*, ?yanimut *to observe chastity, abstinence*, yanic (tr.) *to like*, yayxuts *to be talkative*, nuyayanlh *generous*, yayaqw's *to have good eyesight*, brightly colored, ya.yaliwa *to be in good physical shape, tough, brave*

(but this is probably from *yal, cf. yalli, yalit), ya.yatsuti *to go easy, take one's time*, nuyayalsuts *to have a strong voice*, nuyayulhalxi *to be balanced, have equilibrium*, yayulhlamim ska... *he is allowed to ...*, usya *to have a smooth top (surface)*, usyayik, usya.yayk *to have a smooth upper surface*, usyayayc *to have a good spouse*, usyayak tsi.cnass *he has a good wife*, yank *to pole a boat adroitly* (“have good control of the bottom”), yan.yanklaycm *to be poling a boat*

Proto-Salish *laʔ ‘good’ (Ku02)

2105 ya *you know, eh?, right?* (15.24, 15.55)

2106 yacw (tr.) *to approach, call somebody's attention: to wake somebody up; to ask somebody a favor or offer employment*: nuyacwtsinu *I ask you a favor*, anuyacw *hired, employed*

2107 yacwm?maylh *old female sealion*

2108 yaki *mountain goat*: yac.yaaki *dim.*, yakiixw *mountain goat's head*, yakyanylh *blanket made of mountain goat fur*, yakyaalh *spoon made of goat's horn*

2109 yalit, yal.lit *to be (a) brave*

Proto-Interior Salish *ɣəl ‘strong, vigorous’ (Shuswap ɣlyalt ‘strong, brave’) (Ku02)

2110 yallak = yal.lak *to be sleepy*

2111 yalli = yal.li *to be a strong swimmer*

Proto-Interior Salish *ɣəl ‘strong, vigorous’ (Ku02)

2112 yallit = yal.lit = yalit

2113 ɣyalq, ɣyalx *round, circular, spherical*: nuyalqaaq *bowl*, nuyalqiilh *hoop*, yalqiilhm *ring-throwing (game)*, yalquulh *ball, sphere*, anuyalx *to be round*, nuyalxmtu- *to arrange objects in a circle*, yalxus

(tr.) *to loop a rope*, anuyalxus ti tpiksta *it is a round drying frame*,
 yalxutsayc *to have gone around the world*, yalxalh (tr.) *to circle*,
walk around somebody, yalquulhla (tr.) = yalxalh (cf. yul, v̆yul, v̆il,
 nulmaax, v̆yaqas)

Proto-Salish *yəl, yul ‘to roll, turn over, round’, Twana biyálqisəb
 ‘he’s whirling around’, Shuswap yłqinm ‘coil something up’ (Ku02)

- 2114 v̆yalhʔay *opportunity, availability, passage*: yalhʔayakmitsut *to succeed, manage to get something done*, axw ti ka yalhʔayakmits ska nitsm̐nicits *I do not have the means to revive him*, clhyalhʔayliwa *to have the time to do something*, snuyalhʔay *guts, intestines*
- 2115 yalhʔay (tr.) *to pledge, give somebody in marriage*: yalhʔaytinitis ulh ta kwtmtsts tx *I was given to my husband in marriage, ours is an arranged marriage*
- 2116 yalhʔayc *to be overly ..., too much*: yalhʔayc tʔayc stʔss *this is too salty*, yalhʔayc *to overeat*, nuyalhʔayc *to accidentally add too much water to food* (cf. kayci)
- 2117 v̆yam̐lh *music, singing*: nuyam̐lh *to sing*, nuyam̐lhik *to want to sing; (recorded) music, record*, nuyam̐lhiknm *to play a record or musical instrument*, nuyam̐lhalsim c a tsits.tsipi *birds are singing in his house*, nuyam̐lhusits lu *I am still singing a lullaby to him*, nu.nuyam̐lh *(to be a) singer*, nusyam̐lh *(to be a) habitual or professional singer*, nu.nusyam̐lh *a group of professional singers, choir*, kʔisyam̐lh *to lack singing talent*, yayuuts ti snuyam̐lh *he is good at singing* (cf. syut)

Possibly from *yawn... < Proto-Coast Salish *yəwən ‘spirit power, song’ (Ku02), or cf. Proto-Athabaskan *v̆yən ‘sing shamanistically’ (Nater 1994)

- 2118 ʔyanahu *turnip*: ʔyanahwi *dim.*, nuʔyanahuuta *turnip bed*

A widespread term: He y'nawú (Rath 2010), Nisgha iinuú (Tarpent 1987), Tlingit anahu' (Edwards 2009), Haida inú' (Lachler 2010)

- 2119 yants *driftwood*: ya.yntsi *dim.*, yantsanlh wa_sulh *it is a house made of driftwood*, snuyantsaqw's *watersnail* (McI48 *sniändcəqs*: Worm or larva living under the ocean)
Proto-Salish *yan(u)c (Ku02)
- 2120 √yaqas *round*: yaqasuulh *ball* (a Kimsquit word), yaqasuulhm *to play with a ball*, yaqasiilh *hoop* (cf. √yalq)
- 2121 yatn *rattle*
He yádn 'rattle' (Rath 2010), NW √yat 'to rattle' (LR80)
- 2122 yaw! *hello!, hi!* (16.7)
He yáu 'hello!, hi!' (Rath 2010)
- 2123 yaxat (tr.) *to ridicule somebody*
- 2124 √yaxw *to be allowed, have permission*: yaxwnictsinu ska_tl'apnu *I allow you to go*, axw alhyaxwnicim ska_usqas *he is not allowed to go out*, axw yaxwnimutnim c_tx *he was not allowed by him (to ...)*, yaxwnimutnicis ska... *he agreed to ...*
- 2125 yayaasi = ya.yaasi *to be pretty, handsome* (probably from *ya.ya-us-i, cf. ya, -us)
- 2126 yayaatwi = ya.yaatwi *happy*: ya.yaatwamktsuti *to be happy about oneself, to enjoy oneself*
If < *ya.yaŋt-əwən, cf. Shuswap yŋ.yeŋt (Ku74), -liwa
- 2127 yayax = ya.yax *small type of horn played in kusyut dance*: ya.yaxi *toy*, tamya.yaxiitu- *to make a toy for somebody*, ya.yaxm (tr.) *to make fun of, make a fool out of somebody*

- 2128 -yi = -i
- 2129 *ṽynuc bound allomorph of inacw* (10.7): *kaynucs tomorrow*, *kamaynucs day after tomorrow*, *alhtumaynuca day before yesterday*
- 2130 *yul* (tr.) *to stir, rub, stroke something*: *yulakm to stir soapberries*, *yulaakm to rub one's hands*, *yulapsm* (tr.) *to rub or stroke somebody's neck*, *yululhik* (tr.) *to rub or stroke somebody's back*, *yul.yulm to start a fire with a firedrill or by rubbing sticks*, *yulmta firedrill* (cf. *ṽyul*, *ṽil*, *nulmaax*, *ṽyalq*)
- Proto-Salish *y_əl, *yul* 'to roll, turn over, round' (Ku02), Kw *ylsa* 'to twirl a firedrill, rub with the palm of the hand' (LR80)
- 2131 *ṽyul* (tr.) *to turn, rotate, roll something*: *yulm to walk in a circle, around something; to return from the dead, be reincarnated*, *alhyulmlh having returned from the dead, reincarnated*, *nuyulmaax to return to point of departure*, *alhyulaaktmacwm* (tr.) *to roll something between one's hands* (cf. *yul*, *ṽil*, *nulmaax*, *ṽyalq*)
- Proto-Salish *y_əl, *yul* 'to roll, turn over, round' (Ku02), Kw *ylsa* 'to twirl a firedrill, rub with the palm of the hand' (LR80)
- 2132 *yum shy, ashamed*: *yum.yum = yum*, *yumnictss he made me feel ashamed* (cf. *im*)
- Cf. Lillooet ?ú_z-um 'ashamed' (VE13)
- 2133 *yumalcw to be sour*: *yumalcwlhp sourgrass, sheep sorrel*; *yumalcwlc to get pickled, ferment*
- 2134 *ṽyup* (tr.) *to move (over), make room for somebody*: *yupalhtsx! get out of my way!*, *yupaaxtsx! get out of my chair!*, *yuupalh to start dancing*
- 2135 *yup'alcw to arrive at a point of land*: *syup'alcw point of land*

2136 yutlc *to get used to something*: yutlcnic (tr.) *to let somebody get used to something*

NW yut, yiut ‘trained in, accustomed to’, from √yy (LR80)

2137 yuyucw = yu.yucw *bracelet*

NARRATIVES

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A Ghost Story (Margaret Siwallace)

- 1 Way, álat'sits – Sutslhmcilh t'ayc sʔálat'sis.

Well then, I will tell a story – this story is from the village of Sutslh.

- 2 Ala,ayk'kw, ala,ayk' sʔaymis sʔalhʔalhtsimtim wa,qiqipi syana
ska,tl'inaw ska,ustcwaw ula,sulhaw sklhs ti,snx,t'ayc.

*A long time ago, children were always told that it was best for them to
hurry back home at sunset.*

- 3 Wics ts siʔmts ti,kulhkwilhulmc,t'ayc.

Because that's when this spirit world rises to the surface.

- 4 Wics ts wa,inacwaw sʔmtaw sʔixq'maw skstimutaw sʔalhʔayna,tuu
c,lhmilh stl'mstanalusilh,ts.

*That is their morning, as they rise, walk around, and go about their
business, behaving exactly like us mortal beings.*

- 5 Suncws,kuks alh,lhmilh slht'ms ti,snx,t'ayc.

But our day begins when the sun rises.

- 6 Wic,ʔits'ik sklhs ti,snx,t'ayc slht'mtim wa,kulhkwilhulmc,ats.

And when the sun sets, ghosts experience sunrise.

- 7 Ayutsaw,ts' ska,tl'ilh ska,ustcwillh.

That's when they told us to hurry back home.

- 8 Alhʔayna,kw'its'ik wa,qiqipi sxwismaw alh,Nutl'l.

Once, some children were playing at Nutl'l.

- 9 Aynaw sʔicuq'xtmacwaw ska,tl'apaw ska,ustcwaw ula,sulhaw txw,
ska,kamalh,aluuxams ti,ka,aluuxam ska,anuxupaaxs.

*They were calling to each other that they should start going home, and
that if somebody would lag behind, that same one would be poked in
the rear.*

- 10 Anuxupaax,kw'its'ik ta,numaw,tx.

And then one of them was reportedly poked in the rear.

- 11 Aluuxams,kwts' ta,numaw,tx stics,ts'n tx ti,anuxupaax.

*This one was lagging behind, and he's the one who was poked in the
rear.*

- 12 Kaltmacwmis,kwts' t'ayc ti,tl'msta,t'ayc.

Now he encountered this man.

- 13 Waycís,kw sʔatmas ta,tl'msta,tx.

This man had died recently.

- 14 Lhkw'mim ta,qiqti,tx c,ta,tl'msta,tx.

That man loved the young boy.

- 15 Alhʔays,tuu ta,qiqti,tx slhkw'mis ta,tl'msta,tx.

And the young boy, too, loved the man.

- 16 Nunanicikmis,ts' t'ayc ska,alhʔatmas t'ayc.

He had forgotten that this man was dead.

- 17 Ip'im,kwts' ska,tqw'im.

He was grabbed and placed on his lap.

- 18 Alhtqw'im,kw'its'ik ala,amats sʔalhtqw'im alh,txw.

And now he was being held on his lap, where he had been placed.

19 Ala_uwayci scwpakmis.

After a little while, the man let go of him.

20 Alhʔalhtsimtmacwaw_utu.

They talked to each other.

21 Xltum_uts' c_utx syas ska_uustcws ulh_utu_usulhaw_utxw ska_uwalim c_utx.

Then he was told that it was best for him to go back home, and to leave him.

22 Alhʔay_ukw'iluts'ik ta_uqiqti_utx stl'aps ulh_utu_usulhaw tu_uamatalaaxts_utxw.

And the boy did eventually go to his parents' house.

23 Ustcwaycs_ukw ta_uqiqti_utx.

And he went inside.

24 Alats'amktsuts_ukwts' sk'cis ta_utl'msta_utx.

And he told his story about seeing that man.

25 Tmʔalhk'clha_ukw'iluts'ik tu_uamatalaaxts_utxw ulh_utx n tu_ulh_ulkw'lc_utxw.

But his parents just kept looking at him, and so did the elders.

26 Axtsms ta_uqiqti_utx.

The boy went to sleep.

27 Kwtl'aycs t'ayc ska_ukmalaycs.

And he caught an illness.

28 Stiʔatmnusam_ukw'its'ik t'ayc alh_uta_utcalhyank_utx
úl_uh_uta_ukulhkw_ulhulmc_utx; ti_ustiʔatmnus_ukwts' alh_uta_uqiqti_utx.

And he became paralyzed on the side that had been turned towards the ghost; that side of the boy was now dead.

- 29 Wic,ʔits'ika ts siʔalhʔayutsmtinilh,ts' sʔaymis syalh ska,tl'ilh
ska,ustcwilh ulh,tu,sulhaw tu,amatalaaxtilh,txw spusilh,ts' sqiqipiilh.

*And so this is why we were always told to be good and hurry back home
to our parents when we were children growing up.*

- 30 Ala,alhkp wa,tsay kulhulmc sʔalhʔayutsmtim c,ats, wics,ts' sʔalhʔays
sʔaynicim ta,tl'msta,tx c,ta,tl'msta,tuu,tx.

*In every part of the entire region they were told this, because that
person had had this experience with that very man.*

- 31 Way,cwplxs t'ayc.

Well, that's the end of this story.

The Frog Children (Margaret Siwallace)

- 1 Way, álat's'its_suts' c_ti_Tl'xwtsaytxwlh_ts' ti_s'álat's'i_t'ayc.

Let me now tell you another story; this one is from Kitlope.

- 2 Ala_ayk' alh_Tl'xwtsaytxw ssmsmayamkim_kwk'u ats.

A long time ago, this story would be told at Kitlope.

- 3 Tics_ts' ta_kukwpilhts_tx ti_smsmayamk(t)_t'ayc ulh_nts
ala_patsalhilh_tsk alh_Tl'xwtsaytxw.

In this case, it is my grandfather who told me the story that I believe he passed on from our ancestors at Kitlope.

- 4 Ala_ayk' kw_sqwlxulhtsutaw wa_cnasuks ska_tl'apaw ska_lhqw'maw
c_a_ilk, ula_umataw slhqw'maw c_a_ilk.

He said that once upon a time, a group of women assembled and started off in order to gather Indian rice, and they went to a location where they started gathering this rice.

- 5 Alh?naycs_kwts' ilh_mnamim_?ilh ala_lhqw'm_?ats.

And one chief's daughter accompanied these harvesters.

- 6 Lhqw'ms_kw ilha?ilh.

And she started harvesting.

- 7 Tl'aps_kw ska_lhqw'aynicis ti_matskw'.

And while doing this, she happened to dig up a frog.

- 8 Tayamkis ta_matskw'_tx.

She discarded the frog.

- 9 Scuucwtsmis_kw ta_matskw'_tx stayamkis.

She swore at the frog as she discarded him.

- 10 Alhʔay kw'iluts'ik c tsi alhʔawlhim tsc c ta matskw' tx
slhqw'aynicis kwtuts'.

But all the time, it seemed as if she was being followed around by the frog, as she kept happening upon him while digging.

- 11 Alhʔayutsmis kwtuts', tatyamkis sʔicscuucwtsmis.

And over and again, she spoke to him, she kept discarding him and insulting him.

- 12 Icuq'xtmacwa kw'its'ik tu cnasuks txw sts'usms ts ala ats.

Then, dusk came, and the women called out to each other.

- 13 Tl'aps ts' ska klhs ta snx tx.

Now the sun began to set.

- 14 Icuq'xtmacwaw ts' ska lip'tsutaw ulh ta sulh tx.

They called to each other, saying it was time to return to the village.

- 15 K'cis kwts' ts'ayc hii ti yayaasi ti tsaatsti syayaliwas kwtuu
ti tsaatsti t'ayc!

And, hey, then she saw a handsome young man – was he ever good-looking!

- 16 Ayuts kwts' t'ayc ska alhkwnis ska kawalhis ulh tu sulhs txw.

And he said that he would walk with her, and accompany her on her way home.

- 17 K'ilhtcumattum kwmakuts' ts'ayc c ta matskw' ta tsaatsti tx.

But it appears that the frog, the young man, made her lose her way.

- 18 Tic kwmakuts' ta ictatyamkis ta matskw' tx ta tsaatsti tx
stl'mstnamtimuts ulh ilh.

Apparently, this had been the frog she had been discarding, the young man having transformed himself into a human being to her.

- 19 Alhkwnis, ts' úlh, ta, sulhs, tx, ulh, ta, amats, tx sʔapsulhs ti, Matskw'mc alh, Tl'xwtsaytxw.

And now he led her to his house, to the location where the Frog People were living at Kitlope.

- 20 Talaws, ts' ulh, ilh.

Then he married her.

- 21 Clhmnalcs, kwts' ilh, tsaatsti, ʔilh c, a, lhnús wa, mnmnntskw'i.

And shortly, the girl delivered two frog babies.

- 22 Alats'itutis, kw'itk'uk, way, tu, mnmntss, txw:

Well, she kept telling her children:

- 23 “Lhay t'axw wa, sulhs ta, manlhts, lhay t'axw.”

“Over yonder is my father's house, over yonder.”

- 24 “Lhnús wa, asqayalh, ts ala, asuuts, ts.”

“Two totem poles are standing in front of it.”

- 25 “Q'lumap, ʔits'ik alh, ti, mnmnta, tc, ka, tl'apap ska, anaykap ska, k'cip ta, kukwpilhap, ta, manlhts n lha, stanlhts,” tsutsuts, kwttu ts'ayc ulh, txw.

“And soon, you will go up the road, if you are going to want to see your grandfather, my father and mother,” she was telling them.

- 26 Ayna, kw'iluts'ik tu, mnmnntskw'í, txw ska, tl'apaw.

And after a while, the frog children were on their way.

- 27 K'cit, kwalu ta, kukwpinaw, tx.

They were going to try and see their grandfather.

- 28 Q'luma,kwaluk'u t'axw alh,ta,mnmnnta,tx utl'uk'.
Many times, they tried to climb up the steps.
- 29 Ts'xlhnntim,kwk'u t'axw.
And they were kicked down over and over.
- 30 "Alh?alh?aynaw,tu ats,qixyu matskw' ?ats!" tsutsutmtim,kwkw'.
"They keep coming, these damned frogs!" they were saying to them.
- 31 Q'lúma,kwalukw'.
Yet they kept trying to climb up.
- 32 Áytutim,kwkw'.
But they were treated the same way again and again.
- 33 Xapatis,kwaluts' ta,qw'alm,tx ilh,susqwiis,?ilh.
Then, the older one tried to pack his little sister on his back.
- 34 Alh?aytutim,kwtuts' sts'xlhntim ska,klhtim.
And again, they were kicked repeatedly and fell down.
- 35 Inica?iina,kwalulukw' ska,ts'ktaw ulh,ta,kulhiixw,tx s?aytutim.
Many times, they almost made it to the top of the stairs, but then they were treated the same way.
- 36 Lip'tsutlca,kw ats ulh,ilh,stanaw,?ilh.
And they had no choice but to return to their mother.
- 37 Alats'amktsutaw s?alh?ays wa,ts'ktatutim.
And they told her what had been done to them.
- 38 "Ay,ka,alhkwn tulhap,ma."
"Well, then, maybe I will take you there myself."

- 39 Tsut kw'its'ik ilhaʔilh, stanaw ʔilh, stl'mstanalusamtimuts kwts'
ilhaʔilh.

*That's what she, their mother, then said, and she now assumed the
shape of a human being.*

- 40 Its'amayanms ska tl'aps ska alhkwn̄tis.

And she wrapped herself in a blanket, and started off with her children.

- 41 Ts'kts ku ulh ti, apsulh t'ayc sk'cim ts' st̄sics ilh.

And when she arrived at the village, they saw that it was her.

- 42 Wa sʔalhk'ilhtcumats ts'ayc alh ta sulh tx.

Because she was the one who had strayed from the village.

- 43 Ayutss kw ts'ayc ska nut'cwalsmaw ska nuʔayawalsmaw ala ka patsalh
ska ustcws ulh txw.

*And she told them to sweep the house and change the sand on the floor
before she would go inside.*

- 44 Ayna kw'iluts'ik snut'cwalsmaw.

And they did sweep the house.

- 45 Ustcws.

And she went in.

- 46 "Xlxl̄tutits wa mnm̄ntsts alu ʔats ulh inu ska k'ctap c ts."

"I sent these children of mine to you for them to see you."

- 47 "Ts'xl̄h̄ntim kw'itk'uk alh ti mnm̄n̄nta t'ayc siʔaynaw slip'tsutaw
ulh n̄ts."

“But they were kicked down these steps so many times, they came back to me.”

48 “Alats’amktsutaw.”

“They told me what had happened to them.”

49 “Alhkwn̄tits̄ʔits̄’ik ulh̄inu skāk’cticw.”

“So I brought them to you, for you to see them.”

50 Tsuts̄kwts̄’ilh̄tsaatstīʔilh̄ulh̄tāmans̄tx.

That is what the young woman said to her father.

51 Sk̄’uulhms̄kwts̄’ilhāʔilh̄skākw̄l’tis̄tūmatskw̄’tūmnm̄ntss̄txw
ulh̄tākulhulmc̄tx.

Then she removed her blanket, and placed her frog-children on the floor.

52 Cwplxs̄t’ax.

That’s the end of that story.

Raven and Dipper (Margaret Siwallace)

- 1 Sʔalats'i t'ayc alh,ti,Maxwat'alaqa,tc in ti,Qwaxw,tc.
This is a story about Dipper and Raven.
- 2 Tl'ap,kwsu t'ax, Qwaxw, ska,icʔilaaxaycs úlh,ti,Maxwat'alaqa,tc.
For a change, he, Raven, went to pay Dipper a visit.
- 3 "Ilaaxaycts ulh,inu," tsutsut,kw t'ayc, way.
"I have come to visit you," he said.
- 4 Ustcwtum,kw ska,mttum c,Maxwat'alaqa.
And Dipper let him in, and offered him a seat.
- 5 Tl'aps,kw Maxwat'alaqa ska,kwnis ti,amʔamatuuts.
And Dipper went to get a dish.
- 6 Tl'aps ska,nut'tsulhanalhms,kw.
And he proceeded to rap on his anklebone.
- 7 Nut'tsulhanalhms,kw.
He was rapping on his anklebone.
- 8 Tl'aps,kw ska,usqas tu,scwilm,txw alh,ta,spulhanalh
ta,Maxwat'alaqa,tx.
And salmon roe began to issue forth from Dipper's anklebone.
- 9 Wics,kwts' ats wa,sʔalhpstum Qwaxw, way.

And this is what Raven was offered to eat now.

- 10 Alhpss Qwaxw.

And Raven ate.

- 11 Ayuts kwts' t'ax, way, ska alhkwnis ta am?amatuts tx
ska lip' tsuttus tuts'.

*Then he surely said he was going to take the dish with him, and that he
would return it later.*

- 12 Lq'aylaycs kwmasuku tx, way, ska alh?ays ska nunuusq'xis
ta Maxwat'alaqa tx ska nut' tsulhanalhms.

*Somehow, it must have occurred to him that somehow he should
imitate Dipper, that he should rap on his anklebone.*

- 13 Anayks ala ka sculm tuts'.

He wanted some more salmon roe.

- 14 Putl' kw'iluk wa acwlh wa sculm stsayliwas t'axw.

For a while, some roe was coming, but then it stopped.

- 15 Utsi c t'axw, ti Maxwat'alaqa tc in ti Qwaxw tc.

That's all (I can tell) about them, Dipper and Raven.

Raven and Cormorant (Margaret Siwallace)

- 1 Alats'its alh, ti, Qwaxw, tc in ti, Tl'upana, tsk, tc.
I will tell a story about Raven and the one that I figure is Cormorant.
- 2 Stamʔapsulhmtmacwa, kw t'axw, ti, Qwaxw, tc in ti, Tl'upana, tc.
They, Raven and Cormorant, lived in the same neighborhood.
- 3 Lq'aylayca, kw t'axw ska, wnts'lhaw ka, p'wi.
It occurred to them that they should go fishing for halibut.
- 4 Tl'apa, kw ska, wnts'lhaw.
And they did go halibut-fishing.
- 5 Usʔatsyanmaw swnts'lhaw.
They boarded a canoe and went fishing.
- 6 Numawi, kw'iluts'ik t'ax, ta, Tl'upana, tx, sputl'aylaycs c, a, p'wi.
But as time passed, only he, Cormorant, managed to catch a number of halibut.
- 7 Ticslaxs, kw t'ax c, a, p'wi.
He caught a lot of halibut.
- 8 Tick'acws, kwts' t'ax, ti, Qwaxw, tc.
But the other one, Raven, caught none at all.
- 9 "Tl'alhi, na, tl'alhi, na!" tsut, kw'ists'ik t'ax, Qwaxw, way.
"Come here, come here!" Raven then said.
- 10 Lq'aylaycs, kw mats' ala, ka, ts'ktatus Tl'upana.

He must have thought of something he could do to Cormorant.

- 11 Ays,kwtutuu tx, Tl'upana, stl'aps ulh,tx.

And he, Cormorant, did indeed go to him.

- 12 "Tsqm,na!"

"Open your mouth!"

- 13 Tsut,kw'its'ik t'ax.

That's what he said.

- 14 Tsqms,kwtutuu tx.

And indeed, he opened his mouth.

- 15 Hii, tcaliitsim,kw tx!

And, hey, his tongue was cut off!

- 16 Ts'kta,kw t'axw úlh,ta,amataw,txw sʔapsulhaw.

Later on, they arrived at the village where they lived.

- 17 Tl'aputs,kwaluts' Tl'upana ska,alats'amktsuts alh,tu,ts'ktatum,txw
c,Qwaxw.

Now Cormorant started to attempt telling what Raven had done to him.

- 18 "Aa, ala,wicanaw wa,alhputl'aynictits,ʔats wa,stl'yuks t'ayc."

"Oh, it is about the ones that I caught, that's what he is talking about."

- 19 "Numawíts sputl'aylaycts."

"Only I have been lucky."

- 20 "Wic ats wa,stl'yuks t'aw,tc sʔalats'ís,alu alhʔays,ts."

"That's what he's saying, that's what he's trying to tell us now."

- 21 Tsutsut.kw'ists'ik t'ax, Qwaxw, alh.ti.alh?alhtsim.kwaluts',
ti.ax.kwts' t'ayc alh?alhtsimaylayc Tl'upana.

*That's what he, Raven, then said about the one who was trying to talk,
this Cormorant who was now unable to talk.*

- 22 Wic.kw ats si?alh?ays ti.Tl'upana.t'ayc alh.ti.suncwt s?axw
alh?alhtsimaylaycs, wic stcaliitsim c.ti.Qwaxw ala.ayk'.

*This is why Cormorant is like that today, being unable to speak,
because his tongue was cut off by Raven long ago.*

- 23 Cwplxs t'ax.

That's the end of that story.

The Flood (Agnes Edgar)

- 1 Way, ayuutstimutts ska, alats'itutits wa, anayk, ʔawa ska, smsmayuustits
ala, ts'kta, tsk ala, ayk' skamalh, kw'alhtnim wa, suncw, ʔats.

*Well, I will try to tell a story to these people who want me to tell about
things that happened a long time ago, whenever this world was created.*

- 2 Lhwaaslxsaax, kw wa, suncw siʔalhwlalhs alh, txw sq'sl'was sʔalhwlalhs.

It is said that it rained for forty days, and that it was raining hard.

- 3 Ays, ts' alh, txw stl'palhmliwas, tski alh, txw.

And I gather that it stopped raining then.

- 4 Putl's, ts' ti, qla, t'ayc ska, putsuts, ts' alh, txw.

Now the water came, and it started to rise then.

- 5 Alhʔays, ts' c, ti, satl'suuts, tc.

It looked like the tide coming in.

- 6 Ays alh, txw sqw'smulmcs ti, kulhulmc, t'ayc.

That's when the land was flooded.

- 7 Tl'apa, kwts' tu, tl'msta, txw ska, kwnit tu, satl'a, txw
ulh, tu, kulhuuts, txw ska, aytut ulh, tu, asuutsaw, txw.

*Then the people proceeded to take the canoes to the beach, placing
them in front of their houses.*

- 8 Umatstut tu, sts'laaxlh, txw.

They brought the boards over.

- 9 Xulikit, ts' tu, sulhaw, txw sʔalhʔays, ts'ntsk c, ta, ayutsmim
stamsawanaaxkwim.

They pushed them off their houses, and I figure it looked like something that they said was being made into a raft.

- 10 Sawanaaxkw tsuta kwts' úlh tx.

A raft is what they called it.

- 11 Uts'alulhamtum wa sts'laaxlh alh tu satl'a txw.

The boards were placed on top of the canoes.

- 12 Tamsxmxmpim alh txw c a q' lscw.

Then they were fastened with ropes.

- 13 Alh?aynaw ts' alh txw s?icp'iixlanaw alh txw alh ti kulhulmc t'ayc alh txw.

Then, they were drifting around, right over this land.

- 14 Aynaw c txw stm?iclisusiilhit ta amataw txw.

They just kept pushing (their vessels) out of the tight spots.

- 15 Q's ts' ska satl'suutsmtim c ti q la t'ayc.

They were entirely overwhelmed by this mass of water.

- 16 Aynaw ts' alh txw stm?alh?aylhaw c txw s?alh?aynaw c txw.

That's what they were doing then, that's all they could do at the time.

- 17 Sxmxmpim tu tu tsay tu sts'laaxlh txw alh txw ula sininitsaw alh txw wa acwlh.

All the boards were fastened, so that at least a few of them would survive.

- 18 Atmana kwlukukstuu tu acwlh txw.

Nevertheless, as time passed, some people did die.

- 19 Axw ti ka sq'lhkwaw.

They had no possessions.

- 20 Aynaw_{ts'} c_{txw} snupusmaw.

That's how they were, floating around.

- 21 Axw_{ʔits'ik} alhnapits smaaskaaxs alh_{txw} sʔayalhaw_{ts'} alh_{txw}
úl_h Nusq'lst.

*And I don't know who many days went by before they reached
Nusq'lst.*

- 22 Sxm_{xmptsutaw} ts' úl_h ti_{smt} t' ayc alh_{txw} alh_{Nusq'lst}.

That's when they moored their vessels at this mountain at Nusq'lst.

- 23 Aynaw_{ts'} c_{txw} sʔalhinaw alh_{txw}.

And then they stayed there.

- 24 Ala_{maaskaax} tsk sʔalhʔaynaw c_{txw} sʔalhinaw alh_{txw}.

They must have stayed there for several days.

- 25 Tilcuuts ti_{qla} t' ayc alh_{txw} sʔaxw_{ts'n} muus ska_{qw'xwms}.

Then the water settled, and the flood subsided.

- 26 Alhʔaynaw_{ts'} alh_{txw} way, sʔaxw_{ts'} iq' tsutaw.

*And that is how things kind of were with them, for sure, they weren't
moving anymore.*

- 27 Tmʔalhʔaylhaw_{ts'} c_{txw}.

That's just how things were with them.

- 28 Tl'aps_{kwts'} ta_{qla} tx ska_{qnklcuutss} tuts'.

And then the water began to recede again.

- 29 Nutakans_{ts'} alh_{txw}.

And the tide was low.

- 30 Aynaw_tuts' c_twx s?alhlistsutaw alh_ti_smt_t'ayc tu_acwlh_twx
scwpaycaw uuxnk ula_kulhulmc_?ats alh_twx.

*And again, some people were pushing away from this mountain, and
they made their way down towards this land then.*

- 31 Aynaw c_twx.

That's what they did.

- 32 Sláxs wa_p'iixla wa_kniclhit tu_acwlh alh_twx.

And some of them had much of their food floating away from them.

- 33 Alh?ays_tuu ti_alhi alh_Nutl'l alh_twx.

That is exactly what happened to the people who lived at Nutl'l.

- 34 Alh?ays_tuu ti_alhi_tuu alh_Kw'alhna_tuu alh_twx, n wa_Ats'aaxlh, n
ti_Lqw'lasmc_t'ayc.

*And the same thing happened to the ones living at Kw'alhna too, and to
the ones at Ats'aaxlh, and this Bella Bella population.*

- 35 Tmmúslh ats_s?alhnaps.

These are the only four that I know of.

- 36 Yalacłhaytum alh_til_Lqw'lasmc_t'ayc.

Yalacłhay (Goose Island) is what they call the one at Bella Bella.

- 37 Swak'c_?its'ik alh_Nutl'l.

And Swak'c is the one (mountain) at Nutl'l.

- 38 Pakwana_?its'ik alh_Kw'alhna.

And Pakwana is the one (mountain) at Kw'alhna.

- 39 Asts'lniikłhtum_?its'ik alh_Ats'aaxlh, ti_alh?ay_kwtuu alh_twx ti_axw
nuqw'smiixw alh_twx.

And the one (mountain) at Ats'aaxlh is called Asts'lniiklh, the one that was at the time not inundated either.

- 40 Aynaw c̣txw snacliwanaẉtuts' ulạkulhulmc̣ʔats alḥtxw.

Now they were ready again to go to these regions.

- 41 Tl'apliwanaẉts' skạq'lhkwtsutaw alḥtxw.

And they began to provide for themselves then.

- 42 Tamsulhtimutiinaẉtuts' alḥtxw.

They built a few new houses for themselves then.

- 43 Aynaw c̣txw snacliwanaẉ.

Now they were settled.

- 44 Axw alhnapits sʔalhʔalatsicwṣtski ats alạsuncẉ, kạtxuq'amṣtuu
kạamlhanmiṣtuu; axw alhnapits sʔalhʔays alḥtxw.

I don't know what time of the year it would have been, whether it was fall or spring; I don't know how things were back then.

- 45 Way, utsịʔiluts'ik c̣t'axw sʔalhnapits alḥtxw sʔalhʔays.

So, to date, that's all I know about how things were back then.

- 46 Wic̣kw'its'ika ts st'qalcs wạstaṃtsḳúḷḥtịaḷhịt'ayc alḥʔna,
alḥNutl'lḥiixẉ, tịSatsk'ayxwtuṃtc.

And it was at this time that something must have stuck to this one located at the one, at Nutl'lḥiixẉ, the one (mountain) called Satsk'ayxẉ.

- 47 Satsk'ayxẉtsutaw ulḥtịsmṭt'ayc.

Satsk'ayxẉ is what they call this mountain.

- 48 Ayutsaẉts' t'axw st'qalcs ats, wạq'akwtṣkẉ, úḷḥtịtic̣tc,
ulḥtịsmṭt'ayc alḥNutl'lḥiixẉ.

They said that these things, lupines, stuck to this one, to this mountain at Nutl'łhiixw.

- 49 Alhpaaxtum ʔiluts'iktuts' t'ayc c a sQ'akwtsulhik, ti smt tc
alh Satsk'ayxw.

And ever since, they have been calling this one Q'akwtsulhik, this elevation at Satsk'ayxw.

- 50 Alhʔay kw'ituk ti Nusimutstatum tuu t'ayc ala tpyaax ʔats.

And there is also this one, called Nusimutsta, across from here.

- 51 Tayamkis kw t'ax ti t'nxws úlh ti txaaxlhaaxuts t'ayc.

It is said that that one threw its top towards this one located further upstream.

- 52 Alhʔay ʔiluts'ik t'ayc stispulhankiiqwliwas ts' alh txw.

And since then, this one has looked like it has a lump on one side of its top.

- 53 Smsmalhhms ts' sʔalhʔays tski c txw.

And now it is legendary, because of what must have happened then.

- 54 Alhʔays wa suncw ʔats alh txw.

That's how this world was back then.

- 55 Scwtl'utslhts ma alh t'axw ala asaqw'slhh ʔats wa smlhk ʔats
ala alhʔays ts'ntski alh txw.

I may not have said enough about the fish that dwell on the bottom, when things were the way they must have been back then.

- 56 Nutl'łhlctim ts'ntski alh txw wa sulutlhh wa smlhk ʔats.

These sea fish must have been stuck on dry land back then.

- 57 Aynaw, luts' c, txw smalhhanmaw ala, aaxlh, ?ats, ala, smsmt, ?ats.

Eventually, they became fossils further upstream, in these mountains.

- 58 Alh?aynaw, ?iluts'ik s?alhw'alhtnaw, k'ult, tuu, ?ats, ay, ?ats,
ic?iixw, tuu, ?ats.

And since that time, they have been imprinted there, as well as these porpoises, various other species, including red cod.

- 59 Alh?aynaw c, txw st'qalcaw s?aynaw, luts' c, txw smalhhanmaw.

That's what happened to them: they got stuck, and eventually, they became fossils.

- 60 Alh?aynaw, ?iluk ala, tsay kulhulmc ala, sqw'sm.

And they are still there in all the areas that were flooded.

- 61 Alh?aynaw, tuu alh, Kw'alhna.

They are at Kw'alhna too.

- 62 Alhlxwtih, k'u alh, ti, kulhals, tc alh, Kw'alhna ala, kulhaaxutss
wa, anuxum, ?ats.

We used to observe them, on the cliff at Kw'alhna, at the bank of the river.

- 63 Alh?aynaw c, ts s?alhw'alhtnaw, luts': kw'ni, wa, p'wi, tuu, ?ats wa, alhi
alh, ts.

To this day, they are still imprinted there: fur seals, and these halibut, too, that are there.

- 64 Qulhaycaw, ts' ala, t'xt, ?ats.

They have left their marks on these rocks.

65 Alhʔays ts'tuu c txw ti smaw t'ayc: alhnik'apsms kw t'ayc.

This one in particular is just like them: its head has been cut off.

66 T'qalcs ula ats.

It got stuck towards this area.

67 Alhtxuq'iixw ʔits'ik t'ayc ala kulhaaxutss wa anuxum ʔats alh ti t'xt tc
alh Kw'alhna.

*And its head is located further downstream, at the bank of the river, on
a rock at Kw'alhna.*

68 Alhi ʔiluk alh ts.

And it is still there.

69 Sʔaymis sʔalhilh sʔalhlxwtilh alh ts alh tu ayk' t'axw sʔalhʔalhʔaylh-
txw alh ts.

*We stayed there all the time and looked at them, a long time ago, when
we used to be there.*

70 Way.

That's all.

Raven Creator (Agnes Edgar)

- 1 Way, ayuutstimutts, suts' ska, smsmats ala, anaykmit, ?ats
ska, napamcwit alh, txw s?alh?ays, tski alh, txw.

*Well, I will tell another story to these people who want to learn about
things as they must have happened long ago.*

- 2 Putl's, kw ti, Qwaxw, t'ayc ska, lhxwts, kwalu alh, txw alh, ta, sxim, t'ax.

*It is said that Raven came and attempted to pass through the morning
sky back then.*

- 3 Tl'aps, kwts' t'ax ska, k'mas alh, txw.

And then he got caught there.

- 4 Putl's ulh, ti, amatilh, t'awt.

He was on his way to where we live.

- 5 Lq'aylaycs, kwutts' t'ax alh, txw ska, kawamsis ti, suncw, t'ayc alh, txw.

Then, it occurred to him that he should place a wedge under the sky.

- 6 Kawamsis, kwts' alh, txw slhxwtaycs ulh, lhmilh, úl, ti, amatilh, t'awt.

*And he wedged it then, and he managed to pass through towards us, to
where we live.*

- 7 Alh?ays, ts' c, txw sputl's ska, alhlxwis wa, tsay kulhulmc, ?ats
alh, ta, aaxlh, t'axw.

And after he had come, he looked at all this land in the upstream area.

8 Wa₁ssuluts₂kw awcwa alh₃txw.

But this area was under salt water at the time.

9 Sulut₂kw awcwa alh₃txw.

This was sea back then.

10 Ays₂ts' c₃txw.

That's the situation he found himself in.

11 Axw yanicis ska₂wics awcwa ka₃sulut alh₃txw.

He did not like the idea that this area would stay under water.

12 Ax₂kwalu ka₃ilusaycs wa₄syup'alcw₅?ats ala₆ats wicllh₇ta₈aaxlh₉t'axw
alh₃txw ka₃wics awcwa ka₃sulut alh₃txw.

*It would be impossible to pass these points from the upstream region if
this area would be under water.*

13 Putl's₂ts' alh₃txw ska₄lq'aylaycs alh₃txw ska₄aytus c₃txw
ska₄nuxlq'iixwis awcwa.

*Then, the idea came to him that he should do something about it, that
he should turn this area around.*

14 Nuxlq'iixwis₂ts' ka₃wics ts tu₄unikw₅t'axw ka₃sulut.

And he turned it around, so that the sea would be in the west.

15 Anuxumanmtus₂ts' awcwa alh₃txw.

And he changed this area into a river valley.

16 Wic₂kw'its'ika txw snacliwanicis.

At that time, he considered his task completed.

17 Lq'aylaycs₂kwtuts' t'ax alh₃txw.

But then another idea struck him.

- 18 Lq'aylaycs alh₁txw ska₁nu?almkmmis₁tuts' awcwa alh₁txw.

It occurred to him that he should pole back upstream through this area.

- 19 Yanyankláycms₁kwts' alh₁txw snu?almkmmis₁ts' awcwa,
wa₁anuxum₁?ats, ulh₁tu₁aaxlh₁t'axw.

And now, as he was poling up this area, this river, towards the upriver region, he kept poking around with his pole.

- 20 Wics₁kwts' axw ka₁wilcaw ka₁stl'mstanalus alh₁txw si?alh?ay c₁txw.

It was to prevent people from getting caught there, that's why he was doing that.

- 21 Yanyanklaycms alh₁txw.

He kept poking around with his pole.

- 22 Alhlicmnklayctimuts alh₁ta₁skulukts₁tx.

And he kept making his pole slip.

- 23 Nucwpiixwmnicis awcwa ulxlh.

He finally reached the head of this valley.

- 24 Putl's₁tuts' ska₁uqw's alh₁txw.

And then he started to come downriver again.

- 25 Uqw's₁ts'.

Now he was going down the river.

- 26 Nucwpaaxmtus₁tuts' anuxum₁?ats alh₁txw.

And he went all the way back to the mouth of the river.

27 Nucwpaaxmnicis anuxum ʔats.

He finally reached the mouth of the river.

28 Tl'aptus kwts' t'ax ta skulukt_lhs tx ska ikwlhamkis ulh ti smt
ti taqw'lh t'ayc.

*Then he grabbed the pole he had been using, in order to throw it to this
mountain in the downstream area.*

29 Ikwlhamkis kwts' ta skulukts tx alh txw.

And then he threw his pole.

30 "Ka skulukta mats' ka aluuxalhilh alh t'ayc."

"May our offspring from this one be poles."

31 Tsut kw'its'ik t'ax alh txw.

That's what he said then.

32 Ay suts' alh txw.

Then he got busy again.

33 Q'lhkwtsuts tuts' alh txw.

And he prepared himself again.

34 Anayks ts' ska icaasnms ulh ti ka ya ti ka slhk'msta ti ka ya
ti ka siyayanlhnimuts ti ka slhk'msta.

*This time, he wanted to search for a good language, a good language
that would be suitable to him.*

35 Tl'aps kwts' alh txw ska usʔatsyanms tuts' c ta akw'na tx.

And he proceeded to board a canoe again, a war canoe.

36 Tl'aps ts' t'ayc ska yalxutsis ti suncw t'ayc.

The he set out on a voyage around the world.

- 37 Ayalhs₁tski c₁t'axw ulh₁tu₁t'axw txuq'.
- He must have travelled from there that way down the river.*
- 38 Issuts syalqikuutsis ti₁suncw₁t'ayc.
- He paddled around the edge of the world.*
- 39 Nukaliknicis₁kw'its'ik t'ax ti₁suncw₁t'ayc sk'calusis₁kw t'ax ti₁yayalus
alh₁ti₁kulhikuutss ti₁suncw₁t'ayc.
- He had gone halfway around the world, when he saw a bright light on
the world's edge.*
- 40 Ays₁kwts' alh₁txw snutq'ankis t'ax t'axw, ta₁apsulh₁tx.
- And he moored his vessel there, at a village.*
- 41 Tic₁kwmake ti₁Lhalyamc₁t'ayc.
- This, then, was probably the Copper Clan.*
- 42 Lhalyamc.
- The Copper Clan.*
- 43 Lxmuuts₁kwts'tski ti₁ayuts alh₁tu₁sulhs₁t'ax.
- And it is said that a ringing sound could be heard at the Clan's house.*
- 44 Inʔitstaltmcim₁kwts'n tx.
- Now he was addressed as a chief.*
- 45 Umtum.
- He was helped off his boat.*
- 46 Umtum Tutusuncw.
- Maker of the World was helped off his boat.*
- 47 Paaxim c₁a₁sTutusuncw alh₁txw.

He was named Maker of the World then.

48 Umtum sʔalhpstum alh, txw.

He was helped of his boat, and given something to eat.

49 Alhpstum, ts' alh, txw.

Now, he had been fed.

50 Wic, kw'its'ika txw stichyalhʔayaktum t'ax c, ilh, mnas ta, Lhalyamc, tx.

And that's when he was given the daughter of the Copper Clan chief.

51 Lhalyaqstum, ts'n ts'ayc, tsi, mnas ta, Lhalyamc, tx.

Lhalyaqs is what she was called, the daughter of the Copper Clan chief.

52 Tl'aps, tuts' ska, nuxulaaxtsuts alh, txw.

Then he started off on an another voyage.

53 Anayks ska, kpallhmis wa, tsay alh, txw.

He wanted to travel the whole world.

54 Isuts, tuts' alh, txw.

And now he was rowing again.

55 Tu, alhʔay, kwtuya.

Really, this is how things were.

56 Nuqwlials ti, txaqw'hlhxs ti, suncw, t'ayc.

The northern part of this world was a green space.

57 Ays alh, txw sxultsuts alh, txw ulh, ta, apsulh, tx alh, txw.

And there he was, setting off for a village.

58 Tic, kwmakuts' tx ti, Plxanimc, t'ayc.

Now, that must have been the Abalone Clan.

- 59 Ay_suts' alh_twx sʔumtum c_tx ska_alhpstum.
And again, he was helped off his boat by the Clan and given something to eat.
- 60 Alhpstum_tuts' alh_twx.
He was fed again and again.
- 61 Tsayuts sʔalhpss alh_twx stl'aps_tuts'.
Then, when he had finished eating, he started on his way again.
- 62 Tsyusim_kwtuts' t'ayc c_ilh_mna_ʔilh.
And again, he was given a maiden.
- 63 Iclhyalhʔayaktum_tuts' c_ilh.
She, too, was given to him.
- 64 Plxaniixastum_kw'its'ik ilhaʔilh, ilh_mnas ta_Plxanimc_tx.
And Plxaniixas was her name, the daughter of Abalone Clan chief.
- 65 Muus sʔanayks ska_xwlhikuutsalhms ulh_tu_taqw'lh_tski_t'axw wa_umats.
He wanted to travel on, apparently to a place located further north.
- 66 Wic_kw'its'ika txw sʔayutsmim_kwk'uyats'n t'ax alh_twx:
And then he was told repeatedly:
- 67 “Ka_yayaliwatimutnu_ma ala_ka_mntanu_ʔawcwts,” tsutmim_kwts' alh_twx.
“May you be brave on your voyage,” he was told.
- 68 “Yayaliwatimutnu_ma.”
“May you be brave.”

69 Wic₁kw'its'ika txw sʔlq'aylaycs₁suts' t'ax alh₁txw ska₁usquxstsuts
c₁tu₁st'cwm₁txw alh₁ta₁atsis₁tx.

Then it occurred to him that he should cover himself with mats on his boat.

70 Usquxstsuts.

And he covered himself.

71 Tl'aps ska₁lhxwtmmis ti₁nutsq₁t'ayc.

And he proceeded to pass through this hole.

72 Nutsq₁kw ta₁smt₁tx.

They say there was a hole in the mountain.

73 Ax₁kw'iluk ixwams t'ax alh₁txw sʔissuts alh₁txw.

But he could not paddle very far yet.

74 Tl'apa₁kwts' ska₁limaw wa₁qatsx₁ʔats

These starfish started to fall down.

75 Qatsxa₁kwts' tu₁lim₁txw.

They were starfish, the ones that were falling.

76 Ax₁kwts' tilcaw t'axw ska₁nmpaycaw ulh₁ta₁lhalas₁tx.

But they did not get enough grip on the boat to get on board.

77 Qtsamkulhaycaw alh₁txw wic sʔalhʔusquxs c₁tu₁st'cwm₁txw sʔaxw
tilcaw ulh₁ta₁lhalas₁tx.

They fell off the boat because it was covered with the mats, and they could not get a grip on it.

78 Cwpaycs₁kw t'ax alh₁txw.

And he made it through then.

- 79 Muus_suts' alh_twx sqw'xwms.
And he travelled some more.
- 80 Wic_kw'its'ika txw sticlhyalh?ayaktum_ts'n t'ax c_tsi_sputc_ts'ayc.
Then he was given this female eulachon.
- 81 Anayks_suts' alh_twx ska_as?imlaakwlhtatutim tu_sputc_twx.
But then he wanted the eulachons to have male partners.
- 82 Inatim_ts' alh_twx.
They were given to him.
- 83 Wic_kw'its'ika txw sk'cis_ts' t'ax ti_Xayaq'nanlh alh_twx.
That's when he saw Xayaq'nanlh ("House Made of Barnacles").
- 84 Wic_kw wa_xayaq'a ?ats wa_sulhs ta_tl'msta_tx.
It was barnacles that made up this person's house.
- 85 Wics_kwtuu txw wa_sininitss_tuu.
And that's what kept him alive too.
- 86 Kw'watis.
He roasted them.
- 87 Ays_ts' c_twx sputl's ala_ats.
Now he was coming.
- 88 Putl's_ts' ala_ats tqwntl'.
- He now came this way.*
- 89 Wic_kw'its'ika txw s?ascnaaslhhtatutis_ts' t'ax tu_sputc_twx sklhtis
ala_anuxuxumi ?ats sputl's_ts' tqwntl'.
*That's when he matched the male eulachons with female partners,
dropping them into these streams, as he was coming this way.*

90 Ax₁kw ti₂ka₃sikw₄cwaycs ti₅ka₆slq's t'ax alh₇ta₈slhk'mstanaw
tu₉icmntas₁₀txw.

*He was not comfortable with the languages that were spoken in the
places he had travelled through.*

91 Ays₁ts' alh₂txw slip'alhaycs₃tuts' ula₄awcwa.

By that time, he had returned to this region again.

92 Wic₁kw'its'ika ts sinunusputcs wa₂tsay anuxuxxum₃?ats.

That's why there are eulachons in all these rivers.

93 Kamalh₁axw alh₂?ays c₃txw s?axw₄tuu ka₅alh₆?ays alh₇txw.

If he had not done that, things would have been different.

94 Way₁, nukalalhm₂timuts₃tuts' t'ayc ula₄awcwa.

So, he followed a straight course back into this region.

95 Apsulhams₁ts' ala₂asiixw₃suts'₄?awcwa alh₅txw.

And then he settled at the head of the river again.

96 Tamskwatstatimut₁ts'ntski alh₂txw.

He apparently made a name for himself then.

97 Alhis₁ts' alh₂ti₃smsmti₄t'ayc alh₅Stwic₆ti₇alhpaxtum₈t'ayc
c₉a₁₀sNusmalhhiixwayc.

*He was now staying on this small mountain at Stuie, on this one that is
called Nusmalhhiixwayc.*

98 Ays₁ts' alh₂txw.

That's where he was then.

99 Axw₁tuts' yanimuts alh₂txw ka₃alhis alh₄txw ska₅apsulhs.

*But after a while, he did not think it was good for him to settle and stay
there.*

- 100 Ays₁tuts' alh₁txw sʔuqw's₁ts' ala₁anuxum₁ʔats.
So then he travelled down the river again.
- 101 Icaasnms ala₁ka₁sipcliwas úl₁Salhya.
And he went to Salhya in search of something that he would enjoy.
- 102 Umats₁kwts'n t'ax alh₁txw.
That's where he was going.
- 103 Tamsulhtimut₁ts' alh₁Salhya.
He built himself a house at Salhya.
- 104 Wics₁kwts' ka₁ilusim alh₁txw c₁ti₁ka₁tl'msta siʔays ulh₁txw.
He wanted people to pass him, that's why he moved there.
- 105 Yantsanl₁hs₁kwts'n t'ayc ala₁ats, alh₁tu₁sul₁hs₁txw, Yantsanl₁h.
This was Yantsanl₁h (“House Made of Driftwood”) here, where he lived, Yantsanl₁h.
- 106 Nacliwas alh₁txw alh₁tu₁sul₁hs₁txw.
He had finished setting up his house.
- 107 Cwinnimutliwas alh₁ta₁qla₁tx.
And he sensed something going on in the water.
- 108 Nupusm₁kwmakuts' tu₁sul₁h₁txw.
It seems that this house was rising to the surface.
- 109 Snxakilas₁ts'n t'ayc ala₁ats.
This was Snxakila.
- 110 Snxakila₁ts' t'ayc.

Snxakila it was.

111 K'cs₁kwts' t'ax unnikw alh₁txw.

He looked out to the west.

112 Tu₁alh₁?ay₁kwtuya tu₁sulh₁txw.

That really happened with that house, you know.

113 Anupusms ala₁anukaliks wa₁sulut₁?ats.

And it was floating in the middle of this channel.

114 Lq'ms₁kwluts' ta₁tl'msta₁tx ska₁tl'aps ska₁k'cis.

As this was going on, the person (Raven) thought that he should go and take a look.

115 Tl'aps alh₁txw ska₁k'cis, alhlxwis.

He then went to take a look, to see for himself.

116 Ay txw s?aynaw alh₁txw alh₁tu₁sulh₁txw.

There were all sorts of creatures in the house.

117 Wic₁kw'its'ika ts sxwss ti₁sqwsn₁t'ayc ti₁snuq'imaax₁kw
alh₁tu₁sulh₁txw.

Now, there was a loon smearing himself over the entire back wall of the house.

118 Wa₁tsay txw wa₁alhi alh₁tu₁sulh₁txw s?astcws.

All sorts of creatures were inside the house.

119 Wic₁kw'its'ika ts, way, sticlh₁yalh₁?ayakmis₁tuts' t'ayc ats,
wa₁skwatsta₁?ats.

And so, this is when, for one reason or another, he received these additional names.

- 120 Wic₁kw'its'ika txw sʔicnutsitsk'lamtimuts₁kwkw' ta₁sqwsn₁tx
 alh₁tu₁snuq'imaaxs tu₁sulh₁txw.
That is when the loon kept moving around all over the back wall of the house.
- 121 Anutsik'lams₁ts'n t'ayc.
He now turned around.
- 122 Tl'aps₁tuts' ska₁usqas₁ts' alh₁txw.
And he went back outside.
- 123 Ip'aynicis₁kwts' wa₁skwatstanaw tu₁alhi₁txw alh₁tu₁astcws tu₁sulh₁txw.
And he got hold of the names of the ones that were staying inside the house.
- 124 Wic₁kw'its'ika txw snuksiixwis t'ax tu₁sulh₁txw c₁ta₁lhalya₁tx.
Then, he pulled the copper off the smoke vent of the house.
- 125 Anulhcwiixw₁kw t'ax c₁ti₁lhalya.
That spot was covered with a copper.
- 126 Ksis₁kwts' t'ax alh₁txw.
He pulled it off then.
- 127 Alhkwnis ulh₁tu₁sulhs₁txw.
And he took it to his own house.
- 128 Ays₁ts' alh₁txw, way, sʔilusim alh₁txw c₁a₁anʔapsulh₁ts,
 ti₁Talyumc₁t'ayc.
Well, and then villagers were passing him, I'm sure, Talyu villagers in particular.
- 129 Takans ula₁awcwa alh₁txw.
He had arrived in this region.

- 130 Nacliwas wa₁suncw₂ʔats.
And this world was complete.
- 131 Ays alh₁txw.
That's how it was.
- 132 Alhʔaylh₁kw'iluts'ik c₁txw t'ax alh₁txw, way, sʔalhis₁ts' alh₁txw.
So, having done those things, he was there to stay from then on.
- 133 Yas₁ts' ti₁slq's alh₁txw.
And his mind was at ease now.
- 134 Tsic₁kw'its'ik ilhaʔilh, way, tsi₁skalkw₁ts'ayc tsi₁alhnmtum
c₁ti₁sqwli₁t'ayc alh₁ts, alh₁Salhya₁tuu.
*Now, it was certainly her, this porcupine, who received this grassy lot
here, right at Salhya.*
- 135 Miaysilatum t'ayc.
This (lot) was called Miaysila.
- 136 Slts'lanitum tsi₁skalkw₁tsc.
And the porcupine was called Slts'łani.
- 137 Alhʔay₁ma c₁t'axw.
It must have happened like that.
- 138 Tsay₁ma c₁t'axw.
I think that is all.

Raven's Son (Felicity Walkus)

- 1 Smsmayamkits ti smsma alh ti Qwaxw tc.

I will tell a story about Raven.

- 2 Anayks tsk ska ximtus wa suncw ?ats ulh tsi alhq'awik tsk tsi tsaatsti.

It appears that he wanted to bring light to this world, and he went to a virgin girl.

- 3 Anayks ska ustcwaycs ula amats tsi tsaatsti ska nmpimuts ulh ilh.

He wanted to enter the girl's place, and mount her.

- 4 Qaaxla kw'itk'uk ilh tsaatsti ?ilh ulh ta cwnalh tx.

Now, this girl always went to a certain spring to have a drink of water.

- 5 Spuxamtimut kw'italuts'ik ta Qwaxw tx.

Raven now changed himself into eagle down, but to no avail. (she did not ingest him)

- 6 Apswis kwtuts'n ilh tsaatsti ?ilh.

And the girl blew him away again.

- 7 Axw tuts' tulwamktsuts ska qaaxlamaynicim c ilh.

He kept failing to make her drink him.

- 8 Tl'aps kwtuts' sxims ska qaaxlas ulh ta cwnalh tx.

On the following day, she went to the spring again to drink.

- 9 Qwalsamtimut kw'italututs'ik.

And now he changed himself into hemlock needles, but again to no avail.

- 10 Apswim kwtuts' c ilh.

And he was blown away again by her.

- 11 Xims kwtuts'.

The next day came.

- 12 Wic kwts'n txw snustqwlctus ta cwnalh tx.

That's when he made the spring water muddy.

- 13 Qaaxlamaynicim ts'.

Now he succeeded in making her drink him.

- 14 Atsiwltamkim kwts'.

And she was impregnated.

- 15 Nuʔusqnamkim kwts'.

Now a baby was born.

- 16 Imlmllkiis ts'.

It was a boy.

- 17 Alhʔay kw'its'ik stlhulhs spuss.

He was a fast-growing one.

- 18 Alhʔalhtsimaylaycs ts' sʔanayks ska klhim ti nusximta ulh tx.

Now he managed to say that he wanted a crystal to be brought down to him.

- 19 Ay kw sʔays wa stamyayaxitum kwalu c ta kukwpis tx.

His grandfather made him all sorts of toys, but to no avail.

- 20 Axw ts' qw'yaycs ti slq's sʔanayks alh ti nusximta.

And he did not change his mind about wanting a crystal.

- 21 Ay kw sʔays wa stamyayaxitum alhu c tx ti kukwpis.

All these toys were made for him in vain, by him, his grandfather.

- 22 Ala wayci kw sʔays syaxwnimutnicis ta kukwpis tx ska klhis
ta nusximta tx.

Finally, he did persuade his grandfather to bring the crystal down.

- 23 Yayaatwis kwts'.

Now he was happy.

- 24 Tl'aps kwts' ska icliikw'iitis.

And he began to roll it back and forth.

- 25 "Axwtwx q'snu ska isq'isaakmicw!" tsutsut kw'italuts'ik ta kukwpis tx
ulh tx.

"Don't handle it too roughly!" his grandfather kept trying to say to him.

- 26 Ax kw'iluts'ik anustsayanms.

But he would not listen.

- 27 Nut'tsmiiknicis kwts'.

And then he shattered it.

- 28 Wic kw'its'ik txw ssqw'ss kwts' Qwaxw usqa.

That's when Raven came flying out.

- 29 Napamcwis ts' ta kukwpis ilh tsaatsti ʔilh stics Qwaxw.

Now the girl's grandfather found out that it was Raven.

Stump and the Runaway Girl (Felicity Walkus)

- 1 Smsmayamkits tsi tsaatsti tsk tsi sclcliktm.

I will tell the story of a girl who left home in anger.

- 2 Tic kw'its'ik ti T'miixw tc ti patsalh ti umats.

Stump was the first one she was taken to.

- 3 Tic tc ti umats.

He is the one she was taken to.

- 4 Ip'im c tx s?alhkwnim kwts' ula sulhs.

She was seized by him and taken to his house.

- 5 Alhpstum.

She was fed.

- 6 Kamalh tsayuts kw'iluts'ik ilh tsaatsti ?ilh stl'ikmtimuts kwaluts' ska qw'xwms tuts'.

And whenever she finished eating, the girl attempted to escape, and be on the move again.

- 7 Awlhim kwtuts' c ta T'miixw tx.

But again and again, she was followed by Stump.

- 8 Lip'tsuttum ustcw.

And she was made to go back in.

- 9 Xlaktum kw'its'ik ilh tsaatsti ʔilh c ti T'miixw tc ska ilhk'is.

Then, the girl was ordered by Stump to delouse him.

- 10 Wic kw'its'ik txw snapim kwts' c tsi lhkw'lc tsi alh ʔaylh tuu c tsnlh
c ti pats'alhta ska tics tx ti ka silht'tis wa matskw' wa muqw'lhas
ti T'miixw tc.

*That is when she was given an awl by an old woman who had once
looked exactly like her, and she was to use it for spiking the frogs that
were Stump's lice.*

- 11 Tayamktis kwkw'.

And she discarded them one after the other.

- 12 “Stam ks ti alh ʔalh ʔay tc?” tsut kw'itk'uk ta T'miixw tx.

“What sort of thing is that?” Stump kept saying.

- 13 “Way, nmnmk'ina ma wa alh ʔalh ʔay tsk.”

“Well I figure they must be small animals of some sort.”

- 14 Nut'tsiikaatimuts kwkw' ilha ʔilh.

And she pretended to bust them one after the other.

- 15 Way, áyk's kw s ʔalh ʔaytus c txw s ʔilhk'is.

So, she carried on with this for a long time, delousing him.

- 16 Nupats'iiktis wa matskw' stayamktis.

She pierced the frogs and discarded them.

- 17 Xílhs kw s ʔalh ʔays c txw stl'ikmtimuts alu.

Many times, she tried to run away.

18 Lip'tsuttum kwk'u c tx.

And every time, she was forced by him to come back.

19 Wic kw'its'ik txw snapim ilh tsaatsti ʔilh c ilh lhkw'lc ʔilh
ka siʔayaktus ka siʔaxw pakwnicim c tx.

*Then, the girl was given some things by the old woman that would
enable her to prevent him from catching up with her.*

20 Scleliktms ts'ayc.

And she ran away.

21 Statpusanms wa smaw.

One place became a steep cliff.

22 Nuʔiikhlcaa qnicitim kwk'u ilh tsaatsti ʔilh c ta T'miixw tx.

And from behind, Stump was coming closer and closer to the girl.

23 Sk'ma kw ti smaw staq'aaxams.

*One (of the things she had been given) was a comb, which became thick
undergrowth.*

24 Áy sʔays wa snapim ilh tsaatsti ʔilh c ilh lhkw'lc ʔilh.

The girl was given all sorts of things by the old woman.

25 Ax kwts' pakwnicim ilh tsaatsti ʔilh c ta T'miixw tx.

And Stump did not catch up with the girl.

26 Wics kwts' wa alhʔalhʔaytus ilh lhkw'lc ʔilh, wa tl'aptus
ilh lhkw'lc ʔilh ulh ilh ska tayamkis ula aluuxs.

*The old woman had made those things, the things the old woman gave
her, for her to throw behind herself.*

- 27 Wic₁kw'its'ik txw sts'ktnimuts₁ts'n ilhaʔilh ula₁amats ti₁Manlh
ala₁tl'uk'.

And then she found herself where our Father resides.

- 28 Clhm₁nal₁c₁ts'n alh₁tx.

She begat a child with him.

- 29 Wic₁ʔits'ik sts'ktnimuts ilhaʔilh ulh₁ti₁Manlh ala₁tl'uk'
stalawsm₁tum₁ts' c₁tx.

For she had reached our Father, and he had married her.

- 30 Kwanats₁kwts'n ilh₁stan₁ʔilh.

Meanwhile, her mother was weeping.

- 31 K'musms skwanats sʔanusm₁nas c₁ilh₁mnas₁ʔilh.

She had been weeping for a year over the loss of her daughter.

- 32 Clhm₁nal₁c₁s₁kwts'n ilh₁tstaatsti₁ʔilh.

And now the girl had a child.

- 33 Lq'is₁ts'n ilh₁stans₁ʔilh.

And she was thinking about her mother.

- 34 Wic₁kw'its'ik txw sʔayutsmim₁ts' c₁tx ka₁ayalhs ala₁sk'alhuts₁laycs
ta₁kwtmtss₁tx ska₁putl's uuxnk, ka₁mn₁lhalusms
ulh₁tu₁amatalaaxts₁txw.

*That's when she was told by her husband to step on his eyelashes and go
down, if she longed to see her parents.*

- 35 Alhʔay₁kw'its'ik ilhaʔilh ula₁kulhaaxs wa₁sulhaw ta₁mans₁tx.

And she showed up at the back door of her father's house.

- 36 Kwanat,kw'ilhluuk ilh,stans,ʔilh sʔanusmⁿnas
c,ilh,mnlhalusm,ts'n,ʔilh.

Her mother was still crying over her missing daughter.

- 37 "Tl'lhanaw,na k'yukip swas ti,yayaxmtss ti,alhqup'aaxtss,t'ayc!"
tsut,kw'itk'uk ilh,tl'msta,ʔilh ulh,tu,mnmmtss,txw.

"Go and find out who is making fun of me knocking on my back door!" the woman was saying to her children.

- 38 Tl'aps,kwts' ti,numaw alh,txw ska,k'cis swas ti,alhi ala,kulhaax.

And one of them went to see who was at the back door.

- 39 Tsic,kwtuya ilh,qw'alma^w,ʔilh!

It was their older sister!

- 40 Lip'tsuts,kwts' ustcw ska,alats'itus ilh,stanaw,ʔilh stsics
ilh,qw'alma^w,ʔilh tsi,alhi alh,txw.

And he went back inside to tell his mother that it was their sister who was there.

- 41 "Yanu,mits'ika syayaxmutsmicw tsi,ayk'm,ts' wicllh,tu,swaltulhs,"
tsut,kw'its'ik ilh,tl'msta,ʔilh ulh,tu,mnmmtss,txw.

"I hope you're just making fun of the one who left us long ago," the woman said to her children.

- 42 Anusqwinictis,ts'.

She did not believe them.

- 43 Wic,ʔits'ik txw sxltus,ts' ta,kwtmtss,tx ska,tl'aps
ska,ts'xanmacwaycstimuts ska,tsics,tu ilh.

Then, she told her husband to go out and see for himself whether it really was her.

44 Tl'aps kwts' ta mans tx ska k' cis.

And her father went to have a look.

45 Tsi kw tuya ilh!

And indeed, it was her!

46 Wic kw'its'ik txw s?ustcwut ts'.

Then they took her in.

47 Asm naykiis kwts' ts' ayc c ta imlklki tx.

She had the little boy with her.

48 Qiixana kwts' tu amatalaaxts txw alh ta slh?imtsaw tx.

And her parents were elated about their grandchild.

49 Xlaktus kwts' ta qiqti tx ta kukwpis tx ska tamt'ksnimtas, n
ti ka puts'tn tuu.

Now the boy told his grandfather to make arrows, and a bow as well.

50 Tl'apaks kwts' t'ax ska kstus ta puts'tn tx n ta t'ksnimta txw.

And he began to craft the bow and arrows.

51 Kamalh tsayak kw'iluts'ik t'ax stamt'ksnimtas n ta puts'tn tx, tl'aps
ta qiqti tx usqa ska t'ksnas utl'uk' ula suncw ?ats.

*And as soon as he finished making the arrows and the bow, the boy
went out and starting shooting at the sky above.*

52 Tilcs kwts'.

And his arrows stuck to the target.

53 Tm?aylhtus kw'iluts'ik c txw.

From then on, that's all he did.

- 54 Kamalh_qw'alayaaxak_kkwk'w' sxlaktus_kkwk'w' ta_kkukwpis_{tx}
ska_kkstcwas c_kka_t'ksnimta.

And whenever he ran out of arrows, he told his grandfather to make some more.

- 55 Áytus_kkwk'w'.

He kept doing this.

- 56 Úla_wayci_kw, ts'kts uuxnk.

Finally, they (the arrows) reached all the way down.

- 57 Tmkw'atsalhis_kw'iluts'ik t'ax ta_t'ksnimta_{tx} sq'lscwams.

Then he just shook the string of arrows for a while, and it became a rope.

- 58 Tl'aps_{ts'} ska_kksuulhtsuts utl'uk'.

Now he began to pull himself up.

- 59 Lip'tsuts ulh_{ti}mans.

He went back to his father.

- 60 Ayk'mís_kw s?alhis alh_{ti}mans sxlaktum c_{tx} ska_{tics} tx
ti_{ka} alhxulaaxutsa alh_{ti}snx_{t'}ayc.

After he had stayed with his father for a while, he was told by him that he should be the one to start up the fire on the sun.

- 61 "Tsantsaatstínu ska_{al}htamkwlcuhs úl_hti_{ka}snukaliks ti_{suncw}tc
ska_{stq'}aaxutsicw."

"Little by little, in order for it to heat up, you must increase the fire until noon."

- 62 "Anukaliiklhh ska_{tl'}aptucw ska_{ksa}aaxutsicw_{tuts'}."

"And after noon, you must start to decrease the fire again."

63 “Áxwtxw k’cnu uuxnk!”

“And do not look down!”

64 Smtsutmim,kwalutuu c,tx.

This is what he was told right away, but to no avail.

65 “Ika,nukaliks ska,axw ka,k’cnu uuxnk!” tsutmim,kwaluts’
c,ta,mans,tx.

“At noon, you must not look down!” his father tried to tell him.

66 Nukaliks.

Noon came.

67 Wic,ʔits’ik txw skalhk’ctsuts,kwts’ t’ax sk’ctis,t’ ta,xwism
ta,qiqipí,txw alh,tu,qnk,txw.

That’s when he looked down, and he saw the children playing down there.

68 Scwms,ts’ wa,suncw,ʔats.

And then the world caught on fire.

69 Wic,kw’its’ik txw sʔalhtsxwmim,ts’ c,ta,mans,tx.

That’s when he was scolded by his father.

70 Ayuts,ts’ ska,kmas ti,slq’s wic sʔaynictis wa,mnmntss ala,qnk,ʔawcwa.

He (his father) said he was sad because he had allowed this to happen to his children down here.

71 “T’ut’kwayana,mats’ ka,aluuxalhilh!” tsut,kw’its’ik t’ax ulh,t’aws,tx
stayamkis uuxnk.

“I think the ones who will come after us will be minks!” he said to him, and then he cast him down.

A Sniniq' Story (Felicity Walkus)

- 1 Smsmats c̣ tsi Sniniq' tsi kwanatulhayc alḥ ta aaxlḥ t'axw.
I will tell the story of a female Sniniq' who wept on a boulder in the upstream region.
- 2 Samulhína kẉ tu apsulḥ txw. (s-a.mu... metathetic variant of s-maw...)
There was this one household.
- 3 Asʔasṃnayakina kẉ c̣ ti kwanat.
And they had a baby boy who was crying.
- 4 Tumstum kẉ its'iḳ ta qiqti tx̣ c̣ lha stanṣ ʔilḥ.
So the mother suckled the child.
- 5 K'cṣ kwts'̣ ṇ ilhaʔilḥ ulḥ tu asiixwṣ tu sulhaẉ txw.
Now she was looking at the smoke vent of their house.
- 6 Alhʔay kẉ tuya, ti ts'̣ xẉ ti alhi alạ asiixwṣ wa sulhaẉ!
And there it was, something white around the smoke vent!
- 7 Yacwiṣ kwts'̣ ta kẉ tmtsṣ tx̣ ska k'cṣ.
She then told her husband to take a look.
- 8 Smʔulha kẉ iluts'̣ iḳ t'ax̣ ulḥ ta puts'̣ tnṣ tx̣ ska t'ksniṣ.
And right away he went for his bow to shoot the thing.
- 9 Alhʔacwṣ nicit kẉ iluts'̣ iḳ slikw'̣ mṣ alḥ ta kulhikṣ tu sulhaẉ txw.

After a little while, they heard it rolling off the roof of their house.

- 10 Smʔulhana.kw'iluts'ik sʔawq'awtsutaw slhxwmaw ula.umataw.

And without wasting time, they packed their belongings and fled to wherever they were to go.

- 11 Ax.kwtuu tl'apaw ska.k'cit sstams.

They did not even bother to see what the thing was.

- 12 Ts'xlhmaycaw stmlhxwmlhaw.

Really, all they did was run.

- 13 Wicana.ma t'axw wa.ayutsmtim.tsk sʔalclhaw.

They must be the ones of whom it was said that they had been wandering around.

- 14 Lhwaask'mtam.kw'its'ik sʔalhʔays sputl's ilh.Sniniq'ʔilh
úlh.ti.ayutsmim.t'ayc sKwanatulhim.

Two days later, the female Sniniq' arrived at this boulder that is called Kwanatulhim ("Crying Rock").

- 15 Mts.ts'n alh.tc skwanats.

She sat down on it and started to weep.

- 16 Uqw'a.kwalukw'tu.Stwicmc.twx.

The Stuié people attempted several times to travel downstream.

- 17 Paaxulca.kwkw'.

But each time, they got scared.

- 18 Lip'tsutlca.kwkw' ulxlh.

And each time, they had to go back upstream.

- 19 Tl'apa.kwalutukw'tu.Nutl'lhiixwmc.twx.

The people from Burnt Bridge, too, made several attempts to go there.

20 Almkaw.

They poled their canoes.

21 Ayanmuutslha_kwlukw' ulh_ilh slip'tsutlcaw_tuts' s?alh?ays
ti_spaaxulhlays skwanats.

*But each time, they only made it as far as where she was, and then they
had to turn around, because she was crying in such a frightening
manner.*

22 Ayk' kw s?alh?ays c_twx.

She was like that for a long time.

23 Lq'ma_ts' wa_tslltsluksi wa_ayutsmim_tsk syalitaw ska_tl'apaw
ulh_ilh_Sniniq' _?ilh.

*Then these young men, who were said to be brave, thought of going to
the Sniniq'.*

24 Alhkw'ntaliwatis_kw'its'ik t'ax ta_satics_tx ska_alh?aynaw.

*And one of them instructed his companion on how they were going to
proceed.*

25 "Paaxlhaaxnu ala_ats."

"You stand at the stern here."

26 "K'anawilhts_?its'ik."

"And I will be at the bow."

27 "Kamalh_ts'ktilh ulh_tsc, tipyaaqts_ma alh_ti_lhalas_t'ayc."

"When we reach her, I will have one foot on the boat."

- 28 Tipyaaqts ʔituk alh ti t'xt tc ska kamal h stams ska ts'ktatumulhs
ska t m n u t s' x l h n a a x m t s .”
- “And I will have my other foot on the rock, so that, if she does anything
to us, I will just kick off.”*
- 29 Tsut kw'its'ik ta yalit tx ulh ta numawtas tx.
That's what the brave one said to his partner.
- 30 Ts'kta kwts' ulh ilh.
And then they reached her.
- 31 Smʔulha kw'iluts'ik t'ax sʔalhaʔitimutis c a stl'yuks wa kw'ntas.
And without delay, he carried out the plan he had discussed.
- 32 Wic kw'its'ik txw sʔnaycutsis kwts'n t'ax ilh Sniniq' ʔilh.
And he sat beside the Sniniq', weeping along with her.
- 33 Way, nulhlxsms kwts' ilh Sniniq' ʔilh ska tayamkis ula anuxum ʔats
ti snxts.
Well, the Sniniq' then cleared her nose, and threw her snot into the river.
- 34 “Way, wic awcw ts wa anaykmits ska ʔnaycutstinits.”
*“Well, this is what I wanted, that somebody would weep along with
me.”*
- 35 “Axw alhnalpalhits ta mnalhts ula umatalhs tsk.”
“My son is gone, and I don't know where he went.”
- 36 “K'ilhtcumat ta mnalhts wa siʔalhʔayts c ats ala awa wics alu ska ays
ti ka wa c inu ska ʔnaycutstss alh ta mnalhts.”
*“My son's disappearance is the reason I'm here like this, hoping that
someone like you would come along and cry with me over my son.”*
- 37 Tsut kw'its'ik ilh Sniniq' ʔilh.

That's what the Sniniq' said.

- 38 Kamalh ayutsaylayc kw'iluts'ik c ats, ayuts kwts'n ulh ta tsaatsti tx
ska kamalh anayks ska alhpstutis ta stam?apsulhs txw, ka tl'aps
ula sulhs ti mnas, ka kwnkwnmtimuts ula alhq'aws ta mnas tx.

*And as soon as she had finished saying that, she told the young man
that, if he wanted to give food to his fellow villagers, he should go to her
son's house, and help himself to what her son had in stock.*

- 39 "Ayts luts' c ats ska walits ats ska ayts ula Nawstum tsk," tsut kw'its'ik
ilh Sniniq' ilh.

*"Right now, I will leave here and go to this place that they call Naws,"
the Sniniq' said.*

- 40 Wic kw'its'ik slhms ts'.

Then she rose.

- 41 Anust'cwmaaxmis kw maku ilh ta lhalya tx.

She must have been using this copper as a mat to sit on.

- 42 Tl'aptus ts' ulh ta yalit tx.

And now she gave it to the brave one.

- 43 Way.

That's it.

Raven and Mink (Felicity Walkus)

- 1 Smsmayamkits ti Qwaxw tc n ti T'uka tc.
I will tell a story about Raven and Mink.
- 2 Alh?alh?ay,kwsu ta T'uka tx ala kulhuuts.
Once, Mink was doing things on a beach.
- 3 K'cis ts' ti stsuctsucm ti smlhk.
And he saw a fish leaping.
- 4 "Hihii!" tsut kw'itk'uk t'ax.
"Heehee!" he said a couple of times.
- 5 "Alh?ayts,amats'akw c inu ka smlhklhts, tl'uctl'uk'anmuulhtimutts
ska stsuctsucmts."
"If only I could be a fish like you, I would make myself leap higher and higher."
- 6 Stsuucsms kwts' ta smlhk tx.
And the fish kept leaping.
- 7 "Kamalh ntss ti ka smlhk ska iiklhaalhtimutits ula kulhuuts
ska stsucmts," tsuts kwk'u t'ax.

“If I were a fish, I would move closer to the beach as I was leaping,” he kept saying.

8 Ays,kwkw’.

He kept this up.

9 Alhtamʔiikhlcalhi,kw’iluts’ik ta,smsmlhki,tu ulh,tu,kulhuuts,tu.

And all the while, the little fish was coming closer and closer to the beach.

10 “Hihii, tlucl’uk’anmuulhtimutts ka,ntss ti,ka,smlhk!”

“Heehee, I would be leaping higher if I were a fish!”

11 “Iiklhaalhits ula,kulhuuts.”

“I’d come closer to the beach.”

12 Tsut,kw’itk’uk ta,T’uka,tu.

That’s what Mink kept saying.

13 Úlh,tu,wayci,kw,tu sʔays ta,smlhk,tu ska,stsucms.

Then the fish did make its final leap.

14 Ayulhs,ts’ ula,kulhuuts.

And it landed on the beach.

15 Tl’apmis,kwts’ ta,T’uka,tu ska,ip’is.

Then Mink went and grabbed it.

16 Asyatis,ts’ ska,alhʔikwis.

He cut it up so as to barbecue it.

17 Tsayaks,kw skup’ms.

He skewered all of it with barbecuing sticks.

18 Iixwsulhs.

And he built a fire.

19 Alhʔikws, n tu, xsasa, tuu, txw.

He started barbecuing the fish, and the roe as well.

20 Putl's, kw ta, Qwaxw, tx ska, k'cis.

Then Raven came to take a look.

21 Numnlhatikmis, kwts' ska, liclics tu, sʔalhʔikw, txw stayxwis
c, ti, stsituma.

*He calculated the time it would take for the barbecue to be done, and
cast a sleeping spell on him.*

22 Tsitumlcs, kwts' ti, alhʔikw, t'ayc T'uka.

Then the barbecuer, Mink, fell asleep.

23 Knicalstnim, kwts' c, ta, Qwaxw, tx c, tu, sʔalhʔikws, txw.

Then Raven ate his barbecue.

24 Qiqti, kw'its'ik ti, sʔicʔitsaaxalitsis ta, Qwaxw, tx ta, T'uka, tx
alh, tu, xsasa, txw.

And Raven rubbed a little bit of roe on Mink's teeth.

25 Qw'alayutss swalis, ts'.

When he had eaten everything, he left.

26 P'alcalus, kwts' ta, T'uka, tx.

Now Mink awoke.

27 “Nts, amatu ti, ʔisxsaasalh, tski?” tsut, kw'itk'uk t'ax.

“Could it be me who has eaten the roe?” he kept saying.

28 “Way, nts, matu,” tsut, kw'its'ik t'ax.

“Well, it must have been me,” he said.

29 Musaaxalitsmsꞵkwts’n t’ax.

And he touched his teeth.

30 Alhtmpaaxalits cꞵtuꞵxsasaꞵtxw.

He had roe stuck between his teeth.

Mackenzie's Visit (Felicity Walkus)

- 1 Alats'amkiitits Mackenzie sʔalhʔays, tsk sputl's ulh, Nuxalk.
I will tell the story of Mackenzie, about his coming to Bella Coola.
- 2 Ala, patsalh swicanaw wa, Atl'smc, ʔats wa, kamalh, umatalhs.
The first people he met up with were the Tsihqot'in.
- 3 Wicanaw, ts'n ats wa, alhkwn tan ulh, Stwic, ula, Stwicmc.
It is them who took them to Stuie, to the Stuie people.
- 4 Alhpstum, kwts' c, a, Stwicmc.
He was offered food by the Stuie people.
- 5 Ismlhklhhtum.
He was given fish to eat.
- 6 Isʔalhʔikwlhhtum.
He was served barbecued fish.
- 7 Wic, kw'its'ik sputl'tum tqwntl' utxuq'.
Next, he was led downriver, to our region.
- 8 Spuxim, ts' c, ti, staltmc wic ska, axw ka, wnts'im.

A chief sprinkled him with eagle down, so as to prevent him from being killed.

- 9 Wics,ts' tu,spux,txw wa,alhkal^utcw^umliwat.

That eagle down served to protect him.

- 10 Putl'tum,ts'.

They led him this way.

- 11 Wic,kw'its'ik snmpimuts ulh,ti,lhalas.

That's when he boarded a canoe.

- 12 Panpatsalha,kwts' tu,lhlkw'lcuksi,txw s?anu?ists'kwalhit
c,a,nusqlatalhh.

A few elders went ahead of them, and sprinkled him with the contents of chamber pots.

- 13 Ayna,kwtuu wa,aluux.

And so did the ones who were following behind.

- 14 Ayutsa,kwts' t'axw syulms Mackenzie.

They said that Mackenzie was a reincarnation.

- 15 Yulms wiclhh,wa,alhq'awlh,?ats.

He had returned from the dead.

- 16 Putl'tum,ts' tqwntl'.

Now he was led hither.

- 17 Uqw'tum úlh,Nuxalk.

He was taken downriver to Bella Coola.

- 18 Aytum,kwsuts' ska,alhpstum.

And again, they were going to feed him.

- 19 Wic.kw'its'ik txw sʔalh k'cis ts' Mackenzie sʔalhʔays ti.splhts ti.smlhk
ala.tmcw.ʔats.

That's when Mackenzie saw how this river was teeming with fish.

- 20 Alhpstum.kwtuts' sʔisʔalhʔikwlhhtum.tuts' sts'ktnicim ula.ats, n
wa.sqalutslhh.

*And again, he was served barbecued fish upon his arrival here, as well as
dried berries.*

- 21 Ax.kw'its'ik yanicis wa.asluq'aax wa.sqalutslhh.

But he did not like the berries prepared with eulachon grease.

- 22 Ayawlcim.kwtuts' ka.axw.ts' ka.asluq'aax.

And they were replaced by ones that were not prepared with grease.

- 23 Ya.kw'its'ik sʔalhpss alh.txw.

Now he was eating heartily.

- 24 Kamalh.tsayutss.kw'iluts'ik sʔanayks.tuts' ska.ayalhs ala.sulut.ʔats
ska.lip'tsuts ulh.tu.ixw.t'axw.

*When he had finally finished eating, he wanted to take to the sea again,
to return to that distant place.*

- 25 Asʔatsyalhtum.tuts' wiclhh.ats, úlh.Alhku wa.umatams.

*They let him board a boat again away from here, and he headed for
Elcho Harbour.*

- 26 Nuwnts'ikmim.tuts'.

But some people wanted to kill him again.

- 27 Wic.ʔits'ik txw squlhas.ts'ntsk ulh.ti.yayuulh ti.t'xt alh.Alhku,
ti.amats.ts' ti.stwin.ts'n.tc, ti.stwins.ts' Mackenzie ti.alhqulh.tc.

That's when he must have made signs on a smooth boulder at Elcho Harbour, where the monument is now, the monument that Mackenzie made signs on.

- 28 Tmʔayanmuutslh kw'iluts'ik ulh ts slip'alhim.

So, he ended up going only thus far, and he was forced to turn around.

- 29 Lip'tsuts tuts' tqwntl' ulh Nuxalk.

And he went back this way again, to Bella Coola.

- 30 Ayalhs tuts' ula ats ulxlh.

He travelled back this way, going upriver.

- 31 Tl'aps tuts' ula tcamatlhhalhs.

And he went back to where he had come from.

A War Story (Felicity Walkus)

- 1 Wic,ʔits'ik wa,swinwintmacwaw,tsk ala,ayk'.

Now, this is about how people were waging war at some time in the past.

- 2 Axw,ʔits'ik ayk' ska,q'ss ats.

This happened not very long ago.

- 3 Wic,mats'n ts wa,aluuxam,tsk sʔalhwcwlanaw swintmacwaw.

Apparently, this was the last time they fought against each other in a war.

- 4 Wintim,kwk'u ta,Kw'alhnamc,txw.

The Kwatna people were attacked repeatedly.

- 5 Snaaxayctum,kwk' tsi,Plcwlaqstum.

And each time, a woman by the name of Plcwlaqs was taken as a slave.

- 6 Snaaxayctum c,a,Txaxaaxlh,ʔats.

She was enslaved by the Alert Bay people.

- 7 Tl'apmim,kw'itk'uk sʔakwatim ilh,tl'msta,ʔilh c,ti,mans.

And each time, the woman's father came for her, and bought her back.

- 8 Ala_xilh_kw sʔalhʔays c_twx ssnaaxaycs.

She was enslaved many times.

- 9 Ákwatim_kwkw' c_ti_mans.

And each time, she was bought back by her father.

- 10 Ala_ax_kwts' ayk' sʔilhtsayuksaw c_a_mikw'lh alh_Qw'plplx.

Now, not long ago, people were picking salalberries at Qw'plplx.

- 11 Snukaklikalhayca_kw'its'ik wa_alhk'ctit t'axw wa_isut wa_putl'alh
utqwntl' ulh_Nuxalk.

*And then they saw people moving in the middle of the channel,
paddling, coming this way to Bella Coola.*

- 12 Acws_kwts' ilh_tl'msta_ʔilh skastsayulhtis skanmcaw sʔustamaw.

*And this woman shouted, asking them where they were from and where
they were going.*

- 13 Tmʔuq'xalhaynictis_ʔiluts'ik ska_putl'aw ulh_twx ska_wnts'tim.

*She had scarcely managed to call out to them, when they came to them
in order to kill them.*

- 14 Wic_kw'iluts'ik sts'ktaw tu_wina_kwmaku_twx ula_kulhuuts.

And before long, those warriors reached the shore.

- 15 Napamcwit_ts'.

Now they realized what was happening.

- 16 Tl'apakmtim_ts' ska_wnts'tim wa_acwlh.

And some of them were apprehended and killed.

- 17 Alhk'yukim kwts'n ilh tl'msta ʔilh c a winaw ts.
Then the warriors recognized this woman.
- 18 Anaykmim kwalututs' ska snaaxayctum tuts'.
And again, they wanted to try and take her as a slave.
- 19 Ax kwts' anayks ilh tl'msta ʔilh ska ays ska snaaxs tuts'.
But the woman did not wish to be a slave again.
- 20 "Wnts'tsaxw ats'!" tsut kw'its'ik ilh tl'msta ʔilh.
"Kill me now!" the woman said then.
- 21 Alhis kwts' tsi suuxis alh tsnlh.
Her younger sister was with her.
- 22 Aytutim kw'iluts'ik swnts'tim stcapsmtim.
And shortly, they were killed and beheaded.
- 23 Sikw'iktim ts'n sʔmtstutim n ilh suuxis ʔilh.
And they placed her and her sister in a sitting position, side by side.
- 24 Ts'xmayc stmnumawiilhs tsi walayc ala ats wa sinapamcwtim ts'
sʔaynaw swnts'tim c a wina.
*Really, there was only one survivor among them, that's how people
found out they had been killed by warriors.*
- 25 Ixq'ms ts' ilh tl'msta ʔilh.
Now, this woman started walking.
- 26 Tl'aps úlh Kw'alhna.
She was going to Kwatna.
- 27 Ala maaskaax tsk sʔalhʔays sʔixq'ms sts'kts.
She must have walked for several days before she arrived there.

- 28 Putl'mtim ska kwntim wa alh?atma.
They came to collect the dead.
- 29 Q'awtim ulh Kw'alhna.
They took them to Kwatna for burial.
- 30 Tl'aps kwmat's ilh tl'msta ?ilh ska alhkaltcwms wa scwmta.
This woman must have been planning to look after the gunpowder.
- 31 Lhwaasalh kw wa k'cis ts' ta mans tx.
Her father found two boxes of it.
- 32 Putl'tus ts' ulh Nuxalk ska puntutis Nuxalkmc c txw.
He brought them to Bella Coola, and offered them to the Nuxalk people.
- 33 Wic ?its'ik ats sqwlxulhtsutaw s?alh?alhtsimtmacwaw
tu Nuxalkmc txw swinas luts' wa kstut.
This is when the Nuxalk held a meeting and discussed getting ready for another war.
- 34 Tl'apaw ts' ska tl'apaw ts' ala ats.
And they started from there.
- 35 Wics ts' tu scwmtas ilh tl'msta ?ilh ka usedamkit.
They were going to make use of that woman's gunpowder.
- 36 Tl'apaw ts' ala ats ska qw'xwmaw.
Now they started to move.
- 37 Tm?aylhaw s?axw alhnapit ka umatalhaw ska winanaw.
Only they did not know where they should go to wage war.
- 38 Tic ?its'ik ta mnas ilh Txaxaaxlh ?ilh ti ayuts kw ska inatis
c ilh stans ?ilh.

Then, the son of this Alert Bay woman said he would offer his mother to them.

- 39 Snukaklikahayca₁kwts'ala₁aws Na₂mu.

They were now travelling in the middle of the channel, in the vicinity of Namu.

- 40 K'ilh₂umatalhaw₁ts'.

They didn't know in which direction to go.

- 41 Axw alhnapi₁ka₁umatalhaw ska₁winanaw s₂ayutss ta₁tl'msta₁tx stl'apaw₁luts'.

They did not know where to go and start attacking, but then this man told them to keep going.

- 42 Wic₁ʔits'ik wa₁tcatl'salxis Alert Bay wa₁amats ti₁apsulh wa₁umataw.

Behind Alert Bay, there was a village, and that is where they were heading.

- 43 Ximlayca₁kw'its'ik.

It was now early in the morning.

- 44 Ksalhaw₁ts'.

And they disembarked.

- 45 Plikit ti₁lhalasaw.

They turned their boat upside down.

- 46 Iptsikit₁ʔits'ik.

And they covered it with moss.

- 47 Nusuk'aaxaw wa₁apsulh alh₁txw sts'usms.

Then, at night, villagers were sailing in.

48 Wic_kw'its'ik ats stl'apaw_ts' ska_musalcws ti_numaw_tsk alh_twx.

That is when they went ahead, sending one of them out to spy.

49 Wic_kw'iluts'ik s?axtsmuksaw wa_tl'msta.

While this was happening, the people were sleeping.

50 Nacliwatimutaw_ts' ula_kulhiks wa_sulh_ts ska_tcit wa_sim
wa_sitiliwas_tsk wa_sulh.

*Now they went on top of the house roofs and got ready to cut the cedar
ropes that somehow held the houses together.*

51 Cwt'uus_kwts' tu_sulhuks_twx.

Then the houses collapsed.

52 Tl'apakmtit ska_wnts'tit wa_tl'mstayuks alh_twx wa_apsulhuks.

And they started to kill the people who lived there.

53 Wic_kw'its'ik txw snmptit_kwts' wa_cnasuks wa_mnmntsaw ula_akw'na
ska_lhxwmaw_alhu.

Then the women put their children in canoes, and attempted to escape.

54 Tl'aptutim_kwtuts' ska_wnts'tim tu_qiqipi_twx.

But the little ones were grabbed again and killed.

55 Ts'xmayc_kw snumukwlcs wa_asanks ta_sulh_tx c_a_sic.

It is said that the entire side of one house turned red with blood.

56 Alhkwnis_kw'italuts'ik ta_wiclhh_tx wa_Txaxaaxlh_?ats
(nukakliktmacws ulh_ts) ilh_stans_?ilh tqwntl'.

*But the one from Alert Bay (he was half Nuxalk) was supposed to bring
his mother this way.*

57 Slaxa_kwlukukstuu tu_snaaxayctutit_twx ta_qiqipi_twx.

Finally, they also took many children as slaves.

- 58 Awlhtim kwts' c a inic?alhhi tsk.

They were followed by people who had somehow survived.

- 59 Tsi ts' ilh tl' msta ?ilh tsi si?alh?awlhtim.

That woman was the reason they were being followed.

- 60 "Axw yanap ka alhkwnsap," tsut kw'its'ik ilh tl' msta ?ilh.

"It would be better if you did not bring me along," that woman said.

- 61 "Qtsamktsaxw!"

"Throw me overboard!"

- 62 "Ic?alatktuminap ?its'ik ska tkayanap ala aluuxap ts ska ts'ktaw
ulh nts."

"And keep missing when you are shooting at me behind you, until they reach me."

- 63 Tsut kw'its'ik ilh tl' msta ?ilh

That's what that woman said.

- 64 Alh?ayna kw'iluts'ik.

So they did end up doing that.

- 65 Tm?ayanmuutslha kw'iluts'ik tu awlhtmc txw ulh ilh slip'tsutaw.

But eventually, the pursuers failed to reach her, and turned back around.

- 66 Putl'aw ts' ala ats ulh Nuxalk ts'.

And then they came (back) to Bella Coola.

- 67 Tsatsi tu c t'axw s?alhnapih alh txw.

That's all I know about them.

Raven and Thrush (Felicity Walkus)

- 1 Smsmayts c̣tị Qwaxẉtc̣.

I'll tell a short story about Raven.

- 2 Ic̣ʔilaaqayciṣ tsḳ ulạ skukulhc̣nasṣ.

He used to visit his lady friends.

- 3 Tl'ap̣ kẉ úḷḥ tsị Ic̣ʔaxwnị tsc̣ (nunanicikmitṣ wạ skwatstaṣ tsị tsịc̣ tsc̣).

Now, he was on his way to Thrush (I have forgotten her name).

- 4 "Ic̣ʔaxwnnị-xwnnị-xwnnị, qaax!" tsuṭ kwkw'̣ ilhạʔilḥ,
ilḥ ilaaxaycmiṃ ʔilḥ.

"Thrush-sh-sh, salmonberries!" she, the one who was visited, said.

- 5 Mtṣ kwts'̣ tạ Qwaxẉ tx̣ alạ astcwṣ wạ sulhṣ.

Then Raven sat down inside her house.

- 6 Alhkwniṣ ts'̣ wạ ts'̣laṣ usqạ sʔalḥʔayutsṣ c̣atṣ.

And she took her baskets outside, and spoke the following words.

- 7 Ayutṣ kwkw'̣.

This is what she said several times.

- 8 “Icʔaxwnni-xwnni-xwnni, qaax!”
“Thrush-sh-sh, salmonberries!”
- 9 Putl’s kwts’ ska lims tu qaax txw ulh ta ts’las ilh tl’ msta ʔilh.
Then, salmonberries started falling down into that person’s baskets.
- 10 Ustcws kwts’ ska alhpstus Qwaxw c txw.
Then she went inside to give them to Raven to eat.
- 11 Kamalh tsayutss kw’iluts’ik Qwaxw sʔalhpss alh tu qaax txw swalis.
And as soon as Raven had finished eating the berries, he left.
- 12 Wic ʔits’ik ats sʔayutss ulh ilh ska putl’s.
That’s when he told her to come and see him.
- 13 “Putl’x ulh nts ikaynucs!” tsut kwts’ ta Qwaxw tx.
“Come to me tomorrow!” Raven said.
- 14 Wic kw’its’ik ats stl’aps kwts’ ilh tl’ msta ʔilh.
And then that person went on her way.
- 15 Way, tl’aps kwts’ Qwaxw ska alhaʔitimutiis kwtuts’ sʔalhʔays
 ilh Icʔaxwni ʔilh.
So, Raven then started to do the same things that Thrush had done.
- 16 Alhaʔyutstimuti kw’iluts’ik sʔalhʔayutss.
And for a while, he attempted to speak the words she had spoken.
- 17 Asts’layaks kwts’ tuu.
He was holding a basket too.
- 18 “Icʔaxwnni-xwnni, qaax!” tsuuts kwk’u t’ax.

“Thrush-sh, salmonberries!” he said several times.

- 19 Smawłhi kw’its’ik ta snukłhiiks tx.

But only one berry fell into his basket.

- 20 Q’pstms kwluts’ Qwaxw.

And Raven sampled it.

- 21 Tl’aputs kwalututs’ ska alhʔayutss.

Again, he tried to say the words.

- 22 Ax kw’iluts’ik ti ka qaax ti ka lim ulh tu ts’las txw.

But all the while, no berries fell into his baskets.

- 23 Ilhq’nlhalcs kwts’n t’ax sʔayutss ts’.

Then he got fed up, and spoke the following words.

- 24 “Icʔaxwnni-xwnni-xwnni, qaax, mnk!”

“Thrush-sh-sh, salmonberries, shit!”

- 25 Nukłhiiks kwts’ tu ts’las txw c a mnk.

Then, shit fell down into his baskets.

Raven and Watersnail (Felicity Walkus)

- 1 Way, Snuyantsaqw's, ?its'ik ti, umatutsts c, ats.
Well, I'll tell a story about Watersnail next.
- 2 Ic?ilaaxayci, kwsu ta, Qwaxw, tx úlh, Snuyantsaqw's.
Here, Raven went to visit Watersnail.
- 3 Nuq'lhkwaaxim, kwts' t'ax ska, mts.
And a seat was prepared for him to sit on.
- 4 Tl'aps, kw ta, Snuyantsaqw's, tx ulh, ta, asans tu, sulhs, txw.
Watersnail went to a corner of his house.
- 5 Ats'is.
And he started fishing.
- 6 Putl'aylaycs, kwts' c, ti, p'wi alh, txw.
And he caught a halibut.
- 7 Nukaklstcutsis, kwts' Qwaxw c, tx.
And he cooked it for Raven to eat.

8 Kamal_h tsayutss_{kw}'isuluts'ik ta_Qwaxw sʔalhpsstl'aps.

And then, as soon as he had finished eating, Raven went on his way.

9 Iclq'ms_{ts}' ula_{ka} ts'ktatus Snuyantsaqw's.

Now he was contemplating what he should do to Watersnail.

10 Lq'aylaycs_{kwts}' ka_{iixwsulhs} alh_{tu} txwnayaaxs tu_{sulut} txw.

Then it occurred to him that he should build a fire on the other side of the channel.

11 Putl's_{ts}' úl_h Snuyantsaqw's ska_{ayutss} ska_{kwnis}.

Now he went to Watersnail and told him he had to pick him up.

12 "Kwntsinu."

"I'm taking you somewhere."

13 "Xllhtums c_{ta} mannu_{maku} t'ax ska_{kwntsinu}."

"I've been ordered to come and get you by that man who must be your father."

14 "Nuk'cikmtst c_{tx}."

"He wants to see you."

15 "Axw ti_{ka} mants," tsutsutí_{kw}'italuts'ik Snuyantsaqw's.

"I have no father," Watersnail tried to tell him.

16 "Alh_{ti} ayutslh_{tu} t'ax sclhm_{nas} c_{inu}."

"According to what he said, you are a son of his."

17 "Xllhtums ʔits'ik ska_{kwntsinu} ska_{mnlhalusmtst}."

"And I have been ordered to come and get you, because he misses you."

18 "Axw ti_{ka} mants," tsútís_{kw}alukw' ta_{Snuyantsaqw's} tx.

- "I have no father," Watersnail kept trying to say.*
- 19 "Ta,q'upmiixw,t'alhay,t'ax alh,tu,txwnayaax,t'axw."
"That smoke over there, on the other side of the channel."
- 20 "Ta,mannu,mak'u,t'ax."
"That must have been your father all along."
- 21 Tsut,kw'itk'uk Qwaxw.
That's what Raven kept saying.
- 22 Tculh?aylikt s?axw anayks,kw ta,Snuyantsaqw's,tx ska,tl'aps.
For a long time, Watersnail did not want to go.
- 23 Ala,wayci,kw syaxwnimuts ska,ays ska,tl'aps alh,tx.
But in the end, he agreed to go with him.
- 24 Alhxapatim,kwts'n t'ax c,ta,Qwaxw,tx ssqw'tum tpyaaxam.
And Raven carried him, and flew him across.
- 25 Tl'apliwas,kwts' t'ax ska,xilxilaaqtsuts.
But then he sort of started to wobble.
- 26 "Axwtxw q'snu ska,alh?alh?aynu!" tsut,kw'italuuk
 ta,Snuyantsaqw's,tx.
"Don't overdo this!" Watersnail tried to say.
- 27 "Tmyalhkayciłhnu,tu stskwnu wa,sixilxilaaqmts," tsut,kw'its'ik
 ta,Qwaxw,tx.
"You're just too heavy, that's why I'm wobbling," Raven said.
- 28 Snukakliktmacwanmayca,kw'its'ik t'axw scwpakmis
 ta,Snuyantsaqw's,tx.

*And then, when they had made it halfway across, he let go of
Watersnail.*

29 Sak'ayalhs usaqw'sam.

And he went right down to the bottom.

30 Lip'tsuts,kwts'n t'ayc ula,sulhs Snuyantsaqw's.

And he returned to Watersnail's house.

31 Smʔulhas,kwts' ska,ats'is úlh,ta,sats'istas ta,Snuyantsaqw's,tx.

And he went straight for Watersnail's fishing pole, and started fishing.

32 Klhaalhms,ts'n alh,txw.

Now he lowered the line.

33 Tic,kw'ituts'ik Snuyantsaqw's ti,putl'aynicis alh,txw.

And indeed, it was Watersnail that he caught then.

Mink Marries Rock and Cloud (Felicity Walkus)

- 1 Smsmats c̣tị T'ukạ tc stalawsmṣ sutsḳ úḷḥ tị t'xṭ tc.

I'll tell the story of Mink's surprise marriage to this rock.

- 2 Sculhlamiṃ kwalukw' c̣ ilḥ stanṣ ?ilḥ skạ talawsṣ ulạ anaykmtiṣ
skạ umatṣ skạ talawsṣ.

Many times, his mother tried to stop him from marrying the ones he intended to propose to.

- 3 Way, tl'apṣ kwts' t'ax̣ skạ scliktṣ ulḥ lhạ cnasṣ, ilḥ T'xṭ ?ilḥ.

Well, once he got mad at his wife, She-Rock.

- 4 Quuxwp' usiṣ kwts'.

And he was punching her in the face.

- 5 T'kuṣ kwts'ṇ ilha?ilḥ.

And now she had blood on her face.

- 6 "Way, tsị t'kuṣ," tsuṭ kw'its'iḳ t'ax̣.

"There, bloody face," he said.

7 Nutsutik kwlut's stics ilh tsi t'kus.

All the while he was thinking that it was her who was bleeding.

8 Tics kwmakuts' ta sucas tx ti t'kw.

But it must have been his hand that was bleeding.

9 Way, walim kwts' c ilh.

Well, she left him then.

10 Wic kw'its'ik stl'aps kwtuts'n ula sk'inwas ʔats ska talawsms tuts' ulh ilh Sk'inwas.

He then went to the clouds to get married again, to She-Cloud.

11 Sculhlamim kwalututs' c lha stans ʔilh ska alh ʔays ska talawss ulh Sk'inwas.

And again his mother tried to stop him from going ahead and get married, to Cloud.

12 Ax kw'iluk anustsayanms.

But he would not listen.

13 Talaws tuts' ulh Sk'inwas.

And he got married again, to Cloud.

14 Ya kw'iluk sʔixwanms sʔalh ʔalh ʔawlhis ilh cnass, ilh Sk'inwas ʔilh.

And he travelled quite far, following his wife, She-Cloud.

15 Q'uxlcs sklhs.

And he got tired, and fell to earth.

Raven and Bluegrouse (Felicity Walkus)

- 1 Ti,smaw ti,smasma tc alh,Qwaxw.

One story about Raven.

- 2 Wa,sq'uxim,alhutsk c,tsi,Mucwmukwt,tsc.

Apparently, Bluegrouse tried to invite him.

- 3 “Hu,sc,masuk ts'aw,tsc ska,iskwalslhtums ska,alhpstums,”
tsuts,kwsu t'ax.

*“Hmm, I bet she’s going to surprise me with bad stuff, and make me eat
cooked hemlock needles,” he said.*

- 4 Alh?ayxwiis,kw t'ax c,ats skstus ti,satl'as.

At the moment, he was busy making himself a canoe.

- 5 Ayk'mii,kw'iluk alh,txw s?inica?is ska,tsayaks s?isq'sis,ts' ta,lhalas,tx.

It wasn't long before he was about to finish firing the boat.

- 6 Nuyalcutsa,kwts' wa,nuyamlh,?ats.

Then these singers began to sound better and better.

- 7 Nuq'ilhikaycs kwts'n t'ax sʔanayks ska k' cis.
And he badly wanted to go have a look.
- 8 Tl'aps ts'n ulh txw.
Now he went to them.
- 9 Nuq'ilhikaycs kwts' t'ax stl'aps ska k'cs ulh tsi naaxwm ts' ayc.
He just had to go and have a look at this dancing woman.
- 10 Alats'itum kw'italuts'ik t'ax:
But they tried to tell him:
- 11 "Ta sq'islnu, Qwayxw!" tsutmim kw'italuts'ik t'ax.
"Your fire, Raaaven!" they were now saying to him, but in vain.
- 12 "Ya tsi kusyut tsic taw!" tsut kw'itk'uk t'ax.
"But she is such a good dancer!" he said over and over.
- 13 "Ta sq'islnu, Qwayxw!" tsutmim kwaluk'u t'ax.
"Your fire, Raaaven!" they kept trying to tell him.
- 14 "Ya tsi kusyut tsic taw!" tsuuts kwk'u t'ax.
"But she is such a good dancer!" he kept saying.
- 15 Tmʔalhʔayutslh kw'iluts'ik c ats sqw'alayaluss ta sq'iss tx.
And not long after he had been saying this, the fire had consumed his canoe.
- 16 Anusyas kwts' alh tu sq'alh txw.
*Now he really wanted the meat.**

*This must be in reference to the meal that Bluegrouse would have offered Raven, with Bluegrouse being the dancer.

How to Prepare Eulachon Grease (Margaret Siwallace)

- 1 Anayk t'ayc ska, alats'its s?alh?aytulh ats wa, stutusluq'ilh, ts
ssputcmlh, ts'.

This one wants me to describe how we prepare grease after the eulachon run.

- 2 Ala, patsalh skstum wa, alhtiixw, ?ats alh, ta, ayk', txw.

They first made the eulachon nets, long ago.

- 3 Ala, ayk' s?alh?aytum skstum wa, alhtiixw, ?ats.

Long ago, they did make those nets.

- 4 Alh, ti, suncwt, ts' axw, ts' ti, ka, nu?alhtiixwakliwa, ts'.

Today, they don't seem to be using eulachon nets anymore.

- 5 Wic, ts' wa, ayutsmim, ?ats sklklta wa, si?ayakaw, ts'.

They now use what we call klklta (herring seine).

- 6 Qtsamkit ti, klklta, t'ayc.

They drop this net into the water.

- 7 Aynaw ts' ssacwatit snmptit úlh ti satl'a t' ayc stl' aptut ska stl' luts maw
úlh ti lhkw' aalh ti stl' luts t' ayc.

*Then they use dipnets to transfer them (the eulachons) into a canoe,
and then they start putting them in a bin, this large eulachon box.*

- 8 Alh?ayna ma c a lhwaask' mtak ts, ika yalaycaw.

This may take them two days to finish, if they're lucky.

- 9 Kamalh axw yalaycaw c a sputc smusaaxaka ma ska tl' apamktit ka tsay
ka anaykmtit ska stl' lutstit.

*If they're not lucky catching eulachons, it may take them four days to
catch all the fish they want to put in the bin.*

- 10 Wic ?its' ik stsayakaw stl' luts maw, nuq' lhkwaaqit ts' ti ka nusmaaksta.

*Then, they are done filling the bin, and now they start preparing a box
for cooking the eulachons.*

- 11 Kalhmaaxtsaw, kstut, q' lhkwakmit, maaxtsit ts' wa asaaqtas
ti ka nuslhumtanaw t' ayc.

*They look for clay, they fix it, they prepare it, they now apply clay to the
bottom of what will be their cooking box.*

- 12 Tsayakmit, iskwmlhaw tuts' c a kwmlhaw.

They're finished, and now they are going to gather firewood.

- 13 Alh?ays c a ts' icwaax ts, t' xulhaax matuu (ka ayk' lits' tutit wa sputc ts
alh ti stl' luts tc) stsqwakmaw ska smakaw.

*It may be like five days, maybe even six (if they keep the eulachons in
the bin longer), then they will begin to prepare the grease.*

- 14 Nuquts' ikayctut tuu ti nusmaaksta t' ayc, sts' xmaycaw
snuquts' ikayctut ssmnuqlayktut.

They really clean the cooking box, they clean it thoroughly, and have water ready in it.

- 15 Inacwmaalh, ʔiluts'ik ti, imlk, t'ayc snuscwaaqis t'ayc ska, nukwlctus.
Early in the morning, a man comes to prepare the fire, to make it hot.
- 16 Nukwlctus, ts', ayk'miis ti, suncw, t'ayc snmpanaw, ts' c, a, sputc, ʔats ulh, ti, nukwl, ts' ti, qla, t'ayc alh, ti, nusmaaksta, tc.
Now he's made it hot, and later on during the day they put the eulachons into the water that's now hot in the cooking box.
- 17 Alhkaltcwmit, ʔits'ik sʔaxw ka, nupapnttut.
They make sure that it will not boil.
- 18 Tantats'it uuxnk wa, nup'ulhkwm, yalhu, ʔats.
They keep pressing the fish down whenever they start to rise to the surface.
- 19 Nukwlc, wa, nukwlc, ʔats alh, tc, tantats'it uuxnk.
The hot spots get hotter, they keep pressing down.
- 20 Tculhʔayliktaw sʔalhʔaytut c, ats, ayk'akm.
They keep doing this for a long time, it takes forever.
- 21 Ula, wayci, ts sqaxqaaxlanaw, ts' wa, slax, ʔats úla, ulhqnuks, ʔats.
Later on, many individuals keep bringing water to these pails.
- 22 Lhichikw'aalh, tuu wa, nuskiitsta, ʔats.
These tubs are very large indeed.
- 23 Ika, yas ti, ka, nuskiitsta, umattut c, a, qla ka, nacliwatut.
If a tub is good, they pour water into it if they have it ready.

- 24 Kamalh₁yalhkaycí₂ʔits'ík snup'ulhkwms snupapnts ats snusk'lim₁tuts'
ti₁amats ti₁nupapnt₁t'ayc.

*If it bubbles too much as it boils, they pour cold water into the spot
where it's boiling.*

- 25 Alhʔaynaw₁tuts' ka₁tantats'it wa₁sputc₁ʔats alh₁ti₁nusmaaksta₁t'ayc
uuxnk.

And again, they keep pushing the eulachons down in the cooking box.

- 26 Úla₁waycii₁ts stl'apakaw ska₁kwilhit wa₁sputc₁ts álh₁ti₁nusmaaksta₁tc.

Later on, they start to crush the eulachons in the cooking box.

- 27 Ts'xmayc skwilhayctutit.

They really smash them up.

- 28 Nusk'lit₁ts' tuu ti₁nusmaaksta₁tc.

And they pour cold water into the cooking box.

- 29 Kwilhit₁ts', kwilhit.

They crush them now, they crush them.

- 30 Wic₁ts' wa₁sq'lhkwakaw wa₁q'umsciwa₁ʔats, wa₁sq'lhkwakaw₁ts'
ala₁ats.

It is the whiteman's tools that they use now, their tools.

- 31 Tmstnlh₁kuks wa₁alhʔalhʔaytum ala₁ayk'.

But a long time ago, they used just poles.

- 32 Tsaakw sʔalhʔays c₁ti₁skulukt₁tc wa₁alhʔalhʔaytut, wayc sʔalhq'lhkws.

*They were as long as a canoe pole, the ones they used, but they were
specially made.*

- 33 Alhʔays,ts'n ts stamsacwanaw,ts' ala,wayalhh,ts'n,ʔats
ka,sikwilhalusaynicit,ts' wa,sputc,ats.
Nowadays, they make dipnets with wire for crushing the eulachons.
- 34 Uspuṭl's,ts' c,a,sluq',ʔats ti,kwilhim,t'ayc.
Crushed matter rises to the surface as grease.
- 35 Tmʔalhʔaylhtum,ts' sʔalhkwilhaycs,tuts'n sʔalhʔaynaw,ts'
c,a,alhk'ilhtut,ts ska,slaxlcs ka,sluq' alh,ti,alhkwilhh,t'ayc.
*They just leave it that way after it's been crushed, and now all they do is
wait to see if more grease comes up from this crushed mass.*
- 36 Alhʔay,ʔiluk sslaxlcs.
As time passes, more (grease) does come up.
- 37 Tpimpiixwit,tuu ti,nusmaaksta,tc.
They keep covering the box.
- 38 Ick'icit úla,sʔayk'm sʔusmntacwit,ts' úla,nuyayk wa,ulhqnuks,ʔats.
*They keep checking for a while, then they skim (the grease) and transfer
it to these clean pails.*
- 39 K'ilhwaasalh,ma acwlh,ʔats, k'ismawalh,matuu acwlh wa,tl'apamkit,
ts'klaktalh,matuu ulhqñ.
*There may be eight of them (pails) altogether, they may end up with
nine altogether, or maybe even ten pails.*
- 40 Wa,sʔaxw lik'tulh ats, alhmnlhātuutsilh ti,sqlkuutss,tc.
We don't actually fill them right up, we measure the depth.
- 41 Kpakmit sʔusmntacwit, nuts'ixalh,ts' scnasuksilh,ts.
When they are done skimming, we, the women, start refining it.
- 42 Alhʔaycliwanaw,lukuks sʔimlukuks,ts,ts'n snuts'ixalh.

But the men help us throughout with the refining.

- 43 Ala.patsalh sʔusmntacwaycaw ats sʔalh.lhmlh sʔalhʔayakilh c.ats
sʔiixwsulhulhtnmlh c.a.lhkwʔaluus wa.niixw.

Before they finish skimming (the grease), we start to build a big fire.

- 44 Kawlstilh.tsʔ c.a.tʔxt.ʔats ula.niixw.ʔats.

Then we pile rocks on top of this fire.

- 45 Tmya.ʔilutsʔik skwlculhs ats sʔusmntacwaylaycaw ats.

Before it gets real hot, they have managed to finish skimming.

- 46 Qutsʔulhilh.ʔitsʔik ti.smau ti.tʔxt.tc snmpilh ulh.ti.mawalh.tc.

Then we wash one rock and put it into one of the pails.

- 47 Askmapʔstnakilh.tsʔ sʔipʔilh ti.tʔxt.tʔayc ala.kwlulh.ʔats.

We use tongs to remove one rock from the hot ones.

- 48 Nmpilh.tsʔ alh.ti.mawalh ti.ulhqh.tc.

Now we put it into one of the pails.

- 49 Numustulh.tsʔ wa.ulhqnuks.ʔats c.ti.samsamawlh ti.tʔxt.

We put one rock at a time into each of these pails.

- 50 Kamalh.yas ti.skwlulhs snupapnts ti.mawalh.tc.

If it is hot enough, the contents will start boiling.

- 51 Alhʔay.ma c.a.músulh.tsʔ ulh.ti.mawalh ti.ulhqh wa.nmpilh
ala.tʔxt.ʔats.

It may be four rocks that we put into one pail.

- 52 Sʔaymis squtsʔulhilh ala.patsalh snmpilh.

We always wash the rocks before we transfer them.

- 53 Wa.stscwis wa.músulh.ʔats snutsʔixalh.

Four rocks actually suffice for us to do the refining.

- 53 Tsayakilh ala₁ats snuts'ixilh, nucsaxlatsuttulh₁tuts' ats uuxnk.

When we have finished refining, we allow the liquid to settle down.

- 54 Ksulhilh₁ts', ksilh₁ts' wa₁t'xt₁ʔats ala₁ulhqn₁ʔats.

Then we pull the rocks out, we pull them from these pails.

- 55 Umtulh₁tuts' wa₁sq'lhkwakilh₁tuts' c₁ti₁tsakwalqi₁t'ayc.

We now use this long-handled tool to remove the rocks.

- 56 Alhʔays c₁ti₁tsakwalqi₁tc sqwanilhs ti₁sq'lhkwakilh₁ts' t'ayc
sʔumtulh₁tuts' wa₁t'xt₁ʔats, wa₁kwululh wa₁t'xt₁ʔats.

It is like a spoon with a long handle, this tool that we now use to remove the rocks, those hot rocks.

- 57 Ip'aaxilh₁ʔilhuuk alh₁ti₁nusaplinalhh₁t'ayc úl₁ti₁lhkw'aalh
ti₁ulhqn₁t'ayc.

Right after that, we strain the liquid through a flour sack into this large pail.

- 58 Lhkw'aalh, umattulh sʔip'aaxilh.

A large container, that's where we transfer the liquid to as we strain it.

- 59 Ip'aaxaynicilh₁tuts' wa₁sluq'ʔats, tl'a₁ptulh₁tuts' úla₁sq'lhkwaw
wa₁q'umsciwa₁ʔats, wa₁sq'lhkwakilh₁ts' alhʔays₁ts.

*After we finish straining the grease, we transfer it to vessels
("implements") that are used by white people, that are now also used by
us.*

- 60 Ayutsmim ats *one gallons*, nu *wine*talhh ats ala₁qwliuulh wa₁stuu₁ʔats.

*They are called "one gallon", these wine bottles at the "green store"
(liquor store).*

- 61 Umattulh_{ts}' snmpilh wa_{tsluq}'_{ts}.
Those are the ones we now put the grease in.
- 62 Alhtsayakms_{ts}'.
Now the job is done.
- 63 Axw_{ts}' st'axws ats s_{ts}ickakus úla_{tsulh}'_{ts}.
These are easy to carry home.
- 64 Nu_{ts}itl'ikit_{ts}' ats s_{ts}usutsaaxammaycaw ala_{tsulh}'_{ts}
 ula_{ts}nukusyals_{ts}'_{ts}.
Then they move them to a location under the house, to the root cellar.
- 65 Q'awit_{ts}' wa_{tsluq}'_{ts}.
That's where they store the grease.
- 66 Wa_{ts}slhwaalhtl'apaks ti_{ts}smak alh_{ts}ti_{ts}smawaax ti_{ts}suncw,
 lhwaalhtl'apakaw.
They actually prepare two batches of grease in one day, they do it twice.
- 67 Sláxs wa_{ts}tl'apamkit smatl'apakaw.
They procure a lot (of grease) per batch.
- 68 Ica_{ts}yawtsmamkilh_{ts}'its'ik ats ula_{ts}tcunikusilh_{ts}'_{ts}.
And we trade grease with the ones that live to the west of us.
- 69 Akwnutsmaw_{ts}tuu wa_{ts}axw_{ts}'_{ts}ats kstcw_{ts}'_{ts}ats, wic st'axws ats slhxus.
And the ones who have not made any (grease) buy it too, because this is hard work.
- 70 Nunulhuk'aw slax alh_{ts}lhmilh.
Many among us are lazy.
- 71 Yayaatwamktsutaw_{ts}'ituk acwlh alh_{ts}lhmilh skstut.

But some of us are happy to do this work.

72 Way_malhu.

Well, this must be it for now.

How to Prepare Dried Fish (Margaret Siwallace)

- 1 Way, ayuutstimutts ska_alats'its alh_tis?alh?ayakilh ala_smlhk_?ats
skstutilh spanyatilh.

*Well, I will try to describe what we do with fish, how we prepare and
smoke-dry them.*

- 2 Nacliwatulh_luu ti_kw'puts_t'ayc ka_si?ayakaw tc ska_uqw'aw
ala_tmcw_?ats.

*As usual, we first get the net ready so they can use it while drifting down
the river.*

- 3 Kawtim ulxlh ula_aaxlh_?ats.

They are given a ride to the upriver area.

- 4 Uqw'aw_ts' ala_tmcw_?ats.

Then they start drifting down the river.

- 5 Qtsamktsamkanaw, ts' wa, nulhnús, ?ats alh, ti, mawalh ti, lhalas, t' ayc.
They keep casting out their nets, these two men on one boat.
- 6 Ticslaxaw ala, matl' ap.
Sometimes they catch a lot.
- 7 Tictsaatsínaw, tuu ala, matl' ap.
Sometimes they catch a little bit.
- 8 Tick'acwaw, tuu ala, matl' ap.
Sometimes they catch nothing at all.
- 9 Kamalh, slax, ?its'ik wa, tl' apamk skwntim, tuts'
 c, ti, qw' xwmtimut, t' ayc in ti, lhalas, t' ayc in wa, kw' puts, ?ats.
When the catch is plentiful, somebody picks them up again in a pickup truck, and collects the boat and nets as well.
- 10 Alhkwnim ula, tcatl' saaxs wa, sulhs ti, tl' msta, t' ayc wa, alh, lhmilh
 wa, anayk ska, kstcwacwkutsmaw.
It (the catch) is taken to the back of somebody's house, (for) those of us who are willing to prepare their own food stock.
- 11 Stslitilh, ts' ala, tcatl' saax, ?ats ula, nuscuukstalhh, ?ats.
We now put the fish in water-filled tubs behind the house.
- 12 Axw ka, wics, tuu wa, lhalhlaasii, ?ats ska, umattulh ska, stslitilh
 wa, smlhk, ?ats.
That is, if we don't use the dinghies to keep the fish wet.
- 13 Xim smak' matklits' tutilh ats.
We leave them in there overnight.
- 14 Tl' apakilh, ts' scnasuksilh, ts ska, asyalh.
Then we, women, start cutting them up.

- 15 Alhtamʔapcwaktulhs tsi, numaw, ts' ayc.
One of us keeps putting them up on racks (in the smokehouse).
- 16 Alhtamtl'alhaakas, tuu c, a, slaq'k, ʔats.
She keeps taking the fillets (to the smokehouse) to dry.
- 17 Asyas, ts' tsi, numaw, ts' ayc.
And somebody else is doing the cutting.
- 18 Alhʔaytulh, ʔiluts'ik c, ts sqw'alanaw ala, matl'ap, ts.
Sometimes we keep doing this until they (the fish) are all finished.
- 19 Axw, tuu qw'alayakmtilh ala, matl'ap, ts.
But sometimes we cannot get everything finished.
- 20 Ascwalhtutilh, ts' ats sts'usms, ts.
At sunset, we build a fire (in the smokehouse).
- 21 Nulikw'aakilh, tuts' wa, slaq'k, ʔats ala, inacw, ʔats.
We turn the fillets again in the morning.
- 22 Kstimutilh, tuts' ska, asyalh ska, qw'alatutilh ika, axw ka, tsayakmtilh.
And again, we keep working, trying to cut them all, even if we cannot finish the work.
- 23 Nutl'hlcllxsaks wa, slaq'k, ʔats.
The tips of the fillets begin to dry.
- 24 Tl'apakmilh, tuts' ska, tskw'maakilh.
That's when we start pulling the bones out.
- 25 Kamalh, axw aytulh snusqwlhalhhs ti, tl'msta ala, sqwlh, ʔats
ala, slaq'k, ʔats ula, siʔalhʔaytulh stskw'maakilh.

If we don't do this, one will get fishbones stuck in one's throat, that's why we fix it that way, pulling the bones out.

26 Axw ʔituk alh ʔayakaw acwlh ʔats.

But some people don't do this.

27 Axw tskw'maakit.

They don't pull the bones out.

28 Wicanaw ʔits'ik wa ʔiqipii ʔats wa ʔahlq'tilh si ʔalh ʔaytulh
stskw'maakilh s ʔacwlhilh ʔts.

You see, it's the children we consider, that's why some of us pull the bones out.

29 Kamalh ʔupats'llxsaycs ʔs' ats s ʔalh ʔays ʔs' c ʔa ʔwpalus ʔliwatilh ʔts.

When they (the fillets) have been pierced and secured to sticks, we sort of leave them like that.

30 Wayc sniixwtulh ʔlukuks s ʔay ʔliwatis ula ʔstl'lhlcaw.

And all the while, we maintain the fire, on and on, until they dry.

31 Tl'lhlcaw.

They are drying.

32 Ustcwtutilh.

We bring them in.

33 Tcalustutilh ʔts' ska ʔnmptilh ula ʔnusk'liik ʔts' wa ʔamats
wa ʔknicilh ʔts'n ʔats.

We cut them up and put them in the freezer, which is where we keep our food now.

34 Alhʔays, ts'n ts.

That's the way it is nowadays.

35 Tl'hlctum, kuks ala, ayk' sts'xmaycaw stl'hlctutit sʔaytut ula, amatakaw
sq'awtit wa, ayutsmiit snuknumtanaw.

*But in the olden days, they would be dried, they would dry them
thoroughly, and take them to where they stored their food, in what they
called their "nuknumta".*

36 Wic ats wa, snknicilh wiclh, a, ayk' wa, knum, ʔats.

This smoked fish has been our food for a long time.

37 Sxtl'ikm, tuu ti, numaw, tc ssaq'kms, putl's wa, sk'stlits', ʔats alh, ts.

*Some people even dry the backbones as they smoke the fish, as well as
the skin.*

38 Ay sʔays umatakmiilh.

We fix it in different ways.

39 Nukw'lhiihtilh, ʔituk acwlh, ts.

Some people can it.

40 Kamalh, t'lilh, ʔits'ik sʔaxw nukw'lhiihilh.

But if it is dog salmon, we don't can it.

41 Tmtcalushtutilh sq'awtilh ula, nusk'liik, ʔats.

We just cut them up, and put them in the freezer.

42 Ay sʔays ti, umatakmiilh ti, snknicilh ti, sliixw, t'ayc.

We fix our food in different ways, like fish head stew.

43 St'saaxilh, tuu wa, acwlh, ʔats snukw'lhiiikalh, ts.

When we are canning fish, we add salt to some of it.

44 St'saaxilh.

We add salt to it.

45 Smaws, tuu ti, amlhh, t'ayc sq'silh sst'saaxilh.

But it's only springsalmon that we salt thoroughly.

46 Axw numus ska, ip'tilh ka, qw'las ka, smlhk alh, ti, amlhh, t'ayc wa, s?axw
ts'xmaycs ska, tmslaxtulh, tu ats.

*Not often do we take any other fish beside springsalmon (for canning),
and we really do not just make a whole lot of it.*

47 Alhmnllhatilh.

We make a limited amount.

48 Nuscmamkilh, tuu ats ala, sutk, ?ats, xlhalhamkilh.

We do crave this in winter, we are hungry for it.

49 Cwplxs t'ax ala, knum, ?ats.

That's all about smoked fish.

50 Itl'utsmts, ?its'ik c, ats úla, st'ala, ats.

And I will be talking about hemlock bark next.

How to Prepare Hemlock Bark (Margaret Siwallace)

- 1 Tl'apaycts sqiq'títs, luu stutust'alats alh, Nutl'l.

When I was still a child, I ventured out to collect and prepare hemlock bark at Nutl'l (Kimsquit).

- 2 Alhits alh, Nutl'l alh, txw slhcwtsutaw tu, lhikw'lc, txw
ska, tutust'alanaw.

I was living at Nutl'l then, when the elders felt it was time to collect and prepare hemlock bark.

- 3 Alhkwnayciits, ts' alh, t'axw stl'apilh alh, txw úl, ti, kulhnks Swak'c
ti, umattuminilh alh, t'axw.

They took me with them, and we went to the base of Mount Swak'c, that's where we were made to go.

- 4 K'tsaaxnmaw, ts', ta, kukwpilh, tx, Watcii.

They were cutting the tree now, my grandfather was, (and so was) Joe Brown.

- 5 Alhʔaynaw tuu ta Kwlhanilh tx sk'tsaaxn maw n ta Yaxatlh tx,
ti numawnaw alh txw.

Others that were involved in cutting the tree were Jim Pollard and Frank Kelly, to name a few.

- 6 K'tsaaxn muksaw, k'tsaaxaycs ti sat'lalhp t'ayc.

They were all cutting away, then the hemlock tree fell.

- 7 Lululiitsim ʔits'ik t'axw, lululiitsim, aslutanaw tu, lululiitsit.

The bark was peeled, it was peeled, they used a crowbar, they peeled the bark.

- 8 Tl'apakaw ts' tu cnasuks t'axw ska sxmaw.

The women started to scrape the inner layer of the bark out.

- 9 Sxmtums ts' ilh amatts ilh tl'msta ʔilh.

And the one who was looking after me made me scrape too.

- 10 Asqw'lasmtums luts' alh tu ʔnaps txw sxmtums.

I was made to add (my scraped bark) to a pile that was separate from hers.

- 11 Naptss c ti smq mni t'ayc ta sxtats tx.

She gave me this little knife for me to use as a scraper.

- 12 Tamlhuk'istumant ts' t'axw c ta tsaltcwlhh ta amataks ts'
ta kukwpits tx sʔalhxapatums ts' c t'axw slip tsutilh ts'.

They made me a basket out of cedar bark that my grandfather used to help me carry what I had collected when we went back.

- 13 Wic, ʔits'ik sxims, ts' stl'apakaw ta, kukwpilhts, tx n Samulhiixw
ska, nutsiiixanaw alh, ta, amatakaw, txw spanyanaw alh, tu, kulhuuts, txw
alh, Tcatl'sik.

*The next day, my grandfather and Sam Billy started digging a hole at the
place where they smoked fish, at the shore at Kimsquit Bay.*

- 14 Numyalstut, tu anuyalxtut.

They dug a wide round pit in the ground.

- 15 Lhcwtss, ts' ts'ayc, Ximulmc ala, ats.

Then, Kimsquit Sally woke me up.

- 16 "Tl'alhix, isʔuk'uk'ilh!" tsutsutmtinits.

*"Come, let's go and get some skunk cabbage leaves!" I was told a few
times.*

- 17 Tl'apilh, tuu ska, kwnmlh c, a, uk'uk'.

And we did start collecting skunk cabbage leaves.

- 18 Slax, ʔiluk, xilhilh, tu stl'apilh slip' tsutilh ska, alhkwnmlh
c, a, uk'uk' ʔats.

*There was so much, we had to go back many times to collect these
leaves.*

- 19 Tsayakaw wa, nutsiiixalh, ʔats.

Now they had finished digging.

- 20 Nutscwyusnicit uuxnk.

They figured it was deep enough.

- 21 Tl'apakaw ska, kawlstaw.

They began to pile up rocks.

- 22 lixwsulhaw, kawlstaw ts' c a t'xt ʔats.
They built a fire, and piled these rocks on it.
- 23 Kwlculhs t'axw, ts'xmaycs skwlculhs.
They heated up, they became very hot.
- 24 Tictsamulh tu t'xt txw.
The rocks were red-hot.
- 25 Tl'apakaw ts' ska askmap'stamaw ska kiskisit tu stn ts'
 tu siniixwlhh txw tu lhichhiikw txw.
They proceeded to use tongs to pull big chunks of burning wood from the fire.
- 26 Kiskisit ts' stsiliktmtut ts' tu sʔiixwalhkuulh tu t'xt txw.
They pulled them out, and spread the red-hot rocks out.
- 27 Tl'aptum ts' tu uk'uk txw ulh tu uts'alulhs tu niixwlhh txw
 wa kwlulh wa t'xt ʔats.
They put the skunk cabbage leaves on the hot rocks, where the fire had been.
- 28 Ts'xmayc sslaxtum alh txw skwtl'it ulh tu uts'alulhs txw.
They really put a lot of them on the rocks.
- 29 Alhʔays tuu alh tu kulhals txw ka siʔaxw sqts'lcs ats.
They did the same on the sides, to prevent it (the food) from being covered in sand.
- 30 Uslhcwim tuts' c a uk'uk' snmpaycs ts' tu asxlhh tu st'ala txw.
They covered it so that the scraped inner hemlock bark was packed between two layers of leaves.
- 31 Liclictum ts' ats, quxalstaw ts' alh ta sntl' tx sʔalhʔays c txw.

Now it was being cooked, they steamed it overnight like that.

- 32 Nuwlim_{tu} ta_{asikuulh} tx alh_t'axw.

They poured water into the stovepipe in the center of the pit.

- 33 Asnuwltatut_{tu} ka_{umatalhs} ta_{qla} txw ska_{wlit} alh_{txw}.

They had that pipe there as a means of pouring water onto them (the hot rocks).

- 34 Usquxim_{tuts}' c_a suk'ta alh_{ta} sntl'_{tx} s?alh?ays c_{txw} sliclictsuts_{ts}'
alh_{tu} t'xt_{txw}.

Now they covered it (the hemlock bark) with sails again, and it stayed like that, cooking on the rocks.

- 35 Xims ala_{ats} syacwtinits s?alhpstuminits.

In the morning, they woke me up and gave me something to eat.

- 36 Wic_{ts}' ats skwnim tu_{asxts} txw.

Then they brought me the bark that I had scraped out.

- 37 Nts_{tuts}' tsi_{taym}.

It was my job to pound it.

- 38 Tayim ats ala_{patsalh} st'qim wa_{st}'ala_{ats}.

The bark was pounded before it was spread out to dry.

- 39 Tayim c_a t'xt ulh_{ti} t'xt tuu_t'ayc.

It was pounded between two rocks.

- 40 Tculh?áyliktaks ti_{?naplh} stayis ats.

One would be pounding this mass for a long time.

- 41 Alhtámqw'yakmit_{ts}' wa_{alhnacliwa} alhtay_{?ats}.

They kept putting aside the pounded mass that was ready.

- 42 Kamalh, slaxlc, ?iluts'ik, tl'aptum, ts' ula, qts'us, ?ats ska, stsim
ala, qts'us, ?ats.

*When there finally was a lot of it, they took it to the racks, to spread it
on these racks.*

- 43 Uk'uk', tuts' wa, patsalhtum ala, ats stsim ala, kulhiks wa, tsaatskw
wa, qts'usuks, ?ats.

Skunk cabbage leaves were first spread out on top of these long racks.

- 44 Tl'alhim, ts' ats alh, ti, snx, t'ayc.

Then it dried in the sun.

- 45 Kamalh, tl'hlcs ti, tpyankus, t'ayc, nulik'usim, tuts' stl'hlctum, tuts'
ti, tpyankus, t'ayc.

*When one side had dried, they turned it over so the other side could dry
as well.*

- 46 Q'awim, ts' ats stl'hlcs, ts'n ts.

They stored it when it had dried.

- 47 Sutkams sknicim, ts'.

It was eaten in the winter.

- 48 Kanusyams, ts' ssnknic.

This was tasty food.

- 49 Sluq'aaxit, as?anulhts'aliitstut, tuu, as?ilkaliitstut, tuu c, a, alhi, ?ats
ala, asikaax, ?ats wa, ilk, ?ats.

*They ate it with eulachon grease, with dried cured fish eggs, and with
northern riceroor (edible bulbs) which grows in the woods, this
riceroor.*

- 50 Kanusyams ats ssnknic.

This was tasty food.

- 51 Alh_{ti}suncwt_{ts'}, axw_{ts'} ti_{ka}kstcw ats.

Nowadays, nobody prepares this food.

- 52 Xlhalhamkilh_{alulukw'} s'alhq'pstayniiclhilh.

We still crave it now and then, because we know the taste of it.

- 53 Axw_{ts'} tuu ti_{ka}yalh?ayakmitsutilh ska_{kstulh}.

But we don't get the opportunity to prepare it.

- 54 Wics_{ts'} ta_{ayutsmi} wa_{q'}umsciwa_{ʔats} sluus ti_{sipaaxulh}
ka_{aqw'}waycilh.

*That's because what the whitemen call "the law" makes us afraid of
being taken to jail.*

The Ugly Man (Margaret Siwallace)

- 1 Way, alats'its alh_{ti}sma_{t'}ayc, ti_{smas} ta_{patsalhhits} t'ax_{ts'},
Lhaluuxmana, ta_{kukwpits} tx, wicllhh_{Satskw} ulh_{TI'xwtsaytxw} ats.

*Well, I will tell this story, a story that belongs to my ancestor,
Lhaluuxmana, my grandfather, and is from a region that stretches from
Satskw (Kimsquit area) to TI'xwtsaytxw (Kitlope).*

- 2 Ala_{ayk'} kw, ala_{patsalhs} t'ax sstaltmcs ti_{mans} ta_{tsaatsti} tx,
Lhaluuxmana.

*This is long ago, before this young boy's father, Lhaluuxmana, was
chief.*

- 3 Nusclits' kw ta_{mna} tx.

The son was ugly.

- 4 Talawstum kwálukw' tsi mna ulh t'ax.

They tried a few times to get a young woman to marry him.

- 5 Tmmak' matklh kw' iluuk tsi talaws ts' ayc swalis tuts' s?alh?ays
ti snusclits' s kwma ta tl' msta tx.

*Each of these wives stayed only one night, then left him because that
man was so ugly.*

- 6 S?áymis kw t'ax s?alhtl' lustimuts.

He was always behind a curtain.

- 7 Alhitimuts kw ala tcatl' sikus s?aymis.

He always stayed in the back room.

- 8 Axw nutwinmtimuts ula ka stamtl' mstas.

He didn't show himself to people in the neighborhood.

- 9 Tsaynaw ta amatalaaxts txw s?alhk' ct in tu stamsusqwimtmacws txw.

Only his parents and younger siblings ever saw him.

- 10 Aytum kw' italuuk syatum, way, c a mnmntss ta apsulh tx.

*And I'm sure that the people in the village kept giving him their
daughters.*

- 11 Úlh tsi stamnumúsam ts' ayc s?ays kwma ta slq' s ta tl' msta tx
ska sclcliktms.

*When he was with his fourth wife, the man made up his mind to
abscond.*

- 12 Iclq' ms kw mats' ska ays.

He was thinking about what he was going to do.

- 13 Úlh ti smawaax kw ti suncw ala ínacw.

Then one day came along, early morning.

- 14 Tl'is ku ala amlh ʔats sxims.

The sun rises early in the summer.

- 15 Q'lhkwtsuts kwmat's t'ax ska its'amayanms c ta tl'ayanlhs tx,
mukws tuu txw, n ta ts'ulaplas ta alhkwnis.

He dressed himself with a bearskin blanket, his collar too, and he brought his quiver.

- 16 Nut'ksnimtayks t'ayc, puts'tns tx, stl'aps ska usqas alh tu sulh txw.

This (quiver) was filled with arrows, (he brought) his bow, and he started leaving the house.

- 17 Txuuxnkalhs alh ta mnmnta txw kulhuutsam.

He went down on the steps to the riverbank.

- 18 Lhulhnicim kwmat's c ilh suuxis ʔilh, Qwik'iis.

His little sister, Qwik'iis, must have heard him.

- 19 Awlhim c ilh, qiqtis kwlú ts'ayc.

She followed him, she was still a little girl.

- 20 "Ustamnu ks?" tsutsutmim kwts' t'ax c ilha ʔilh.

"Where are you going?" she was saying to him.

- 21 "Uu, tl'aps ulxlh, ixq'miits," tsutsut kw'its'ik t'ax.

"Oh, I'm going for a short walk upriver," he said.

- 22 "Tl'lhax ustcwnu ulh ta amatalaaxtlhilh!"

"Go back inside, to our parents!"

- 23 "Alh ʔnaycts alh inu," tsutsut kw'itk ilha ʔilh.

"I'm coming with you," she said.

- 24 "Ax_ku, axw alhnapits ska_tculh?aylikts ska_lip'aycts alh_tisuncwt,"
tsutsut_kw'its'ik t'ax ulh_ilh_suuxis_?ilh.

*"No you can't, I don't know how long it will be before I come back
today," he said to his little sister.*

- 25 Kalaaqwsmis_kwts' t'ax tsi_winwints.

Then he spotted a sandpiper.

- 26 Tl'aptus_kw ska_tasis alh_tu_tas_txw, alh_tu_t'ksnimtas_txw.

*And he proceeded to shoot blunt arrows at it, from his (collection of)
arrows.*

- 27 Ip'is_kwts' ilh_winwintsi_?ilh ska_tsyusis ilh_suuxis_?ilh c_ilh.

He picked up the little sandpiper and handed her to his little sister.

- 28 "Way, tl'lhax alhkwnicw ts'ayc ulh ta_amatalaaxtlhilh, kw'nusticw!"
tsuts_kwtuu tc ala_ats ulh_ilh, ula_siclhyaalh?ayakmis slip'aynicis
ilh_suuxis_?ilh s?ustcws_tuts'.

*"Here, take this one to our parents, show her to them!" he said to her
then, to make sure that his little sister would go back into the house
again.*

- 29 Tl'aps_kw t'ayc ska_tsikwalhms txulxlhalhs alh_Satskw ulxlh, s?áy s?ays
umats ska_ixq'ms.

*He now started moving upriver at Satskw, to wherever he was going as
he walked.*

- 30 Alh?ays ti_snulhxañlhanmikmitsuts alh_ta_stsnlhs_tx.

That's how bad he was feeling about himself.

- 31 Úla₁smaw₁kw anuxum₁wiclhhalhs₁ti₁kulhals₁ti₁smt₁t'ayc.
He walked until he reached a river that flowed from the side of this mountain.
- 32 Kulhaaxuts₁tuu₁ta₁anuxum₁txw₁wa₁mntas₁ts'₁t'ayc.
His path ran alongside that river.
- 33 Nutxaaxlhtum₁wa₁mntas₁t'ayc sʔitl'tsuts.
The path that he was following is called Nutxaaxlh.
- 34 Nukaltus₁tuts'₁wa₁anuxum₁ʔats₁alh₁Nutxaaxlh.
He followed this river at Nutxaaxlh.
- 35 Ay sʔays₁umats₁t'ayc, axw₁alhnapis₁ska₁umats₁sʔixq'ms.
He was just going anywhere, he didn't know where he was walking to.
- 36 Alhʔays₁snukalalhtus₁wa₁alhʔay₁c₁a₁mnmnta₁tuu₁ts.
He was walking on what looked like a road indeed.
- 37 Alhʔays₁c₁a₁nuyayaalh₁ts smntas.
It looked like a good road.
- 38 Tl'aps₁kwts'₁t'ax₁ska₁kaltmacwmis₁ti₁nutsakwaax₁t'ayc.
As he was going, he met this wolf.
- 39 Alhk'c₁kw'its'ik₁sʔanulhmalhms₁ts'₁ulh₁ta₁nutsakwaax₁tx.
Standing still, he looked at the wolf.
- 40 Putl's₁ts'₁ulh₁ta₁slq's₁tx: "Tl'apamkits₁ts'₁wa₁anaykmits₁ts."
The thought entered his mind: "Now I will get what I want."
- 41 Nutsutik₁ska₁wnts'im₁c₁ta₁nutsakwaax₁tx.

He thought he was going to be killed by the wolf.

42 Nunuk'calxim kw'itk'uk ta nutsakwaax tx way.

But the wolf kept looking back.

43 Alh?ayliwanicis kwts' c ti qaaxt'usmim tuu tc c tx.

It looked to him as though he (the wolf) was beckoning him.

44 Nuyulmaaxs kw ta nutsakwaax tx ska ixq' ms.

The wolf started to walk back to where he had come from.

45 Alh?ilhms kw luts' ta tl' msta tx way, s?axw tsikwalhms, alhlxwis.

The man kept standing, well, he did not move for some reason, he was looking at him (the wolf).

46 Nuk'calxims kw ta nutsakwaax tx ulh tx.

And the wolf was looking back at him.

47 Ax kwmatuya tsikwalhms t'ax.

But the man did not move at all.

48 Lip'tsut kw ta nutsakwaax tx ulh ta tl' msta tx ska músams
ska yalquulhlatis.

The wolf returned to the man, and circled him four times.

49 Tl'aps kw tuts' tx ska tsikwalhms alh tu mntalhs tuu txw.

Then he (the man) started to walk again on the same path that he had used before.

50 Wic kw'its'ika txw s?awlhis ts' ta nutsakwaax tx.

That's when he followed the wolf.

51 T'ayc Lhaluuxmana ti awlhts' ta nutsakwaax tx.

It's him, Lhaluuxmana, who followed the wolf.

- 52 Alhʔawlhis kwluts' ala mntas.
He kept following him on his path.
- 53 Alhʔáynaw c txw sʔixq'maw alh ta suncw tx úla sts'ktaw
 ulh ti t'apalst t'ayc.
They were walking all day, until they reached this cave.
- 54 Ustcwalhtum kwts' t'ayc ulh ti t'apalst t'ayc.
He was led into this cave.
- 55 Alhyannm kw ti smt t'ayc.
Here, the mountain was shaped into an overhang.
- 56 Nutl'lhalhlts' wa astcws ta amats ti alhyannm t'ayc.
The space under this overhang was dry.
- 57 Alhʔays ts' c a yayulmc ts ta kulhulmc tx úlh ti alhyannm t'ayc.
And the ground going into this overhang was level.
- 58 Kamalh k'c kw'its'ik ti tl'msta ala kulhanks t'ayc uuxnk
 sstatpuss kwts' uuxnk alh tu tpyank txw.
*When one looks down the sides (of the overhang), it's steep to down
 below on one side.*
- 59 Alhis ts' ta tl'msta tx alh t'ayc sʔastcws alh ti t'apalst t'ayc
 alh ta sntl' tx.
The man stayed inside this cave all night.
- 60 Alhis kwts' ta nutsakwaax tx alh ta asutslawas tx sʔaxtss.
The wolf stayed close to the entrance, and went to sleep there.
- 61 (Alh) ta sntl' tx sk'matkaw ts' ala ats way alh ta sntl' tx.
They stayed overnight there, I'm sure, on that night.

60 Axkwts' alhʔnapis t'ayc sstams wa ts'ktas alh ta sntl' tx
stsitumas kw mats' sʔalhq'uxlcs sʔixq' ms.

*He didn't know what happened to him that night, as he was sleeping,
tired from walking.*

61 Axw ts' alhnapis ska kstum c ti ka kstcw.

He didn't know if anyone was doing anything to him.

62 Xims ala ats.

Then the sun rose.

63 Tsikwallhma kwtuts' ats.

They started walking again.

64 Txuuxnkalthaw ts' ats úlh ti sTl' xwtsaytxw ts' t' ayc.

They walked down towards the Kitlope region.

65 Ixq' maw tuts' sʔixwanmaw, ixwanmaw tculh ts úlh Tl' xwtsaytxw.

They walked a long way again, and went as far as Kitlope.

66 Kulhaaxuts ʔits'ik wa anuxum.

Beside the road, there was a river.

67 Ixwams ats sʔanuxums alh ti kulhalss ti smt tc.

It flows down a long way from the side of the mountain.

68 Wic luts' ats wa sikulhaaxuts tuu wa tsalh ts alh Tl' xwtsaytxw.

And right there, to the side of the road, is also a lake, at Kitlope.

69 Ayalhaw ts' úlh ti sts' ixikalh kw t' ayc.

Then they walked to this sandbar.

70 Alhʔays ts' c ti kw' nusim tc, ta tl' msta tx, c ta nutsakwaax tx
tpyaaxutsam ulh ti sulh kw.

The wolf seemed to be showing the man this village across the river.

- 71 Músulh kw tu sulh txw wa q'upmiixw ʔats.

There were four houses, and smoke was rising from them.

- 72 Aytum kw suts' tx ska yalquulhlatim ska músams kwtuts' t'ayc
syalquulhlatis swalim ta tl'msta tx alh ta sts'ixikalh tx.

And again, he (the wolf) circled him, he circled him four times, then he left the man behind on the sandbar.

- 73 Ayalh kwsuts' ta nutsakwaax tx alh ta mntalhhaw txw
ta sixilcusaw txw, kulhankus ta anuxum txw.

And again, the wolf went back on the same path they had followed earlier, where they had emerged, the side of the river.

- 74 Tsaxwm kw'its'ik Lhaluuxmana alh ta anuxum txw tpyaaxutsam.

Lhaluuxmana then waded across the river to the other side.

- 75 Tsaxwms úlh ta sulh txw, ulh ti sulh t'ayc.

He waded towards the houses, to this village.

- 76 Anayks kwts' ska k'ctis wa tl'msta ʔats sʔalhʔaynaw.

He wanted to see these people, to find out what they were like.

- 77 Axw alhk'yuktis, axw alhk'yukis tuu ta kulhulmc ta amats txw.

He did not recognize them, he did not know in what country he was.

- 78 Alhyannm kw'its'ik ti stn t'ayc álh ti nustl'p ti nuqla t'ayc.

A tree was hanging over this pond, this water.

- 79 Wa scwnalhs t'ayc ala tcatl'saaxs ta sulh tx, ti umats ts' Lhaluuxmana
sq'lums.

This was actually a well, at the back of the village, where Lhaluuxmana went to climb the tree.

80 Anayks_{ts}' ska_{alhlxwis} ska_{alhkalhk'} ctsuts ula_{ts}' kta.

He wanted to observe things, to look at what went on down there.

81 Ax_{kw}' iluk ayk' s t' ax sʔalhq' lumaycs sputl' s tsi_{tsaatsti} ts' ayc
ska_{asʔulhqnak} ulh_{ti} qla_{t'} ayc.

And it was not long after he had climbed up that this girl came with a bucket to fetch water.

82 Wa_{sʔasqup}' tnaka_{kw} wa_{alhi} alh_{tu} tcamatlhhalhs ilh_{tsaatsi} ʔilh.

But they were beating the drums, the ones who lived at the location that the girl had come from.

83 Nuyamlhuksaw sʔasqup' tnakuksaw alh_{txw} alh_{tu} sulh_{txw}
tu_{tcamatlhhalhs} ilh_{tsaatsi} ʔilh.

They were singing and drumming at the house where the girl had come from.

84 Mntcwas_{kwaluts'} ts' ayc ulh_{ti} qla_{t'} ayc skalaaqws mis
ti_{alhkalhk'} ctsut_{t'} ayc ulh_{ilh} alh_{tu} qla_{txw} stipusaycs_{ts'}.

She was about to start dipping water when she saw this one looking at her, (she saw) his reflection in the water.

85 Apcwaqw' sms_{kwts'} ska_{k'} cs ulh_{tx}.

She lifted her gaze to look at him.

86 Atl' smcnicis_{ts'} ts' ayc t' ayc stl' mstas.

She thought he was a Tsilhqot'in man.

87 Nunusq' aaxms_{kwts'} ts' ayc ska_{alhʔayutss} "Atl' smc!", tsutsut_{kw}.

She hollered, saying "Tsilhqot'in!", is what she said.

88 Tl' aps ulh_{ta} sulhs ta_{tcamatlhhalhs} txw.

She went to the house that she had come from.

- 89 Putl'uksa kwts' wa tl'msta ʔats ska litcwmuksaw.

They all came out, these people, to see what was going on.

- 90 Asnutumutsaka kw tu slax txw alh txw.

Many of them carried spears.

- 91 Tl'apaw ska alh ʔalhtsimaw alhu ulh ti tl'msta t'ayc ska txuuxnkalhs.

They started talking to this man, telling him to climb down.

- 92 Axw ts' alh ʔacwsnictis.

But he did not understand them.

- 93 Way, yayatsutí kwlukuks tx, Lhaluuxmana, stxuuxnkalhs
alh ti alhyannm ti stn t'ayc, txuuxnks ulh txw.

*Well, slowly he, Lhaluuxmana, came down from this overhanging tree,
down towards them.*

- 94 Alhkwnim ts' t'ayc, alhlisliwatim ts' c ta anutumuts txw
úlh tu sulh txw sʔustcwum.

*They took him, sort of pushing him with the spears, to the house and
brought him inside.*

- 95 Alhlxws kwts' t'ax, way, ula astcws ʔats, way, ula sulh ʔats.

Well, he viewed the inside of this house.

- 96 Alhlxwis ts' tu spanya txw, ast'nxwa kw tu spanya txw.

He looked at the smoked fish, whose heads had not been cut off.

- 97 Alhtxuuxqnkiiqwaw ts' stl'lhaw.

They were hung to dry with the heads down.

- 98 Aqw'qw' alxyayca kwk'u t'axw, tl'msta txw alh tu itsanaw
tu spanya txw.

The men's hair got constantly tangled on the teeth of the dried fish.

99 Tmʔalhllxws, ts' t'ayc ala, ats.

He was just looking at everything in there.

100 Alhʔalhtsima, kwaluts' ulh, tx.

They kept trying to talk to him.

101 Axw, ts' alhʔacwsnictis.

But he did not understand them.

102 Lhk'ms, kwts' t'ax.

Then he spoke.

103 Way, tics, kwts'tuu ti, sxlhalhhs ti, siʔayutss c, txw.

Well, his hunger made him talk.

104 "Slax ti, spanya," tsut, kw'its'ik t'ax, way, slhk'ms, ts'.

"That's a lot of dried fish," I'm sure he said, now that he was talking.

105 "Tl'lhanaxw uq'xip lha, ʔna!" tsuta, kw'ituts'ik t'axw way.

"Go call her!" they said.

106 "Acwsan tsi, tl'msta, tsc alh, ti, slhk'mstas, makw t'ayc."

"I think she knows the language that this one is speaking."

107 Uq'xim, kwts' tsi, tl'msta, ts'ayc.

Then this woman was called.

108 "Ayuts, kwtuts' tx "Slax ti, spanya," tsuts, kwtuts' tx.

Spanyant'utum, kw tsi, stans, t'ayc, tsut t'ayc," tsut, kw'its'ik ilhaʔilh way.

“He said “That’s a lot of dried fish,” is what he said. He said that his mother’s name is Spanyol’tu,” she said.

- 109 Tmʔalhk’clhs, kwtuts’ t’ax ulh, ilh tsi, alhʔalhʔayuts, ts’ayc
wa, sSpanyant’utum tsi, stans.

He just looked at her, the woman who said that his mother’s name was Spanyol’tu.

- 110 Axw, ts’ analhatis.

He did not respond to her.

- 111 Ay, tu t’ayc ula, ats, ula, sulh, ʔats.

He was accepted there, into this house.

- 112 Talawstum, ts’ ulh, ilh, k’ct ilh, tsaatsti, ʔilh.

They let him marry the young woman that had seen him.

- 113 Tsi, luts’n ilh tsi, cnass.

From now on, she was his wife.

- 114 Tculhʔaylikts, ts’ t’ayc sʔaxw lip’alhms ulh, Satskw,
ulh, ta, amatalaaxts, txw.

And for a long time he did not return to Satskw, to his parents.

- 115 Clhmnmntslcs, ts’.

He started a family.

- 116 Acwsalcuuts, ts’ tu alh, ta slhk’ mstanaw tu, apsulh, txw,
tu, Tl’xwtsaytxw, txw.

He learned to speak the language of the village, Kitlope.

- 117 ItTl’xwtsaytxws, ts’ sʔalhʔalhtsims.

He spoke Kitlope whenever he talked.

- 118 Wic, kw’its’ika txw, way, sʔalats’itutis sstaltmcs ti, mans alh, Satskw.

It was at this time, I'm sure, that he told them that his father was a chief at Satskw.

- 119 Papqis,ts' sSpanpatl'tnayctum ti,mans.

And he revealed his father's name as Spanpatl'tnayc.

- 120 Nulhnúsamna,kw'its'ik wa,mnmntss t'ax s?ayutss ska,lip'alhms
ska,k'ctis ta,amatalaaxts,txw, ti,asclcliktmlhh,t'ayc.

He now had two children, and he said he would go back to see his parents, this onetime run-away man.

- 121 Alhkwnis,tu ilh,cnass,?ilh in tu,mnmntss,txw.

He took his wife with him, as well as his children.

- 122 Alhxapatum,kwts' t'ayc c,a,acwlh wa,tl'msta wa,alh?nayc alh,tx
c,a,sluq'.

Some of the people that went with him carried eulachon grease for him.

- 123 Alhkwnsis ta,mans,tx c,a,sluq' snuslaxaw ats stl'apaw alh,t'ayc.

He brought some eulachon grease for his father, as many people were coming with him.

- 124 Ayalhs,ts' t'ayc alh,tu,mntalhhtum,tx c,ta,nutsakwaax,tx
slip'alhms,ts' úlh,Satskw.

He followed the same road that the wolf had taken him on, and started going back to Satskw.

- 125 Alh?aynaw,suts' txw sk'matkaw alh,ti,t'apalst,t'ayc.

And again, they spent the night in this cave.

- 126 K'matkaw alh,txw.

They spent the night there.

- 127 Xims stsikwallhmaw, tuts' stl'apaw, ts' úlh, Satskw.
In the morning, they started walking again, going to Satskw.
- 128 Alh?atmanicim, ts' t'ayc c, ta, amatalaaxts, txw.
His parents though that he had died.
- 129 Qw'las, ts' sts'kts ulh, txw, axw, ts' tics tx.
He looked different when he arrived there, he was not the same.
- 130 Axw, ts' alhk'yukim.
Nobody recognized him.
- 131 Ts'kts ulh, ta, amatalaaxts, txw.
He arrived at his parents' place.
- 132 Wic, kw'its'ika txw spapqtsuts, ts' c, a, skwatstas txw.
That's when he identified himself by his names.
- 133 Papqlhis, ts' ta, mans, tx in ilh, stans, ?ilh sts'xanicim stics tx.
He mentioned the names of his father and mother, and now they were convinced that it was him.
- 134 Way, alh?ayutsaw, k'u c, t'axw ssmayuustsant tu, lhlkw'lctalhts, txw,
 wa, si?alh?ays ti, Tl'xwtsaytxwankamlh.
Well, that's the story my elders told me, how it is that we are part Kitlope.
- 135 Tics, ts' t'ayc, Lhaluuxmana, ti, si?ays wa, ts'kta ala, ayk'.
It's him, Lhaluuxmana, he's the reason that this happened long ago.
- 136 Aynaw c, txw.
That's what they did.

- 137 Ays c, txw stalawss ulh, tsi, Tl'xwtsaytxw, ts' ayc.
He did marry this Kitlope woman.
- 138 Alh?ays, lúts' alh, ti, suncwt s?alh?napilh swanaw wa, tcamatlhhs
 ilh, tsaatsi ilh, umats, ?ilh ala, Tl'xwtsaytxwmc.
*Even today, we still know who they are, the people that this young
 woman came from, her place among the Kitlope people.*
- 139 Nunanicikmlhits s?alh?ays, ts' ntsk slip' alhms Lhaluuxmana ulh, Satskw
 s?alh?aynaw, tuts' sk' matkaw alh, ti, t' apalst, t' ayc.
*I forgot to mention that on the way back to Satskw, Lhaluuxmana and
 his company spent the night in this cave again.*
- 140 Wic, kw txw snuqulhalsis, ts' ti, t' apalst, t' ayc c, a, snuqulhalsis, tsk.
*It was then that he made decorations on the cave wall, these things that
 he drew on the wall.*
- 141 Alh, ti, suncwt s?alh?ays, kwlu ats s?anuqulhals ti, t' apalst, t' ayc
 alh, ti, ka, k' ct ala, ka, wayc.
*Today, it's still like that, this cave with decorated walls, for anyone to
 see at any time.*
- 142 Alhi, kwlu alh, ts, tsutsutmim, kw'.
It's still there, so they say.
- 143 Way.
That's it.

The Man who Received Healing Power (Margaret Siwallace)

- 1 Alats'its alh Ts'ayxlilh ala ts'ktas tsk ala ayk'.

I will tell a story about Ts'ayxlilh, about the things that happened to him long ago.

- 2 Tsaatstis lútsk, kmalayc kw t'ax, q'sllsliwas skmalaycs
ta scaakstatim kwmaku tx.

He was still young when he fell ill, he was very sick as somebody had cast a spell on him.

- 3 Piq'ulhlatum kw ti ayak alh tx, ti scak ala ayk'.

Piq'ulhla is the name of the witch doctor who did that to him.

- 4 Tl'aps kw t'ayc, Ts'ayxlilh, ska atmas.

As a result, Ts'ayxlilh died.

- 5 Nacliwatum kw ska q'awim.

They prepared him for burial.

- 6 Nmpim ula paaqi?yala.

They placed him in this box.

- 7 Pampatsalhaalhtutim lhú alh txw ula paaqi?yala qiqipaalhi ?ats
snmptim snuxuluulhtim ula paaqi?yala ats.

He was placed feet first into this small box, they put him in there and folded him.

- 8 Tpiixwtim, alhq'awamsís ats.

They put a lid on the box and tied it down.

- 9 Axw ?its'ik smq'awamsim ta amats t'ax s?alhnmps
snacliwatimutaw ts' wa tl'msta ?ats ska q'awit Ts'ayxlilh.

They did not tie it all the way, that box he was in, as these people were preparing to bury Ts'ayxlilh.

- 10 Wic kw'iluts'ik ska tl'apaw ats ska q'amutaw.

Then finally they were ready to start the funeral.

- 11 Axw lú alhq'awamss t'ayc slip'aycs Anuninitsaktnm*
ulh ta s?unkwtstas tx snitsms.

The box was not tied shut yet when Anuninitsaktnm returned to his body and came back to life.

(*Anuninitsaktnm is one of Ts'ayxlilh's other names)

- 12 Qwiixwis kwts' ta amatlikts txw.

He opened his coffin.

- 13 Lhk'ms kwts' ti alhts'ktiilh ulh tx ti smatmcs stpinpiixwim kwaluts'
t'ayc c ta numaw ta alhxlak tx ulh tx.

*Then his closest relative spoke to his friend, the one who had been hired
to assist in the funeral, the one who tried to close the box again.*

- 14 Sculhlas kwts' ta alhts'ktiilh tx alh tx ska aytum ska tpiixwim wic
s?alhk'cis s?alh?ays sqwinqwiixwas ta alh?atma tx.

*This close relative told him not to go ahead and close the box on him
(Ts'ayxlilh) because he saw that the dead one was opening the box.*

- 15 Qwiixwaynicis ts' Ts'ayxlilh ta amatliks txw.

Now Ts'ayxlilh managed to open his coffin.

- 16 Lhk'ms kw t'ayc ska nulhkwmiixwim ska tl'aptum ula smaw wa nuqla
ska yayatsutiitum ska nmpim ska aytum ulh tu qla txw
ska alhnmps luts' alh ta amatliks txw s?alh?aytum c ats
skwnkwntl'im ulh tu qla txw snup'tsiixwim.

*He told people to carry him and take him to a pond where they were to
slowly lower him into the water while he was still in the coffin, and they
did this, they put him into the water, fully submerging him.*

- 17 Músamtum kw t'ayc snunup'tsiixwim alh ta amatliks txw
stl'hlctum tuts'.

*They submerged him four times in his coffin, then they let him dry up
again.*

- 18 Yayatsutiitum s?alh?alh?aytum c ats snunup'tsiixwim.

They were submerging him slowly.

- 19 Lhulhnicstutmis kw t'ax ta sʔunkwtstas tx sʔalhʔays c ti lip'tsut tc
ulh ta stsnlhs tx sʔalhʔays c ti nuthlcikliwa tc.

He felt his own body as he was returning to himself, as he was gaining strength.

- 20 Nuthlcikmitsuts sʔalhʔays ts' snunup'tsiixwim ulh tu qla txw.

He was getting stronger as they were submerging him into the water.

- 21 Wic kw'its'ik sʔalhʔumaycs ts' t'ax alh ta amatliks tx stl'aputss
ska alats'is ts' sʔalhʔays wa mntas sqw'xw mnimuts sʔatmas ts'.

Now he got out of the coffin, and he started to describe the journey he undertook after he had died.

- 22 Kalaalhmis kw t'ayc wa nuyayaalh wa mnmnta.

He had found a good path to travel on.

- 23 Alhʔays kw c a nusqts'alh ts tu mnmnta txw.

It was like a gravel road.

- 24 Nukalalhtus kwts' sʔixq'ms alh txw alh tu mnmnta txw úla sts'ktiilhs
ulh ti umats sts'ktiilhs ala mntas.

He followed a straight course as he walked on this road, until he arrived at a certain location on his journey.

- 25 Axw ts' alhnapliwatsuts t'ayc ska tcutl'uk'alhs tuu alh txw.

He wasn't aware that he had travelled upwards.

- 26 Lhk' mmim kwts' c ti lhk'mt; xltum ska lip'tsuts.

Then a voice spoke to him, telling him to go back.

- 27 "Axw lú tscwilcnu ska aynu c awcw ts ska putl'nu ulh lhmilh,"
tsut kw ta lhk'm tx ulh tx.

“You are not yet ready to come to us,” said the voice to him.

- 28 “Lip’tsutx, lip’tsutnu!”

“Go back, go back!”

- 29 “Wic ʔits’ik ka lip’aycnu ulh ti sʔunkwtstanu tc ska ayutsnu
ska nunup’tsiixwtst ula qla ts ska músamtumt ska yayatsutiitumt
alh ts ska nunup’tsiixwtst, tsutsutnu ulh ts,” tsutsut kw’its’ik t’ayc,
“ula kstumt ts wa slhxusmtst ts.”

*“And when you return to your body, you will tell them to submerge
you into the water, to slowly submerge you four times, that’s what you
will say to them,” he said, “to the ones that are busy working on you.”*

- 30 Ula siʔaytum kwts’ t’ax snunup’tsiixwim slip’aycs
ulh ta sʔunkwtstas tx.

That is why they submerged him after he had returned to his body.

- 31 Tamsulhtum kw’its’ik t’ayc sʔyanimuts ts’ alh ti maslancw
úlh ti Acati alh Nutl’l.

*Then they built him a house, and he observed chastity for a whole year
after he had gone to Acati (a high mount by that name) at Nutl’l.*

- 32 Samuulhís ts’ t’ayc ssulhs, tu sulhs txw alh ti Acati.

He had this one house, his house at Acati.

- 33 Pumputl’mim kw’italuluuk t’ax c ti scak ta alhʔalhʔaytcw.

*And for a while, the witch doctor that had cursed him kept trying to
visit him.*

- 34 Músam kw ta scak tx spumputl’s alu.

Four times that witch doctor attempted to visit him.

- 35 Ixw kw’iluuk ti tl’msta t’ayc stl’aps alu ulh Ts’ayxlilh sk’cis.

And every time he attempted to go to Ts'ayxlilh, this man was still far away, when Ts'ayxlilh saw him.

- 36 Tsitsyutsm̩s̩, ts' ulh̩, tx̩ sʔalhʔalhtsim̩s̩ syas̩, ska̩, lip' tsuts̩.

He raised his voice as he told him that he should go back.

- 37 "Alhk'ctsinu, alhk'yuktsinu, tuu!" tsutsutmis̩, kwkw'.

"I can see you, and I know you too!" he said to him.

- 38 Paaxlcis̩, kwts'.

And he started calling out his name.

- 39 Axw̩ alhnapits̩ ka̩, paaxlcis̩, ts', axw̩ alhnapits̩ sʔalhʔays̩ sipaaxis̩, tsk̩,
ka̩, wics̩ ta̩, aluuxam̩ ats̩, ka̩, wics̩ ta̩, asikuulh̩ ats̩.

I don't know if he (actually) called him by name, I don't know when he called him by name, whether it was the last (fourth) time or the "middle" (second or third) time.

- 40 Skw'cusms̩, kwmayalhuts' t'ax̩ sʔitsk'canlhamtimuts̩, tuu c̩, a̩, q'lhkwts̩
ala̩, aluuxam̩, ʔats̩.

He blackened his face, and he dressed in black at this last encounter.

- 41 Wic̩, ts'n̩ txw̩ wa̩, aluuxam̩ stl'apmim̩ c̩, Piq'ulhla.

That was the last time that Piq'ulhla went to him.

- 42 Papqis̩, ts'̩, tuu sʔalh̩k'yukis̩.

He (Ts'ayxlilh) named him (Piq'ulhla), (to show that) he recognized him.

- 43 Nuts'xancwikmim̩, ts'ntsk̩ c̩, tx̩ sʔalhʔays̩, tu̩ sʔalh̩k'yukis̩,
sitsayliwamlcmis̩, ts'̩ wic̩ sʔayutss̩, tuu Ts'ayxlilh̩ ulh̩, tx̩, sʔaxw̩, ts'
ti̩, ka̩, yalhʔayakmis̩, ts'.

He (Piq'ulhla) was now convinced that he (Ts'ayxlilh) did know him, that is why he had to stop bothering him, because Ts'ayxlilh said that to him, and he couldn't do anything to him anymore.

- 44 Wa_{stculh}?aylikts t'ayc Ts'ayxlilh s?alhis ala_{ats snmlcs}
alh_{ti} maslancw_{t'ayc}.

Indeed, Ts'ayxlilh stayed here for a long time, for this entire year.

- 45 Ala_{aluux} ts' ?ats stalawss ulh_{tsi} umats stalawss tsi_{cnas} ts'ayc.

Eventually, he found a woman, and married her.

- 46 Clhm_{nalca} kwts' t'axw c_{ti} mna ti_{imlk}.

They had a child, a boy.

- 47 Ts'kts wa_{s?usqalits'} ala_{s?usqalits'} tsk.

Then came the smallpox, at the time of the smallpox, I figure.

- 48 Patsalhiixw_{kw'its'ik} ta_{mnas} t'ax s?atmas.

His son was the first one to die.

- 49 Q'awis_{kwts'} ulh_{ta} amats_{tu} ta_{Acati} tx sq'awis.

He took him to the location of Acati for burial, and buried him there.

- 50 Tsayakmis alh_{txw} ustcws.

When he had finished the work, he went inside.

- 51 Nuscickmitsutí_{kw'its'ik} t'ax alh_{ta} sntl' tx a?mtís alh_{ta} astcws
tu_{sulh} txw.

He was sad that night, sitting inside the house.

- 52 Acwsnicis_{kw'its'ik} t'ax ti_{numutsta} t'ayc sxwiq' miilhs s?ustcws
ti_{ustcw} ulh_{tsnlh}.

Then he heard the door scream as somebody entered, coming towards him.

- 53 Ax₁kw'iluk nuk'calxims₁ tuu ska₁ k'cis swas ti₁ ka₁ ustcw ulh₁ tsnlh.

All the while, he did not even look back to see who it was that came in towards him.

- 54 Sak'ayalh₁ kw₁ ti₁ tl'msta₁ t'ayc úl₁h₁ ta₁ asanks₁ txw ska₁ anu₁ ?ilh₁ mankim.

This man came straight towards him, and ended up standing in front of him.

- 55 Ax₁kw₁ tuts' apcwaqw'sms ska₁ k'cs ulh₁ tx.

Again, he didn't lift his eyes to look at him.

- 56 Kastsayulhim₁ kw₁ ts' s₁ ?alatsicws stams sinuscickmitsuts.

He was asked what had happened that made him sad.

- 57 Ayuts₁ kw₁ ts' s₁ ?at₁ m₁nalsts c₁ ta₁ mnas₁ tx sq'awis.

He said that he had lost his son, and that he had buried him.

- 58 "Ustamlhtucw₁ ?lks sq'awl₁ hicw? Kw'nustsx," tsutmim₁ kw'its'ik t'ayc.

"Where have you buried him? Show me the place," he (the stranger) said to him.

- 59 Ip'is₁ kw₁ ts' t'ayc ta₁ alhkwlhaaxutss₁ tx.

Now he grabbed his torch.

- 60 Ntl's₁ ts' ats ska₁ nut' tsuulhiiqwis s₁ ?usqatus t'aws₁ tx ska₁ kw'nusis ula₁ amats ta₁ alhq'aws₁ tx.

As it was night time, he lit his torch, and took him (the stranger) outside to show him where he had dug the grave.

- 61 "Alh₁ ?alatsicw₁ ?iks ti₁ sqnklhtucw?"

"How deep did you bury him?"

62 Kastsayulhim ts' c tx ska alh?ays ti sqnktus.

He was asked by him how deep it was.

63 Mntskis amiluk Ts'ayxlilh ulh t'ax s?alh?ays ti sqnks tsk.

Ts'ayxlilh must have shown ("counted") to him however deep it was.

64 "Way, ax ku ti ka yalh?ayakmits ska nitsmnictis," tsut kw'its'ik
ta lhk'm tuts' tx, way.

*"Well, I don't have the means to bring him back to life," he said when
he spoke again.*

65 Ax kw apcwaqw'sms t'ayc ska k'cusis ti alh?alhtsim t'ayc ulh tsnlh.

*He didn't lift his eyes to look the one who was talking to him in the
face.*

66 Lip'tsuts kwututs' tx ska ustcws Ts'ayxlilh ulh tu sulh txw,
wics kwututs' ta amataaxlhs txw wa umats s?mts.

*Ts'ayxlilh went back into the house, to the same spot where he had sat
down before.*

67 Mts tuts', alh?awlhim tu c ti tl'msta t'ayc.

He sat down again, and was followed by this man.

68 Wic kw'its'ika txw s?ip'aakim ts' t'ax c ti slhxaakslhhs.

Then he (the stranger) took hold of his (Ts'ayxlilh's) left hand.

69 Mk'mlqsakim kwts' t'ayc c ti nmnmllxs tsi alh?ay c ti tsaakwliwa tc.

*And a ring was placed on his finger, a ring that looked like a worm with
two heads, one on each end.*

70 Nnmnmllxs kw t'ax c a tsutsas.

It had a mouth on both ends.

71 Kwł'im kwts' ulh tsi k'itas ilh ska mk' mlqsakim c tx.

It was put on his little finger so as to encircle it.

72 Tcastcwankustum kwts' ta t' nxwaw wa nmnmlxs ?ats ti alh ?ay t' ayc
c ti tsaakwliwa tc.

The two heads of the thing that looked like a worm were located on the inside of his finger.

73 Tcastcwankustum kwts' ula tcastcwankusllxsaks tsi k'itas ilh.

They were placed on the inside of his little finger (opposite the ring finger).

74 "Way, skwatstatsinu c ats wa s ?anuninitsaktnm," tsutmim kw'its' ik
t' ayc c ta mk' mlqsakt tx.

"Well, I hereby name you Anuninitsaktnm (He who resurrects fellow people with his hands)," said the one who had put the ring on him.

75 "S ?aymicw luts' ska kamalh kwł' akmnu ulh ti ka wa ti ka umataknu
ska kwł' akmnu ska skimicw ska qw' alayaluss wa skmalaycs
ti ka skimicw."

"From now on, any time that you put your hands on someone, whoever it is that you put your hands on, you will massage him, and you will make the disease disappear from the one you massage."

76 "Wicanaw ts' ats ka knict ti skmalaycs ti t' l' msta tc ti ka umataknu
ska kwł' akmnu sipaaxtsinu c a s ?anuninitsaktnm," tsutsutmim kw
t' ayc.

"It is these (heads) that will devour the person's disease, the one that you put your hands on, that's why I'm naming you Anuninitsaktnm," he told him.

77 Wic kwts' ats slhms t' ayc ska analhatis ta alh ?alh tsim tx ulh tsnlh
ska k' cusis ts' tuu.

Then he (Ts'ayxlilh) stood up to answer the one who had spoken to him, and to look him in the face.

- 78 Analhatis kwts', ayutss kwts': "Atma ta mnalhts. Axw ti ka yalh?ayliwats ska alh?ayts c a stl'yuknu ts ska tmmninitshutits wa mnmntsaw wa tl'msta?ats wic s?atmas ta mnalhts," tsut kw'its'ik t'ayc s?analhatis ti alh?alhtsim t'ayc.

He answered him, he said: "My son has died. I will not be able to do what you mentioned, to just go ahead and revive the children of these people, because my son has died," he said as he answered the one who had spoken to him.

- 79 Alhk'cusis kwts'.

He looked him in the face.

- 80 Way, alh?ay c ats wa ts'ktatum alhu t'ayc, slhukwalatum alhutsk c t'axw.

So, that is what is supposed to have happened to him, he was supposedly given this special talent at that time.

- 81 Tic kw'its'ik ta kukwpilhilh tx, Saycnaas.

Then there was our grandfather, Saycnaas.

- 82 Wa stics tuu Ts'ayxlilh ti pustcw t'ayc wiclhh wa sqiqtis.

You know, it is the same Ts'ayxlilh who raised him as a child.

- 83 Kwtl'ayc kw'its'ik t'ax s?alhis alh Ts'aamas.

He (Saycnaas) caught the disease when he lived in Victoria.

- 84 Tcalh Ts'aamaslhhalhs t'ayc slhulhnihtsuts ts' alh txw.

He started to feel it on his way home from Victoria.

- 85 Putl's ska lip'alhms ulh Nutl'l.

He was coming back to Nutl'l (Kimsquit).

86 Sak'ayalhs ts' ulh ta sissis tx, Ts'ayxlilh.

He went straight to his uncle Ts'ayxlilh.

87 Ustcws ulh tx, alats'itus skwtl'aycs, tl'apamkis wa sʔusqalits'.

He went in and told him that he was ill, he had caught smallpox.

88 Tic ʔits'ik t'ayc ti patsalh ti umataks t'ayc Ts'ayxlilh slhts'as ulh tx.

He was the first one that Ts'ayxlilh laid his hands on.

89 Alhʔays kwtutuku tx c tu stl'yuks ta alhʔalhtsim tx.

He did exactly what that person had told him to do.

90 Ts'xlhmaycs kw ssmyalcs Saycnaas ala ats sskimim ts' c ta sissis tx.

And surely, Saycnaas began to recover right away as he was massaged by his uncle.

91 Tic t'ayc ti patsalh ti umataks skwtl'akms.

He (Saycnaas) was the first one that he laid his hands on.

92 Axw tmkwtl'akms t'ayc ulh ti ka wa.

He did not just put his hands on anyone.

93 Tic kwtu ti putl' ulh tx ti nuʔustcwmt ti umataks skwtl'akms ts'.

He only treated the ones who came to his house to see him.

94 Axw alhʔays ska nusak'as ska nitstutis.

He did not go from door to door to save people.

95 Wicanaw (wa) putl' ulh tx wa aytutis snitstutis ala sʔusqalits'.

It was the ones who came to him that he saved from the smallpox.

96 Wa sʔaxw samatski paaxtsuts ta putl' tax ulh tsnlh swatstum tski
ula siʔaxw alhnapis swas.*

*He (Ts'ayxlilh) did not know who that man (the stranger) was, because he had not identified himself to him, I guess, to let him know who he was. *(sa... may be an allomorph of su..., and the use of tax is odd (but may here be associated with uncertainty as implied by ...ma... and tski))*

- 97 Alh_qulhuus_qkw'its'ik_qti_qsik'cis_qala_qwaycliwní_qkwts'.

But he saw him in a picture later on.

- 98 Wa_qstics_qts' t'ayc_qti_qmnas_qti_qmanlh_qtsk_qalh_qtu_qtl'uk' t'axw,
ta_qalhpaaxtut_qwa_qq'umsciwa_qʔats_qc_qa_qsJesus_qti_qk'cis_q
alh_qta_qalhqulhuus_qtxw.

Indeed, this was the son of our assumed father in heaven, the one that whitemen call Jesus, the one that he saw in pictures.

- 99 Tic_qkw_qmaku_qtx_qta_qputl' tx_qulh_qtx_qta_qpaaxt_qtx_qc_qa_qsʔanuninitsaktnm.

He was the one that came to him, the one who named him Anuninitsaktnm.

- 100 K'yukis_qts' ala_qalhqulhuus_qala_qwaycnúlí_qts'.

He recognized him in a picture later on.

G R A M M A R

In this chapter, I list all portions of the grammar that are linked with entries in the lexicon section. In terms of orthography, note that the use of ʔ (the glottal stop) is more restricted than in Nater 1983 (where it is rendered as 7), particularly so with enclitics beginning in ʔa..., ʔi..., and ʔl... (cf. page vii above), and that ʔ is not written word-initially (e.g. nts ‘I’). Also, the clitic marker + has been replaced by the less intrusive sign ˌ, and I now write cˌtiˌimlkˌtˌayc ‘by this man’, alhʔayˌmatu ‘it may indeed be so’, etc.

While the grammar deals with particles, clitics, affixes, and a few fossilized roots (“bound forms”), note that verbo-nominal stems (“free forms”) can be subclassified morpho-semantically as follows:

All nouns, numerals and adjectives are stative, while verbs are as a rule either active or stative. Active verbs describe acts that require at least some physical effort or intention, whereas stative verbs describe a more or less passive state or an effortless or involuntary act. However, a few verbs – such as aaxqa ‘to urinate’ and lhunlhupˊt ‘to breathe’ – are ambivalent, depending on whether the act is perceived as being either planned/intended/controlled or not. Note further that most active verbs are characterized by aspect rather than tense: they are quasi-aoristic (“timeless”) (see also 6.9). This is why e.g. tlˊapts translates as ‘I went’, ‘I go, am going’, or ‘I will go’, tcits as ‘I cut it’ or ‘I will cut it’.

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1 PRONOMINAL SUFFIXATION

There exist two types of pronominal paradigms: (a) the intransitive (possessive and subject) and (b) the transitive (object-subject) paradigm. Of the latter, there are two varieties, viz. the plain and causative paradigms. The transitive paradigms each are matched by a passive paradigm.

1.1 The intransitive indicative paradigm involves suffixes for 1 sg., 2 sg., 3 sg., 1 pl., 2 pl. and 3 pl. Depending on the morpho-semantic status (noun, adjective, verb) of the base they are attached to, they translate as ‘I am (you are etc.) a ... (noun)’, ‘I am (you are etc.) ... (adjective)’, or ‘I (you etc.) ... (verb)’. Nominal forms (‘my ...’, ‘your...’, etc.) require deictic elements (for which see section 2).

	1	2	3
sg.	-ts ¹²³	-nu ¹²³	(-s) ¹²³
pl.	-lh ¹² / -ilh ³	-nap ¹² / -ap ²³	-naw ¹² / -aw ²³

The raised numbers refer to three sub-paradigms: stems belonging to sub-paradigm 1 end in a vowel or non-nasal sonorant (a, i, u, y, w, l); sub-paradigm 2 stems end in a nasal (m, n); all stems ending in a voiceless phoneme belong to sub-paradigm 3. Absence or presence of 3 sg. -s is determined by context (see 1.4-6), and sub-paradigm 2 -ap/-nap are in free variation, as are sub-paradigm 2 -aw/-naw. Note that 3 pl. is always animate-locomotive, whereas 3 sg. can also be pl. inanimate-inert (see further 2.3).

1.2 Below, the three sub-paradigms are listed.

	<u>Sub-paradigm 1</u>	<u>Sub-paradigm 2</u>	<u>Sub-paradigm 3</u>
	‘blow’	‘capsize’	‘work’
1 sg.	apswats	plikmts	ksn <u>m</u> akts
2 sg.	apswanu	plik <u>m</u> nu	ksn <u>m</u> aknu
3 sg.	apswa(s)	plikm(s)	ksn <u>m</u> ak(s)
1 pl.	apswalh	plikmlh	ksn <u>m</u> akilh
2 pl.	apswanap	plikmap, plik <u>m</u> nap	ksn <u>m</u> akap
3 pl.	apswanaw	plikmaw, plik <u>m</u> naw	ksn <u>m</u> akaw

1.3 The endings -aw and -naw are reduced to -a and -na before certain enclitics (see 15.54).

1.4 As a possessive suffix, nominal -s is compulsory (when the possessor is explicit, it follows the ...-s phrase): tsi₁c₂nass ‘his wife’, ti₁tq’lhas ‘his knife’, ti₁kwtmtss Mary ‘Mary’s husband’, ti₁alh₂qulhs ti₁mant₂s ‘my father’s book’.

1.5 In subordinate clauses, verbal -s is compulsory: maaskanmaak₁ʔiks ska₁ts’kts? ‘at what time will he arrive?’, wika₁ks wa₁amats sʔapsulhs? ‘where does he live?’, wic₁ʔits’ik skl₁hs ti₁snx₁t’ayc ‘and that’s when the sun sets’, wic txw stl’aps ‘that’s when he went’ (cf. 10.18), sʔaymis sksnmaks ‘he always works’ (cf. 10.19), k’cim₁ts’ stsics ilh ‘now they saw that it was her’, anayk t’ayc ska₁tl’aps ‘he wants to go’ (cf. 10.20), tl’iliwa sʔmts ‘he got up fast’, yalh₁kayc t’ayc sxss ‘this one is too fat’ (cf. 10.21), kaynucs₁ma ska₁putl’s ‘maybe he will come tomorrow’ (cf. 10.19).

1.6 On the inter-sentential level, verbal -s and -Ø (“zero suffix”) differ in that -Ø introduces a new topic, while -s links topics. -Ø can be rendered as ‘He/She ...’, and -s as ‘..., and he/she ...’:

Smsmayamkits ti₁Qwaxw₁tc n ti₁T’uka₁tc. Alhʔay₁Ø₁kwsu ta₁T’uka₁tx ala₁kulhuuts.

‘I will tell a story about Raven and Mink. Well, Mink was doing things on a beach.’

Usʔatsyanmaw swnts’lhtaw. Numawii₁Ø₁kw’iluts’ik ta₁TI’upana₁tx sputl’aylaycs c₁a₁p’wi.

‘They boarded the canoe and went halibut-fishing. Eventually, only Cormorant managed to catch some halibut.’

Lhkw’mim ta₁qiqti₁tx c₁ta₁tl’msta₁tx. Alhʔay₁s₁tuu ta₁qiqti₁tx slhkw’mis ta₁tl’msta₁tx.

‘The young boy was loved by the man. And the young boy, too, loved the man.’

“Tsqm_{na},” tsut_{kw}its’ik t’ayc. Tsqm_gkwtutuu tx.

“Now open your mouth,” he then said. And, indeed, he did open his mouth.’

1.7 The imperative suffixes are -x¹²³ ‘sg.’ and -axw²³ / -naxw¹² ‘pl.’ (for the raised numbers see 1.1): apswax! ‘blow!’, alh?alhtsimx! ‘speak!’, ksn_{max}! ‘work!’, apswanaxw! ‘blow, folks!’, alh?alhtsimaxw! ~ alh?alhtsimnaxw! ‘speak, folks!’, ksn_{max}axw! ‘work, folks!’. These endings are extended with **a** before certain enclitics (for which see 15.50).

1.8 Plain transitive endings consist of two members, one referring to the object (patient), and another one indicating the subject (agent). They are compatible with transitive and transitivized verbs.

Bare transitive stems may convey anticausativity (condition inflicted by unknown agent): q’is ti_lhalas ‘canoe is fired’, tcalus ‘meat is cut up’, kits’us ‘one’s face is twisted’, cmaaxak ‘one’s wrist is broken’.

1.9 The complex suffixes with 1 sg./pl. and 3 sg./pl. object typically are arranged in object-subject order: the object suffixes -ts(an)- ‘1 sg.’, -i- ‘3 sg.’, -tulh- ‘1 pl.’, -ti- ‘3 pl.’ are combined with the subject suffixes -ts ‘1 sg.’, -cw ‘2 sg.’, -s ‘3 sg.’, -lh ‘1 pl.’, -p ‘2 pl.’, -t ‘3 pl.’ as shown below.

	-ts ‘1 sg.’	-cw ‘2 sg.’	-s ‘3 sg.’	-lh ‘1 pl.’	-p ‘2 pl.’	-t ‘3 pl.’
-ts(a(n))- ‘1 sg.’	----	-tscw	-tss	----	-tsap	-tsant
-i- ‘3 sg.’	-its	-icw	-is	-ilh	-ip	-it
-tulh- ‘1 pl.’	----	-tulhcw	-tulhs	----	-tulhp	-tulht
-ti- ‘3 pl.’	-tits	-ticw	-tis	-tilh	-tip	-tit

Examples: alh?awlhtss ‘(s)he follows me’, alh?awlhtilh ‘we follow them’. After verb stems ending in **a** or **i**, 3 sg. and 3 pl. object are both rendered as -ti-: qaaxatscitits ‘I tickle him/her/them’, tsaaxatilh ‘we chase him/her/them out’. Again, 3 pl. is always animate-locomotive (cf. 1.1, 2.3).

1.10 Imperatives are formed by replacing the 2 sg./pl. subject suffixes with -x ‘sg.’ and -axw ‘pl.’ (cf. 1.7): alh?awlhtsx! ‘follow me!’, alh?awlhtulhx! ‘follow us!’, alh?awlhtsaxw! ‘follow me, folks!’, alh?awlhtulhaxw! ‘follow us, folks!’

Imperatives involving a 3 sg./pl. object are derived from the participial forms ...t ‘...ing him/her’ and ...tan ‘...ing them’: alh?awlhtx! ‘follow him!’, alh?awlhtaxw! ‘follow him, folks!’, alh?awlhtanx! ‘follow them!’

An imperative ending *-tanaxw (corresponding to -tip) is lacking. Where this ending would have appeared, we find instead -tanx, so that alh?awlhtanx! can also translate as ‘follow them, folks!’ More information on the participles is found in 4.3.

1.11 Transitive endings involving a 2 sg./pl. object appear in SO order. The subject suffixes -tsi- ‘1 sg.’ and -tulh- ‘1 sg./pl.’ are followed by the object suffixes -nu ‘2 sg.’ and -ap ‘2 pl.’ as follows: alh?awlhtsinu ‘I follow you’, alh?awlhtulhap ‘I/we follow you folks’, alh?awlhtulhnu ‘we follow you’. Note that *-tsi-nap ‘I-you folks’ is non-existent.

The endings -tst ‘he/she/they ... you’ and -tap ‘he/she/they ... you folks’ are actually passive suffixes (see 1.12), any overt agent(s) requiring the preposition c. (see 3.7).

1.12 There are six suffixes that express passivity: ‘one was or is being ...ed’:

	1	2	3
sg.	-tinits	-tst	-im
pl.	-tinilh	-tap	-tim

Examples: alh?awlhtinits ‘I am being followed, somebody is following me’, alh?alhlxwtap ‘somebody is looking at you folks’. After bases ending in **a** or **i**, -im is replaced by -tim (cf. 1.9): tsaaxatim ‘he/she/they was/were chased out’, qaaxatscitim ‘he/she/they was/were tickled’.

1.13 Passive suffixes can follow certain nouns, in which case they are glossed as ‘being bothered by ..., suffering from ...’: muqw’lhatim ‘he has lice’, tsaptinits ‘my bones are bothering me, I have arthritis’, sktsulhktinilh ‘we have heartburn’, sxwatilhim ‘he has a urine bladder problem’ (cf. 6.1). Nouns expressing meteorological phenomena usually require transitivizing -m before passive endings (cf. 6.4, 6.7): alhwlahmtinilh ‘we had rain’, k’aymtim ‘they had snow’, ik’nuasmtap_a? ‘did you have fog?’ However: sni.nyatim ‘they had an earthquake’, and cf. 6.1.

Some passive forms in -im have become lexicalized: wa_knicim ‘that which is eaten’ = ‘food’, wa_qaaxlamim ‘that which is imbibed’ = ‘beverage’, wa_alhlxwim ‘that which is watched’ = ‘show, movie’, nu?akwnalsim ‘building where things are bought’ = ‘store’. Occasionally, -im is dropped: wa_qaaxlam = wa_qaaxlamim, wa_tl’apamk ‘that which is caught’ = ‘a catch’ (cf. 1.8).

1.14 The causative transitive endings are always preceded by the suffix -tu- ‘to cause to (be) ...’. Like the plain transitive suffixes, the causative suffixes are complex, and two sub-paradigms are distinguished, viz. one with a 1 sg./pl. and 3 sg./pl. object, and another one with a 2 sg./pl. object.

1.15 Causative -tu- is combined with the object suffixes -m(an(ts))- ‘1 sg.’, -Ø- (‘zero suffix’) ‘3 sg.’, -mulh- ‘1 pl.’, -ti- ‘3 pl.’ and the subject suffixes -ts ‘1 sg.’, -cw ‘2 sg.’, -s ‘3 sg.’, -lh ‘1 pl.’, -(a)p ‘2 pl.’, -t ‘3 pl.’ in object-subject order as shown below.

	-ts ‘1 sg.’	-cw ‘2 sg.’	-s ‘3 sg.’	-lh ‘1 pl.’	-p ‘2 pl.’	-t ‘3 pl.’
-m(an(tsa))- ‘1 sg.’	----	-tu-mcw	-tu-ms	----	-tu-man(tsa)p	-tu-mant
-Ø- ‘3 sg.’	-tu-ts	-tu-cw	-tu-s	-tu-lh	-tu-p	-tu-t
-mulh- ‘1 pl.’	----	-tu-mulhcw	-tu-mulhs	----	-tu-mulhp	-tu-mulht
-ti- ‘3 pl.’	-tu-tits	-tu-ticw	-tu-tis	-tu-tilh	-tu-tip	-tu-tit

Examples: alhpstums ‘(s)he gives me something to eat’, alhpstuts ‘I give him/her something to eat’. Again, 3 pl. is always animate-locomotive (cf. 1.9).

1.16 Imperatives are formed by replacing the 2 sg./pl. subject suffixes with -x ‘sg.’ and -axw ‘pl.’ (cf. 1.10): alhpstumx! ‘give me something to eat!’, alhpstumulhx! ‘give us something to eat!’, alhpstumulhaxw! ‘give us something to eat, folks!’

Causative imperatives involving a 3 sg./pl. object are derived from participial ...tcw/...t(w)... ‘causing him/her to (be) ...’ and ...tutan ‘causing them to (be) ...’: alhpstxw! (from older *alhpstcw) ‘give him/her something to eat!’, alhpstutanx! ‘give them something to eat!’, alhpst(w)axw! ‘give him/her something to eat, folks!’

An imperative ending *-man(ts)axw (corresponding to -man(tsa)p) is lacking. Where this ending would have appeared, we find instead -manx: alhpstumanx! ‘give me something to eat, folks!’

An imperative ending *-tanaxw (corresponding to -tip), too, is non-existent. Where this ending would have appeared, we find instead -tanx, so that alhpstutanx! can also mean ‘give them something to eat, folks!’ (again, cf. 1.10).

1.17 Causative endings that involve a 2 sg./pl. object are, like their plain transitive counterparts, characterized by subject-object order. The subject suffixes -mi- ‘1 sg.’ and -mulh- ‘1 sg./pl.’ are followed by the object suffixes -nu ‘2 sg.’, -(n)ap ‘2 pl.’ as follows: alhpstuminu ‘I give you something to eat’, alhpstumulhap ‘I/we give you something to eat’. The form alhpstuminap ‘I give you folks something to eat’ is used only rarely. The endings -mt ‘he/she/they ... you’ and -tap ‘he/she/they ... you folks’ are actually passive endings (cf. 1.11, and see 1.18), any overt agent(s) requiring the preposition c, (see 3.7).

1.18 There are six causative suffixes that express passivity: ‘one was or is caused to (be) ...’:

	1	2	3
sg.	-tu-minits	-tu-mt	-tu-m
pl.	-tu-minilh	-tu-tap	-tu-tim

Examples: alhpstuminilh ‘somebody gave us something to eat’, ustcwtutim ‘somebody let them inside’.

1.19 Passive causative suffixes used in conjunction with proper names and waltstu...ʔiks translate as ‘I, you, he, etc. am/are/is called ...’: Petertuminits ‘I am called Peter’, waltstunt, ʔiks? ‘what is your name?’ (for waltstu...ʔiks see also 12.15).

1.20 The causative imperative suffix -txw can serve as an optative suffix: ‘let ... be (the case)!’, as in ntstxw! ‘let it be me!’, axwtxw! ‘don’t (do it)!’

Optative -txw can also be combined with finite verbs: tspistxw! ‘let him/her wipe it!’, wicanawtxw ats ‘let it be them!’

1.21 The suffix -tu- can only follow intransitive bases: a transitive verb base must be intransitivized before -tu- can be added (see 6.32).

Complex verb forms consisting of an intransitive active base (describing a creative act) and -tu- often translate as ‘to allow or help somebody to ...’ or ‘to ... something for somebody’: qulhatumx! ‘write it for me!’, alats’ituminu ‘I will tell you something’, tamsulhtumulht ‘they are building a house for us’, tamts’latucw, a? ‘are you making a basket for him/her?’

2 DEIXIS

Clitical deictic elements appear in one of two positions: (a) as proclitics (simple) and (b) as enclitics (complex). Enclitical deictics are also used as free (verbo-nominal) forms.

2.1 Nuxalk has a number of articles that precede the noun they relate to. They translate as ‘a(n)’ (less often as ‘the’, see further below), and – like English ‘a(n)’ and ‘the’ – are proclitics. Three types of distinction are made: (1) gender (sg. female vs. sg. non-female); (2) number (sg. vs. pl.); and (3) location relative to speaker (close vs. remote). They are:

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

Of these, lha_↓ and ilh_↓ are in free variation, and so are tu_↓ and plural ta_↓. Plural close a_↓ is (1) the sentence-medial allegro variant of wa_↓, (2) the reduced variant of wa_↓ after c_↓, alh_↓, and ulh_↓ (see 3.3). The zero variant of wa_↓ is found before ka_↓ ‘unrealized’ (see 2.13, 15.2), and is sometimes used where wa_↓ would be expected (see 2.13).

Examples: tsi_↓cnas ‘a woman (near, visible, present)’ vs. lha_↓cnas or ilh_↓cnas ‘a woman (remote, invisible, absent)’, ti_↓imlk ‘a man (near, visible, present)’ vs. ta_↓imlk ‘a man (remote, invisible, absent)’, wa_↓imlk ‘men (near, visible, present)’ vs. tu/ta_↓imlk ‘men (remote, invisible, absent)’.

When a possessive suffix is added, the article does not convey indeterminateness, and is equivalent to ‘the’: ti_↓mants ‘my father’, tsi_↓stans ‘his/her mother’.

2.2 In Nuxalk, no lexical distinction is made between (1) male and female siblings and between (2) male and female animals, and gender distinctions are here made via female vs. non-female articles: ti_↓musmus ‘a bull’ vs. tsi_↓musmus ‘a cow’, ti_↓suuxits ‘my younger brother’ vs. tsi_↓suuxits ‘my younger sister’.

In general, a Nuxalk noun is grammatically female, non-female, or neutral. Female are e.g. tsi_↓stants ‘my mother’, tsi_↓sisksumts ‘my aunt’, tsi_↓kikyats ‘my grandmother’. Non-female are e.g. ti_↓mants ‘my father’, ti_↓sissits ‘my uncle’, ti_↓kukwpits ‘my grandfather’, ti_↓qw’xwmtimutts ‘my car’. Neutral are the aforementioned nouns that refer to siblings and animals. The grammatical gender of a noun is as a rule predictable.

Certain nouns occur mainly with plural articles. Such nouns refer to “mass” or “non-countable” things, such as wa_↓qla ‘water’, wa_↓k’ay ‘snow’, wa_↓anuxum ‘a river’. Large buildings, too, are considered as “mass” objects: wa_↓sulh ‘a house’, wa_↓stuu ‘a store’. Constructions such as ti_↓qla and

ti,anuxum do exist, but reference is then made to a specific amount or portion: ‘(an amount of) water (as contained in a cup or bucket)’, ‘a (visible stretch of a) river’. See further 2.12.

Proper names and geographical names are often found without an article: alhits alh,Nuxalk ‘I am in Bella Coola’, ticlhhallihl Xala sʔixq’mlh ‘we walked away from Xala’.

2.3 Nuxalk nouns are either animate-locomotive or inanimate-inert. As animate-locomotive are considered (1) living human beings and animals and (2) vehicles equipped with an engine. Inanimate-inert are all objects and phenomena that do not belong in the animate-locomotive category. The animate-inanimate distinction is expressed in pronominal suffixation and deixis:

	female	neutral	non-female	mass	
sg. article	tsi _ᵛ	ti _ᵛ / tsi _ᵛ	ti _ᵛ	(ti _ᵛ)	discrete
pl. article	wa _ᵛ	wa _ᵛ	wa _ᵛ	wa _ᵛ	mass
	animate		inanimate		
sg. object	-i-		-i-		object
pl. object	-ti-				
tr. sg. subject	-s		-s		tr. subject
tr. pl. subject	-t				
itr. sg. subject	-s / -Ø		-s / -Ø		itr. subject
itr. pl. subject	-(n)aw				

Examples: alhk’cits tsi,musmuss,tsc ‘I see his cow’, alhk’cits wa,wats’uks,ts ‘I see the dogs’, quts’uksits wa,kapuks,ts ‘I am washing the cups’, quts’uulhukstis wa,qw’xwmtimut,ts ‘he is washing the cars’. However, nouns referring to plural objects can be ambiguous: qw’alanaw wa,slaq’k,ts ‘the smoked fillets are all finished’ vs. nulikw’aakilh wa,slaq’k,ts ‘we turn the fillets over’.

2.4 More specific deixis is expressed by elements that occur both as free forms (equivalent to nouns) and as enclitics. The deictic enclitics are placed after the noun they relate to combinedly with a proclitical article, as in *ti_vwats'_vtc* ‘the dog’, *wa_vcnasuks_vʔats* ‘these women’.

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

2.6 Primary nominal deictics are typically complex. They contain from one to four elements, each marking a specific property: gender, number, and location relative to the speaker. The gender, number, and close-remote distinctions are the same as those made in the articles:

	close		remote	
	non-demonstrative	demonstrative	non-demonstrative	demonstrative
female	<i>tsi_v..._vtsc/tsic</i>	<i>tsi_v..._vts'ayc</i>	<i>lha_v..._vʔilh</i>	<i>lha_v..._vʔilhaʔilh</i>
non-female	<i>ti_v..._vtc/tic</i>	<i>ti_v..._vt'ayc</i>	<i>ta_v..._vtx/tax</i>	<i>ta_v..._vt'ax</i>
plural	<i>wa_v..._vts/tsi</i>	<i>wa_v..._vʔats/ʔatsi</i>	<i>tu_v..._vtxw/tux(w)</i>	<i>tu_v..._vt'axw</i>

Again, *lha_v* alternates with *ilh_v*, and *tu_v* with *ta_v*.

The non-demonstrative deictics translate as ‘the’, while the demonstrative ones are equivalent to ‘this’, ‘these’, ‘that’, ‘those’.

The alternative deictics *tsic*, *tic*, *tsi*, *ʔatsi*, *tax*, *tux(w)* are used in interrogative sentences: *tic_va ti_vimlk_vtic ti_vstl'yuknu?* ‘is it the man you are talking about?’, *wic_va wa_vcnasuks_vʔatsi wa_vixq'm?* ‘is it these women who were walking?’

As observed before, the primary nominal deictics (except for *ʔilh*) can be segmented: *t-* ‘non-female’, *ts-* ‘female close’, *Ø-* ‘plural close’, *-c* ‘close sg.’, *ʋi(-)* ‘interrogative close’, *ʋ(‘)a(y)* ‘demonstrative force’, *-x* ‘remote non-female’, *-xw* ‘remote pl.’, *-ts(-)* ‘close pl.’, *ʋa-* ‘interrogative remote non-female’, *ʋu-* ‘interrogative remote pl.’:

	close		remote	
	non-demonstrative	demonstrative	non-demonstrative	demonstrative
female	ts-c / ts-i-c	ts-'ay-c	ilh	ilh-a-ʔilh
non-female	t-c / t-i-c	t-'ay-c	tX / t-a-X	t-'a-X
plural	Ø-ts / Ø-ts-i	Ø-a-ts / Ø-a-ts-i	t-Xw / t-u-X(w)	t-'a-Xw

Only *ilh* cannot be divided into meaningful components, and *tux* alternates with *tuxw*.

2.7 The secondary nominal deictics *lhay* and *-ʔalhay* express slight or increased distance. *Lhay* is used independently, while *-ʔalhay* has merged with the reduced articles *t-* 'non-female sg./pl.', *ts-* 'female', *Ø-* 'plural'. When used enclitically, *ṭ'alhay*, *ts'alhay*, *alhay* are inserted between the noun and the primary nominal deictic:

... 'alhay + close demonstrative	'here, over there (quite close)'
... 'alhay + close non-demonstrative	'over there (not too far away)'
... 'alhay + remote non-demonstrative	'over there (further away)'
... 'alhay + remote demonstrative	'way over there (quite distant)'

Examples: *tsi.cnas.ts'alhay.tsc* 'the woman over there', *ta.imlk.ṭ'alhay.t'ax* 'that man way over there', *wa.wats'uks.alhay.ts* 'the dogs over there', *ti.lhalas.ṭ'alhay.t'ayc* 'this canoe here'. Non-enclitical use: *tic.t'alhay.t'ayc* 'it is this one', *wicanaw.t'alhay.t'axw* 'it is them way over there'.

2.8 Verbal deictics show vestiges of a transitive paradigm. Their field of deixis involves (1) the speaker; (2) the addressee(s); (3) other entity (entities); (4) the entity (entities) referred to or pointed at. The relation between 1, 2, 3, and 4 is such that 1 elaborates on the location of 4 relative to 2 or 3. There are two such verbal deictic roots, viz. *-ʔaw-* 'proximity' and *-ʔatu-* 'contact or use'.

2.9 The root *-ʔaw-* is conjugated as a plain transitive verb, but the paradigm is incomplete: (1) the grammatical object (entity indicated) is always 3 sg.; (2) the

grammatical subject is 2 sg./pl., 3 sg./pl., or absent; (3) the object suffix is “zero” rather than *-i-*. Like the secondary nominal deictics, it has fused with the reduced articles *t-* ‘non-female sg./pl.’, *ts-* ‘female’, *Ø-* ‘plural’. The following combinations are found: *t’aw*, *ts’aw*, *aw*; *t’awcw*, *ts’awcw*, *awcw*; *t’aws*, *ts’aws*, *aws*; *t’awp*, *ts’awp*, *awp*; *t’awt*, *ts’awt*, *awt*. These occur both independently and as enclitics. As enclitics, they are inserted between the noun and the primary nominal deictic: *ti₁imlk₂t’aws₃tc* ‘the man near him’, *tsi₁cnas₂ts’awcw₃tsc* ‘the woman near you’, *wa₁alhquhl₂ʔawp₃ts* ‘the books near you folks’.

Less frequently, *-ʔaw-* is combined with a proclitical article: *ti₁awcw₂tc* ‘the one near you’, *wa₁awt₂ts* ‘the ones near them’.

When *-ʔaw-* occurs without a subject suffix, it is glossed as ‘around there (not too far from you)’: *tic₁t’aw₂tc* ‘it is that thing around there (closer to you than to me)’.

A formative suffix *-t* (cf. 9.2) can be added as well. Addition of *-t* implies that the speaker is included in the deictic field: *ti₁qw’xwmtimut₂t’awcw₃tc* ‘the car that you and I are close to or in’.

2.10 The root *-ʔatu-* is conjugated like a transitive-causative stem **-ʔa-tu-*. Its derivational potential is, however, greater than that of *-ʔaw-*: the grammatical object is 3 sg./pl. (*-Ø/-ti-*), and the grammatical subject is 2 sg./pl. or 3 sg./pl. Like the secondary nominal deictics and *-ʔaw-*, it has fused with the reduced articles *t-* ‘non-female sg./pl.’, *ts-* ‘female’, *Ø-* ‘plural’: *t’atucw*, *ts’atus*, *atup*, *t’atutit*, etc. – these occur both independently and as enclitics. As enclitics, they are inserted between the noun and the primary nominal deictic: *ti₁lhalas₂t’atucw₃tc* ‘the boat that you are using’, *wa₁alhquhl₂ʔatut₃ʔats* ‘these books that they are holding’. *-ʔatu-* unites the meaning and function of *-ʔaw-* with that of involvement, use, or contact, and as a rule requires a human grammatical subject.

As observed in 2.9, the root *-ʔaw-* is not found in combination with 3 pl. object suffixes. Where we would have expected e.g. **ʔawtis₃ts*, we find instead *ʔatutis₃ts* ‘the ones he is close to or holding’; here, then, *-ʔatu-* overlaps *-ʔaw-*.

Less frequently, -ʔatu- is combined with a proclitical article: ti₁atut₂tc ‘the one he is holding or using’, wa₁atutit₂ts ‘the ones they are involved with’.

As is the case with -ʔaw-, a formative suffix -t can be added as well. This implies that the speaker is included in the deictic field:

ti₁q₂w’xwmtimut₂t’atucwt₂tc ‘the car that you and I are using’.

Additional ...a was recorded in wic₁a atucwa? ‘is this where you did it?’

2.11 Adverbial (spatial and temporal) deictic complexes are derived from (1) a number of primary nominal deictics; (2) -ʔalhay; (3) the verbal deictic roots -ʔaw- and -ʔatu-. Together, they form a cohesive semantic-syntactic class.

The primary nominal deictics ts, ats, txw and t’axw can function as spatial-temporal roots, and appear in adjuncts similar in function to English adverbs: alh₁ts ‘there, among them’, alh₁txw ‘back then, over there’, alh₁t’axw ‘way over there’, c₁ts ‘then’, c₁ats ‘(as of) right now’, c₁txw ‘back then or there’. Note that after alh₁ ‘at’ and ulh₁ ‘towards’, ats requires the pl. close article wa₂, which fuses with these prepositions (cf. 3.3): ala₁ats ‘here’, ula₁ats ‘towards here’. As a temporal stem, Øalhay is found in alhays₁ts ‘now, at this very moment’ (with unexplained ...s). The spatial and temporal roots that are derived from -ʔaw- and -ʔatu- are ʔaw/ʔawa, ʔawcw/ʔawcwa, and Øatu-. Examples: ala₁awcw₂ts ‘right over there’, ala₁awcw₂tsi? ‘(is it) right over there?’, wa₁sulh₂ʔawcwa ‘the house right here (the one I am in)’, ya₁awcwa ‘it is good in here’, ala₁awcwa ‘in here’, ala₁awa ‘around here’, wa₁sulh₂ʔawa ‘the house next door or across the street’, ya₁awa ‘it is good around here’, c₁aws₂ts ‘shortly, presently’, c₁a₂atus₂ts ‘right now’, ala₁aws₂ Namu ‘where Namu is’, ala₁atucw₂ts ‘right where you are’. The final ...a in awa and awcwa may be the same element as ...a in tunica ‘yesterday’, tumalacwa ‘last year’ (see 10.7), and atucwa (see above), and ultimately even √(?)a(y) (see 2.6).

2.12 In 2.2, we considered the mass nouns, which receive pl. deixis. Such mass nouns, along with a number of nominally used deictics, adjectives, and nominalized finite verbs, refer to:

Buildings: wa₁sulh₂ ‘a house’, wa₁anuʔalhlq₂walsim ‘a theater’, wa₁apsulh₂ ‘a village’;

Consumable substances: wa_ˌscwilm ‘salmon roe’, wa_ˌtl’awqw ‘tobacco’, wa_ˌqla ‘water’, wa_ˌsq’alh ‘flesh, meat’;

Geographical and meteorological phenomena: wa_ˌsuncw ‘sky, world, universe’, wa_ˌkulhulmc ‘ground, land, country’, wa_ˌsulut ‘sea, inlet’, wa_ˌalhwla_ˌlh ‘rain’, wa_ˌmn.mnnta ‘road’;

Temporal and spatial concepts: ala_ˌats ‘here’, alh_ˌt’axw ‘over there’, ala_ˌwayci ‘recently’, ala_ˌayk’ ‘long ago’;

Events: ula_ˌska_ˌlip’aycs ‘until he comes back’, wiclhh_ˌtu_ˌs?akwatits_ˌtxw ‘since I bought it’ (cf. 3.6, 3.9, 10.12).

2.13 In some instances the “zero” allomorph of wa_ˌ is encountered where the latter would be expected: ala_ˌtsay kulhulmc ‘in every country’, ula_ˌpaaqi?yala qiqipaalhi_ˌ?ats ‘into these small boxes’, acwlh_ˌts ‘some people’, nucwpaaxmtus anuxum_ˌts ‘he is going all the way down the river’. In each of these examples, the use of wa_ˌ is also legitimate: ala_ˌtsay wa_ˌkulhulmc, ula_ˌpaaqi?yala wa_ˌqiqipaalhi_ˌ?ats, wa_ˌacwlh_ˌts, nucwmpaaxmtus wa_ˌanuxum_ˌts.

wa_ˌ is always replaced by Ø_ˌ before ka_ˌ ‘unrealized, hypothetical’ (cf. 15.1): alhi_ˌa ala_ˌawcwa ka_ˌtsaatsaws? ‘is there a church around here?’. However, ala_ˌ is never replaced by alh_ˌ before this same proclitic: anaykts ala_ˌka_ˌqla ‘I want some water’. Cf. 15.2.

2.14 Enclitical deictics can be separated from the noun they relate to by other enclitical elements: ta_ˌtl’msta_ˌtuu_ˌtx ‘the person too’, ti_ˌtl’upana_ˌtsk_ˌtc ‘the cormorant, apparently’.

2.15 Deictic complexes can be attached to non-nominal stems to form appositions: ti_ˌaxw_ˌt’ayc alh?alhtsimaylayc ‘this one who cannot speak’, wa_ˌaxw_ˌ?ats kstcw ‘these people who haven’t done it’, ala_ˌaxw ayk’ ‘not long ago’. Here, axw behaves like an attribute ‘not being’ (cf. 14.3). Other examples of such retrograde deixis are: ta_ˌwixclhh_ˌtx wa_ˌTxaxaaxlh_ˌts ‘the one who came from Alert Bay’ (cf. 3.9), ti_ˌalh?ikw_ˌt’ayc t’uka ‘this mink who is barbecuing something’, ti_ˌax_ˌkwts’_ˌt’ayc ksn_ˌmakaylayc tl’msta ‘this person who reportedly

could not work then' (for axw → ax... see 14.7), q'uxlcliwats
 alh.ti.sʔaymis.t'ayc sqaaxlas 'I am getting sort of tired of this perpetual
 drinking of his'.

2.16 Phrases such as 'a good man', 'those big houses', etc. are rendered in Nuxalk as article adjective article noun(deictic): ti.ya ti.tl'msta 'a good person', ta.ya ta.imlk.t'ax 'that good man', wa.lhk'uulh wa.sulh.ts 'the big house'. And with ka 'hypothetical': tsi.ka.lhkw'lc tsi.(ka.)cnas 'some old woman'. With more than one adjective: wa.lhk'uulh wa.mukuulh wa.sulh 'a big red house'.

Nouns can function as adjectives: ti.staltmc ti.imlk.t'ayc 'this man who is a chief'.

Possessive phrases involving a 3 sg./pl. possessor do not require enclitical deixis for the first member: ti.alhqulhs ti.mants.tc 'my father's book';
 *ti.alhqulhs.tc ti.mants.tc would sound as odd as would English *'the my father's book'.

2.17 In a few idiomatic expressions, the predicate is followed by an argument that contains the same noun as the one used in the predicate: wats' ti.wats' "a dog is a dog", 'dogs will be dogs', 'what an S.O.B.!', snaax ti.snaax "a slave is a slave", 'slaves will be slaves', 'such an inferior person!'

3 PREPOSITIONS

In Nuxalk, a structured (location/direction-specific) class of prepositions has evolved. These are of a proclitical nature. Diachronically considered, the "static" ones ('at' and 'via') can be shown to go back to earlier Salish, while the "dynamic" ones ('towards' and 'away from') are innovative.

3.1 There are four prepositions, which are of a proclitical nature. A two-way distinction is made: one of static vs. dynamic, and one of centripetal vs. centrifugal:

	static	dynamic
centripetal	alh _ɥ ‘at’	ulh _ɥ ‘towards’
centrifugal	c _ɥ ‘via’	...clhh _ɥ ‘away from’

Of these, ...clhh_ɥ always co-occurs with ti- ‘non-female’, tsi- ‘female’, or wi- ‘plural’ (see further 3.9). For specifics on the use and semantics of prepositions, see 3.4-10 and 3.10 below.

3.2 Prepositions appear in adjuncts: ksnmakts alh_ɥ Nuxalk ‘I work in Bella Coola’, tl’apts ulh_ɥ Ts’aamas ‘I am going to Victoria’, sp’iixwis ta_ɥ imlk_ɥ tx ta_ɥ wats’ tx c_ɥ ta_ɥ stn ‘the man hit the dog with a stick’, alhk’ctx wiclhh_ɥ t’axw! ‘look at it from over there!’

3.3 The article wa_ɥ is always reduced to a_ɥ after alh_ɥ and ulh_ɥ, the final **lh** of these then being replaced by **l**: *alh_ɥ wa_ɥ becomes ala_ɥ, *ulh_ɥ wa_ɥ becomes ula_ɥ. After c_ɥ and wiclhh_ɥ, we usually find a_ɥ, but in deliberately slow speech, c_ɥ wa_ɥ and wiclhh_ɥ wa_ɥ are acceptable.

3.4 The preposition alh_ɥ translates approximately as ‘pertaining to, connected with, at’, and is related to ulh_ɥ as a- is to u- in general (see 10.5).

Translating alh_ɥ into English poses no problem in general: niixsnutsaycts ala_ɥ mats’i ‘I got poisoned by (eating) cured salmon roe’, usqas alh_ɥ tu_ɥ sulhs_ɥ txw ‘he came out of his house’, alats’its alh_ɥ ti_ɥ qwaxw_ɥ tc ‘I will tell a story about Raven’, yayaatwiilhilh alh_ɥ tu_ɥ alhlxwim_ɥ t’axw ‘we were happy about that show, we enjoyed that show’, clhmnalc alh_ɥ tx ‘she had a child with him’, kw’cwmitsuttums ala_ɥ nan_ɥ ts ‘he warned me about the grizzly bears’, icaasnms ala_ɥ ka_ɥ sn.knic ‘he is looking for some water’, alhkultts alh_ɥ inu ‘I am indebted to you’.

Where ambiguity may be imminent, or where locational specificity is required, use is made of spatial and relational verbs: alh_ɥ?naycaks alh_ɥ t’ayc ‘I work with him’ (vs. ksnmakts alh_ɥ tc ‘I work for him’), astcwts ala_ɥ sulh_ɥ ts ‘I am inside the house’, asankts alh_ɥ inu ‘I am (sitting) beside you’, kulhulhikts alh_ɥ tc ‘I am (standing) behind him’, tcasutsaaxalhhtus alh_ɥ ta_ɥ nu?amataaxutsilh_ɥ tx ‘he

took it from underneath our dining table’, *ksilh, ts’ wa, t’xt, ʔats ala, ulhqn, ts*
‘we now remove these rocks from the pails’.

3.5 In some instances one has a choice between the use of *alh*_u and *c*_u, depending on circumstances. For instance, between (1) *alhps alh, tu, qaax, txw* ‘he ate the salmonberries’ and (2) *alhps c, tu, qaax, txw* ‘he ate the salmonberries’, there appears to be a difference in degree of availability: in the first example, the berries happen to be around, while in the second, the person already has the berries in his/her basket.

3.6 *ulh*_u conveys ‘motion or direction towards something or somebody’, and is related to *alh*_u as *u-* is to *a-* in general (see 10.5). Examples: *k’cx ulh, tc!* ‘look at him!’, *ayaaxx ulh, ti, amataaxlhts, tc!* ‘sit down in my chair!’, *talaws, ts’ ulh, ilh* ‘now he married her’, *nmpaycaw ulh, ta, lhalas, tx* ‘they went aboard the boat’, *sclikt ulh, jilh* ‘he was mad at her’.

Certain verbs that do not themselves express motion or direction can be followed by an *ulh*_u phrase, this combination then being glossed as ‘to go somewhere in order to ...’: *qaaxlas ulh, ta, cwnalh, tx* ‘he went to the spring in order to get water’, *mntcwas ulh, ti, qla, t’ayc* ‘he went to this (source of) water in order to dip it up’, *mntskis ulh, t’ax sʔalhʔays ti, sqnks, tsk* ‘he went to him (where he was) so as to measure how deep he was (buried)’.

*Ulh*_u often translates as ‘striving for, in search of’: *xltnmx ulh, ti, ka, takwta!* ‘send for a doctor!’, *iclq’ms ula, ka, ts’ktas* ‘he is thinking of what to do’, *icaasnm ula, ka, snknic* ‘he is searching for food’. *Ula, ska*_u ‘until’ follows a finite verb: *alhits ala, ats ula, ska, lip’aycs* ‘I am staying here until he returns’. *Ulh*_u is often pronounced with a dragged vowel (*úlh*_u), especially so in phrases that express ‘until he reached, arrived at ...’: *úlh, tsi, stamnumusam, ts’ayc* ‘until he met this fourth woman he lived with’, *úla, smáw, kw anuxum* ‘until he arrived at one river’.

3.7 The basic meaning of *c*_u is ‘via’. This preposition is found in four distinct environments:

(a) Where a *c*₁ phrase is preceded by a predicate containing a finite transitive verbal form, *c*₁ is glossed as ‘with’ or ‘by means of’: *napis c₁ta₁alhquh* ‘he presented him with, gave him a book’ (*nap* ‘to give somebody a long-lasting item’), *iinatsx ka₁st’sals!* ‘present me with, give me a bottle!’ (*iina* ‘to give somebody a short-lived item’), *sp’iixwis c₁ta₁stn* ‘he hit him over the head with a stick’;

(b) After passive forms (where the subject is animate), *c*₁ translates as ‘by’: *alhpstum c₁lha₁stans* ‘he was fed by his mother’, *sp’iixwim c₁ta₁mants₁tx* ‘he was hit over the head by my father’;

(c) After intransitive predicates, *c*₁ is either not rendered in the English translation (the predicate then translates as transitive, and the nominal phrase preceded by *c*₁ is the grammatical object), or it is glossed as ‘with’ (the predicate now translates as passive or intransitive): *asiscts c₁t’ayc* ‘I dislike (the taste of) this’, *alh?usquxs c₁tu₁st’cwm₁txw* ‘he was covered with the mats’, *numukwlc₁s wa₁asanks tu₁sulh₁txw c₁a₁sic* ‘the sidewall of the house became red with blood’;

(d) Preceding proper names, *c₁a₁s...* means ‘by the name of ...’ (cf. 10.10, (a)), but is not rendered in English. This construction is found after verbs meaning ‘to name somebody’: *ka₁paaxtsinu₁ma c₁a₁sThom* ‘maybe I will name you Thom’, *alhpaxtut c₁a₁sJesus* ‘they named him Jesus’.

A Nuxalk sentence may contain more than one *c*₁ phrase: *napim₁kwts’ c₁tsi₁lhkw’lc tsi₁alh?aylh₁tuu c₁tsnlh c₁ti₁pats’alhta* ‘she was then given an awl by an old woman who had looked exactly like her’, *knicalstnim₁kwts’ c₁ta₁q waxw₁tx c₁tu₁s?alh?ikws* ‘then he was robbed by Raven of his barbecued food’, *alh?ay₁kw’iluts’ik ts’ayc c₁tsi₁alh?awlhim₁tsc c₁ta₁matskw’₁tx* ‘then she was continually being followed by the frog’.

3.8 In 2.13, we saw that *wa₁* is deleted before *ka₁*. We would therefore expect **c₁wa₁ka₁* to be reduced to *c₁ka₁*, however, *c₁* is normally also dropped in that position: *wnts’lhtaw ka₁p’wi* ‘they were fishing for halibut’, *napim ilh ka₁si?ayaktus* ‘she was given some things to use’ (*wnts’lhtaw c₁ka₁p’wi* and *napim ilh c₁ka₁si?ayaktus* are considered hypercorrect).

3.9 The preposition ...clhh_v conveys ‘motion or direction away from something or somebody’, and is always found in combination with one of the bound articles ti- ‘non-female’, tsi- ‘female’, or wi- ‘plural’ (cf. 12.3, 12.13): akwalhits t’ayc ticlhh_v ta Xala ‘I bought this from Xala’, ulhxlhis t’ayc tsiclhh_v ilha?ilh ‘he stole this from her’, alhk’ctx wiclhh_v t’axw! ‘look at it from over there!’ In a temporal sense, wiclhh_v translates as ‘since’: lhwaask’mtam_v ts’ wiclhh_v tu s?akwatits_v txw ‘it’s been two days since my buying it’ = ‘I bought it two days ago’, wic ats wa_v sn.knicilh wiclhh_v a_v ayk’ ‘this has been our food for (“since”) a long time’.

...clhh is also used as a morpheme that combines properties of verbo-nominals and prepositions, in which case it is often expanded with -alh ‘motion’.

- (1) verbo-nominal properties: (a) predicative use (itr. conjugation)
(b) appositive use (retrograde deixis)
- (2) prepositional properties: (a) followed by complex that agrees in number and gender with prefixal article
(b) co-predicative use

Predicative use: wiclhhts Holland ‘I am from Holland’, tsiclhhalhilh ts’ayc s?ixq’mlh ‘we are walking away from her’.

Co-predicative use: ixq’m ticlhhalhs ti_v imlk_v tc ‘he is walking away from the man’, tl’ikmaw wiclhhalhaw ats ‘they are running away from them’.

Appositive use: ta_v wiclhh_v tx wa_v Txaxaaxlh_v ?ats ‘the one who came from Alert Bay’, ta_v imlk_v ta_v ticlhhalhs ta_v mans_v tx ‘the man who moved away from his father’.

3.10 Semantically, the Nuxalk prepositions form a continuum:

<u>Nuxalk</u>	<u>time/space</u>	<u>English interpretation</u>
ulh _v	→	pre-arrival course: ‘moving towards’
alh _v	→	point of arrival: ‘located at, near’
c _v	→	point of departure: ‘based on, using’
...clhh _v	→	post-departure course: ‘moving away from’

4 NOMINAL FORMS

In this section, we consider two special uses of finite transitive verb forms.

4.1 A Nuxalk sentence consists maximally of a predicate (finite verb) followed by arguments (nominal phrases: subject and object) and adjuncts (adverbial phrases), in “PSO...” order. Any intransitive stem can function as an argument, in which case it is usually accompanied by an article, and often also one or more deictic elements: *ti₁man* ‘a father’, *ti₁man₁tc* ‘the father’, *ti₁tl’ap* ‘somebody who is going’, *tsi₁tl’ap₁ts’ayc* ‘this one (woman) who is going’.

There are two special types of predicate-based argument: object-centered phrases ‘the one(s) that I/you/etc. ...’ and subject-centered phrases ‘the one(s) that ... me/us/etc.’. Object-centered phrases contain a finite verb that is identical to the predicative forms ‘I/you/he/etc. ... him/her/them’, and subject-centered phrases contain a finite verb that is identical to the predicative forms ‘he/she/they ... me/us’ (see 1.9, 1.15), but for 2/3 sg./pl. there are special forms. These forms (passives and participles, see 1.10, 1.12, 1.16, 1.18) do not specify the subject’s number, this being marked by the article or deictic complex: *ta₁tu₁k’ct* ‘the one(s) who saw him’, *ta₁tu₁k’ctan* ‘the one(s) who saw them’, *ta₁tu₁k’ctst* ‘the one(s) who saw you’, *ta₁tu₁k’ctap* ‘the one(s) who saw you folks’.

4.2 Transitive object-centered phrases occur either with or without an explicit object: *ta₁k’cits₁tx* ‘the one I saw’, *ta₁imlk₁ ta₁k’cits₁tx* ‘the man I saw’. The use of object-centered phrases is as illustrated below:

<i>alhk’yukits ta₁k’cits₁tx</i>	‘I know the one I saw’
<i>alhk’yukits ta₁k’ciw₁tx</i>	‘I know the one you saw’
<i>alhk’yukits ta₁k’cis₁tx</i>	‘I know the one he saw’
<i>alhk’yukits ta₁k’cilh₁tx</i>	‘I know the one we saw’
<i>alhk’yukits ta₁k’cip₁tx</i>	‘I know the one you folks saw’
<i>alhk’yukits ta₁k’cit₁tx</i>	‘I know the one they saw’
<i>alhk’yuktits tu₁k’ctits₁txw</i>	‘I know the ones I saw’
<i>alhk’yuktits tu₁k’cticw₁txw</i>	‘I know the ones you saw’
<i>alhk’yuktits tu₁k’ctis₁txw</i>	‘I know the ones he saw’

alhk'yuktits tu ₁ k'ctilh ₁ txw	'I know the ones we saw'
alhk'yuktits tu ₁ k'ctip ₁ txw	'I know the ones you folks saw'
alhk'yuktits tu ₁ k'ctit ₁ txw	'I know the ones they saw'

In sentences with an explicit object, such as alhk'yukits ta₁imlk ta₁k'cicw₁tx 'I know the man you saw', alhk'yukits ilh₁cnas ilh₁k'cit₁?ilh 'I know the woman they saw', this sentence part is the grammatical object to both the predicate and the object-centered phrase, and follows the object-centered phrase.

4.3 The use of subject-centered phrases is as illustrated below. 1 = passive form; 2 = participle (see 1.12 and 1.10).

alhk'yukits ta ₁ k'ctss ₁ tx	'I know the one who saw me'
alhk'yukits ta ₁ k'ctst ₁ tx ¹	'I know the one who saw you'
alhk'yukits ta ₁ k'ct ₁ tx ²	'I know the one who saw him'
alhk'yukits ta ₁ k'ctulhs ₁ tx	'I know the one who saw us'
alhk'yukits ta ₁ k'ctap ₁ tx ¹	'I know the one who saw you folks'
alhk'yukits ta ₁ k'ctan ₁ tx ²	'I know the one who saw them'
alhk'yuktits tu ₁ k'ctsant ₁ txw	'I know the ones who saw me'
alhk'yuktits tu ₁ k'ctst ₁ txw ¹	'I know the ones who saw you'
alhk'yuktits tu ₁ k'ct ₁ txw ²	'I know the ones who saw him'
alhk'yuktits tu ₁ k'ctulht ₁ txw	'I know the ones who saw us'
alhk'yuktits tu ₁ k'ctap ₁ txw ¹	'I know the ones who saw you folks'
alhk'yuktits tu ₁ k'ctan ₁ txw ²	'I know the ones who saw them'

If the subject is explicit, it precedes the nominal phrase: alhk'yukits tsi₁cnas tsi₁k'ctss₁tsc 'I know the woman who saw me'.

4.4 The use and formation of the causative subject- and object-centered phrases parallel those of the plain transitive ones: alhk'yukits ta₁imlk ta₁alhpstuts₁tx 'I know the man that I gave something to eat', alhk'yuktits tu₁tl'msta tu₁alhpstumant₁txw 'I know the people who gave me something to eat'. For the causative passive and participial endings, see 1.16 and 1.18.

5 MODIFYING SUFFIXES

Nuxalk has a few suffixes that are best described as rendering “quantity” and “quality”. These, the modifying suffixes, are compatible with intransitive verbo-nominal stems and transitive verb stems. Of them, three (-i, -liwa and -lh) have Salish origins, two (-anaats and -slhh) are innovative, and -uks has been copied from Chinookan.

5.1 Modifying suffixes denote quantity (size or number) or quality (change or resemblance). They follow verbal and nominal bases and (1) do not affect the morphological status of the base they are attached to (verbs remain verbs, nouns remain nouns); (2) leave (in)transitivity intact; (3) precede pronominal suffixes, but generally follow lexical and verbal suffixes.

The productive modifiers are -uks ‘plural’ (number), -i/-y ‘diminutive’ (size), -liwa ‘similative’ (resemblance), and -lh ‘disconnected’ (change). In addition, there are two rare modifiers, viz. -anaats ‘superlative’ (found in combination only with a few adjectival bases (and one exclamation)) and -slh ‘characterizer’ which occurs in a handful of nouns.

5.2 The suffix -uks denotes multitude: wa₁tl'mstayuks ‘numerous persons’, alhk'cukstits ‘I see them all’.

5.3 The suffix -uks serves to distinguish between sg. and pl. in mass nouns and transitive verbs ending in **a** or **i**. For example: wa₁tmcw₂ts ‘the river’ vs. wa₁tmcuks₂ts ‘the rivers’, wa₁sulh ‘a house’ vs. wa₁sulhuks ‘houses’, tsaaxatits ‘I will chase him/her/them out’ vs. tsaaxayukstits ‘I will chase them (all) out’, qaaxatscitim ‘he/she/they was/were being tickled’ vs. qaaxatscyukstim ‘they were (all) being tickled’.

-uks relates to the grammatical subject when combined with intransitive forms (as in tl'apuksilh ‘we (all) go’), but to the grammatical object when affixed to transitive bases (as in tsaaxayukstits mentioned above).

5.4 The suffix -uks is also found in the lexicalized complexes scuukstu- ‘to beat, defeat (a team)’ (from ‘to cause all to be bad’) and tsl.tsluksi ‘youngsters, adolescents’ (based on a petrified root *√tsl).

5.5 When -uks combines with a base ending in ...a ~ ...n... (e.g. akwa, √akwn), one cannot predict if the pluralized form will be ...ayuks or ...nuks: tl’mstayuks ‘persons’ (sg. tl’msta), tq’lhayuks ‘knives’ (sg. tq’lha), but numutstnuks ‘doors’ (sg. numutsta), akwnuksaw ‘they are shopping’ (sg. akwa).

5.6 The variant -uk’s is – as the result of progressive assimilation (or suprasegmental glottalization) – found in uk’uk’uk’s plural of uk’uk’ ‘skunk cabbage’ and k’amk’uk’s plural of k’amk’ ‘bull kelp’.

5.7 When -uks and -liwa ‘similative’ follow a base combinedly, we find both -uksliwa and -liwayuks: stataltmcuksliwanaw = stataltmcliwayuksaw ‘they all appear to be chiefs’. Likewise, when -uks and -i (or -ii = -i) ‘diminutive’ are found in conjunction, there is some fluctuation as to the order in which they appear: tsitstsiipuksiinaw = tsitstsiipiiuksaw ‘they all are little birds’, qiqipuksiinaw ‘they all are small (children)’, tsalaatstiiuksaw ‘they all are youngsters’. Note that *qiqiipiiuksaw and *tsalaatstuksiinaw were considered marginal by one consultant.

5.8 Suffixal -i/-ii/ (-y/-yi after ...a) denotes diminutivity. Note that -i often alternates freely with -í (which was not distinguished from -ii by those speakers whose idiolects lacked distinctive tonal patterns) in most cases, and -ayi is [aê]. In this volume, -ii is written where a variant with -i was not recorded. Addition of the diminutive suffix to nouns is usually accompanied by reduplication (see section 11), but when -i is affixed to verbs, reduplication is not required: m.tl’mstni diminutive form of tl’msta ‘person’, tq’lhaa.lhay diminutive form of tq’lha ‘knife’ vs. ixq’mi ‘to go for a short walk’, ksnmaki ‘to work a bit’.

5.9 Morpheme-final **a** is often replaced by **n** before -i: mtl’mstni diminutive form of tl’msta ‘person’, smk’mni diminutive form of sk’ma ‘comb’. But **a** is

retained in e.g. tq'lhaalhayi diminutive form of tq'lha 'knife', aatstsayi diminutive form of atsaya 'fox'. The suffix -liwa becomes -liwn- or -lun- before the diminutive suffix (see 5.11).

5.10 -liwa 'similative' ('having the appearance of, sort of, ...like') is applied after verbal, adjectival and nominal bases:

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

5.11 Beside -liwa we find -liwn-, -lun- and -nul-. Of these, -liwn- is a hapax (to date): tsakw'liwnaak 'to be right on time' (as per Margaret Siwallace, cf. tsakw'liwa 'correct', -aak 'hour, time'), whereas -lun- and -nul- are found before the diminutive and other suffixes: numutslunitx! 'close the door a bit!', lawnulitxw! 'loosen it a bit!', q'slcnulitxw! 'tighten it a bit!', naclunak 'to have finished one's work'.

After adjectival bases, -nul-i (less often -lun-i) conveys the comparative degree, i.e. 'a bit ...er', as in qiqtnuli 'a bit smaller', alhksulhnuli 'a bit cheaper'.

5.12 The qualitative modifier -lh conveys disconnection:

incipient (after substitutes):	'belonging to'
progressive (after nouns):	'coming from'
completed (after verbs):	'perfect tense'
completed (after animate nouns):	'former, dead'
completed (after organic inanimate nouns):	'separated'
completed (after inorganic inanimate nouns):	'not being used'

5.13 -lh conveys incipient disconnection ('belonging to ...') after pronouns (12.1 ff.), identifiers (12.3 ff.) and wa...? 'who?': inulh₁ a t'ayc? 'is this yours?', ntshl ats 'these are mine', inulhtxw t'ayc! 'let this be yours!', tsiclh tsc t'ayc 'this is hers', axw wiclhanaw ts ats 'these are not theirs', inulhnicits t'ayc 'I think this is yours', walh₁ ʔlks t'ayc? 'whose is this?' -lh 'belonging to' combined with -lh 'perfect tense' translates as 'having belonged to ...': inulhnhnicits t'ayc 'I think this has been yours'. See also 12.6 and 12.10.

5.14 -lh 'belonging to' plus -lh 'perfect tense' (> -lhh) when affixed to nominal bases means 'having been part of, coming from ...': tl'alhh sq'alhs 'it is bear meat', yakilhh t'awt switl'axs 'that is a goat's horn', qw'xwmtimutlhh₁ a t'ayc anulikw'muulh? 'is this a car wheel?'

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

In predicates, -lh = 'perfect tense': alhpslhts 'I have eaten', xllhtuminits 'I have been sent'.

The combination ka₁ 'hypothetical' plus -lh conveys 'irrealis': ka₁tl'aplhts 'I would go'.

Reduplicated -lhh renders the 'pluperfect', and ka...lhh = 'past irrealis': tl'aplhhts 'I had gone', ka₁tl'aplhhts 'I would have gone'.

When affixed to animate nouns, -lh translates as 'former, late, dead':

ta₁manlhts₁tx 'my late father', lha₁cnaslhts₁ʔilh 'my former or late wife', ti₁wats'lhts₁tc 'the dog that used to be mine'.

-lh following inanimate nouns pertaining to organic objects means 'separated': ti₁t'nxwlh 'a head (cut off)', putsq'lh 'Indian hellebore (picked)'.

When following nouns denoting implements, household items, and vehicles, -lh means 'not being used by the owner': ti₁amataaxlhts₁tc 'my chair (vacated)', ta₁qw'xwmtimutlh₁ts₁tx 'my car (parked outside)'.

5.16 -anaats ‘superlative: very ...’ is found in combination with a small number of adjectives: *scanaats* ‘very bad’, *yayanaats* ‘very good’, *lhkw’anaats* ‘very big’, *xitl’anaats* ‘very skinny’, *st’axwanaats* ‘very difficult’.

Infixed -anaats- occurs in *ananaatsanay!* an exclamation expressing extreme pain or shock, from *anana!*, *ananay!* ‘ouch!, oh my!’

5.17 The suffix -slh ‘characteristic of ...’ has restricted productivity, and was recorded in a handful of nominal elements.

Reference is made to insects in the following: *slt’liislh* “insect that is abundant during the *t’li* season” = ‘horsefly’, *skakp’ayslh* “insect that is abundant during the *kap’ay* season” = ‘blackfly’, *sqanqptslh* “insect that is abundant during the *sqapts* season” = ‘tiger swallowtail’. Each of these contains nominalizing *s-*, and is marked by reduplication. *Tsitstumnalslh*, too, refers to an insect: “insect that typically sleeps (*tsituma*, *ʋsitumn*) on walls (-als)” = ‘night moth’.

A few other -slh derivations pertain to body parts: *skw’paaqslh* ‘right (*ʋskw’p*) leg (-aaq)’ (from *skw’paaq* ‘right-legged’), *skw’paakslh* ‘right (*ʋskw’p*) hand (-aak)’ (from *skw’paak* ‘right-handed’), *slhxaaqslh* ‘left (*ʋslhx*) leg (-aaq)’ (from *slhxaaq* ‘left-legged’), *slhxaakslh* ‘left (*ʋslhx*) hand’ (-aak)’ (from *slhxaak* ‘left-handed’).

6 VERBAL SUFFIXES

There are certain suffixes that follow verbal bases, but precede pronominal suffixes. These suffixes express voice, tense, mood, or the like. There is one verbal suffix that changes some nouns and interjections into verbs, and several verbal suffixes can also be attached to nominal bases.

6.1 Verbo-nominal roots and stems can be divided into three classes, to wit: (a) transitives, (b) transitive-intransitives, and (c) intransitives. The second category is limited (cf. 1.8, 1.13), and comprises the following sub-categories:

- 1 verbs: ‘to ... (something)’
- 2 adjectives: ‘(to make something) ...’
- 3a nouns (materials, implements): ‘(to apply) ... (to something)’

- 3b nouns (food sources): ‘(to give somebody) ... (to consume (from))’
 3c nouns (social status): ‘(to make somebody) ...’
 3dI nouns (passive forms – bugs): ‘(to be) ... (-ridden)’
 3dII nouns (passive forms – body parts): ‘(to have a pain in one’s) ...’
 3dIII nouns (passive forms – meteorological phenomena): ‘(to have) ...’

Examples: 1 – k’c ‘to see (something)’, klh ‘to fall, drop (something)’, akwa ‘to buy (something)’, alhlxw ‘to look (at something)’, ulx ‘to be mischievous, to steal something’, lalaq’a ‘to fry (something)’; 2 – tsakw’ ‘straight, to straighten, stretch something’, lhq ‘wet, to dampen something’, sk’l ‘cold, to cool something off’; 3a – maaxts ‘(to apply) clay (to something)’, spux ‘(to strew) eagle down (on somebody)’, tl’pa ‘fish spear, to spear fish’, tiilh ‘(to) bait (a hook)’, sacwa ‘(to catch fish with a) dipnet’; 3b – tums ‘(to give a baby the) breast’, sulicts ‘(to give somebody) food-to-go’; 3c – snaax ‘(to en)slove (somebody)’, 3dI – muqw’lhatim ‘he has lice (muqw’), ilht’mlhtst_a? ‘do you have fleas (ilht’mlh)?’; 3dII – tsaptim ‘they have arthritis’ (tsap ‘bone’), atsiwatinits ‘I have a stomach (atsiwa) ache’, slicim ‘he has tuberculosis’ (slic ‘slime’); 3dIII – sninyatim ‘they had an earthquake (sninya)’, asuk’tinilh ‘we had wind (asuk’)’. See also 1.8, 1.13.

6.2 A verbal suffix may or may not affect (in)transitivity of the base it combines with:

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

The verbal suffixes are: -m ‘medium’, -a ‘active-intransitive’ (or ‘antipassive’), -amk ‘adjunct-incorporative’ (or ‘applicative’), -amcw ‘autonomous-transitive’, -tsut/-m-i-tsut/-mut/-i-mut/-t-i-mut/-n-i-mut ‘reflexive’, -t-macw/-n-macw ‘reciprocal’, -(s)tu/-nic ‘causative-transitive’, -tnm/-nm ‘causative-intransitive’, -ncw and -nuc (rare variants of -nic), -ayc/-layc/-a(y)-layc ‘passive-accidental-intransitive’, -ay-nic ‘passive-accidental-transitive’, -alst ‘deprivative’, -am/-

anm/-lc/-alc ‘inchoative’, -tnm/-nm ‘communal-benefactive’, nu-s-...-mc ‘predilectional’, (nu-...)-ik/-alus ‘desiderative’, -lit ‘imitative’.

6.3 A number of the above suffixes belong to one of two classes, viz. the t-class and the n-class. Verbal suffixes beginning in -t are associated with control or intention, whereas the ones with initial -n lack such a connotation. Thus, -(s)tu- : -nic = -tnm : -nm, = -t-macw : -n-macw = -t-i-mut : -n-i-mut.

6.4 When -m is placed after an intransitive stem without altering intransitivity, it either functions as activizer, or it renders the medium (middle) voice.

Activizing -m is used after nominal bases denoting a food item, utensil, or game, and then translates as ‘to be involved with, to work on or with ...’: sputcm ‘to prepare eulachons’, sxtl’ikm ‘to prepare fish backbones’, atm ‘to gather herring eggs’, satsqwlam ‘to use a raft’, aqsm ‘to use a halibut hook’, sukwwaatm ‘to play cat’s cradle’. These are active verbs.

Mediumizing -m occurs in verbs that describe a process or some weather phenomenon: ‘it is ...ing’, as in k’aym ‘it is snowing’, tupm ‘it is bubbling’, icpqw’m ‘there is a blizzard blowing’. These are stative verbs.

6.5 Addition of -m to a number of transitives yields intransitive stems. This suffix then conveys prolonged activities, and it may shift or specify the meaning of the base. Occasionally, the form with -m bears a resultative-passive (reverse causative) relation to the bare stem.

Prolonged (often domestic) activities are expressed by: mntskm ‘to be counting’, tl’alhm ‘to be drying food’, sxm ‘to be scraping inner bark of western hemlock’, q’pstm ‘to be sampling food’, tsiixm ‘to be digging clams’, tictiixwm ‘to be driving poles for eulachon net’, ksm ‘to be pulling in a net’. Here, active base + -m → active verb.

A resultative increment is observed in e.g. plikm ‘to tip over, capsize’ (plik ‘to tip something over’), q’upm ‘to emit smoke’ (q’up ‘to expose something to smoke’), scwm ‘to be burning’ (scw ‘to burn something’), qw’xwm ‘to be in motion’ (qw’xw ‘to move something’). Here, active base + -m → stative verb.

6.6 After active stems that contain a lexical suffix, intransitivizing -m translates as ‘reflexive’: mukusm ‘to paint one’s face (-us) red (mukw)’, sxaaxutsm ‘to shave (sx) one’s beard (-aaxuts)’, ksaalhm ‘to take off (ks) one’s shoes (-aalh)’, tiq’anlhm ‘to mend (tiq’) one’s clothes (-anlh)’, akwnutsm ‘to buy (vakwn) one’s food (-uts)’. Here, active base + -m → active verb.

6.7 With a number of (mainly active) intransitives, -m functions as a transitivizer: putl’m ‘to come to somebody’, talawsm ‘to marry somebody’, anaykm ‘to want something’, qaaxlam ‘to drink something’, acwsm ‘to holler at somebody’. After active stems that contain a somatic suffix, transitivizing -m translates as ‘to ... something with one’s ...’: tspakmits ‘I wipe it with my hand’, itl’aalhmits ‘I move it with my foot’, alhtmplxsakmits ‘I have it between my fingers’.

6.8 The verbal suffix -a is used as an intransitivizer after unmarked (and as a rule active) transitive bases: mntcwa ‘to be dipping up things’, maliixwa ‘to be mixing things’.

6.9 With the exception of those verbs that describe some mental process (‘to hate’, ‘to envy’, ‘to want’), actives are quasi-aoristic: tl’apts ‘I go/went/will go’, tcits ‘I (will) cut it’ (vs. nuscmtsину ‘I hate you’, anaykmicw, a? ‘do you want it?’), iclq’tits ‘I am thinking about them’).

When -a is added to a transitive base, the aspect of the complex verb is always present-progressive: tcats ‘I am cutting things’, q’upats ‘I am smoking things’, tsixats ‘I am digging around’.

6.10 The suffix -amk ‘applicative’ affects bases as follows:

intransitive base + -amk	→	transitive verb
transitive base + -amk	→	transitive verb

6.11 In the majority of cases, -amk serves to transitivize intransitive verbs. It means ‘to have as a means of ...ing, to use for ...ing, to ... with or about’: xlhalhhamk ‘to crave ... (food)’ (xlhalhh ‘hungry’), lhulhamk ‘to hear news

about ...' (√lhulh 'informed'), tl'yukamk 'to talk (tl'yuk) about ...', smsmayamk 'to tell a story (smsma) about ...', yayaatwamki 'to be happy (yayaatwii) about ...'.

6.12 In a few instances, -amk translates as 'to cause somebody to (be) ... after several attempts or occasions': tulwamktsut 'to finally cause oneself (-tsut) to succeed (tulu)' = 'to finally manage, succeed', atsiwltamkim 'she was finally caused to be pregnant (atsiwt)' = 'after having dated her several times, somebody got her pregnant'.

6.13 Less often, -amk is combined with a transitive base: qtsamkis ta₁kw₂putss₁tx 'he cast out his net' (qts 'to extend, pass on to somebody'), xapnamktsut "to cause oneself (-tsut) to be carried (√xapn)" = 'to mount a horse'.

6.14 In a number of cases, -amk adds a notion of 'to ... in addition to / in connection with some other activity': tayamkis 'he threw (tay) it aside (while digging for roots)', mntcwamkits 'I dipped it up (while cooking)', upkamkits 'I (went to the post office and) mailed it out', ulxamkis 'he stole it (while rummaging, without anyone noticing)'.

6.15 The transitivizer -n is virtually petrified. It appears mainly after base-final -t: tiixwalaaxtn 'to fasten a rope (-alaaxtn) to a stake', tsik'iixwalstn 'to stab somebody in the shoulder (-iixwalst)'. (For -alst-n see 6.44.)

Addition of -n is optional in skw'alaaxt(n) 'to untie a rope (-alaaxt)', imalht(n) 'to tie up a canoe (-alht)', k'lht(n) 'to prop up, brace something'.

-n is not preceded by -t in aq'sn 'to strangle somebody' (q's 'tight') and nuʔip'p'ikalhhn 'to grab somebody by the throat (nu-...-ikalhh)'.

6.16 The transitivizer -amcw conveys autonomy or individuality: 'from or by (within) oneself'. Examples: alhnapamcwits 'I know it instinctively' (vs. alhnapits 'I know it (from perception or hearsay)'), alhnapamcwaakmis 'he (already) knows how to do it (did not have to learn it)', ulamcwits ulh₁ts

wa₂its'amni₂ts 'I give them the blankets (that I have made myself)',
acwlhamcwtsinu "I find you vague (√acwlh)" = 'I hardly recognize you, you
seem to have become a stranger to me'.

6.17 There are six reflexive suffixes and suffix strings. They all accept
intransitive pronominal suffixes.

6.18 -tsut, -tsuut 'to ... oneself' is found after transitive (mostly active) bases:
paaxtsut 'to name oneself, give oneself a name', p'stsut 'to bend over', tuk'tsut
'to stretch oneself', tkatsuut 'to shoot oneself', etc. Only a handful of
intransitives are combined with -tsut: icp'iixmtsut 'to take a steam bath'
(p'iixm 'to be steaming'), sxwnatatsut 'to give oneself a nickname (sxwnata)'.
Cf. 6.2.

6.19 The string -m-i-tsut 'to (be) ... for/by/to oneself' occurs after some,
mainly stative, intransitive bases only: numawaakmitsuti 'to be all alone
(numawi) at work (-aak)', slaxmitsut 'to have many (slax) relatives',
nusci.ckmiksut 'to be sad, feel sorry for oneself' (sc 'bad', nu-...-ik 'mind'),
kw'cwmitsut 'to watch out, be careful' (with unique √kw'cw), nutl'uk'ikmitsut
'to have a high (tl'uk') opinion (nu-...-ik) of oneself, to be conceited'.

6.20 Petrified -mut is found in two words based on active transitives, viz.
q'amut 'to bury, inter, attend a funeral' (q'aw 'to bury, store something') and
kulhkamut 'to pay a prostitute' (kulh- 'penis, sex', kaw 'to accommodate,
support').

6.21 The string -i-mut is found in a few words: mnlhimut 'to have a rest'
(mnlh 'to stop, subside'), nmpimut 'to go aboard' (nmp (tr.) 'to put something
into a container'), nukw'ptimut 'to have one's fill of food' (nu- 'stomach',
kw'pt 'to become saturated'), iximut "to grind oneself (against the riverbed)" =
'fish is spawning', alh?nimuttu- 'to give somebody something' (√alh?n 'to have
accepted').

6.22 The string -t-i-mut is related to -tu- as -n-i-mut is to -nic (cf. 6.3). Like -tu-, it is combined with intransitive bases only, and it translates as ‘to purposely cause oneself to (be) ..., make oneself ...’: tupmaaktimut ‘to cause oneself to have frothing (tupm) hands (-aak)’ = ‘to apply soap to one’s hands’, p’iixlatimut ‘(to cause oneself) to drift down the river (p’iixla)’, spuxamtimut ‘to cause oneself to become (-am) eagle down (spux)’ = ‘to change oneself into eagle down’, lhmtimut = lhm ‘to stand up’, nucstimut ‘to keep quiet (nucs)’, umtimut = um ‘to get off a boat, disembark’. -t-i-mut often conveys solitariness: ‘to ... by oneself’, as in alhpstimut ‘to eat (alhps) by oneself’, cap’timut ‘to run away (cap’) by oneself, to escape (alone)’.

Nominal stems extended with -t-i-mut remain nominal, the suffix then being glossed as ‘pretending to be ..., would-be ...’: mantimut ‘stepfather’ (man ‘father’), stantimut ‘stepmother’ (stan ‘mother’), staltmctimut ‘would-be chief (staltmc)’, itsaatimut ‘false teeth (itsa)’.

6.23 The string -n-i-mut is related to -nic as -t-i-mut is to -tu- (cf. 6.3). Like -nic, it follows intransitive stative bases, and it is glossed as ‘to accidentally or inadvertently cause oneself to (be) ..., to get oneself to (be) ...’: tsik’aycnimut ‘to get oneself stabbed (tsik’ayc)’, istsk’nimut ‘to find oneself paining’ (√tsk’ ‘sharp, stinging’) = ‘to be lonesome, homesick’, sak’amnimut ‘to hurt oneself by accident’ (sak’am ‘to get hurt’), klhnmimut ‘to slip and fall (klh)’, q’uxlcnimut ‘to exhaust oneself’ (q’uxlc ‘tired’). When combined with adjectives and numerals, -n-i-mut means ‘to consider oneself ...’ as in nulhnusiinimutlhts ‘I thought there were only two (lhnús) of us’, kmayalusnimutts ‘I think I have a cold (kmayalus)’.

6.24 The reciprocal suffix complexes -t-macw and -n-macw are followed by plural intransitive pronominal endings. The difference between them is one of consciousness, intention, or control vs. the lack of it.

6.25 -t-macw is affixed to transitive bases, and translates as ‘to purposely/consciously ... each other’: nukumtmacw ‘to desire (nukum) each

other', nuscm^{macw} 'to hate (nuscm) each other', k'ct^{macw} 'to look (k'c) at each other', wal^{macw} 'to leave (wal) each other'.

6.26 A number of intransitive bases can be combined with -t-macw after the addition of transitivizing -m: saticm^{macw} 'to be each other's pals (satic)', susqwi^{macw} 'to be each other's siblings (susqwi)', itl'yukm^{macw} 'to argue (tl'yuk) with each other', kw'sm^{macw} 'to be engaged (kw's) to each other'.

6.27 -t-macw often glosses as 'together', and with that meaning is also found after intransitive bases: stamʔapsulhmt^{macwaw} 'they are co-residents (stamʔapsulh), they live together', alhpst^{macwaw} 'they are eating (alhps) together', axst^{macwaw} 'they are lying down (axts) together', yalct^{macwaw} "they are becoming (-lc) good (ya) together" = 'they are making up, making peace'.

6.28 In a few cases, -t-macw can be followed by singular pronominal endings. Here, the action expressed by the base is applied to paired body parts, or pertains to trading:: alhʔip'aakt^{macwts} 'I am holding my hands (-aak) together', ayamt^{macwts} c_a,qinxts,ts ula,qaytnu,ts 'I am trading my shoes for your hats'.

6.29 The suffix string -n-macw is added to intransitives (mainly stative ones). It means 'to accidentally ... each other' or 'to consider, find each other (to be) ...': sak'amn^{macwaw} 'they hurt each other by accident' (sak'am 'to get hurt'), yan^{macw} "to consider each other good (ya)" = 'to like each other', ts'xan^{macw} "to consider each other to be true (ʋts'xa)" = 'to believe each other', kann^{macw} 'to hurt each other accidentally' (ʋkan 'to be hurt'), anusqwin^{macw} 'to disbelieve each other' (ʋqwi 'untrue, dubious').

6.30 Like -t-macw, -n-macw occasionally translates as 'to ... together': pakwn^{macw} 'to catch up with each other, to arrive somewhere together' (ʋpakw 'overtaken, caught up with').

6.31 The suffix *-tu-* ‘to purposely cause somebody or something to (be) ...’ is related to *-nic* (6.35) as *-t-* is to *-n-* in general (cf. 6.3). It is followed by the causative pronominal suffixes (1.14 ff.) and is added exclusively to intransitive bases: *iixwtus* ‘he causes it to burn’ = ‘he burns it’, *ustcwtutilh* ‘we cause them to enter’ = ‘we let them in’, *alhpstuts* ‘I cause him to eat’ = ‘I give him something to eat’, *pustulh* ‘we cause him to grow’ = ‘we raise him, bring him up’.

The allomorph *-stu-* is found in *pacpaaquustu-* ‘to scare somebody’ (*vpaaqu* ‘to be afraid’), and after base-final *....t*: *nupapntstu-* ‘to boil something’ (*nupapnt* ‘to boil’), *mtstu-* ‘to cause somebody to sit (*mt*)’ = ‘to offer a seat’, *lip’tsutstu-* ‘to cause something to come back (*lip’tsut*)’ = ‘to return something’.

For *-(s)t*, *-(s)tw-*, *-(s)tcw*, *-(s)txw* see 1.16.

6.32 Transitive bases must be intransitivized (with *-a*, see 6.8) before *-tu-* can be added: *its’tatu-* ‘to make something squirt’ (*its’t* ‘to squirt on something’), *nustq’atu-* ‘to have somebody patch something (*nustq’*)’, *qulhatu-* ‘to have somebody write something (*qulh*)’.

...-a-tu- complexes often translate as benefactive (see also 1.21): *q’lhkwatu-* ‘to fix something up (*q’lhkw*) for somebody’, *apswatu-* ‘to blow something (*apsu*) away from somebody’, *qulhatumx!* ‘help me write it!’ or ‘write it for me!’

6.33 The causative counterpart of intransitivizing *-m* is *-tnm* (cf. 6.36): *pustnm* ‘to be raising, bringing up’ (*pus* ‘to grow’), *tumstnm* ‘to be breast-feeding’ (*tums* ‘breast’), *alhpstnm* ‘to be serving food’ (*alhps* ‘to eat’), *scuukstnm* ‘to be winning’ (*scuukstu-* ‘to defeat a team’), *lhulhtnm* ‘to have news’ (*lhulhtu-* ‘to tell news to somebody’). Causative-intransitive *-tnm* very likely underlies *-tnm* ‘communal-benefactive’ (6.54).

The rare allomorph *-tnmc* is found in forms with a singular human internal object: *kw’alhtnmc* ‘to be raising a child’, *alats’tnmc* ‘to be telling on somebody’, *alhk’ilhtnmc* ‘to be waiting for somebody’. This suffix probably derives from **-t-nm-mc*, cf. 6.36, 6.56.

6.34 The causative-reciprocal suffix is -(s)t-macw ‘to cause each other to (be) ...’ or ‘to ... to/for each other’: pacpaaquustmacw ‘to cause each other to be afraid (v̥paaqu)’ = ‘to scare each other’ or ‘to be afraid of each other’, alhk’ilhtmacw ‘to wait for each other’ (alhk’ilhtu- ‘to wait for somebody’), alats’tmacw ‘to tell each other things’ (alats’itu- ‘to tell somebody something’). Cf. 6.27, 6.29.

6.35 The causative suffix -nic ‘to accidentally or unintentionally cause something or somebody to (be) ...’ is affixed to (mostly stative) intransitive bases, and takes transitive pronominal endings. -nic relates to -tu- as does -n- to -t- in general (cf. 6.3). Examples: sqw’mnnic ‘to unintentionally startle somebody’ (sqw’m ‘to startle’), k’nmnnic ‘to make somebody tremble (k’nm)’, sak’amnic ‘to accidentally hurt somebody’ (sak’am ‘to get hurt’), kw’alcnic ‘to happen to scorch something’ (kw’alc ‘scorched’). -nic often translates as ‘to find or consider something or somebody to (be) ...’: acwsnic ‘to find something audible (acws)’ = ‘to hear something’, ts’xanic ‘to consider somebody to be true (v̥ts’x(a))’ = ‘to believe somebody’, alhʔatmanic ‘to think somebody is dead (alhʔatma)’, alhinic ‘to think somebody is there (alhi)’, k’axwnic ‘to think something is not (k’axw) the case’, yanic ‘to find somebody good (ya)’ = ‘to like somebody’.

In songs we find the older form -nuc: icaalasnuclhtits = icaasniclhtits ‘I have been looking for them’. See also 6.37.

6.36 The intransitive counterpart of -nic is -nm (cf. 6.33): acwsnm ‘to be hearing’, icaasnm ‘to be searching’ (no further examples). Causative-intransitive -nm as is virtually petrified, but it probably underlies the more productive -nm ‘communal-benefactive’ (6.55).

In a few cases we find -nmc (likely from -nm-mc, cf. 6.33): pakwnmc ‘to be catching up’ (pakwnic ‘to catch up with somebody’), wannmc ‘to be late, missing out’ (wancw ‘to be late for, miss out on something’), alhʔacwsnmc ‘to be hearing (things)’ (alhʔacwsnic ‘to be hearing something’).

6.37 There are a few verbs that contain transitivizing -ncw. This suffix, along with -nic and -nuc, goes back to *-nəxʷ, and must originally have been a positional variant of -nic after base-final **a** and **n**. It has been recorded only in the following items: ts'xancw = ts'xanic 'to believe somebody', kancw = kannic ~ kanic 'to worry about somebody who is taking a long time to show up' (from "to think somebody is somewhere unknown (√kan)"), wancw 'to be late for, miss out on something' (√wan 'to elapse'), √cwincw 'to perceive an omen' (scwincw 'omen', cwinnimut 'to have a premonition').

The even rarer -nucw was occasionally used by Margaret Siwallace as a free variant of -nic: wanucwtscw ʔiks? = wanictscw ʔiks? 'who (wa...ʔiks) do you think I am?'

6.38 When -ayc is combined with a transitive active verb stem, it is glossed as 'to have become ...ed, to be in a ...ed state': tcayc 'to be cut (up)' (tc 'to cut something'), qwlxwayc 'to have been hired, contracted' (qwlxw 'to hire somebody'), walayc 'to have been left behind' (wal 'to leave somebody'), skw'ayc 'to be undone, loose' (skw' 'to undo something'), sxpayc 'to be tied up' (sxp 'to tie something'), tmpaaxalitsaycts 'there is something stuck between my teeth (-aaxalits)' (tmp 'to insert something').

6.39 Occasionally, intransitivizing -ayc has a circumstantial connotation, or one of completion: numnlhatayc 'to happen to have fathomed the depth of the water (nu-)' (mnlhat 'to measure something'), xwlhaycaw 'they have brushed past' (√xwlh 'to pass through somewhere'). Cf. 6.40.

6.40 -ayc can also be combined with intransitive bases, and then means 'to be in a ...ing state or position' (with stative bases) or 'to be able, manage to ..., to complete ...ing' (with active bases, including verbs of motion). Examples: alhq'pstayc 'to be tasty' (alhq'pst 'tasted'), mtaaxutsayc 'to be sitting (mt) around a fire (-aaxuts)', iixwayc 'to be burning' (iixw 'to burn'); lhxwtayc 'to be able to go through (lhxwt)', ustcwayc 'to manage to get in' (ustcw 'to enter'), sqw'ikayc 'to be able to jump (sqw') over (-ik) something', tl'apayc 'to have

gone' (tl'ap 'to go'), alhq'lumayc 'to have climbed, gone up' (alhq'lum 'to be climbing going up'). Cf. 6.39.

After nouns denoting body parts, -ayc is glossed as 'to have ...': sucnayc 'to have hands (suca, √sucn)', icnayc 'to have feet (ica, √icn)', itsnayc 'to have teeth (itsa, √itsn)'.

Note that -ayc 'to be able to ...' competes with -ay-layc (6.42).

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

A few lexicalized -layc complexes are derived from active bases: tiixwlayc 'to guess right (in lahal)' (tiixw 'to hit with a hammer'), tslhlayc 'to win a race' (tslh 'to break (a string)'), lik'layc 'to have a full container' (lik 'to fill something'), cap'layc 'he has escaped from me' (cap' 'to get away, escape').

6.42 The suffix string -a(y)-layc translates as 'to accidentally or unintentionally ..., to happen to ...' after transitive and intransitive stative bases, and as 'to be able, manage to ..., to complete ...ing' after intransitive active bases (cf. 6.40): nupq'talayc 'to fart (nupq't) accidentally', lq'aylayc 'to get an idea' (lq' 'to think of something'), lhut'aylayc 'to catch a smell' (lhut' 'to smell something'), q'pstalayc 'to happen to have a taste (q'pst)'; alhʔalhtsimaylayc 'to be able to talk (alhʔalhtsim)', ksnmakaylayc 'to be able to work (ksnmak)', lhk'maylayc 'to be able to speak (lhk'm)', alhpsaylayc 'to finish eating (alhps)'.

6.43 The transitive counterpart of -ay-layc is -ay-nic. This string affixes to transitive bases, and means 'to happen to ... something or somebody' (with stative bases) or 'to manage to or finally ... something or somebody' (with active bases): musaynic 'to happen to feel (mus) something', lq'aynic 'to happen to

think of something (lq’), q’pstaynic ‘to happen to get a taste of something (q’pst)’; apcwaynic ‘to (finally) manage to lift something (apcw)’; tsaaxnaynic ‘to finally get rid of somebody’ (tsaaxa, √tsaaxn ‘to chase somebody out’), sts’apaynic ‘to manage to subdue somebody (√sts’ap)’.

6.44 -alst ‘deprivative’ is found in a few words: atmnalst “to lose somebody to death” = ‘one’s ... has died’, ulxalstn ‘to rob somebody’ (ulx ‘to steal something’), knicalstn ‘to eat somebody else’s food’ (knic ‘to eat something’). For transitivity -n see 6.15.

6.45 There are three inchoative suffixes: -am, -anm, -(a)lc. Of these, -(a)lc can be combined with both transitive and intransitive bases, while -am and -anm occur in combination with intransitive bases only.

6.46 -am is affixed to nominal, adjectival, and stative intransitive verbal bases, and translates as ‘to become ..., to start ...ing’: staltmcam ‘to become a chief’, ixwam “to become far (ixw)” = ‘to go on a long journey’, tqnkam “to become deep, go down (tqnk)” = ‘to go underneath something’, apsulham “to start dwelling (apsulh) somewhere” = ‘to settle somewhere’, spuxamtimut “to cause oneself (-timut) to become eagle down (spux)” = ‘to change oneself into eagle down’, kmalaycam ‘to fall ill (kmalayc)’. This suffix is also used with numerals and numerical substitutes (13.7, 13.8), and in maaskamnu, ks stl’apnu? ‘how many times did you go?’

6.47 Like -am, the suffix -anm ‘to become ... gradually or with effort’ is combined with intransitive bases.

6.48 With adjectival bases, -anm translates as ‘to become increasingly ...er’: scanm ‘to get worse and worse, to wear out’ (sc ‘bad’), ilhmanm ‘it (e.g. the road) is getting steeper by the minute’ (ilhm ‘steep’), qxuyanm ‘to be getting increasingly more useless (qxyu)’.

6.49 After nouns, -anm translates as ‘to become ... painstakingly or after many attempts’ (associated with status or profession), or as ‘beginning of ..., when ... begins to come, the season of ...’ (to do with a cycle or season): staltmcanm ‘to work hard at becoming a chief (staltmc)’, anʔaq’uliikwanm ‘to do one’s best to become a policeman (anʔaq’uliikw)’; t’lianm ‘dog salmon (t’li) season’, sputcanm ‘eulachon (sputc) season’, sutkanmi ‘fall, early winter (sutk)’, aʔamlhanmi ‘spring, early summer (amlh)’.

6.50 In combination with verbal bases describing a cyclical (seasonal, routinely) activity, -anm means ‘it is time for one to ..., one must go ...ing now’: ilhtsayanmts ‘it is (the) time (of the year) for me to (start) pick(ing) berries (ilhtsay)’, alhpsanmts ‘I must eat (alhps) now’.

6.51 The suffix string -anm-aak ‘hour, ... o’clock’ (-aak ‘hand, pointer’) is found after numerals and numerical substitutes (cf.7.14): smawanmaak ‘one hour, one o’clock’, maaskanmaak ʔiks “how many (maask... ʔiks) hours is it?” = ‘what time is it?’, ka lip’tsutts ma alh ti kalhnusanmaak ‘I may come back (lip’tsut) at two (lhnús) o’clock’.

6.52 -lc can be combined with transitive and intransitive bases, and does not affect (in)transitivity of the base it is attached to. It conveys necessity or inevitability of changing: ‘to become, grow, get ...’ (after stative bases), ‘to have to ..., to be going to ... soon’ (after active bases). Examples: paaxulc ‘to get scared (paaxu)’, puuxlc ‘to turn mouldy (puux)’, t’qwm lc ‘to become rotten (t’qwm)’, nutskwlc “to become heavy (tskw) in the water (nu-)” = ‘to (become water-logged and) sink’; putl’lc ‘to have to, to be going to come (putl’) soon’, tl’aplc ‘to have to, to be going to go (tl’ap) soon’, tsaaxalclhtits ‘I have had to chase (tsaaxa) them out’. The allomorph -alc occurs in acwsalc ‘to learn’ (vacws ‘having perceived’), t’qalc ‘to paste, stick something (t’q)’, ksalc ‘to get married’ (ks ‘to pull something (away)’), sxalc ‘rockslide or avalanche’ (sx ‘to scrape something’).

6.53 The durative-habitual suffixes -tnm and -nm are, unlike causative -tnm and -nm (from which they are almost certainly derived, see 6.33 and 6.36), added to active (mainly transitive) bases. The majority of -(t)nm complexes typically denote communal-benefactive activities (often prolonged): ‘to ... with a purpose (the benefit (entertainment) of other individuals)’ (for ‘benefactive’ cf. 1.21 and 6.32). They often describe a domestic or other routinely performed act, occupation, or a specific role in a competitive game or contest. Both -tnm and -nm take intransitive pronominal endings.

6.54 I have recorded communal-benefactive -tnm only in: tslhtnm ‘to break (tslh) (the string)’ = ‘to win a race’, nukaliilhtnm ‘to play ring-throwing (a game)’ (√kal ‘go right, straight’, nu-...-iilh ‘ring’), sp’alustnm ‘to be splitting wood (-alus)’ (sp’ ‘to hit something with an object’), alhlxwtm ‘newsreader’ (alhlxw ‘to read’).

6.55 Communal-benefactive -nm is more productive than -tnm: tslhnm = tslhtnm, nukaliilhn = nukaliilhtnm, mnts’aqw’snm ‘to crush, squeeze berries (mnts’aqw’s) (to extract the juice)’, nik’aaxnm ‘to be cutting (nik’) hay (-aax)’, qat’iixwnm ‘to pull towards oneself (qat’) plant tops (-iixw)’ = ‘to be picking elderberries’, sp’lxsnm ‘to be hitting (sp’) the end (-lxs)’ = ‘to wire a telegram, use the phone’, ts’xlhnlhnuulhnm ‘to be kicking (ts’xlhn.lhn) a ball (-uulh)’ = ‘to play soccer’, anutayaaknm ‘to throw (tay) something out of (anu-) one’s hand (-aak)’ = ‘to (be the) pitch(er) (in baseball)’, qulhuusnm ‘to take pictures (qulh) of faces (-uus)’ = ‘to (be a) portray(er), photograph(er)’. Not-so-benefactive (but still durative-habitual, and affecting an entire community in terms of victims) are: nutsqwilhnm ‘rapist’ (nutsqwilh ‘to deflower’) and alht’umuulhnm ‘always sucking (alht’um) on bodies (-ulh)’ = ‘leech’.

6.56 The circumfix nu-s-...-mc contains nu- ‘inside’ (see 10.6), s- ‘nominalizer’ (10.9 ff.), and -mc ‘person’ (8.2), but semantically, these affixes have become fused. nu-s-...-mc forms stative intransitives from mainly intransitive active bases, and translates as ‘always ...ing, preoccupied with ...ing’: nuscalimc ‘always jealous (scali)’, nusʔimc ‘preoccupied with having sexual intercourse

(im), sex-crazy’, nusʔalhxmc ‘always quarreling (alhx)’, nusnaaxwmc ‘always dancing (naaxwm)’, nuskwanatmc ‘always crying’ (kwanat)’. Occasionally, only nu-s-... is used: nustl’yuk ‘always talking (tl’yuk)’, nusqw’lh ‘always laughing (qw’lh)’.

6.57 The desiderative affixes (nu-...)-ik and -alus differ slightly in meaning: (nu-...)-ik is related to nu-...-ik ‘(state of) mind’ and translates as ‘to keep thinking about, having ...ing on one’s mind’, while -alus is associated with a physical urge (cf. -alus ‘flesh, body, chest’) and is glossed as ‘to feel a need to ...’. (nu-...)-ik and -alus complexes combine with intransitive pronominal suffixes, and are derived mainly from intransitive bases: nutl’apikts ‘I want to go (tl’ap)’, alhʔalhtsimikts ‘I want to talk (alhʔalhtsim)’, anusuqw’ptamikts ‘I want to smoke (anusuqw’ptam)’, aaxqayalusts ‘I need to pee (aaxqa)’, alhʔalhtsimalusts ‘I feel like talking (alhʔalhtsim)’, anusuqw’ptamalusnu aʔ ‘do you feel like having a smoke (anusuqw’ptam)?’

6.58 The suffix -lit ‘to say, make the sound of ...’ renders a small number of interjections and sound-descriptive roots verbal: mamawlit ‘to mew, miaul’, ts’uts’uulit ‘to produce an alveolar click (“tsk-tsk”)’ (ʋts’u ‘to suck’), qwaxwqwaxwilit ‘to caw, croak’ (qwaxw ‘raven’), axwilit ‘to say no (axw), to deny or refuse’, waylit ‘to say okay (way), to agree or give permission’.

7 LEXICAL SUFFIXES

Nuxalk has many suffixes that we label as lexical. Of these, most of the monomorphemic ones have a Salish ancestry. However, the total number of lexical suffixes is, due to the presence of innovative suffix strings, higher than in most other Salish.

7.1 A great number of suffixes have a semantically additive, rather than grammatically modifying, character. These are the lexical suffixes, which are translated into English mostly as nouns. Of these, the quantifiers occur only after numerals and numerical substitutes; the classifiers and metaphorical suffixes generally follow verbs (including adjectives); and all remaining

(somatic-botanic and non-somatic) lexical suffixes can be combined with verbs and nouns.

In the lists contained in sections 7.3-7.14, the suffixes are ordered in phonological, rather than alphabetical, order: p – p' – m – t – t' – ts – ts' – s – n – tl' – lh – l – k – k' – c – y – q – q' – x – kw – kw' – cw – qw – qw' – xw – w – a – i – u (compare the table on page vii).

7.2 Somatic and botanic suffixes refer to resp. body parts and plant parts. Like the non-somatic suffixes, somatic and botanic suffixes are either simple or complex. Complex suffixes are formed by stringing together somatic-botanic and/or non-somatic and/or classifying suffixes.

In the lists that follow, each simple suffix is numbered (the numbering beginning in 7.3 is continued in 7.6, 7.9, 7.10, 7.13, 7.14), and the complex ones are marked with a number-letter combination. If a suffix has more than one meaning, each gloss is preceded by a roman numeral. Complex suffixes are described in terms of their constituents, e.g. -nalis-lxs-ak (31II-66-21) “in between-point-hand” = ‘between the fingers’. Connective -al- (see 9.3) and formative -t (see 9.2) are constituents of a few suffix strings, while -layc ‘tubercle, projection’ and -als- ‘surface’ are found exclusively in combination with other somatic suffixes. Suffixes and suffix strings found in combination with a prefix (nu- ‘inside’, us- ‘top’), are in fact circumfixes (for which see 10.7).

7.3 Below are listed the most commonly used somatic-botanic suffixes.

- 1 -ps (see -al-ps)
- 2 -nnak *excrement*
- 3 -nk *base, bottom: (I) buttocks, small of back, tail, (II) stem, base of tree, root*
- 4 -nalis (cf. 13e) *joint*
- 4a -nalis-aax (31II-22) *crotch*
- 4b -nalis-aqw's (31II-23I) *bridge of nose*

- 4c -nalus-lxs-alh (31II-66-19) *between the toes*
- 4d -nalus-lxs-ak (31II-66-21) *between the fingers*
- 5 -lxs *nose*
- 5a nu-...-lxs-nk (66-3I) *tail*
- 5b nu-...-lxs-aliits (66-18I) *tip of tongue*
- 5c -lxs-alh (66-19) *toe*
- 5d -lxs-ak (66-21) *finger*
- 6 -lits' *exterior surface: (I) skin, (II) bark, (III) side*
- 6a -lits'-alh (6III-19) *(side of) calf of leg*
- 6b -lits'-ak (6III-21) *back of hand*
- 7 -lik *body surface, (entire) skin, exterior, appearance*
- 7a -lik-t *body, personality* (cf. 34)
- 8 -apsm *(side of) neck* (cf. 13a)
- 9 (nu-...)-ams *jaw, mandible* (cf. 35)
- 10 (nu-...)-an *bone close to skin surface in upper body region: (I) temple, (II) collarbone* (cf. 67)
- 10a -an-alh (67-19) *(lump of) ankle*
- 10b -an-ak (67-21) *(lump of) wrist*
- 10c nu-...-an-aax-apsm (67-22c) *side of neck*
- 10d -an-ilh (67-24I) *groin*
- 10e us-...-an-ulh-ik (67-29k) *upper back*
- 10f us-...-an-ulh-iixw (67-29pI) *top of head*
- 11 -anlh- *side or corner* (only in combination with other somatic suffixes) (cf. 36)
- 11a -anlh-layc (11-tubercle) *rib*

- 11b -anlh-ank (11-12II) *side of body*
- 11c -anlh-ank-us (11-12e) *side of face*
- 11d (nu-...)-anlh-aax-uts (11-22j) *corner of mouth*
- 11e (nu-...)-anlh-iixw (11-26I) *side of head*
- 11f -anlh-ulh-aqw's (11-29j) *corner of eye*
- 12 -ank *vertical aspect of body: (I) front of body, (II) side of body*
- 12a nu-...-ank-alus (12II-13eII) *(inside) side of chest*
- 12b -ank-iixw (12II-26I) *side of head*
- 12c -ank-uts-alh (12II-27c) *side of lower leg*
- 12d -ank-uts-liits-alh (12c-6III) *side of lower leg*
- 12e -ank-us (12II-28) *side of face*
- 13 -al- *connective*
- 13a -al-ps (cf. 8) *surrounded: enveloped, covered, encased, dressed; inside mouth*
- 13b (nu-...)-al-ak-t (13-21-formative) *armpit*
- 13c -al-aax-t-layc (cf. 22b) *tongue: (I) speech, (II) under the tongue*
- 13d -al-aax-alh-t (cf. 22e) *hollow of knee*
- 13e -al-us (cf. 4) *body: (I) meat, flesh, (II) chest*
- 13f nu-...-al-us-tcw-ilh (13e-location-24) *inside of leg near groin* (for -tcw- cf. astcw, tc-)
- 13g nu-...-al-uulh-aak (13-38dII-21) *line in palm of hand*
- 14 (nu-...)-almc *breast, teat*
- 15 -als- *surface*
- 15a nu-...-als-aaqws (15-23I) *visible part of eyeball*
- 15bI -als-ik-an (15-25f) *back of ear*

- 15bII nu-...-als-ik-an (15-25f) *inner ear*
- 15c nu-...-als-iixw (15-26I) *palate*
- 15d nu-...-als-uts (15-27) (I) *inside mouth*, (II) *voice*
- 16 (nu-...)-alxi *back of head, nape, neck*
- 16a -alxy-apsm (16-8) *back of neck*
- 17 (nu-...)-alits *tooth*
- 18 -aliits (occasionally -aliiets) *tongue*
- 19 -alh *foot, lower leg*
- 19a nu-...-aalh *footsole*
- 20 nu-...-alhh *throat*
- 21 -ak *hand, lower arm*
- 21a nu-...-aak *palm of hand*
- 21b -ak-t *branch*
- 22 -aax *entire leg*
- 22a nu-...-aax (cf. 42aI) *rectum*
- 22b nu-...-aax-layc (cf. 42aI) *bottom projection: (I) chin, (II) heel*
- 22c (nu-...)-aax-apsm (42aI-8) *back of neck*
- 22d -aax-ams (42aI-9) *jaw, mandible*
- 22e -aax-alh (42aI-19) *ankle*
- 22f (nu-...)-aax-alits (42I-17) *tooth*
- 22g -aax-ak (42aI-21) *wrist*
- 22h -aax-ilh (42I-24I) *pubic hair*
- 22i -aax-ik-an (42aI-25f) *under or behind the ear*
- 22j -aax-uts (42I-27) *beard, whiskers*

- 23 -aqw's (cf. 44I and 44II) *(I) eye, (II) branch, limb*
- 23a nu-...-aqw's-an-ilh (44I-10d) *region between leg and scrotum*
- 24 (nu-...)-ilh (cf. 45a) *(I) genitalia, (II) woman's private parts*
- 24a (nu-...)-iilh-uts (45a-27) *lips*
- 25 (nu-...)-ik (cf. 46) *back*
- 25a nu-...-ik (cf. 46aI) *mind*
- 25b nu-...-ik-lxs (46-5) *nose, nostrils*
- 25c nu-...-ik-lxs-alh (46-5c) *tip of toe*
- 25d nu-...-ik-lxs-ak (46-5d) *tip of finger*
- 25e nu-...-ik-layc (cf. 46b) *penis*
- 25f -ik-an (46-10I) *ear*
- 25g nu-...-ik-als (46aI-40aI) *inner ear*
- 25h nu-...-ik-al-us (46aI-13eII) *inside chest*
- 25i (nu-...)-ik-alh (46-19) *shin*
- 25j nu-...-ik-alhh (46aI-20) *throat*
- 25k -ik-ak (46-21) *upper surface of hand*
- 25l (nu-...)-ik-ak (46-21) *upper arm*
- 25m (nu-...)-ik-aqw's (46aII-23I) *center of eye, pupil*
- 25n us-...-ik-aax-uts (46-22j) *upper lip*
- 25o nu-...-ik-iixw (46-26I) *crown of head*
- 25p (nu-...)-ik-iixw-alits (46-74-17) *(upper) front teeth*
- 25q nu-...-ik-us (46-28) *forehead*
- 25r nu-...-ik-ulh-aqw's (cf. 25m, 29j) *center of eye, pupil*
- 26 -iixw *top of body or plant: (I) head, (II) hair, (III) sprout, plant top*

- 26a -iixw-nk (74-3) *hip*
- 26b -iixw-layc (74-tubercle) *knee*
- 26c -iixw-an (74-lump) *head of penis*
- 26d -iixw-als-t (74-40) *shoulder*
- 26e -iixw-als-t-uts-ak (26d-27d) *elbow*
- 26f -iixw-alh (74-19) *tip of toe, toenail*
- 26g -iixw-ak (74-21) *tip of finger, fingernail*
- 27 (nu...)-uts *mouth*
- 27a -uuts-layc (27-tubercle) *nipple*
- 27b (nu...)-uuts-almc (27-14) *nipple*
- 27c -uts-alh (47-19) *lower leg*
- 27d -uts-ak (47-21) *lower arm*
- 27e (nu...)-uts-aax (47-22a) *posterior, buttocks*
- 28 -us *face*
- 28a -us-als (28-40) *cheek*
- 28b -us-ilh (28-24I) *private parts*
- 29 -ulh *body*
- 29a nu...-ulh (cf. 51I) *belly, stomach*
- 29b nu...-uulh-nnak (51I-2) *testicles*
- 29c -uulh-lits' (51I-6) *muscle*
- 29d (nu...)-uulh-lits'-alh (51I-6a) *calf of leg*
- 29e (nu...)-uulh-an (51I-10I) *(behind) temple, side of face between eye and ear*
- 29f nu...-ulh-an-alh (51I-10a) *anklebone*

- 29g (nu-...)-ulh-ank (29a-12I) *belly, abdomen*
 29h -ulh-als (51I-40) *cheek*
 29i nu-...-ulh-aax (51I-22a) *base, posterior*
 29j nu-...-ulh-aqw's (51I-23I) *eye, eyeball*
 29k (nu-...)-ulh-ik (29-25) *back*
 29l -ulh-ik-alh (29k-19) *top of foot*
 29m nu-...-ulh-ik-alhh (51I-46aI-20) *throat, Adam's apple*
 29n -ulh-ik-ak (29k-21) (I) *back of hand*, (II) *upper arm*
 29o -ulh-ik-us (51I-46-28) *forehead*
 29p -ulh-iixw (51I-26I) (I) *head*, (II) *hair*
 29q -ulh-iixw-layc (51I-26b) *knee*

7.4 Various somatic-botanic suffixes are found only in combination with nu- 'inside' (see 10.6). Reference is then usually made to body parts that are normally not seen (under the skin, located in a cavity). Many somatic suffixes occur both with and without nu-, e.g. -almc 'breast (exterior aspect)' vs. nu-...-almc 'breast (under skin surface)', -an 'temporal area of the face' vs. nu-...-an 'temple (inside, bone)'. However, nouns of the shape $\sqrt{\text{as(s)}}$ + somatic suffix and (s)kulh + somatic suffix are as a rule not found with nu-.

Entries 19, 20, 21, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29 are also found with a doubled vowel; in entries 5, 16, 22, 26, **x** alternates with **q**, and **xw** with **qw**; in entries 6 and 23, single vowel + glottalized plosive alternates with doubled vowel + plain plosive.

The prefix us- 'top' is considered in detail in section 10.6.

7.5 Like somatic-botanic suffixes, non-somatic lexical suffixes are either simple or complex, and a suffix string may contain connective -al- and/or formative -t.

7.6 Below are listed non-somatic lexical suffixes. The numbering continues the one ending in 7.3.

- 30 -nk-aaq-alh (3-22e) *hem of dress*
- 31 -nalus (cf. 4) (I) *pieces*, (II) *(being) between*
- 32 -lt *child, offspring*
- 33 -lst *rock, stone*
- 34 -lik-t (cf. 7a) *space, volume*
- 35 -ams (cf. 9) *trap, wedge*
- 36 -anlh (cf. 10, 67) *fabric: (I) blanket, (II) clothing, (III) structure, building.*
- 37 -ank- (= 12)
- 37a -ank-aax-alh (12II-?, and cf. 30) *edge of roof*
- 38 -al- (= 13)
- 38a -al-aalh (cf. 19?) (I) *line (cf. 38dIII)*, (II) *base*
- 38b -al-aax-t (cf. 42I?) (I) *rope*, (II) *parent*
- 38c -al-us (cf. 13e) *energy, mechanism, totality: (I) fire, firewood, (II) engine, (III) all, everything*
- 38d -al-ulh (I) *boat (cf. 51II)*, (II) *rope (cf. 38aI)*
- 39 (nu-...)-altwa *sky, weather, season*
- 40 -als *vertical surface: (I) liquid container, (II) hill or mountain side*
- 40a nu-...-als (vertical) *inner surface: (I) inside building: wall, room, ceiling, (II) hide, clothing, pants*
- 41 -alh (cf. 19, 5a) (I) *vehicle*, (II) *food implement or container*, (III) *coming from the sky, precipitation*

- 41a -alh-uts (19-61) *door, doorway*
- 42 -aax (I) *bush, tree, wood, log, pole, boat*, (II) *food*, (III) *name*
- 42a (nu-...)-aax (I) *behind, under: lower end, rear, back, stern, bottom, seat* (cf. 22b), (II) *sun, day, lightning*, (III) *people, population, village*
- 42b -aaq-tn-aaalh (cf. 19, 22) *pair of shoes* (-tn- *implement*)
- 42c -aax-ik (cf. 46) *roof*
- 42d -aax-ik-t (54-46) *strip*
- 42e -aax-uts (I) *edge, (other) side, across* (cf. 75III), (II) *near or around fire, shot* (42aII-75), (III) *drink, smoke* (42II-75I)
- 42f -aax-uts-alh (42eI-19) *riverside*
- 42g -aax-us (42aI-48) *mouth of river*
- 42h -aax-ullh (cf. 42.1) *vegetation, growth*
- 43 (nu-...)-aaxla *liquid*
- 44 (nu-...)-aqw's (I) *hollow: socket, knot, bed* (cf. 23I), (II) *wood* (sans nu-): *fire, stove* (cf. 23II), (III) *sand, soil, earth* (sans nu-), (IV) *bottom*, (V) *berries, juice, water*
- 45 -ilh *relation, relative*
- 45a nu-...-ilh (cf. 24II) *ring, hoop*
- 46 -ik (cf. 25) *elevated, top (flat) surface*
- 46a nu-...-ik (cf. 25a) (I) *hollow, inside container*, (II) *middle, half, in two*
- 46b (nu-...)-ik-layc (cf. 25e) *tube, tire*
- 46c -ik-alh (46-69) *ground surface*
- 46d nu-...-ik-aqw's (46aI-44I) *bed*
- 46e -ik-uuts (cf. 46e, 75III) *edge*
- 46f -ik-us (cf. 48?) *part of house, room, section*

- 46g -ik-uus (cf. 48) *axe blade*
- 47 nu-...-uts (I) *flat layer*, (II) *weather*
- 47a nu-...-uts-aax (4'i-42a1) *under floor or house*
- 48 -us (cf. 28) *flat surface: sheet, blanket*
- 49 -ulmc *earth, ground, floor*
- 50 -uliits (occasionally -ulits', cf. 6) (I) *hole*, (II) *clothing*
- 51 -ulh (I) *round or bulky object: ball, rock, house, egg*, (II) *conveyance, vehicle* (cf. 51I), (III) *liquid food or beverage (soup, stew, tea, juice, cf. 41II)*
- 51a -uulh-al-us (51I-38cI) *oven, stove*
- 51b -ulh-ak (51I-21) *thrown ball*
- 51c nu-...-ulh-aax-ank (51I-42aI-12I) *button*
- 51d -ulh-us (29-14) *joint, connection; surface of hard material*
- 52 -ulhla *appearance, nature, character, behavior*

7.7 Many non-somatic lexical suffixes co-occur with the prefix nu- 'inside' (cf. 7.4, 10.6). Such combinations usually refer to an interior part or aspect of a building or container. As is the case with the somatic suffixes, forms based on *vas(s)* and *√(s)kulh* do not accept nu-. Some non-somatic lexical suffixes occur with and without nu-: -aaxla 'liquid (not contained in cup or bucket)' vs. nu-...-aaxla 'liquid (contained)', -aqw's 'wood (not (for) burning)' vs. nu-...-aqw's 'wood (burning), fire'.

In 41, 45, 46, 47, 48, 51, 52, the (first) vowel alternates with a doubled one; the **x** of -aax is sometimes replaced by **q**; the suffix -aqw's has the allomorph -aaqws (cf. 7.4).

7.8 Classifying suffixes, derived from somatic and non-somatic lexical suffixes, have an adjectival character. They are found in complex verbo-nominals that precede an argument or adjunct, and describe a feature (shape, texture,

function) of the object contained in that argument or adjunct: *lhk'uulh wa_sulh_ts* “big (lhkw') - bulky (-uulh) is the house (sulh)” = ‘the house is big’, *itkits'anlh_tinits_c_ti_its'amnits_tc* “I was (-tinits) sheet (-anlh) washed (kits') via my blanket (its'amni)” = ‘somebody washed my blanket’.

7.9 The most frequently used classifiers are listed below. Again, parenthetical numbers indicate origins.

53 -alus (38cI) *pertaining to fire*

54 -aax, -aaq (42I) *stick-like, long*

55 -u(u)lh (51I) *bulky, round: (I) pertaining to house, (II) pertaining to hat*
(= -uulh-iiqw)

7.10 Certain classifiers appear only in combination with numerals (including *√maask* ‘unspecified number’), others exclusively with verbs and adjectives. Six of them belong in three semantically identical pairs (58, 60, 65), the members of which are mutually exclusive. These classifiers are:

	<u>with numerals</u>	<u>with verbs & adjectives</u>	<u>gloss</u>
56	-aak (21)	---	<i>pertaining to gloves</i>
57	-iilh (45a)	---	<i>ring-like, toric</i>
58	-lits' (6)	-anlh (36)	<i>sheet-like</i>
59	---	nu-...-a(a)lh (19)	<i>pertaining to road</i>
60	-alh (41I)	-u(u)lh (51II)	<i>pertaining to vehicle</i>
61	---	nu-...-u(u)ts (27)	<i>pertaining to door</i>
62	-aax (42III)	---	<i>pertaining to name</i>
63	---	nu-...-aqw's (44I)	<i>pertaining to knot</i>
64	-alh (?)	---	<i>pertaining to bed</i>
65	-alh (41II)	-aalh(-uts) (41II(-27))	<i>pertaining to food implement</i>

7.11 Here follow examples of the use of classifiers:

- 53 maaskalus ʔiks wa niixw? ‘how many (maask... ʔiks) fires (niixw) are there?’
tsik’alusis wa niixw ‘he pokes (tsik’) the fire (niixw)’
yayalus wa niixw ‘it is a good (ya) fire (niixw)’
- 54 smawaax ti stn ‘one (smáw) stick or tree (stn)’
k’tsaaxis ti stn tc ‘he chops (k’ts) the tree (stn)’
tsakwaaq t’ayc sstns ‘this (t’ayc) is a long (tsakw) stick (stn)’
- 55I musulh wa sulh ‘four (mús) houses (sulh)’
at’uulhits wa sulh ts ‘I paint (at’) the house (sulh)’
- 55II musulh wa qayt ‘four (mús) hats (qayt)’
maaskulh ʔiks wa qaytnu? ‘how many (maask... ʔiks) hats (qayt) have you got?’
maaskuulhiiqw ʔiks wa qaytnu? = maaskulh ʔiks wa qaytnu?
piq’uulh wa qayt ʔats ‘these hats (qayt) are wide (piq)’
- 56N musaak wa ts’up’akt ‘four (mús) pairs of gloves (ts’up’akt)’
maaskaak ʔiks wa ts’up’aktuksnu? ‘how many (maask... ʔiks) pairs of gloves (ts’up’akt) have you got?’
- 57n musiilh wa yuyucw ‘four (mús) bracelets (yuyucw)’
maaskiilh ʔiks wa yuyucwnu? ‘how many (maask... ʔiks) bracelets (yuyucw) have you got?’
- 58N maasklits’ ʔlks wa its’amninu? ‘how many (maask... ʔiks) blankets (its’amni) have you got?’
- 58V itkits’anlhtinits c ti its’amnits tc ‘somebody washed (kits’) my blanket (its’amni)’
yayanlh ti its’amni tc ‘the blanket (its’amni) is good (ya)’
- 59V icnukcalhclhit wa mnmnta ts ‘they are drawing lines (icnukcalhclh) on the road (mnmnta)’
nuyayaalh wa mnmnta ts ‘the road (mnmnta) is good (ya)’

- 60N maaskalh₂ʔiks wa₂qw'xwmtimutnu? 'how many (maask...₂ʔiks) cars (qw'xwmtimut) have you got?'
mawalh ti₂qw'xwmtimutts 'I have one (v̄maw) car (qw'xwmtimut)'
- 60V pik'uulh ti₂qw'xwmtimut₂tc 'the car (qw'xwmtimut) is shiny (pik)'
quts'uulhis ti₂qw'xwmtimuts 'he washes (quts)' his car (qw'xwmtimut)'
- 61V numyuuts ti₂numutsta₂tc 'the door (numutsta) is wide (mi)'
- 62N asmusaax₂ts' wa₂skwatstats₂ts 'I have three (asmús) names (skwatsta) now'
maaskaax₂ʔiks wa₂skwatstanu? 'how many (maask...₂ʔiks) names (skwatsta) have you got?'
- 63V nuq'saqw's ti₂sxpā₂tc 'the knot (sxpā) is tight (q's)'
- 64N maaskalh₂ʔiks wa₂sxitstanu? 'how many (maask...₂ʔiks) beds (sxitsta) have you got?'
tm̄mawalh ti₂sxitstats 'I have only (tm-) one (v̄maw) bed (sxitsta)'
- 65N ts'icwalh wa₂nuʔamʔamataaq 'five (ts'ícw) dishes (nuʔamʔamataaq)'
maaskalh₂ʔiks wa₂nuʔamʔamataaqnu 'how many (maask...₂ʔiks) dishes (nuʔamʔamataaq) have you got?'
- 65V mukwaalh ti₂nuʔamʔamataaq 'a red (mukw) dish (nuʔamʔamataaq)'
tsiqw'aalhutsm c₂ti₂nuʔamʔamataaqs₂tc 'he broke (tsiqw)' his (own) dish (nuʔamʔamataaq)'

7.12 From somatic suffixes are derived the metaphoric suffixes. These differ from the classifiers (7.8) in that they do not merely describe a property of some object referred to in an argument or adjunct; they behave like the non-somatic suffixes (7.5).

7.13 In the list below, the most common metaphoric suffixes are listed. As before, parenthetic numbers indicate the origin of each suffix.

- 66 (nu-...)-lxs (5) *point, terminus*
nutxlxs 'to sharpen with an adze (tx) the point of something'

- sp'lxsnm "to hit (sp') the end for a purpose (to reach other people)" = 'to hit the Morse key, wire a telegram, use the telephone'
- 67 nu-...-an (10II?) *corner*
 as(s)an 'corner'
 nuniixwanayc 'to have a fire (niixw) in the corner'
- 67a -an-uts (67-27) *sound coming from corner*
 asanuts '(there is a) sound coming from the corner'
- 68 -ank-us (12e) *side of hill*
 tpyankus 'other side (√tpi) of a hill'
 kulhankus 'hillside'
- 69 -aalh (19) (I) *road, floor (usually with nu-), (II) shoes, walking*
 Numyaalh 'wide (mi) road', nust'cwmaalhta 'floormat' (st'cwm 'mat', -ta 'implement') mamalhaalhi 'slow (√malh) walker', tsixaalh 'new (tsix) shoes'
- 70 -a(a)k (21) (I) *work, (II) gloves*
 maslancwak 'to work for one year (maslancw)'
 numawaakmitsuti 'to work all by oneself' (numawi 'alone')
 ts'xwaak 'white (ts'xw) gloves'
 mntskaak 'to count (mntskaak) gloves'
- 71 -aax (22) *step*
 tsyaaxm 'to take a step' (√tsi 'to move or pass forward')
- 71a -aax-alh (22/42aII-19) (I) *step, (II) day's travel*
 matl'apaaxalh 'to take one step' (matl'ap 'once')
 smawaaxalh 'one (smaw) day's travel'
 lhnusaaxalh 'two (lhnus) days' travel' (see also 7.14)
- 72 -aqw's (23I) (I) *glasses, spectacles (with nu-), (II) paint, color*
 nutsiqw'aqw's 'to break (tsiqw') somebody's glasses'
 pcaqw's 'having a nice (√pc) color'
 maliixwaqw's 'to mix (maliixw) paint'
- 73 nu-...-ik-alhh (25j) *food*

anumnlhatikalhhm “to measure (mnlhat) one’s eating, food” = ‘to eat with moderation’

74 -iixw (26I) *top, hat, lid, lock*

tctl’uk’iixw ‘top of something’ (tl’uk’ ‘high’)
nuʔmtiixwayc ‘to sit (mt) on top of something’
tayamkiixwm ‘to throw (tayamk) one’s hat away’
mukwiixw ‘red (mukw) lid’
skw’iixw ‘to unlock something’ (skw’ ‘to undo, loosen something’)

75 -u(u)ts (27) *oral, orifice, edge: (I) mouth-related: speech (what is said), food (what is eaten), (II) door (with nu-), shore, (III) edge, rim of knife, (IV) water: tide, channel, river*

malhuts ‘slow (√malh) eater’
numilcuts ‘to start talking more and more’ (milc ‘to widen, open up’)
tcutsta “food cutter” = ‘table knife’ (tc ‘to cut’, -ta ‘implement’)
alhnaptutsant ‘they know (alhnapt) what I said’
statputs ‘steep (√stap) shore’
ilhmuuts = statputs (ilhm ‘erect, steep’)
kulhuuts ‘beach, shore’
nuqwyuts ‘to open (qwi) a door’
nuq’ilhutsa ‘to be scratching (q’ilha) at a door’
q’puts ‘dull (√q’p) knife’
k’apatuts ‘sharp (√k’apat) knife’
snupapntuuts ‘water bubbles’ (nupapnt ‘to boil’)
uspik’uuts ‘shining (√pik’) water surface (us-)’
mntcutsta ‘dipping (mntcw) cup’ (-ta ‘implement’)
sts’ixuts ‘sandbar in sea’ (sts’ix ‘sand’)
numilcuts ‘channel opens up (milc)’

75a -uts-ak (27d) *cuff of sleeve*

stq’utsak ‘to sew (stq’) on a cuff’

76 -ulh-iixw (29pI) *hat*

pik’ulhiiqw “shiny (√pik’) hat” = ‘oilskin hat’
tayamkulhiixw ‘to throw (tayamk) one’s hat away’

ksulhiiqwm ‘to take off (ks) one’s hat’

77 nu-...-ulh-aqw’s (29j) *glasses, spectacles*

nutspulhplhaqw’sm ‘to be wiping (tsp) one’s glasses’

7.14 Quantifying suffixes are used only in combination with numerals and numerical substitutes to form terms used in measuring, duration, and frequency. They are:

78 -t’q *spans* (cf. √t’q ‘to spread out’)

mat’q ‘one (√ma) span’

lhwaast’q ‘two (√lhwaas) spans’

79 -lhq’ ...*fold* (cf. lhq’ ‘to slice’)

malhq’ ‘single’ (√ma ‘one’)

lhwaalhq’ ‘double’ (√lhwaas ‘two’, with ...s-lh... > ...lh...)

80 -lxs *multiple of twenty* (“all digits”, cf. 5)

mawlx ‘twenty’ (√maw ‘one’)

lhwaaslx ‘forty’ (√lhwaas ‘two’)

ts’icwls ‘hundred’ (ts’icw ‘five’)

81 -tl’ap *times* (cf. tl’ap ‘to go’)

matl’ap ‘one (√ma) time, once’

ts’icwtl’ap ‘five (ts’icw) times’

82 -lacw, -lancw, -slancw *year*

malacw ‘one (√ma) year’

lhwaaslancw ‘two (√lhwaas) years’

mawlxslancwam ‘to be twenty (mawlx) years of age’

83 -k’mt *day* (cf. k’matk ‘to stay somewhere overnight’)

musk’mt ‘four (mús) days’

lhwaask’mtam ‘to be somewhere for two (√lhwaas) days’

84 -kw’p *fathom* (cf. √kw’p ‘right, straight’?)

makw’p ‘one (√ma) kw’p fathom’

lhwaaskw’p ‘two (√lhwaas) fathoms’

85 -anm-aak *hour, ... o’clock* (cf. 6.51)

smawanmaak ‘one (smaw) hour’

alh_tí_ka_lhnusanmaak ‘at two (lhnús) o’clock (in the near future)’

86 -ilh *month* (“lunar cycle”, cf. 45a)

musilh ‘(to be somewhere for) four (mús) months’

asmusilh ‘(to be somewhere for) three (asmús) months’

iscsiilh ‘to do something for a whole month’

86a -ilh-alh *month’s travel* (86-69II)

ismawilhalh ‘(to go on a) one (smáw) month’s trip’

ilhnusilhalh ‘(to go on a) two (lhnús) months’ trip’

87 -aax-alh *day’s travel* (71aII)

8 NOMINALIZING SUFFIXES

In contrast with the modifying and lexical suffixes, the vast majority of which usually do not affect the morphological status of the base they are attached to, some suffixes are strictly nominalizing. They serve to form nouns from verbal (and a few adjectival and nominal) stems.

8.1 The deverbal nominalizing suffixes are:

-ta, -sta *implement, tool, that which is used for ...ing, ...er*. This morpheme is added productively to transitive actives: sxta ‘scraper, plane’ (sx ‘to scrape something’), lalaq’ata ‘frying pan’ (lalaq’a ‘to fry something’), tcutsta “food cutter” = ‘table knife’ (tc ‘to cut something’, -uts ‘food’), at’aaksta ‘paint brush’ (at’ ‘to paint something’, -aak ‘work, manual activity’).

Before modifying and lexical suffixes beginning in a vowel, -(s)ta usually becomes -(s)tn...: tcuucwtstni ‘small (-i) table knife (tcutsta)’, asniactnak ‘to use (as-...-ak) a saw (nicta)’.

A few -(s)ta derivations are formed from intransitive verbal, adjectival, and nominal bases:

A intransitive verb + -(s)ta ‘that which enables one to ...’

B adjective + -(s)ta ‘(being) a community’s ...’

C1 noun denoting person(s) + -(s)ta/-aax-ta ‘somebody’s own’

C2a noun denoting animal + -(s)ta ‘something used to catch ...’

C2b nu- + noun denoting plant/food + -(s)ta ‘where ... grows or is kept’

Examples: A – ksnmakta “that which enables one to work” = ‘employment, job, work’, lhmta “that which enables (the house) to stand (lhm)” = ‘corner post’, acwsalcta “that which enables one to learn (acwsalc)” = ‘study center, school, college’; B – lhlkw’lcta “a community’s old people (lhlkw’lc)” = ‘village elders’; C1 – staltmcta ‘one’s own chief (staltmc)’, cnasaaxta “one’s own female (cnas) relatives” = ‘one’s female cousins’, imlkaaxta “one’s own male (imlk) relatives” = ‘one’s male cousins’ (-aax ‘people’, see 7.6, 42aIII); C2A – paysta ‘flounder (pays) hook’, klklta ‘herring (klkl) seine’; C2b – nukusita ‘potato (kusi) bed’, nuskip’ta ‘carrot (skip’) bed’, nusaplinta ‘flour (saplin) sack’, nuknumta ‘dried fish (knum) box’.

-ma, -ama *implement, tool, that which is used for ...ing, ...er* is in complementary distribution with, but slightly less productive than, -(s)ta, and is found after transitive active stems exclusively: tiixwama ‘sledgehammer’ (tiixw ‘to hit something with a hammer, drive a pole’), tl’alhama ‘clothesline’ (tl’alh ‘to dry something’), sk’ma ‘comb’ (sk’ ‘to comb, rake something’), lhts’ma ‘belt’ (lhts’ ‘to press or hold something down, to restrain’).

-(a)ma is usually replaced by -(a)mn... before modifying and lexical suffixes with an initial vowel: smk’mni ‘small (-i) comb (sk’ma)’, its’amní ‘small (-i) blanket (its’ama)’.

-aʔinixw ... *at hunting* is found in two words derived from adjectives: yayaʔinixw “good (ya) at hunting” = ‘one who always has good luck in hunting’, scaʔinixw “bad (sc) at hunting” = ‘one who always has bad luck in hunting’.

-likw, -liikw *performer of action, ...er* forms nouns from transitive actives: tatiixwlikw ‘witchcrafter’ (tatiixw ‘to cast a spell on somebody’), nusxlikw ‘raider’ (nusx ‘to raid a village’), qalikw ‘ill-wisher’ (qa ‘to wish somebody bad luck’), alhxapaliikw ‘packer’ = ‘horse’ (alhxapa ‘to be packing something’), anʔaq’uliikw “one who locks up people” = ‘policeman’ (anʔaq’u ‘to imprison, lock somebody up’)

8.2 Nominalizing suffixes that are combined mainly with nominal bases are:

-lhp, -alhp *tree, plant*. This suffix is often found after nouns denoting an edible or otherwise useful part of a tree or plant (root, bark, fruit): icp'iclhlp 'crabapple (p'c) tree', plhtknknlhlp 'bitter cherry tree' (plhtkn 'bark of id'), sat'lalhp 'hemlock tree' (st'ala 'hemlock bark'). The less frequent -alhp occurs in: aq'miixalhp 'cottonwood tree' (cf. q'amiix 'a geographical name') and smamatstnalhp (= smamatstnak) 'fir cone' (matsta 'dried salmon roe', mats 'to spread things on top of something'). For the application of reduplication and metathesis in suffixal derivations see 11.1 and 11.5. -lhp refers to use or function in: stamlhp ʔlks wa ʔaya ʔats 'what are these tires (taya) used for?' (stam ʔks? 'what?'), qmxmtalhp wa ʔaya ʔats 'these tires are used for shock breakers (qmxmta)', stamlhp ʔlks wa ʔulh ʔats? 'what function does this building (ʔulh) have, what kind of building is this?'

-mc *inhabitant(s), native(s) of...* follows place names and some adjectives: Talyumc 'Tallio native(s)', Atl'smc 'Tsilhqot'in native(s)', Nuxalkmc 'Nuxalk native(s)', Lqw'lasmc 'Bella Bella native(s)' (qw'las 'other, strange, foreign').

-mts *one's (collective) relatives* follows a few nouns denoting close relatives: stantanmts "one's mothers of mothers (stan)" = 'all one's female ancestors on the mother's side' (mother + maternal grandmother + maternal grandmother's mother, etc.), slhʔimtsmts 'all one's grandchildren (slhʔimts)', wa ʔusqwiimtsts 'all my younger siblings (ʔusqwi)'.

-tam *the time, season, month of...*: kap'aytam 'month of the humpback salmon (kap'ay)', samlhtam 'sockeye salmon (samlh) season', waystam 'coho salmon (ways) season', amlhtam 'spring salmon (amlh) season', nukalikutstam 'lunchtime, to have lunch (nukalikuts)'

9 FORMATIVE SUFFIXES

A few suffixal elements have marginal status. These, the formative suffixes, appear to be merely "decorative", and are devoid of any apparent function or

meaning. A number of them must be fossilized older Salish elements, while others have almost certainly been copied from North Wakashan.

9.1 The productive formative suffixes -tswa, -ana/-ani, -qs/-aqs/-ayqs, -la/-ila, and -aakas are found mainly in personal and geographical names.

9.2 In addition to the above, there are the following, less productive, formative suffixes:

-kw: Statikw ‘a man’s name’ (cf. tay ‘term of endearment for young boys’), tsq’alhw ‘devil’s club’ (cf. vtsk’ ‘pointed, sharp’), -ila-kw (see the appendix starting on page 547), vtsnkw = vtsnlh ‘self’, ts’xlhmkw ‘drowned’ (ts’xlhm ‘to fall overboard, drown’)

-t: numiit ‘(to) wide(n), open up’ (mi ‘wide’), alh, ti, suncwt ‘today’ (suncw ‘sky, world, universe’), alh, ti, snlt’ ‘tonight’ (snlt’ ‘night’), kult ‘to borrow’ (vkul ‘id.’), lhuq’alht ‘inner bark of cedar’ (lhuq’ ‘to strip off, skin’), tl’aqw’t ‘Douglas fir bark’ (tl’actl’aqw’lhp ‘Douglas fir’)

This suffix is found in several lexical suffix complexes (7.2 ff., 7.5 ff.).

-alimtsk: paaxalimtsk ‘to give out names’ (paax ‘to name somebody’), usʔusxlhalimtsk ‘braggart’ (usxlh ‘to exhibit something’), napalimtsk ‘to distribute food’ (nap ‘to bestow, present’), iinalimtsk = napalimtsk (iina ‘to give food to somebody’), lhuts’alimtsk ‘to undress, uncover somebody’ (lhuts’ ‘to undress somebody’)

In these examples, -alimtsk is affixed to transitive bases, and would seem to add a notion of totality: ‘all the way, all over, around, distributed’.

-altswa (cf. -tswa in 9.1): spuuxaltswa ‘oval-leaved blueberry’ (puux ‘mouldy’), Niixwaltswa ‘a personal name’ (“fire (niixw) brought to earth”)

Possibly related to -altwa ‘sky, weather’.

-alcw: yumalcw ‘sour-tasting’ (cf. yum ‘shy’), muqw’alcw ‘having a bland (muqw’) taste’, musalcw ‘to feel (mus) around for fish with a long stick’, syup’alcw ‘point of land’

This suffix is likely related to the somatic suffix -alii(c)ts ‘tongue’ (entry 65).

-ul: sxitl’ul ‘skinny (xitl’) person’

Cf. -ulh, -ul- (7.6).

-ali: scali ‘jealous’ (sc ‘bad’)

-alas: Nuxalkalas ‘name of a beach’ (Nuxalk ‘Bella Coola’)

-xin (possibly from *-qin ‘head, protruding’): sts’uuxin “grey (ts’u) matter” = ‘brains’, suq’uuxin ‘tadpole’ (cf. √suqw ‘lump, hump’), Puuxin ‘name of a point of land’ (cf. pux ‘to poke’)

9.3 The formative (“connective”) suffix -al- is a member of a few suffix chains: see 7.2 ff., 7.5 ff.

The fossilized allomorph *-l- is found in -lxs ‘nose’, -lits’ ‘skin’, -lik ‘body’, -lancw ‘year’.

10 PREFIXES

Nuxalk prefixes belong in one of five categories: (a) verbalizers, (b) somatic prefixes, (c) grammatical prefixes, (d) aspectual prefixes, and (e) spatial prefixes.

10.1 Verbalizing prefixes (and a few circumfixes) are added to intransitive stems, in combination with which they form intransitive (a few transitive) verbs:

1 tcalh- (see 10.5, 36)

2 tculh- (see 10.5, 38)

3 tam- *to make, construct*:

tamsulh ‘to build a house (sulh)’

tamt’ksnimta ‘to make a bow (t’ksnimta)’

tamts’la ‘to make a basket (ts’la)’

A few tam- complexes take transitive pronominal endings: alhtamstl’cw “to make somebody behave well (√stl’cw)” = ‘to give somebody sound

advice', tamqnk 'to ridicule somebody' (qnk 'low'), tamstaltmc 'to appoint somebody as chief (staltmc)'.

In combination with benefactive -tu- (1.21, 6.32), tam-...-tu- means 'to make a ... for somebody': tamyayaxítum 'somebody made him a toy (yayaxí)', tamsulhtuminu 'I will build a house (sulh) for you'.

- 4 tic- *to catch* (with numerals and numerical substitutes):
tick'acw 'he caught nothing (k'acw) at all'
ticslax 'he caught many (slax)'
ticmawlxsť c_a smlhk 'I caught twenty (mawlxs) fish (smlhk)'
ticsaatsínaw 'they caught only a few (tsaatsí)'
- 5 tutu- *to prepare, work on something* (in nouns that refer to useful items):
tutusluq' 'to prepare eulachon oil (sluq)'
tutust'ala 'to prepare hemlock bark (st'ala)'
tutuspux 'to work on eagle down (spux)'
- 6 sti- *to have a physical asymmetry*:
stikits'ank 'lopsided' (kits' 'twisted')
stiʔatmnus 'paralyzed (ʔatmn) on one side'
stistnaaq 'to have one wooden (stn) leg'
stiktl'aatl'qi 'to have one leg shorter (ktl'i) than the other'
stispulhankiiqw 'to have a lump (spulh) on one side of one's head'
- 7 kalh-, kas- *to gather, collect, pursue, hunt* (before nouns denoting useful items):
kalhnmnmk' 'to hunt animals (nmnmk)'
kalhmaaxť 'to collect clay (maaxť)'
kalhqax, kasqax 'to hunt rabbit (qax)'
- 8 k'ilh- *to have not, lack* (with nouns):
k'ilhmnta 'to have nowhere to go, wander around' (mnta 'going, route')
k'ilhman 'to have no father (man)'
k'ilhcnas 'to have no wife (cnas)'
k'ilhʔitsa 'to have no teeth (itsa)'
- 9 clh- *to have, possess* (with nouns):

- clhʔatsi ‘to have a boat (atsi)’
 clhm_unalc “to begin to (-lc) have a child (mna)” = ‘to birth to a child, have a baby’
- 10 kulh- *to have much* (with nouns), *to be very* (with adjectives):
 kulhk’ay ‘there is much snow (k’ay)’
 kulhpapink ‘there are many snakes (papink) around’
 kulhtaala ‘to have much money (taala), be rich’
 kulhya “to be very good (ya)” = ‘to be really clean’
 kustlh = /kulh-s-tlh/ “to have much strength (/s-tlh/)” = ‘to be very strong’
- 11 as- *to have, contain, use* (with nouns):
 asluta ‘to use a crowbar (luta)’
 asnutumuts ‘to carry a spear (nutumuts)’
 ast’nxwaw tu,spanya,txw ‘the smoked fish (spanya) still had the heads (t’nxw) on them’
 asʔanulhts’aliitstut “they cause (-tu-t) the food (-aliits) to contain Indian cheese (anulhts’)” = ‘they have their food (prepared) with Indian cheese’
 as-...-ak ‘to use’ (-ak ‘work, manual act’) is found where the nominal base denotes a tool:
 asxits’ak ‘to use an axe (xits)’
 asnictnak ‘to use a saw (nicta, √nictn)’
- 12 asi- *to consider the taste of... as ...*:
 asisc ‘to dislike the taste of certain food’ (sc ‘bad’)
 asiya ‘to like the taste of certain food’ (ya ‘good’)
- 13 anus- *to be deprived of..., to have lost ...* (with nouns):
 anuscnas ‘to have lost one’s wife (cnas), be a widower’
 anustan ‘to have lost one’s mother (stan)’
 anusman ‘to have lost one’s father (man)’
 anusya “to have run out of goods (ya)” = ‘to have no food, be hungry’
- 14 it- *to speak the language of...* (with nouns referring to ethnic origin):
 itNuxalkmc ‘to speak Nuxalk’

itq'umsciwa "to speak the language of the whiteman (q'umsciwa)" = 'to speak English'

it'Atl'smc 'to speak Tsilhqot'in (Atl'smc)'

- 15 it- *to wear*, it-...-am *to don, put on* (with nouns denoting items of clothing):

itkuut 'to wear a coat (kuut)'

itnupam 'to put on a shirt (nup)'

itsk'canlham 'to dress in black (sk'c)'

it- is also found before a few transitive bases where it translates as 'clothing':

ittsq' 'to rip (tsq) one's coat, pants, etc.' itkits'anlh 'to wash (kits)' somebody's clothes'

itlhulhts'uulh 'stripped, naked' (lhuts' 'to strip, undress')

- 16 is- *to gather, take (in,) consume* (before nouns denoting flora or food items):

iskwmlh 'to gather firewood (kwmlh)'

is?uk'uk' 'to gather skunk cabbage (uk'uk') leaves'

istii 'to drink tea (tii)'

is- is often found with nouns of the shape s...lhh 'something that has been ...ed' (cf. 5.15, 10.10): islalaq'alhh 'to eat something fried (is-s-lalaq'a-lhh)', is?alh?ikwllhh 'to eat something barbecued (is-s-?alh?ikw-lhh)'

- 17 us- (always with -ayc 'to be in a ... state') *to crave*:

usknumayc "to crave some-dried fish (knum)" = 'to be hungry'

usqlayayc "to crave water (qla)" = 'to be thirsty'

- 18 us-...-am *to don, put on* (with nouns denoting items of clothing):

uskuutam 'to put on a coat (kuut)'

usits'maalham 'to put on mocassins (sits'maalh)'

usqinxam 'to put on shoes (qinx)'

- 19 un- *to be fond of* (with verbs and with nouns denoting consumable items):

un?usxllh 'fond of, always showing off (usxllh)'

unqaaxlamc ‘fond of, always drinking (qaaxla)’

unsxtl’ik ‘fond of fishbones (sxtl’ik)’

unsnanik ‘fond of gum (snanik)’

unlam ‘fond of rum (lam)’

- 20 unus(i)-...-m *to go somewhere in order to ...* (with intransitive verbs):
unusitalawsmtus ‘he made her go (there) in order for her to get married (talaws)’

unusinaaxwmlh ‘we are going (there) to have a dance (naaxwm)’

wika, ks ka, umatalhilh ska, unus?alhpsmlh? ‘where shall we go to eat (alhps)?’

axw unus?ayk’mts ‘I will not (go there and) stay long (ayk)’

10.2 Somatic prefixes occur in conjunction with verbal and adjectival bases:

- 21 nu- *stomach*:

nukma ‘to have a stomach ache (kma)’

nukw’pt ‘to be full from eating’ (kw’pt ‘to satiate, saturate’)

- 22 kulh- *penis*:

kulhtscwi ‘to have an average-sized penis’ (tscwi ‘enough, normal, average’)

kulhtsaakw ‘to have a long (tsaakw) penis’

kulh- becomes ku- before ...s...: kus?m ‘to have an erection’ (< *kulh-s-?m (√?m ‘erect’))

- 23 us-...-aax *buttocks* (cf. us- *top*, -aax *rear, leg*):

uskmayaax ‘one’s buttocks ache (kma)’

usxp’aax ‘buttocks’ (√xp ‘divide in half, two’)

- 24 un- *waist, middle*:

uncwpts ‘my pants are coming down’ (√cwp ‘to drop’)

unsp’im ‘he got hit (sp’) in the small of the back’

unqw’smts ‘the water comes up to my waist’ (qw’sm ‘to flood’)

10.3 The grammatical prefixes are:

- 25 s- *connector-nominalizer* (see 10.9)
- 26 si- *paraphraser* (see 10.25)
- 27 nu- *human* (found in combination with numerals and numerical substitutes):
 nulhnusaw ‘there are two (lhnús) of them’
 numusaw ‘there are four (mús) of them’
 nut’xulhilh ‘there are six (t’xúlh) of us’
 numaaskaw_{ks} ‘how many of them (maask..._{ks}) are there?’
 nuslaxaw ‘there are many (sláx) of them’
- 28 lh- *dualis, ... and company* (before proper names and determinative ?na):
 wicanaw txw ta_{lh}Hank ‘it was Hank and somebody else’
 lhXila ‘Xila and somebody else’
 ta_{lh}?na ‘(that one) and somebody else’

10.4 Aspectual prefixes precede verb stems and finite verbs (predicates). They are:

- 29 tm- *just, only* (usually in combination with -lh): tmlimlhaw ‘they just dropped down (lim)’ tmkw’atsalhis ‘he just shook (kw’atsa) it’,
 tmsmawlhulh ti_{nap}ts_{tc} ‘I have only one (smaw) dollar’ (nap ‘what one has’)
 tmstnlh ‘it was just a stick (stn)’
- 30 tam- *cumulative, iterative*:
 tamsxmxmpit ‘they kept tying (sxp, sxxmxmp) it’
 This prefix is often preceded by alh- *stative-progressive*:
 alhtamtl’alhaakas c_aslaq’k_?ats ‘he continually puts the fillets (slaq’k)
 on the bars to dry’ (tl’alhaaka ‘to be putting fish up to dry’)
 alhtam?iikhlhcalhí ‘he kept coming closer and closer (iikhlhcalhí)’
- 31 sm- *already, right away, from the very beginning*:
 smq’awamsim ‘it was tied (q’awams) right away’

smyalcs ‘he got better (yalc) right away’
 smʔalhʔatma ta snuʔusqas “her born one (snuʔusqa) was already dead
 (alhʔatma)” = ‘she delivered a still-born baby’
 smnusakʔayaaxtimutlhts ‘right away I went out again (nusakʔayaaxtimut)’
 smnmnmuuts “obstructed (vnmnm) in one’s mouth (-uuts) since birth”
 = ‘(born) mute’

32 k’am- *the same*:

k’amʔayliwanaw stalawsaw “they were doing (ay) more or less (-liwa) the
 same thing as (s-) they got married (talaws)” = ‘they got married at the
 same occasion’
 k’amtsaylhtuts ta tl’aplhtuts ulh inu in t’ayc “I caused the total (tsay) of
 what I gave (tl’aptu-) to you (inu) and him (t’ayc) to be the same” = ‘I
 gave the same amount to you and him’

33 alh- *stative-progressive*

This prefix precedes both transitive and intransitive (usually active)
 uninflected verbs, and there means ‘...ed, the result of one’s ...ing’:
 alhqulh ‘something written, writing, document, book, letter’ (qulh ‘to
 print, write something’)
 alhtsq’ ‘torn’ (tsq’ ‘to tear something’)
 alhp’sm ‘bent’ (p’s ‘to bend something’, p’sm ‘to bend’)
 alhtalaws ‘married’ (talaws ‘to get married’)

Before predicates, alh- conveys progressivity ‘to be ...ing’:
 alhʔayutsmtim ‘somebody was telling (ayutsm) them to ...’
 alhpik’m ‘sparks are flying around’ (vpik’ ‘to shine, glitter, spark’)
 alhp’uyaax ‘(tree) lies fallen (p’uyaax)’
 When reduplicated, alhʔalh- conveys prolongation or repetition:
 alhʔalhʔawlhim ‘somebody kept following (awlh) him’

Before nu- and s-, alh- is reduced to a- (cf. 10.8):
 anutsiixlh ‘hole dug (tsiix) in the ground’
 anutplq’ ‘inside out’ (nutplq’ ‘to turn something inside out’)
 asak’am ‘hurt, wounded’ (sak’am ‘to get hurt’)

ask'iixwm 'he keeps combing his hair (sk'iixwm)

34 ic- *distributive (all over ...), intensive (prolonged)*:

icʔakwkwa 'to be shopping (akwa, akw.kwa)'

icliikw'iitis 'he keeps rolling (likw', ʋliikw') it from one end to the other, back and forth'

icp'iixlanaw 'they are floating (p'iixla) around'

The allomorph is- is found in:

ismusilhalh 'to be travelling (-alh) for four (mús) months (-ilh)'

iscsiilh 'to ... for a whole (ʋcs) month (-iilh)'

istsk'nimut 'to find oneself (-nimut) paining intensively' = 'to be lonesome, homesick' (ʋtsk' 'to sting') (see also 10.8)

10.5 Spatial prefixes that combine with locative bases are:

35 tc- *area, where ... is located*, tc-...-lh(h) *origin, where ... comes from*:

tcʔl'uk'ams 'upper (ʔl'uk') jaw (-ams)'

tcatl'saax 'back (ʋatl's) wall of house (-aax)'

wa.tcamatlhh 'place (amat) where one has come from'

tcats'aaxlh 'south-east wind' (Ats'aaxlh 'Tallio, South Bentinck Arm')

36 tcalh-...-lhh-alh *coming from* (-lhh *coming from*, -alh *motion*) (tcalh- goes back to tc- *area* and alh- *location*):

tcalhkulhulhikhkhalhtus alh.ta.stup.tx 'he took it from behind the stove (stup)' (kulhulhik 'back')

tcalhTs'aamaslhhalh 'he came from Victoria (Ts'aamas)'

37 tcu- *towards an area* (from tc- plus u- (42)):

k'ilhtcumat 'to have nowhere to go (umat)' = 'to be lost, wandering'

tcuʔl'uk'alh 'to go up (ʔl'uk')'

tcusqa 'to go out to the west' (cf. usqa to go out)

tcuʔatl's 'to go to the Interior' (ʋatl's)

tculi 'this way, hither'

tcula 'that way, thither'

- 38 *tculh-* *going to a place* (from *tc-* and *ulh*.) – this prefix combines with place names to form intransitive verbs, while adverbial *tculh* *ts* means *to them*:
tculhTs'aamasts 'I am going to Victoria (*Ts'aamas*)'
tculhNukits'nu a? 'are you going to Hagensborg?'
ayalh x tculh ts! 'go (*ayalh*) to them!'
- 39 *tx-* *geographical area, ethnos*:
Txaqw'lh 'people from the north, Fort Simpson' (cf. *taqw'lh* 'downstream area')
Txaxaaxlh 'people from Alert Bay' (cf. *aaxlh* 'upstream area')
- 40 *txu-* *towards geographical area* (from *tx-* plus *u-*):
txulxlh 'to go upriver' (cf. *aaxlh* 'upstream area')
txuq' 'to go downriver' (cf. *taqw'lh* 'downriver area', *uqw'* 'to go downriver')
- 41 *a-* *location*:
astcw 'to be inside'
asqa 'to be outside'
alh 'at'
amat 'place where something is located'
astam ks? 'where is it?'
asutsaax '(being) underneath the house'
asaqw's 'riverbed'
- 42 *u-* *direction*:
ustcw 'to go inside'
usqa 'to go outside'
ulh 'towards'
umat 'place something is taken to'
ustam ks? 'where is he going?'
usutsaaxam 'to go underneath the house'
usaqw'sam 'to dive to the bottom of the river'
ulxlh 'to go upriver' (*aaxlh* 'upriver area')
uuxnk 'downwards' (cf. *qnk* 'low')

10.6 The spatial prefixes that combine with non-locative bases are:

43 *stam-* *together with*:

ti₁stamknmakts ‘the one I work (ksnmak) with’

ti₁stampusanu ‘the one you grew up (vpusa) with’

stamʔapsulhmtmacwaw ‘they live (apsulhm) close together’

tsi₁stamnumusam ‘the fourth (numusam) woman he lived with’

wa₁stamtl’mstas ‘the people (tl’msta) he lives with’

Occasionally, the allomorph sta- is used: staʔapsulh = stamʔapsulh
‘fellow villagers’

44 *nu-* *inside*:

nuk’c “to look (k’c) inside something” = ‘to inspect something’

nulik’us “to turn (likw’) somebody’s face inside” = ‘to turn somebody around’

This prefix is used frequently in combination with lexical suffixes (see 7.4, 7.7).

In addition, many place names contain this prefix, with or without additional s-, (s-)nu- meaning ‘the place of ..., where ... is/are’:

Numamis “the place of blackflies” = ‘Tallio Cannery’

Nusats’m “the place of big springsalmon” = ‘Noosatsum Mountain’

Nusqala “the place of red huckleberries” = ‘name of a river’

Nuk’lat “the place of steelhead” = ‘name of a bay’

Snut’li “the place of dog salmon” = ‘name of an old village’

Snuqw’litq “the place of seagulls” = ‘name of a point of land’

Snuqaax “the place of salmonberries” = ‘name of an old village’

45 *nu-* (occasionally *nunu-*) (*in the*) *water*:

nup’tsiixw ‘to hold (p’ts) somebody’s head under water’

nutl’lh “dry (tl’lh) water” = ‘shallow water’

nusxwaxwa ‘mud (sxwaxwa) pool’

nusic ‘bloody water’

nunusputc wa₁anuxum₁ts ‘the river (anuxum) is teeming with eulachon (sputc)’

46 kalh- *under, down(wards):*

alhkalkhk’ctsut “to look (alhk’c) under oneself” = ‘to look down from a height’

kalthst’cwmta “mat (st’cwmta) that is placed under oneself” = ‘mattress’

47 anu- *having no fixed location: through, via, (all) over, throughout, across, coming out of:* (from *a-nu-, cf. entries 41 and 44):

anuxum “streaming (√xum) through” = ‘river’

anu?ists’kwalh ‘to sprinkle (ists’kw) a liquid (-alh) all over somebody’

anusts’mlcaax “mouth of river (-aax) scatters (sts’mlc)” = ‘river delta’

anutqwmik ‘to hang (tqwm) draped over (-ik) something’

anupipk’miik ‘sparks are coming out of the chimney (-iik)’ (pik’m ‘to sparkle’)

anutxmiiklxs ‘one’s nose (-iklxs) is dripping (tsxm)’

48 inic- *to be beside, additional, extra, (one) more:*

wa₁inic?alhlí “the extra-being ones” = ‘those who are still here’

inimawalh ‘one (√maw) more bottle (-alh)’

inictl’mstanaw₁lhu ka₁putl’ ‘there will still be more people (tl’msta) coming (putl’)’

inicknicim₁malhu alhi ‘maybe there is (alhi) still some (more) food (knicim) left’

Possibly from *in.ʔic-, cf. entry 34)

49 us- *top, horizontal surface* (before verbal bases):

usputl’ ‘to come (putl’) to the surface’

alh?uspliik ‘flat (√pl) roof (-iik)’

In combination with -uuts *water, liquid:*

uspiik’uuts ‘water is reflecting the sunlight’ (√pik’ ‘to sparkle, glitter’)

usmntacuuts ‘to skim off (√mntacw) the surface of a liquid’

uspulhmuuts ‘(there is) foam on the surface of the water’ (pulhm ‘to foam, bubble’)

10.7 Some prefixes occur only together with a suffix. These combinations (circumfixes) are:

- 50 ka-...-s *next, following in time* forms adverbs from nouns denoting time of the year/month/week/day (cf. ka₁ (15.1) and -s (1.4-6)):
 kaʔaʔamlhanmís ‘next spring (aʔamlhanmí)’
 kamalacws ‘next year (malacw)’
 kanukaliks ‘at noon (nukalik) (said in the morning)’
 kaynucs ‘tomorrow’ (v̄ynuc = inacw ‘morning’)
 kaʔntl’s ‘coming night (ntl)’

- 51 kanus-...-m *having a ... smell or taste* derives verbs (adjectives) from a number of stative intransitives (mainly adjectives, but also a few nouns):
 kanusyam ‘to have a good (ya) taste, be sweet’
 kanuslhuk’m ‘to have a horrible (vlhuk’) smell or taste’
 kanusxawism ‘to have a metallic taste’ (xawis ‘tin’)
 kanusmlhkm ‘to have a fishy smell or taste’ (smlhk ‘fish’)
 kanuscm ‘to have a bad (sc) smell or taste’

The shorter allomorph nus-...-m occurs in nusyamutsmits ‘it is sweet to my mouth (-uts)’ = ‘I like eating or drinking it’.

If kanus- goes back to *ka(lh)-nu-s-, cf. kalh- (10.1), nu- (10.2), s- (10.9.1 ff.).

- 52 (alh₁)tu-...-a *last, previous* forms adverbs from nouns denoting temporal concepts:

tunica ‘yesterday’ (v̄nic = v̄ynuc, see entry 50)
 tumaynuca ‘day before yesterday’ (v̄ma ‘one’ and v̄ynuc, see entry 50)
 tumalacwa ‘last year’ (v̄ma ‘one’ and -lacw ‘year’)

Forms without alh₁ are used as sentence equivalents (e.g. when answering the question ala₁pacw? ‘when (was it)?’), whereas the ones with alh₁ are used as adverbs (see further 16.1).

tu-...-a can also be combined with wiclhh₁ ‘away from’:

wiclhh₁tumaynuca ‘since the day before yesterday’
 wiclhh₁tumalacwa ‘since last year’

10.8 The prefixes *kalh-* (entry 7), *k'ilh-*, *kulh-* and *alh-* drop their final **lh** before bases beginning in **s**: *kasmlhk* 'to ("pursue") fish (*smlhk*)', *kascwpanilh* 'to hunt deer (*scwpanilh*)', *k'islq* 'lacking mind (*slq*)' = 'stupid, senseless', *k'ismaw* "minus one (*smaw*)" = 'nine', *kustpuusps* 'to have lots of freckles (*stp*) on one's face (*-uus*)', *alhkusuuq* 'circumcised' (*suq* 'to skin'), *aslhulakaycts* 'I have a sliver (*slhul*) in my hand (*-ak*)', *ascwmalus* 'to have indigestion, heartburn' (*scwm* 'to burn', *-alus* 'chest'), *kustlh* "to have much strength (*stlh*)" = 'to be very strong', *kuskw'alhla* "to have much friendliness (*skw'alhla*)" = 'to be very friendly, polite'.

The prefix *ic-* loses its final **c** before base-initial **lh** and **s**: *ilhnusilhalh* 'to travel (*-alh*) for two (*ilhnús*) months (*-ilh*)', *ismawilhalh* 'to travel (*-alh*) for one (*smaw*) month (*-ilh*)'. Before bases with an initial postvelar, *ic-* is preferably assimilated to *ix-*: *ixq'm* 'to walk' (*q'm* 'to step'), *ixqlm* 'to swim' (*√qlm* may be related to *qla* 'water'), but in careful speech, pre-postvelar *ic-* may be maintained: *icq'm* = *ixq'm*, *icqlm* = *ixqlm*.

10.9 The most prominent Nuxalk prefix is *s-* 'connector-nominalizer'.

10.10 From intransitives, nouns can be derived by means of *s-*:

- (a) (*that which characterizes something/somebody as*) *being ..., ...ness* (with adjectival bases):

stskw 'weight' (*tskw* 'heavy')

stl'uk 'height' (*tl'uk* 'high')

sxlhalhh 'hunger' (*xlhalhh* 'hungry')

sʔixw 'distance' (*ixw* 'far')

st's 'salt' (*t's* 'salty')

skmalayc 'illness' (*kmalayc* 'ill')

sntl "darkness" = 'night' (*ntl* 'dark, obscure')

Nominalized personal names are glossed as 'the name ...', and take plural deixis: *wa_sPeter* 'the name Peter', *paaxits c_a_sJohn* 'I will name (paax) him John', *alhpaaxtut c_a_sJesus* 'they call (alhpaaxtu-) him Jesus' (cf. 3.7)

- (b) *that which (one) ...s, the object/result/product of one's ...ing* (with intransitive verbal, mainly active, bases) (cf. 10.13):
 sqwilatslh “having been crushed” = ‘juice, wine’ (qwilats ‘to crush berries’)
 saaxqalh “having been peed” = ‘urine’ (aaxqa ‘to urinate’)
 slhxwta ‘spittle, saliva’ (lhxwta ‘to spit’)
 skwanat ‘mourning song’ (kwanat ‘to weep’)
 spus “growth” = leaf (pus ‘to grow’)
 satl’a ‘canoe’ (atl’a ‘to build a canoe’)
 sʔaalats’i ‘story’ (ʔaalats’i ‘to tell a story’)
 squts’a ‘laundry’ (quts’a ‘to wash, do laundry’)
- (c) *something that ...s* (with stative intransitive verbs), ‘that which is (like) ...’ (with nominal and adjectival bases):
 sps ‘cold north-east wind’ (ʋps ‘to blow, hiss’)
 stp ‘freckle’ (ʋtp ‘spotted’)
 sʔilʔilayc ‘rainbow’ (ʋil ‘to be arc-shaped, describe a curve’)
 squnalxsalh “thumb (quna) toe (-lxsalh)” = ‘big toe’
 snuts’imnaax ‘rectum’ (ts’ima, ʋts’imn ‘guts, intestines’, nu-...-aax ‘anus, rectum’)
 stl’imnalaaxt ‘achilles’ tendon’ (tl’ima, ʋtl’imn ‘tendon’, -alaaxt ‘heel’)
 sxumaqw’s “streaming (ʋxum) from the eyes (-aqw’s)” = ‘tears’
 stlhutsak ‘biceps’ (tlh ‘strong’, -utsak ‘circumference of arm’)
 scwputs ‘drop-off’ (ʋcwp ‘to drop, go down’, -uts ‘shore’)
 sk’inwas ‘cloud’ (i.k’nuas ‘fog’)
 sʔinacw = inacw ‘morning’
 sts’usm = ts’usm ‘dusk, early evening’
 sts’icts’ikmlhp “dirty (ts’ikm) plant (lhp)” = ‘lamb’s quarters’
 sʔusqalits’ “skin (-lits’) coming out (usqa)” = ‘smallpox’
 sp’iix ‘steam’ (p’iixm ‘to (emit) steam’)
 sq’up ‘smoke’ (q’up ‘to (emit) smoke’)
 spqw’lh ‘fine snow, blizzard’ (ʋpqw’ ‘fine, powdery’)
 stuplh ‘foam’ (tupm ‘to bubble, froth’)
 stwin ‘grave pole’ (twinm ‘to emerge, become visible’)

stsx ‘drop, dripping’ (tsxm ‘to drip’)

spik’ ‘spark’ (pik’m ‘to sparkle’)

- (d) *that which is used for ...ing* (intransitive verbs often take s- before -(s)ta ‘implement’ can be added (cf. 8.1)):

sats’ista ‘fishing rod’ (ats’i ‘to fish with a rod’)

sʔmtsta ‘chair’ (mt ‘to be in or assume a sitting position’)

sk’cta “looking (k’c) implement” = ‘telescope’

stsitumlcta ‘sleeping pill’ (tsitumlc ‘to get sleepy’)

slhk’msta ‘language’ (lhk’m ‘to speak’)

Likewise, -ma is as a rule added to intransitive verbs only in combination with s-: sʔip’ama ‘handle’ (ip’a ‘to be grabbing things’)

- (e) *child(ren) of...* (with -lh or -lhh, cf. -lh ‘coming from’ (5.12)):

snulhnustlh ‘twins’ (nulhnustl ‘(mother) having twins’)

sʔicuulhh ‘illegitimate child’ (iculh ‘(mother) having an illegitimate child’)

suʔlqliwalhh = sʔicuulhh (uʔlqliwa ‘to be mischievous, fool around’)

10.11 From some transitive verb stems s- derivations are formed that translate as ‘that which one ...s (something or somebody with)’ (cf. 10.13):

sq’lhkw ‘tools’ (q’lhkw ‘to fix something up’)

snknic ‘food’ (knic ‘to eat something’)

sulicts ‘provisions for trip, food to go’ (ulic ‘to choose something’, -ts = -uts ‘food’)

slq’ ‘mind’ (lq’ ‘to think of something’)

slhiixwnic ‘treasure’ (lhiixwnic ‘to treasure something’)

sʔitqu ‘(a) tow’ (itqu ‘to tow something’)

skits’ ‘laundry’ (kits’ ‘to wring something’)

10.12 Finite verbs can be nominalized (‘one’s ...ing’) as mass nouns (cf. 2.12 and 10.14):

wiclhh.tu.sʔakwatits.twx “since my buying (akwa) it” = ‘since (the time that) I bought it’

ula_ska_lip'aycs 'until his future coming back' = 'until (the time that) he will return'

For ska, see 10.24 and 15.3.

10.13 Where adjunct-centered nominal forms are derived from c_ adjuncts, the adjunct is replaced by s- before the finite verb (cf. 10.10):

- ti_stl'yukts_tc 'the one I am talking about' (tl'yukts c_tc 'I am talking about him')
- ti_s?alhps 'what one eats, food' (alhps c_tc 'he is eating it')
- p'wi ti_sputl'aylaycaw 'it is a halibut (p'wi) that they caught' (putl'aylaycaw c_ti_p'wi 'they caught a halibut')
- ti_snapis tsi_cnas_tsc 'what he gave to the woman (cnas)' (napis tsi_cnas_tsc c_tc 'he gave it to the woman')
- wic ats wa_s?alhpstum Qwaxw 'this (ats) is what Raven (Qwaxw) was given to eat' (alhpstum Qwaxw c_ats 'Raven was given this to eat')

10.14 Nuxalk employs several constructions where s- has a function intermediate between nominalizer and connector (P = pronominal suffix):

- (a) ta_s...lhP s...P '... while ...'
- (b) ...lhP ta_s...lhP '... while ...'
- (c) ...P wa_s...P '... and ...'
- (d) ...P ti_s...(P) '... at ...ing'

The use of articles is here aberrant in that the "nominalized" verb is, syntactically, neither an argument nor part of an adjunct; it rather behaves like an adverb or predicative adjunct (see 10.19 and 16.1 ff.). Examples:

- (a) ta_s?alhpshlts s?uq'xtinits 'while I was eating (alhps), somebody called (uq'x) me'
- ta_sk'acwlhts slip'tsutaw 'while I was gone (k'acw), they came back (lip'tsut)'

- (b) tl'yutslhilh ta_sʔalhpslhilh 'we were fast (tl'yuts) as we were eating (alhps)' = 'we ate fast'
ip'aaklhits ta_sʔiluslhtss 'I grabbed (ip') his hand (-aak) as he went past (ilus) me'
- (c) asʔulhqnaqs ulh_tiq_la_t'ayc wa_sʔasqup'tnaka_kw 'she took her pail (asʔulhqnak) to the water (qla), and they were sounding the drums (asqup'tnak)'
ksnmakts wa_sʔalhps_tuu 'I am working (ksnmak) and eating (alhps) too'
- (d) acwsants ti_sʔitNuxalkmc 'I am an expert (acwsan) at speaking Nuxalk (itNuxalkmc)'
ya ti_sʔalhukwala 'he is good (ya) as a medicine man (alhukwala)'
yayaakts ti_snicits wa_sts'laaxlh 'I am competent (yayaak) at sawing (nic) lumber (sts'laaxlh)'

10.15 As a connector, *s-* is equivalent to English '(the fact) that', and is found in complex sentences, where it connects the predicate (plus argument(s) and/or adjunct(s)) with a second clause. No deixis accompanies such *s-* derivations.

10.16 There are several predicative types that can be followed by *s-* extensions.

10.17 Interrogative predicates (cf. 12.10):

alatsicw_ʔiks sʔaxw putl'nu? 'why (alatsicw_iks) are you not (axw) coming (putl')?'

pacw_lituts' ska_k'ctmacwilh? 'when (pacw_li...) will we see (k'c) each other (-tmacw) again (lituts')?'

maaskulh_ʔiks sʔalhkuults alh_inu? 'how much (maaskulh_ʔiks) do I owe (alhkuult) you (inu)?'

maaskanmaak_ʔiks ska_sts'usmutsilh 'at what time (maaskanmaak_ʔiks) will we have supper (sts'usmuts)?'

stam_ks wa_anaykmicw ska_qaaxlamicw? 'what is it (stam_ks) that you want (anaykm) to drink (qaaxlam)?'

wika_{ks} wa_{amatnu} sʔapsulhnu? ‘where is (wika_{ks}) the place (amat) that you live (apsulh)?’

10.18 wic ... (cf. 12.5): wic txw sscli_{ktmtss} ‘that is when (wic txw) he got mad (scli_{ktm}) at me’, wic, ʔits’ik skl_{hs} ti, snx, t’ayc ‘and (ʔits’ik) that is when (wic) the sun(snx) sets (klh)’, wic, kw ats sʔaxw alhʔalhtsimaylaycs ‘that is why (wic, kw ats) he can (-aylayc) not (axw) speak (alhʔalhtsim)’, wics ts wa_{inacwaw} sʔmtaw ‘it is (wics ts) in the (“their”) morning(s) (inacw) that they get up (mt)’.

10.19 Temporal predicates and predicative adjuncts (cf. 16.1): sʔaymit sksnmakaw ‘they always (sʔaymit) work (ksnmak)’, kamalacws ska_{lip}’tsutts ‘next year (kamalacws) I will come back (lip’tsut)’, ala_{wayci} scwpakmis ‘finally (ala_{wayci}) he let go of (cwpakm) him’, ala_{ayk}’ kw sqwlxulhtsutaw wa_{cnasuks} ts ska_{tl}’apaw ‘long ago (ala_{ayk}) the women (cnas) would get together (qwlxulhtsut) in order to go (tl’ap)’, kanukaliks ska_{axw} ka_k’cnu uuxnk! ‘in the afternoon (kanukaliks), do not (axw) look (k’c) down (uuxnk)!’

10.20 Verbs conveying a feeling, perception or statement: alhnapit sʔinus ti, ka_{tl}’ap ‘they know (alhnap) that it is you (inu) who will go (tl’ap)’, k’cim_{ts}’ stics ilh ‘now (ʔ_{ts}) people saw (k’c) that it was (tsic) her (ilh)’, anaykts ska_{tl}’apts ‘I want (anayk) to go (tl’ap)’, ayutsaw_{ts} ska_{tl}’ilh ska_{ustcwilh} ‘now (ʔ_{ts}) they told (ayuts) us to hurry (tl’i) and go in (ustcw)’, alhut’ilh skanusmlhkms ‘we smell (alhut) that it is (“has the smell of” = kanus-...-m) fish (smlhk)’, acwsnicis_{kw}’its’ik t’ax ti_{numutsta}’ t’ayc sxwiq’ mís ‘and (ʔits’ik) he heard (acwsnic) the door (numutsta) creak (xwiq’ mί)’, axw yas ti_{slq}’ts sʔalhʔayaqws ‘I am not (axw) happy (ya_{ti}slq’) that it is so (alhʔay) colored (-aqw’s)” = ‘I do not like the color of it’.

I also have a few examples involving ayutsm ‘to say that something is ..., to call something ...’: ta_{ayutsmim} stamsawanaaxkwim “the one that is said to be something made into (tam-...-im) a raft (sawanaaxkw)” = ‘the one they call *raft*’, wa_{ayutsm}it snuknumtanaw “the ones they say are dried fish boxes (nuknumta)” = ‘the ones they call *dried fish boxes*’. These constructions are also reminiscent of the nominalizations considered in 10.10, (a).

Note also the following examples of verbs to do with measuring or taking measures (to ensure that something is done correctly): ka_mnlhatits_ma sʔalhʔays ti_stsactsakwalhs ‘maybe (,ma) I will measure (mnlhat) (“how is” (alhʔay)) his height (stsactsakwalh)’, alhkaltcwmit_ʔits’ik sʔaxw ka_nupapnttut ‘and so (,ʔits’ik) they take care (alhkaltcwm) not (axw) to allow (-tu-) it to boil (nupapnt)’.

10.21 Subordination (co-referential): tl’iliwas sʔmts “he was quick (tl’iliwa) as he got up (mt)” = ‘he got up quickly’, alhkw’ntnuutstit_sqaaxlatutit “they showed (alhkw’ntnuuts) them as they caused (-tu-) them to drink (qaaxla)” = ‘they showed them how to drink (hard liquor)’, qaaxlanaw_ʔits’ik sʔalhkw’ntnuutsayclhhaw ‘and so (,ʔits’ik) they drank as they had been shown to’, yanu stl’mstanu “you are good (ya) as (you are) a person (tl’msta)” = ‘you are a good person’, yalhkcayc_t’ayc sxss ‘this (t’ayc) is too (yalhkcayc) fat (xs)’, ixq’maw skstimutaw “they walk (ixq’m) as they work (kstimut)” = ‘they work while walking’, usutsaaxamtut sts’xlhnit wa_qinxlhaw alh_tī_sxitstanaw_tc “they cause them to be under (usutsaaxamtu-) as they kick (ts’xlhn) their shoes (qinx) relative to their bed (sxitsta)” = ‘they kick their shoes under their bed’, ka_nukwlliitsts ska_cuk’m “I will be in hot water (nukwlliits) as I will bathe (cuk’m)” = ‘I will take a hot bath’.

10.22 Subordination (non-co-referential): tculhʔayliktaw ska_alhinaw sʔaxw ka_walits wa_sulh_ʔats ‘as long as (tculhʔaylikt) they are around (alhi), I will not (axw) leave (wal) the house (sulh)’, ustcwaw ula_sulhaw sklhs ti_snx_t’ayc ‘they go inside (ustcw) their house (sulh) when the sun (snx) sets (klh)’, wic_ʔits’ik sklhs ti_snx_t’ayc slht’mtim wa_kulhkwlhulmc_ʔats ‘when (wic) the sun sets, it rises (lht’m) for the ghosts (kulhkwlhulmc)’, suncws_kuks alh_lhmilh slht’ms ti_snx_t’ayc ‘but (,kuks) it is daytime (suncw) for us (lhmilh) when the sun rises’, q’s_ts’ ssatl’suutsmtim “now (,ts’) it was thorough (q’s) as they were overwhelmed (-tim) by the tide (satl’suuts)” = ‘now they were completely overwhelmed by the tide’.

10.23 There is a construction that involves *s-*, a finite verb or verbally used noun, and the pl. non-demonstrative close deictic *ts*. Such sequences are used both co-referentially and non-co-referentially, and translate as ‘it/we/there etc. being ...’, ‘(it is the case that) ...’, or as ‘while/after ...’, ‘(it is the case that) ...’:

t’awsulmc ts s?alhwlaalhh ts ‘it having rained (*alhwlaalhh*), the ground (*-ulmc*) is now (*ts*) damp (*t’aws*)’ = ‘after the rain, the ground is damp’,
unklklhhilh sDutchmenlh ts ‘(we) being Dutchmen, we indulge in eating (un-) herring (*klkl*)’ = ‘we Dutchmen are fond of herring’, *nuts’ixalh scnasuksilh ts* ‘(we) being women (*cnasuks*), we are refining (*nuts’ixa*)’ = ‘we women do the refining’, *qwsmts tuu stm?alh?alhtsimts alu ts* ‘while I am trying to (*alu*) speak (*alh?alhtsim*) only (*tm-...-lh*), I even (*tuu*) sweat’ = ‘even (just) talking makes me sweat’, *alh?aynaw tuu c_lhmlilh stl’mstanalusilh ts* ‘we being mortals (*tl’mstanalus*), they are just like (*alh?ay*) us (*lhmlilh*)’ = ‘they are just like us mortals’.

10.24 From the examples given in 10.16 ff., we learnt that *s-* can be separated from a finite verb by *axw* ‘not’ and *ka* ‘future’: *s?axw ...* ‘that I/you etc. do not ...’, *ska ...* ‘that I/you etc. will ...’ When both *axw* and *ka* are used in this construction, *s?axw ka ...* is in free variation with *ska axw ka ...*: *s?axw ka ksnmakts* = *ska axw ka ksnmakts* ‘(the fact) that I will not work’. *s-* actually connects complete sentences, rather than just finite verbs: *ala patsalh s?usmntacwaycaw ats s?alh_lhmlilh s?alh?ayakilh c_ats s?iixwsulhulhtnmlh* ‘it is before (*ala patsalh s-...*) they skim the grease (*usmntacwayc*) that with/among us (*alh_lhmlilh*) we are manually active (*alh?ayak*) presently (*c_ats*) as we start building a fire (*iixwsulhulhtnm*)’ = ‘right away, before they skim the grease, we all get involved in building a fire’. Here, *s-* is placed before a predicative adjunct (*alh_lhmlilh* ‘(it is) among us’. Cf. 16.1.

10.25 Like *s-*, the prefix *si-* ‘paraphraser’ has a number of functions:

- (a) *si-* replaces the preposition *alh* in adjunct-centered forms;
- (b) *si-* introduces a subordinate clause, but differs from connecting *s-* in that it implies a cause (reason, incentive) or result (end, goal, purpose);

(c) si- serves to nominalize finite verbs.

10.26 Sentences containing an *alh* phrase can be transformed (with a shift in emphasis) into ones that feature *si-* before the finite verb:

<i>alh</i> ... phrase	... <i>si</i> ... phrase
<i>k'cis alh ti alhqulhuus</i> 'he saw (<i>k'c</i>) it in a picture (<i>alhqulhuus</i>)'	<i>alhqulhuus ti sik'cis</i> 'it was a picture he saw it in'
<i>ninitsts alh ts</i> 'I survive (<i>ninit</i>) on it'	<i>wic ts wa sininitsts</i> 'it is what keeps me alive'
<i>mts alh txw</i> 'he got up (<i>mt</i>) then'	<i>wic txw si?mts</i> 'that is when he got up'
<i>ksnmakts alh tc</i> 'I work (<i>ksnmak</i>) for him'	<i>tic tc ti siksnmakts</i> 'he is the one I work for'
<i>alhpsts alh ti klkl</i> 'I am eating (<i>alhps</i>) a herring (<i>klkl</i>)'	<i>klkl ti si?alhpsts</i> 'it is a herring I am eating'

10.27 ...*ks si*... is glossed as 'wh... is it that one ...s?': *alatsicwnu ks sikwanatnu?* 'why (*alatsicw*... *ks*) are you crying (*kwanat*)?', *alatsicw ?iks si?axw xwisms alh lhmilh?* 'why is he not (*axw*) playing (*xwism*) with us (*alh lhmilh*)?', *wika ks sitl'apamkiw?* 'where (*wika ks*) did you get (*tl'apamk*) it?'

Note that ...*ks si*... can be replaced freely by ...*ks s*... (for which see 10.17).

10.28 Following predicates other than ...*ks si*, *si-* means '(that is) the reason why, therefore': *ixq'nlhalcaw ts alh tsc sitcapsmit* 'they got fed up (*ixq'nlhalc*) with her (*alh tsc*) now (*ts*)', so they decapitated (*tcapsm*) her', *yalhkayci ts snusuqw'pstamts si?axxutts* 'I cough (*axxut*) because I smoke (*nusuqw'pstam*) too much (*yalhkayci*)'.

ka si... translates as 'so that, in order that': *ka silhxwtaycs* 'in order that he may (*-ayc*) go through (*lhxwt*)', *ka si?axw ka pakwnicim* 'so that he will not (*axw*) be caught up (*pakwnic*)'.

ula₁si-... is glossed as ‘it is for that reason or purpose’: ula₁siʔalhʔaytulh stskw’maakilh “it is for that reason/purpose that we cause (-yu-) it to be that way (alhʔay) as we pull the fishbones out (tskw’maak)” = ‘that is why we pull the bones out of the fish’.

10.29 Nominalizing si- affixed to a finite verb form means ‘what makes one ..., for what (reason) one ...s or is ...’: alhnapits wa₁sitl’aps ti₁imlk₁tc ‘I know (alhnap) why the man (imlk) is going (tl’ap)’, alhnapip₁ma wa₁siyas ‘you must (ma) know what he is good (ya) for’.

10.30 Lexicalized nominal forms with si- are: sixwisak “what one plays (v₁xwis) with manually (-ak)” = ‘toy’, siʔaxtsuliits “what one wears (-uliits) for lying down (axts)” = ‘night gown, pajamas’, siscwmtnmak “what one uses manually (-ak) to make (-tnm) something burn (scwm)” = ‘kindling’, siqw’xwm “what makes (a vehicle) move (qw’xwm)” = ‘motor, engine’, Sinuklhm “where people go across (klhm)” = ‘Canoe Crossing’, sinaaxwmiixw “what one wears on one’s head (-iixw) when dancing (naaxwm)” = ‘dancer’s headdress’, sisikyumaaxalits “teeth (-aaxalits) used for chewing (v₁kyum)” = ‘molars’, Siʔaqw’m “when herring are spawning (aqw’m)” = ‘March’, Sixulim “when the canoes are launched (xul)” = ‘name of a month’, Siʔist’lilhh “when people eat (is-) dog salmon (t’li)” = ‘September-October’, siʔmt “when the sun sits (mt)” = ‘solstice’, siqalxm “root digging (qalxm) time” = ‘spring or autumn’.

11 REDUPLICATION AND METATHESIS

The Nuxalk language has a complex system of reduplication. Distinctions are made on three levels: (a) reduplicative types, (b) functional aspects, (c) morpho-phonemic alterations. Metathesis is found in certain affixal derivations, and is far less common than reduplication.

11.1 With regard to the shape of words containing a reduplicated phoneme or sequence, seven different types can be distinguished (C = non-syllabic phoneme, V = syllabic phoneme):

- (a) $C_1VC_2C_1C_2$ (123.13)
- (b) $C_1VC_2C_1VC_2$ (123.123)
- (c) V_1CV_1 (2.12)
- (d) $V_1C_2C_1V_1C_2$ (23.123)
- (e) $C_1V_1C_1V_1$ (12.12)
- (f) C_1VC_1 (1.21)
- (g) C_1C_1 (1.1)

Besides these, a few unique reduplicative patterns are found: tsi.ts.tsipii ‘small bird’, macn.xsni diminutive of maaxsa ‘nose’.

Reduplication serves to form:

- I diminutives
- II collectives
- III continuatives
- IV suffixal derivations
- V semantic mutations
- VI lexicalized forms

When reduplication is employed to form diminutives, the suffix *-i/-í/-ii/-y/-yi* (see 5.8) is added. Continuative forms often describe a habit, profession, or game.

Reduplication is often accompanied by certain morpho-phonemic changes, which are:

- 1 doubling of V
- 2 shortening of doubled V
- 3 (post)velar occlusive copied as homorganic fricative or **c** and (post)velar fricative copied as **c**
- 4 postvelar fricative replaced by homorganic occlusive
- 5 unrounded (post)velar alternating with rounded one

- 6 insertion of nasal or V (usually **i**)
- 7 **a** replaced by **n**
- 8 deletion of word-final **a**

11.2 In this section, all existing reduplicative type-combinations are enumerated. Lower case letters refer to the reduplicative type; Roman numerals indicate the semantic function; Arabic numerals denote morpho-phonemic changes (see 11.1-3 above for coding details).

- a-I qwtulh.tlhi diminutive of qwtulh ‘cradle basket’, kwpalh.phli diminutive of kwpalh ‘liver’, t’qus.qwsi “little thing sticking (t’q) to the face (-us)” = ‘gnat, no-see-um’
- a-I-1 qaax.qxi diminutive of qax ‘rabbit’, squulh.qwlhi diminutive of squlh ‘bee’, alhquulh.qwlhi diminutive of alhqulh ‘book’
- a-III anupus.psm ‘to float (pasm) around’
- a-IV alhqulh.qwlhanlh ‘variegated, colorful dress (-anlh)’ (alhqulh ‘printed’)
- a-V kulh.kwlhulmc ‘earthbound spirit, ghost’ (kulhulmc ‘earth’), asts’alh.ts’lh ‘heavy rainfall’ (asts’alh ‘waterfall’)

Note: the first reduplicated consonant in the above samples is a plosive, and the second reduplicated consonant is a fricative.

- b-I-1,3 yac.yaaki diminutive of yaki ‘mountain goat’, stl’ac.tl’aaxti diminutive of stl’axt ‘caribou’
- b-II stan.tanmts’all one’s female ancestors on the mother’s side’ (stan ‘mother’), suc.suca ‘both hands (suca)’
- b-III stsuc.tsucm ‘salmon is jumping repeatedly’ (stsucm ‘to break the surface’), cul.culm ‘to start a fire with a firedrill (culta)’
- b-III-3 lhuc.lhuukliwa ‘(always acting) mean’ (vlhuuk ‘repulsive’), nic.niq’xm ‘to have a cramp’ (cf. niq’x ‘otter’), pac.paaxu ‘always afraid (paaxu), cowardly’

- b-IV mil.milicwlhp ‘plant (-lhp) of the bearberry (milicw)’, tskwalh.kwalh
‘to walk heavily, be heavy-footed’ (tskw ‘heavy’, -alh ‘feet, walking’)
- b-IV-1 qulh.quulhta ‘pen, pencil’ (qulh ‘to write’)
- b-IV-3 tsac.tsakwalh ‘to be tall’ (tsakw ‘long’, -alh ‘legs’), tl’ac.tl’aqw’lhp
‘Douglas fir’ (tl’aqw’s ‘Douglas fir bark’), sts’ic.ts’icwtalhp ‘horsetail
(plant)’ (ts’icwta ‘stems of id’.)
- b-V xwal.xwalc ‘solder’ (xwalc ‘to melt’)
- b-V-3,6 tic.tiixwm ‘to drive poles for an eulachon net’ (tiixw ‘to hit something
with a hammer’), sic.siiqw ‘airplane’ (sic.siqw ‘to be jumping, flying’,
sqw ‘to jump, fly’)
- b-VI mus.mus ‘cow’, saw.sawa ‘pillow’, win.wints ‘sandpiper’, with.with
‘mica’
- b-VI-3 tic.tik’ ‘piece of wood used for kindling’, mucw.mukwt ‘bluegrouse’,
mic.mik’lh ‘star’

Note: the first reduplicated consonant in the above samples is any consonant,
and the second reduplicated consonant is a (post)velar, sonorant, or fricative.

- c-I n.k’ntsi diminutive of k’nts ‘sperm whale’, i.t’iclhlay diminutive of
t’iclhala ‘robin’, u.p’wii diminutive of p’wi ‘halibut’
- c-II si.kw’yan ‘both knees (skw’yan)’
- c-III-6 sun.p’uulhnm ‘to play baseball’ (sp’ ‘to hit’, -uulh ‘ball’)
- c-IV sl.t’lslhp ‘plant of the highbush cranberry (st’ls)’, m.k’mlqsakta ‘finger
ring’ (√k’m ‘to squeeze in, catch in trap’, -lqsak ‘finger’), l.k’laylhp
‘western birch’ (k’lay ‘bark of id’.), i.tl’yukmtmacw ‘to argue’ (tl’yuk ‘to
talk’)
- c-VI lhm.k’mani ‘weasel’, l.q’llis ‘giant kelp with herring spawn on it’,
u.q’uuni ‘throat’

Note: in the above samples, the reduplicated vowel or sonorant precedes a
glottalized consonant. There are, however, a few c-type reduplicative forms

where the consonant is non-glottalized or fricative: sn.knic ‘food’ (knic ‘to eat something’), l.plii ‘thin (√pl)’, su.puslhp ‘young willow tree’ (pus ‘t grow’), u.sukw’lt ‘blackcap berry’ (cf. √suk’, √sukw’ ‘to be blowing, be wind’).

- d-I us.ts’usmi ‘dusk, early evening (ts’usm)’
- d-III-3 ic.t’iixlhalam (= t’ic.tiixlhalam) ‘to hop on one leg’
- d-III-6 is.kw’ismtmacw ‘(animals) constantly mating’ (kw’s ‘engaged to marry’), is.ts’iis ‘to make noise’ (ts’s ‘noisy’)
- d-IV-3 ic.p’iixsut ‘to take a steambath’ (p’iix ‘to expose to steam’)
- d-IV-6 ic.p’iclh ‘crabapple (p’c) tree’
- d-VI us.p’us ‘lungs’, aw.k’awalh ‘blind’

Note: the reduplicated sequence in the above samples precedes a glottalized consonant, while the root-final consonant is either a fricative or a sonorant.

- e-I su.sumii diminutive of sum ‘trousers’, qlhm.lhmii diminutive of qlhm ‘black cod’, stn.tnii diminutive of stn ‘tree’
- e-I-1 tsa.tsaalhii diminutive of tsalh ‘lake’, tq’lhaa.lhay diminutive of tq’lha ‘knife’, iml.mllkii ‘boy’ (imlk ‘man’)
- e-I-8 stl.tlkw’i diminutive of stlkw’a ‘jellyfish’
- e-II pl.plak ‘both arms (-ak) missing (√pl)’, p’lha.lha ‘to blink both eyes’ (p’lha ‘to blink one eye, wink’), mn.mnts ‘children’ (mna ‘child’)
- e-III ku.kulhk’ma ‘to have the hiccups’ (kulh- ‘many’, k’ma ‘stuck (in the throat)’), sm.sma ‘to tell a myth (sma)’
- e-III-6 pum.puus (+ change 1) ‘to keep growing (pus)’, k’in.k’islhup’salc “to lose (k’is-...-lc) one’s breath (slhup’sa)” = ‘to have trouble breathing’, sun.supt ‘to whistle (supt) continually’
- e-IV scwm.cwmaltwa ‘lightning’ (scwm ‘to burn’, -altwa ‘sky’), lhl.lhliiqwta “tool (-ta) for cutting (lhl) hair (-iiqw)” = ‘shears, scissors’

- e-IV-6 scwt'un.t'us 'deadfall' (cwt' 'to let go, drop', -us 'flat surface'),
t'cun.culmcta "tool (-ta) for sweeping (t'cw) the floor (-ulmc)" =
'broom', tspum.puusta "something used for wiping (tsp) one's face
(-uus)" = 'face towel, face cloth'
- e-V-6 pan.patsalh 'to be the first, leader' (patsalh 'to go first, ahead'),
man.maat'qa (+ change 1) "always measuring spans (mat'qa)" = 'inch
worm'
- e-VI tu.tup 'trout' (√tup 'specks'), nm.nmk' 'animal, mammal', ya.yax 'small
horn used in certain dances', xa.xaq' 'goose'
- e-VI-1 ya.yaatwii 'happy', ya.yaasii 'cute, good-looking', qulu.luuxu
(qul.uluxu?) 'strawberry'

Note: the above base structure is consonant + vowel/vocalic sonorant + ...

- f-I ya.yntsii diminutive of yants 'driftwood', sxa.xnii diminutive of sxan
'sweetheart'
- f-I-1 spuu.ptci diminutive of sputc 'eulachon', taa.tkwsii diminutive of takws
'willow grouse', tl'ii.tl'xini diminutive of tl'ixin 'sealion', wa.wiisi
diminutive of ways 'coho salmon', tpii.pqwii (+ change 4) diminutive
of tpiixw 'lid, cover'
- f-I-1,7 ts'ii.ts'kwni diminutive of ts'ikwa 'clam', t'uu.t'kwni (+ change 5)
diminutive of t'uka 'mink'
- f-II skwtsa.tsals 'both cheeks (skwtsals)'
- f-III anupi.pk'miik 'sparks come out of (anu-) the chimney (-iik)' (pik'm 'to
sparkle')
- f-IV nutsa.tskwlsnk "long (tsakw) tail (-lqs-nk)" = 'rat', nusi.sciik 'blood
(six) vessel (nu-...-iik)', anuksaa.sktmacw 'to play at tug-of-war' (ks 'to
pull', -aak 'hands')
- f-IV-1 xuu.xwtsliwa 'supple' (xuts 'to soak, make pliable'), xsp'ii.p'k 'spine' (= xsp'ik)

f-IV-2 pa.pqtsut (+ change 4) ‘to name (paax) oneself’

f-VI ku.kwpi ‘grandfather’, cwaa.cwciw ‘light of weight’ (probably cwaa.cw.cwi (12113)), tsa.tstawlhp ‘cedar tree’, t’a.t’kanalhp ‘yellow pond lily’

Note: the above base structure is consonant + a/i/u + ...

g-I-1,8 aats.tsayi diminutive of atsaya ‘fox’

g-III icʔakw.kwa ‘to be shopping’ (akwa ‘to buy’), icwap.pattsut [çw] ‘to turn, look around constantly’ (wapat ‘to turn oneself around’), is.sut ‘to travel a long way by canoe’ (isut ‘to paddle, travel by canoe’)

g-IV atl’.tl’anulhp ‘gooseberry (atl’anulh) plant (-lhp)’, uq’.q’allhp ‘cinquefoil plant’ (uq’al ‘cinquefoil roots’), aqw’.qw’alxyayc ‘one’s hair (-alxi) gets entangled (√aqw’) in something’, haʔm.muks plural of haʔm ‘pigeon’

g-VI yal.lak ‘sleepy’, yal.li ‘good swimmer’, sis.si ‘uncle’, ax.xa! ‘yuck!’, ax.xut ‘to cough’

Note: in the above samples, the reduplicated consonant precedes and follows a syllabic peak.

11.3 Reduplication may take place across morpheme boundaries, that is, the reduplicated syllable may invade the root and/or combine features of the root and a suffix: /t’q-us.qws-i/ “little (-i) thing sticking to (t’q) the face (-us)” = ‘gnat’, /sun.p’-uulh-nm/ “to play at (-nm) hitting (sp’) a ball (-uulh)” = ‘to play baseball’, /s-cwt’-un.t’-us/ ‘deadfall’ (cwt’ ‘to let go, drop’, -us ‘flat surface’), /t’cw-un.cw-ulmc-ta/ ‘broom’ (t’cw ‘to sweep’, -ulmc ‘floor’).

11.4 One cannot infer from the shape of the base alone which reduplicative process will be operative: CV/R (e) includes T’V/R (c) and CV (f); CV (f) includes CVF/K/R (b) and overlaps T’V/R (c); T’V/R (c) includes T’VF/R (d); TVF (a) overlaps T’VF/R (d); CVF/K/R (b) includes TVF (a) and T’VF/R (d). (C = any consonant, V = vowel or syllabic sonorant, R = sonorant, T = plosive consonant, T’ = glottalized consonant, F = fricative

consonant, K = velar or postvelar consonant.) Consequently, structural overlap and inclusion have obscured predictability of most reduplicative types, and all recorded reduplicated forms must be registered as lexical entries.

11.5 Closely related to reduplication is metathesis, whereby root-initial CV... > V.C... This is a rare process, and is found mainly in affixal derivations: a.k'patutslhp 'spruce tree' (√k'apat 'sharp'), a.q'miixalhp 'cottonwood tree' (Q'amiix 'a geographical name'), sa(a).qw'lmi diminutive of sqw'alm 'edible fern root', sa.t'lalhp 'hemlock tree' (st'ala 'hemlock bark'), a.q'ilhp 'black hawthorn bush' (q'ay 'black hawthorn berry'), su.kwpiklhp 'rose plant' (skupik 'rosebud'), siʔi.k'lh 'mate, spouse' (√t-k'ilh, iiklhii 'nearby'), U.qw'mik 'a geographical name' (√q'um 'high, noble'), alha.ʔitimut 'to make oneself do something, behave a certain way' (alhʔay 'to be active, be thus'), Sa.tsxwan 'name of a creek' (tsaxwm 'to wade'), icu.kw'plc 'to keep sneaking up on, stalking somebody' (k'uplc 'to crawl, stalk'), alha.klii 'to be right, correct' (√kal 'right, straight'), a.q'ii diminutive of q'ay 'basket', sa.kw'nik'slhp 'plant of the black twinberry (skw'anik's)', alhaa.q'likwlhp 'creeping juniper' (√q'al 'twisting, spiralling'), sa.p'lusm = sp'alustnm 'to chop wood', alhii.kwlm = alhkwilm 'shy, wild', a.lmk = la.lam 'to pole a canoe upriver', u.q'x 'to invite somebody in' (q'ux 'to call somebody'), a.q'u 'to imprison somebody' (q'aw 'to store, put away something'), a.p'lunk 'ground around tree roots is eroded, roots are exposed' (p'alwaax 'tree or post is loose'). Metathesis is associated mainly with T'V (~ V.T') and 7V (~ V.7) sequences.

12 PRONOUNS AND PRONOMINAL SUBSTITUTES

Nuxalk has an all-Salish system of pronouns and interrogatives-indefinites. Equally all-Salish is √tsn 'self', while ʔna 'determinative' has no known etymology. The identifiers, however, appear to be innovative, and are certainly related to the articles ti, tsi, wa, discussed in subsection 2.1.

12.1 The Nuxalk pronouns are:

	sg.	pl.
1	nts ‘I, me’	lhmilh ‘we, us’
2	inu ‘you, thou, thee’	lhup ‘you (all)’

These can be used as a predicate, argument, or member of a prepositional phrase: nts ti₁ staltmc ‘I am the chief (staltmc)’, inu tsi₁ cnasts ‘you are my wife (cnas)’, kamalh₁ nts ti₁ ka₁ smlhk ‘if (kamalh₁) I were a fish (smlhk)’, snaax ti₁ snaax inu! “a slave (snaax) is a slave is you!” = ‘how lowly you are!’, lhk’mts ulh₁ lhup ‘I am speaking (lhk’m) to (ulh₁) you all’, ka₁ alhinu₁ a alh₁ lhmilh? ‘will you stay (alhi) with us?’ The difference between predicative pronouns and intransitive pronominal suffixes is one of emphasis: staltmcts ‘I am a chief’ vs. nts ti₁ staltmc ‘I am the chief (nobody else is)’.

When lhmilh and lhup are used predicatively, they take the ending -anaw before a predicate nominative: lhmilhanaw wa₁ staltmc ‘we are chiefs (staltmc)’, lhupanaw wa₁ amatalaaxts ‘you are my parents (amatalaaxt)’ (for further details see 12.9).

12.2 Pronouns are intransitive stative verbs (‘to be me/us/you’):

- (a) in embedded and negative sentences, nts and inu take the ending -s (for lhups and lhmilhs see 12.9):
axw inus ta₁ mnats “my son (mna) is not you” = ‘you are not my son’
alhnaptasant s?ntss ti₁ acwsan “they know (alhnapt) about me that the expert (acwsan) is me” = ‘they know that I am the expert’
alhnaptsinu s?inus ti₁ suuxis “they know about you that his younger brother (suuxi) is you” = ‘they know that you are his younger brother’
- (b) pronouns can be nominalized with s-:
alh₁ ti₁ s?inus₁ tc “on (alh₁) its being you” = ‘on your own’
alh₁ ti₁ slhups₁ tc “on its being you (all)” = ‘on your (pl.) own’
ulh₁ ti₁ slhmilhs₁ tc “towards (ulh) its being us” = ‘for ourselves’
- (c) pronouns allow limited non-personal suffixation:
nts ?lks ta₁ wa? “it is me beyond my knowledge (?lks) is somebody?” = ‘who am I?’

inututs ti,ka,alhps “I will cause (-tu-) it to be you who will be eating (alhps)” = ‘I will give *you* something to eat’

Four complex verbs are derived from the pronouns. They have the structure pronoun + -ak ‘manual act’ + -mitsut ‘to oneself’, and mean ‘to do something in spite of oneself, to get in trouble for doing something wrong’, and take the one intransitive pronominal suffix that corresponds in person and number with the pronominal base:

ntsakmitsutts	‘I did something that got me in trouble’
inwakmitsutnu	‘you did something that got you in trouble’
lhmilhakmitsutilh	‘we did something that got us in trouble’
lhupakmitsutap	‘you (all) did something that got you in trouble’

For copular use of the pronouns, see 12.9.

12.3 Three elements serve to introduce one or more person(s) or object(s) other than the speaker(s) or addressee(s). These, the identifiers, are:

		sg.	pl.
female	tsic		wic
non-female	tic		

Like the pronouns (12.2), identifiers pattern as intransitive stative verbs (‘to be identical to, the same as ...’), and can be used predicatively. But unlike pronouns, identifiers can be followed by a “double subject”, i.e. (1) the subject proper (the identified person(s) or thing(s)) and (2) the subject’s role or function (predicate nominative) (see also 12.8): tic t’ayc ti,mants ‘this (t’ayc) is my father (man)’, tsic tsi,suuxinu lha,kslhctw ‘it is your younger sister (suuxi) who has done (kstu-) it’, wic ats wa,nupts ‘these (ats) are my shirts (nup)’.

In allegro and informal speech, identifiers are often omitted, in which case the sentence-initial nominal phrase functions as the predicate: t'ayc ti_mants, tsi_suuxinu lha_kslhtcw, ats wa_nupts.

The identifiers can be segmented as /tsi-c/, /ti-c/, /wi-c/ (cf. 2.6, 3.9, 12.13).

In reference to people, predicative wic takes, like lhup and lhmilh (see 12.1), the pl. ending -anaw: wicanaw wa_imlkuks, ts wa_stl'yukts 'it is the men (imlkuks) I am talking (tl'yuk) about'.

12.4 Like all intransitive stative verbs, identifiers accept a number of suffixes and enclitics (cf. 12.2 and 15.9 ff.): axw tics t'ayc ti_anaykmits 'it is not (axw) this one (t'ayc) that I want (anaykm)', ticl_ma t'ayc ti_ka_ip'ilh 'maybe (ma) it will be (-lc) this one that we will grab (ip)', tic_lks t'ayc ti_wa "is beyond my knowledge (lks) this one a somebody (ti_wa)" = 'who is this one?', wicanaw_ks ats? wa_watstutim? "are beyond my knowledge (ks) these ones (ats) who are called (-tu-tim) some name (wats-):" = 'what are the names of these people?'

tic, tsic, and wic accept deixis as well: ti_tic_tc 'the very same one (non-female)', tsi_tsic_tsc 'the very same one (female)', wa_wic_ts 'the very same ones'.

12.5 wic often refers to an event or reason: wic txw s... 'that is when ...', wic ts s(i)... 'that is why' (cf. 10.18). Subordinating wic s- translates as "it is (due to) the fact that ..., the reason being ..." = 'because': axw ka_putl'ts wic skmalaycts 'I will (ka_) not (axw) come (putl') because I am ill (kmalayc)'. wic s-... can be separated from a finite verb by axw 'not' and ka_ 'future' (cf. 10.24): wic s?axw yayaatwiinaw 'because they are not happy (yayaatwii)', wic ska_alhinaw ala_ats 'because they will be (alhi) here (ala_ats)', wic ska_axw ka_alhpsaw 'because they will not eat (alhps)'.

12.6 Both pronouns and identifiers can be followed by the imperative causative suffix -txw "cause it to be ...!" = 'let it be ...!' (cf. 1.20): ntstxw! 'let it be me!', ntstxw ti_ka_staltmc! 'let me be chief (staltmc)!', tictxw ti_ka_staltmc!

‘let him be chief!’, wicanawtxw ats ka, staltmc! ‘let these people be chiefs!’, wictxw ts ska, tayanu! ‘let it be then that you will be pitching!’

12.7 -lh ‘belonging to’ can be affixed to pronouns and identifiers (and is followed by -anaw when reference is made to more than one human individual): ntslh t’ayc ‘this (t’ayc) is mine’, ticlh tc ats ‘these (things) (ats) are his’, axw ntslhanaw wa, mnmnts, ?ats ‘these are not (axw) my children’. Both -lh and optative -txw (pl. -taxw) may co-occur, as in inulhtxw t’ayc! ‘let this be yours!’, lhuplhtxw ats! ‘let these things be yours!’, wiclhanawtxw ts ats! ‘let these things be theirs!’ Pronouns and identifiers (with and without -lh) also accept -nic ‘to think, consider’: inunicits ta, Frank ‘I thought you were Frank’, lhmilhnictits ka, tayah ‘I thought we would be pitching (taya)’, tsicnicits ts’ayc tsi, ka, cnasts ‘I think she will be my wife (cnas)’, lhuplhnictits t’ayc ‘I think this is yours’, wiclhnictits ts t’ayc ‘I though this was theirs’.

12.8 As observed earlier (12.3), identifiers differ from pronouns in that they can be followed by both a subject/possessor phrase and a predicate nominative/possessed phrase. When pronominal suffixation is applied to the pronoun or identifier, the suffix (intransitive subject, possessor, or transitive object) corresponds in number with the subject/possessor phrase. The relation between the phrases is as follows:

<u>‘to be’</u>	<u>subject</u>	<u>predicate nom.</u>	<u>gloss</u>
tic	t’ayc	ti, mants	‘ <i>this</i> (t’ayc) is my father (man)’
tsic	Mary	lha, kslhtcw	‘it is <i>Mary</i> who has done (kstu-) it’
wicanaw	wa, imlkuks, ts	wa, stl’yukts	‘it is the <i>men</i> (imlk) I am talking (tl’yuk) about’
tictxw	tc	ti, ka, staltmc	‘let <i>him</i> be chief (staltmc)’
<u>‘to belong’</u>	<u>possessor</u>	<u>possessed</u>	<u>gloss</u>
ticlh	tc	ats	‘these things (ats) are <i>his</i> ’

wic _h hanaw _t xw	ts	ats	‘let these things (ats) be <i>theirs</i> ’
wic _h nic _h lht _t ts	ts	t’ayc	‘I thought (-nic) this (t’ayc) was <i>theirs</i> ’
tsic _h lht _x w	tsc	ti _h al _h qul _h tc	‘let the book (al _h qul _h) be <i>hers</i> ’

12.9 The pronouns and identifiers are used as copular verbs and predicate nominatives in phrases such as kamal_hA-s/-anaw B ‘if A were B’ (-anaw after wic and after lhmil_h and lhup if B is plural, -s everywhere else):

kamal_hntss inu / ti_htic_htc ‘if I were you / him’

kamal_hntss lhup / wa_hwic_hts ‘if I were you (all) / them’

kamal_hinus nts / ti_htic_htc ‘if you were me / him’

kamal_hinus lhmil_h / wa_hwic_hts ‘if you were us / them’

kamal_htics tc nts / inu / ti_htic_htc ‘if he were me / you / him’

kamal_htics tc lhmil_h / lhup / wa_hwic_hts ‘if he were us / you (all) / them’

kamal_hlhmil_hs inu / ti_htic_htc ‘if we were you / him’

kamal_hlhmil_hhanaw lhup / wa_hwic_hts ‘if we were you (all) / them’

kamal_hlhups nts / ti_htic_htc ‘if you (all) were me / him’

kamal_hlhupanaw lhmil_h / wa_hwic_hts ‘if you (all) were us / them’

kamal_hwicanaw ts nts / inu / ti_htic_htc ‘if they were me / you / him’

kamal_hwicanaw ts lhmil_h / lhup / wa_hwic_hts ‘if they were us / you (all) /
them’

One may be surprised that the Nuxalk predicate here translates into English as the subject, and vice versa. But when one expands the above phrases into full sentences, the English glosses are confirmed:

kamal_hntss inu s_haxw ka_hayts ‘if I were you, I would not do that’

kamal_hinus nts ska_haynu_ha? ‘if you were me, would you do that?’

12.10 In this section, we consider Nuxalk interrogatives. They consist of a root meaning ‘some...’ (as in ‘someone, something, somewhere, somehow’, see further 12.16) followed by a ‘wh...’ question marker. There is a number of such markers, but here I cite only forms with *ḵ*(...)ks ‘beyond my knowledge, wh...?’ (see 15.31):

stam_ḵks? ‘what is it?’

wa_ḵks? ‘who is it?’

ka_ḵks? ‘which is it?’

inut_ʔiks? ‘what did he say?’

watstum_ḵks? ‘what is his name?’

maask_ʔiks? ‘how much is it?’

astam_ḵks? ‘where is it?’

ustam_ḵks? ‘where is he going?’

pacw_ʔiks? ‘when was it?’

alatsicw_ʔiks? ‘how/why is it?’

alh_ʔalatsicw_ʔiks? ‘how is he doing?’

kanmc_ʔiks? ‘where does he hail from, what is his ethnicity?’

walh_ʔiks? ‘whose is it?’

wikalhh_ʔiks? ‘where did he come from?’

12.11 Interrogatives are used predicatively, and they accept intransitive pronominal suffixes: wanu_ḵks? ‘who are you?’, astamnaw_ḵks? ‘where are they?’, ustamap_ʔiks? ‘where are you (all) going?’, kanmcnu_ḵks? ‘what is your ethnicity?’, stamnaw_ḵks ats ssmlhkaw? ‘what kind of fish are these?’, alatsicwlhts_ʔiks? ‘what have I done?’, alh_ʔalatsicwnu_ḵks? ‘how are you doing?’

12.12 Interrogatives also accept non-pronominal suffixes: stamnicicw_ʔiks? ‘what do you think it is?’, alh_ʔalatsicwaqw’suulh_ʔiks ti_ḵsicsiiqw_ḵtc? ‘what

color (-aqw's) does the airplane (sicsiiqw) have?' (-uulh 'vehicle'),
 alhʔalatsicwakmtum ʔlks ska alhliclics ti nalhm tc? 'in which way is the cod
 (nalhm) going to be cooked (alhliclic)?' (-ak 'work, product'),
 alhʔalatsicwliwanu ks? 'how are you feeling?' (-liwa '...like'), inutnictscw ʔiks?
 'what do you think (-nic) I said?'

12.13 ka ks? 'which one (is it)?' is usually combined with one of the prefixal
 articles ti- 'non-female', tsi- 'female', wi- 'plural' when referring to humans (cf.
 3.9 and 12.3): tika ks ti ayaklh? 'which one (man) has done it (ayak)?', tsika ks
 tsi ka tl'ap? 'which one (woman) will be going tl'ap)?', wikanaw ks alh ts
 wa ayaklh? 'which ones of these (people) (alh ts) have done it?'

wika ks often refers to area or location ('where is ...?'), as in wika ks
 amatilh? "which is our location (amat)?" = 'where are we?', wika ks
 wa umatlh tumulhcw? 'where have you taken us?' (umat 'where something is
 taken to'). Cf. 2.12.

12.14 ks (ʔlks, ʔiks) is dropped, and replaced by ʔ(?)l..., ʔli..., or ʔ(?)i, before
 other enclitics (see 15.32).

12.15 wa ks and wika ks are also found with -l...: walnaw ʔisuuks? 'who are
 they then?', wal ʔlmits? 'who might he be now?', wikal ʔiks? 'where is it?',
 waltstumt ʔiks? = watstumt ʔiks? 'what is your name?' = /wa(-l)-ts-tu-
 mt ʔiks/ (where -ts = -uts 'mouth, speech')

12.16 The verbo-nominal base of an interrogative can be used as an indefinite
 substitute: ti stam 'something', ti wa 'somebody', ala pacw 'some time',
 ala wikal = ala wika 'somewhere', ala ka maaskaax 'for a number of days', axw
 inʔinuts 'he did not say anything'.

These indefinites can be used as questions when one is not sure about
 information received earlier: ala pacw? 'when was it again?', tika? 'which one
 did you say it was?', ala wika? 'where was it now?' After predicates that contain
 a verb conveying a feeling, perception or statement ("verba sentiendi et
 dicendi"), unmarked interrogatives are used combinedly with s-:

kastsayulhtsant swa(l)ts ‘they asked (kastsayulh) me who I was’, alhnapilh stikas ti_ya ti_imlk ‘we know (alhnap) which man (imlk) is good (ya)’, iclq’tx sstams ti_alh?ip’its_t’ayc ‘guess (iclq’) what it is that I am holding (alh?ip)’, axw lq’aynicits smaasklancws ti_tl’msta_tc ‘I can (-aynic) not (axw) guess (lq’) the man’s (imlk) age’ (maasklancw ‘a number of years’). Such s- extensions also appear with the plural article wa_: kastsayulhtsant wa_swats ‘they asked (kastsayulh) me who I was’, kastsayulhtsant wa_sstams wa_sksnmaks ‘they asked me what type of work (ksnmak) I was doing’.

Predicatively used indefinites also occur in combination with -s ‘it is’, -(n)aw ‘they are’ and _tsk ‘I wonder, cannot be sure’: tikas_tsk ti_ka_ya ala_ats ‘I wonder which one of these (ala_ats) will be good (ya)’, maaskanmaaks_tsk ska_ts’tkilh ‘I wonder at what time (maaskanmaak...) we will arrive (ts’kt)’, was_tsk ti_ka_tl’ap ‘I wonder who (wa) will go (tl’ap)’, wanaw_tsk ka_tl’ap ‘I wonder who (pl.) will go’.

12.17 There is one determinative, viz. ?na ‘(the) one’: tsic ?na tsi_umatilh ‘she is the one we are going to (umat)’, lha_?na ‘she, her’, ta_?na ‘he, him, it’, ta_lh?na ‘them two’, tc ?na ‘he, him, it’, tsc ?na ‘she, her’, tic ta_?na t’aw_tc ta_Xala ‘it is the one over there (t’aw_tc) who is Xala’.

12.18 The root √tsn ‘(one)self’ occurs only in combination with either -lh (in adjuncts and a few adjectival derivations) or -kw (in suffixal derivations): k’cusis ti_alh?alhtsim_tc ulh_tsnlh ‘he looked (k’c) the one who was talking (alh?alhtsim) to himself in the face (-us)’, kulhulhiktus ti_alhqulh_tc alh_tsnlh s?alh?ip’is “he caused it to be behind his back (kulhulhiktu-) the book (alhqulh) to himself as (s-) he held it (alh?ip)” = ‘he was holding the book behind his (own) back’, alh_ti_tsnlh_tc ‘on his own, by himself’ (cf. 12.2), tsnlhliwa ‘self-centered, introverted, not paying attention, be a klutz’, tsnkwakmitsut ‘to do something all by oneself, act alone, act on impulse’ (cf. 12.2).

12.19 From ay ‘to manifest oneself: to be thus, do something’ is derived ay s?ay... “be as ... be” = ‘any’. When this sequence requires pronominal

inflection, only the second member receives a pronominal suffix, while the first member can be followed by an enclitic or deictic: ay txw sʔaynaw ‘they were all kinds (of people)’, ay ma sʔays tsk wa amats tsk “whatever (, tsk) his whereabouts (amat), they may (, ma) be any” = ‘he may be anywhere’, ay sʔays wa yanictis ‘I like (yanic) anything’, ay sʔaynaw ala smlhk ts wa yanictits ‘I like any kind of fish (smlhk)’.

13 NUMBERS AND NUMERICAL SUBSTITUTES

Nuxalk numbers and numerical substitutes are, morpho-syntactically considered, of an adjectival nature. With the exception of smáw ‘one’, all numbers and the numerical substitutes sláx ‘numerous’, acwlh ‘some’, tscwi ‘enough’, tsaatsii ‘few’, tsay ‘all’ are Salish in origin, while √cs ‘entire’, kp ‘each, every’, k’acw ‘none’, tsatsaslhq’ ‘so many’ have no known etymologies. For ‘how many?’ see 12.10.

13.1 Stand-alone (simplex) cardinal numbers with less than three vocalic peaks are as a rule pronounced with dragging of the root vowel:

smáw	‘one’
lhnús	‘two’
asmús	‘three’
mús	‘four’
ts’ícw	‘five’
t’xúlh	‘six’
nusʔalhlhm	‘seven’
k’ilhnús	‘eight’
k’ismáw	‘nine’
ts’klákt	‘ten’

Of these, smáw contains s- ‘nominalizer’ and √ma(w) ‘one’ (the latter may have a Wakashan origin); lhnús is based on older *√(ə)nəws, *√(n)was; asmús contains as- ‘having’ and mús; mús itself is a substrative term with cognates in Salish, Wakashan, and a few other Northwest Pacific languages; ts’ícw has cognates in Twana and Tillamook; t’xúlh goes back to *t’əχ ‘six’ (Sechelt

t'əχəm) and -ulh 'bulky items'; nusʔalhkhlhm may contain klhm 'to go across'; k'ilhnús and k'ismáw are literally '(ten) minus two' and '(ten) minus one'; ts'klákt is likely based on √ts'k 'to fix, finish'.

13.2 The prefix nu- 'human' is added to a cardinal number if people are counted (smáw then drops s-, and becomes numaw): numusaw 'there are four of them', nut'xulhilh 'there are six of us'. From numaw the diminutive numawí 'to be alone, all by oneself' is derived.

13.3 Smáw and lhnús have bound allomorphs before quantifying suffixes (see 7.14), viz. √ma(w) and √lhwaas (√lhwaalh before lh and tl'): maslancw 'one year (-slancw)', makw'p 'one fathom (-kw'p)', lhwaask'mt 'two days (-k'mt)', lhwaaslx 'two twenties (-lx)' = 'forty', mawlx 'twenty'.

13.4 Cardinal numbers, being stative intransitive verbs (adjectives), are employed both predicatively and attributively: smawlit's ti_nupts 'I have one shirt (-lits', nup)', alhk'ctits wa_nulhnus wa_tl'msta 'I see (alhk'c) two persons (tl'msta)'.

13.5 The numbers 11-19 are formed as follows:

ts'klákt putl's ti_s máw	'eleven'
ts'klákt putl's a_lhnús	'twelve'
ts'klákt putl's a_asmús	'thirteen'
ts'klákt putl's a_mús	'fourteen'
ts'klákt putl's a_ts'ícw	'fifteen'
ts'klákt putl's a_t'xúlh	'sixteen'
ts'klákt putl's a_nusʔalhkhlhm	'seventeen'
ts'klákt putl's a_k'ilhnús	'eighteen'
ts'klákt putl's a_k'ismáw	'nineteen'

Literally "ten plus ("comes") one", "ten plus two", etc. Again, when humans are counted, nu- is required in the first numerical term, but is optional in the

second one (and putl'aw appears rather than putl's): nuts'klaktaw putl'aw a_u(nu)lhnús 'there are twelve of them'.

13.6 Multiples of 20 are formed with -lxs 'all digits':

mawlxs	'twenty'
lhwaaslxs	'forty'
asmuslxs	'sixty'
muslxs	'eighty'
ts'icwlxs	'hundred'

Literally "one set of digits", "two sets of digits", etc.

'Thirty', 'fifty', 'seventy', 'ninety' as rendered respectively as mawlxs putl's a_uts'klákt "twenty plus ten", lhwaaslxs putl's a_uts'klákt "forty plus ten", asmuslxs putl's a_uts'klákt "sixty plus ten", muslxs putl's a_uts'klákt "eighty plus ten". In the same vein: asmuslxs putl's a_uts'klákt putl's a_uts'icw "sixty plus ten plus five" = 'seventy five', ts'icwlxs putl's a_umawlxs putl's ti smáw "hundred plus twenty plus one" = 'one hundred and twenty one', etc.

Margaret Siwallace also used compounds for multiples of ten: asmusts'klakt "three tens" = 'thirty', ts'icwts'klakt "five tens" = 'fifty', etc. For the general simplification and abandonment of the native counting system, see 13.9.

13.7 Multiples of 100 are:

lhnusam ts'icwlxs	'two hundred'
asmusam ts'icwlxs	'three hundred'
musam ts'icwlxs	'four hundred'
ts'icwam ts'icwlxs	'five hundred'
t'xulham ts'icwlxs	'six hundred'
nus?alhlhlmam ts'icwlxs	'seven hundred'
k'ilhnusam ts'icwlxs	'eight hundred'

k'ismawam ts'icwlxs

'nine hundred'

ts'klaktam ts'icwlxs

'one thousand'

Literally: "two, three, etc. times hundred" (cf. 6.46, 13.8).

13.8 The suffix -am (cf. 6.46) also serves to form ordinal numbers and numerical substitutes: tic tc ta₁stamnulhnusamlhaw ta₁k'clhtits "(of) the ones that I have seen (k'c), the second (lhnus) one that has been in their company (stam-) is him (tc)" = 'he is the second one that I have seen them with', tsi₁stamnumusam₁tsc 'the fourth (mus) one (woman) he was with (stam-)', patsalham 'to be first', aluuxam 'to be last'.

13.9 The use of the Nuxalk numerals was already in a state of decline back in the 1970's; there was then, and there certainly still is, an increasing tendency to replace them with the corresponding English terms, especially in expressions referring to hours, days, weeks, and months: alh₁ti₁ka **two o'clock** = alh₁ti₁ka₁lhnusanmaak 'at two o'clock (in near future)', **kafour o'clocks** ska₁lip'tsutts = kamusanmaaks ska₁lip'tsutts 'at four o'clock I will come back', ka₁k'ctsinu₁tuts' **kaDecembers** 'I will see you again in December', **kaMondays** ska₁lip'tsutaw 'on Monday they will come back', ka₁putl'ts₁ma **kanext weeks** 'maybe I will come next week'.

13.10 sláx 'numerous, many, much' as a stand-alone numerical substitute is usually pronounced with a dragged vowel [slæχ], and requires the prefix nu- when used in reference to humans (and dragging is then omitted, cf. 13.1): sláx wa₁smlhk 'there are many fish', alhk'ctits wa₁sláx wa₁yaki 'I see many mountain goats', nuslaxaw 'they are numerous'.

13.11 acwlh 'some' is found most frequently in sentential arguments: alhk'yuktits wa₁acwlh₁?ats 'I know some of them', ka₁putl'a₁ma wa₁acwlh₁ts 'maybe some (people) will come (putl')', nusuw'pstamaw₁a wa₁acwlh₁ alh₁lhup? 'do some of you smoke (nusuq'pstam)?'

13.12 tscwi ‘enough’ is used predicatively: axw tscwis ‘it is not (axw) enough’, tscwinaw ts ‘there are enough of them now’.

13.13 tsaatsii, tsaatsi ‘few, little’ is used both predicatively and as an adjunct member: tsaatsiinaw ‘they are few’, alhpsx c_a tsaatsii ‘eat (alhps) a little bit!’

13.14 tsay ‘all’ is used both predicatively and as an adjunct member: is used both predicatively and as an adjunct member: is used both predicatively and as an adjunct member: is used both predicatively and as an adjunct member: tsaynaw stl’apaw ‘they are all going (tl’ap)’, wa tsay wa nmnmk ‘all animals (nmnmk)’.

13.15 √cs ‘whole, all’, most frequently found with -uuts, is used predicatively and attributively: csuutsaw ska putl’aw ‘they will all come (putl’)’, csuutsilh s?alhilh ala ats ‘we are all staying (alhi) here (ala ats)’, wa csuuts wa qwanilh ‘all the spoons (qwanilh)’. The allomorph csaalh is used with verbs of motion: csaalhaw s?ixq’maw ‘they are all walking (ixq’m)’.

13.16 kp ‘each, every’ is used both predicatively and as an attributive root: kplhaw atu sputl’lhaw? ‘has each of them come (putl’)’, kputstutanx! ‘give each of them something to eat (alhpstu-)!’, alhkpiixwaw skmalaycaw ‘they are all ill (kmalayc)’, ala alhkp wa suncw ‘every day (suncw)’.

13.17 The verb k’acw ‘to be away, absent’ (as in k’acwlhts ‘I have been away’) is also used as a base meaning ‘none, nothing, zero’: tick’acw ‘he caught (tic-) nothing’, nuk’acwiik ‘there is nothing in the container (nu-...-iik)’.

13.18 √tsa.tsaslhq’ ‘so many’ has been recorded as follows: tsa.tsaslhq’ wa its’amni wa s?uskwtl’tinits sk’lcts ?iluk ‘no matter how many blankets (its’amni) they piled (kwtl’) on me, I was still cold (sk’lc)’, tsa.tsaslhq’uulhamts ‘I wrapped myself in so many blankets’, tsatsaslhq’lits’ wa its’amni ‘there are so many blankets’. ...lhq’ may be related to -lhq’ ‘...fold’ (cf. 7.14).

14 NEGATION

Negation is expressed with *axw* ‘no(t)’. This element (originally Tsimshianic) is essentially neither a “free” (verbo-nominal) form nor a “bound” (proclitical or prefixal) one. It is used as an exclamation or interjection (“no”), it may precede the predicate (“not”), and it can mimic attributive status (“one that is not ...”). It is also combined with imperative causative suffixes to form negative commands: “don’t ...!”

14.1 Pre-predicatively, *axw* is translated as ‘do(es) not ...’, ‘will not ...’, etc.: *axw tl’apaw* ‘they are not going (tl’ap)’. The proclitic *ka*, ‘irrealis, future’ is as a rule placed between *axw* and the predicate: *axw ka putl’ts* ‘I will not come (putl’)’, but see also 10.24.

14.2 Negative commands are formed by extending *axw* with one of the imperative causative endings: *axwtxw tl’apnu!* ‘don’t go (tl’ap)!’, *axwtaxw knicip!* ‘don’t eat (knip) it, folks!’

14.3 As an attribute, *axw* translates as ‘not being or doing ...’ (cf. 2.15): *ti axw t’ayc ksnmak* ‘this one who is not working (ksnmak)’, *wa axw ?ats kstcw* ‘these ones who have not done it (kstcw)’.

14.4 Predicatively used *axw ti /tsi ka...* translates as ‘there is/are no ...’: *axw ti ka lhalas ala ats* ‘there is no boat (lhalas) here (ala ats)’, *axw aku ti ka qla?* ‘is there no water (qla) around then?’

Axw also accepts a few verbalizing suffixes: *axw lit* “to say (-lit) no” = ‘to deny or refuse’, *axw nicits ska tl’apnu* ‘I don’t think (-nic) you will go (tl’ap)’.

14.5 More emphatic variants of *axw* are *k’axw* and *ik’axw*: *(i)k’axw ka lip’tsutilh* ‘we definitely will not come back (lip’tsut)’, *(i)k’axw!* ‘certainly not!’

14.6 ‘nothing’ and ‘nobody’ are rendered in Nuxalk by negating *ti ka...* ‘any ...’: *axw ti ka tl’ap* “there is no one who will go (tl’ap)” = ‘nobody will be going’, *axw ti ka k’cits* “there is no one / nothing I can see (k’c)” = ‘I cannot see

anybody / anything’, axw ka_uputl’s ti_uka_uwa ‘nobody will come (putl)’), axw alhk’cits ti_uka_ustam ‘I see (alhk’c) nothing’.

‘never’ is a common gloss in negative sentences that contain a habitual verbal form or enclitic: axw is_uisláxs “he doesn’t eat (is-) much (sláx) habitually (reduplication)” = ‘he never eats much’, ax_ukw’ ixq’ maw ‘they never walk (ixq’m)’, axw_umas naaxwms! ‘he never dances (naaxwm)!’

14.7 Before enclitics with initial **kw** or **kw’** we find the allomorphs ax, k’ax, ik’ax (see also 15.54).

15 CLITICS

There exist in Nuxalk numerous morphemes that are intermediate between free forms and affixes. Such elements, the clitics, are connected with the sentence part they form a close unit with by means of “_u”. Clitics that precede another sentence part are proclitic in nature, while those that follow it are enclitics.

15.1 The proclitic ka_u ‘hypothetical, irrealis, future’ is found pre-verbally and in nominal arguments.

15.2 In nominal arguments, ka_u is inserted between ti_u, tsi_u, Ø_u, where it is glossed as ‘some’ (indeterminate) or as ‘future, intended, ...-to-be’ (determinate): anaykts ala_uka_uqla ‘I want (anayk) some water (qla)’, ka_utl’aps ti_uka_uwa ‘somebody will go (tl’ap)’, tsi_uka_ucnasts ‘my future wife (cnas), wife-to-be’, tic t’ayc ti_uka_uip’ilh ‘this is (tic) the one we will take (ip)’.

In negative and interrogative sentences, ti_u/tsi_u/ Ø_uka_u... means ‘any’: axw ti_uka_usulhts “there is not any house (sulh) of mine” = ‘I have no house (at all)’, alhi_ua ala_uawcwa ka_utsaatsaws? ‘is there (alhi) a (“any”) church (tsaatsaws) around here (ala_uawcwa)?’

15.3 ka_u is as a rule associated with future action or intention when preceding the predicate: ka_utl’aps ‘I will, intend to go’, ka_uk’ctsinu_umatuts’ ‘maybe (ma) I will see (k’c) you again (tuts’)’, anaykts ska_ulip’tsutts ‘I want to come back’.

ka_u combined with -lh ‘perfect tense’ translates as ‘would’, and with -lhh ‘pluperfect’ as ‘would have ...ed’: ka_utl’aplh_{ts} ‘I would go’, ka_utl’aplh_{hts} ‘I would have gone’ (cf. 5.15).

15.4 In subordinate sentences not containing a “verbum sentiendi” or “verbum dicendi”, ka_u means ‘if’: akwatx ka_uyas ‘buy (akwa) it if it is good (ya)’, inictsaatsí_{ts} wa_utii_{ts} ka_uistiialusnu ‘there is a little (tsaatsí) more (inic-) tea (tii) left, if you feel like (-alus) drinking (is-) tea’, isslaxlh_{ts} alu ka_uaxw ka_uscliwalh_{ts} ‘I would (...lh_{ts} alu) eat (is-) more (slax) if I were not (axw) feeling ill (scliwa)’.

15.5 After predicates that contain a “verbum sentiendi” or “verbum dicendi”, ka_u means ‘if’ or ‘whether’: ik’axw alhnapits ka_utics ta_uArt ‘I do not (ik’axw) know (alhnap) whether that is (tic) Art’, k’yuktx ka_uNuxalkmcs! ‘(identify (k’yuk) him and) find out if he is a Nuxalk native (-mc)’

When the predicate is followed by more than one ka_u phrase, ka_u... ka_u... (ka_u... etc.) is glossed as ‘whether ..., or ... (, or ... etc.)’: axw alhnapits ka_utsaatstís ka_ulhkw’lcs_{tuu} ‘I do not (axw) know (alhnap) whether he is young (tsaatstís) or old (lhkw’lc)’. Often, especially after imperatives, the first instance of ka_u is replaced by ika_u: kastsayulh_{ts} ika_uLqw’lasmcs ka_uNuxalkmcs_{tuu}! ‘ask (kastsayulh) him if he is from Bella Bella (Lqw’lasmc) or (really (, _{tuu})) from Bella Coola (Nuxalkmc)’!, q’psttx ika_ut’s_{tuu} ka_ukanusyams_{tuu}! ‘taste (q’pst) it (and determine) if it is too (, _{tuu}) salty (t’s) or too sweet (kanusyam)’! Note the use of _{tuu} ‘exactly, really, very, so ..., overly’.

Following predicates of a negative or dubitative-hypothetical nature, ka_u is compulsory after s- ‘connector’: qwinictits ska_ualhinaw ‘I deny (qwinic) (“about them”) that they are around (alhi)’, nunanicikmis_{ts} t’ayc ska_uatmas t’ayc ‘he (t’ayc) forgot (nunanickim) that he had died (atma)’.

15.6 In coordinate constructions, ka_u... ka_u... translates as ‘if ..., then ... will ...’: ka_utl’apnu ulh_ut’axw ka_ukmalaycnu ‘if you are going (tl’ap) there (ulh_ut’axw), you will get sick (kmalayc)’.

In interrogative sentences, *ka...a ka...atuu?* is glossed as ‘shall ..., or shall ...?’: *ka ksnmakts a ka tsitumlcts atuu?* ‘shall I work (*ksnmak*) or shall I go to sleep (*tsitumlc*)?’

15.7 *kamalh* ‘if, should ... be the case’ precedes predicates only, and is placed before pre-predicative *axw* ‘not’: *kamalh tl’aps t’ayc ka alhits ala ats* ‘if he is going (*tl’ap*), I will stay (*alhi*) here (*ala ats*)’, *kamalh axw tl’aps t’ayc ka tl’apts ma* ‘if he is not going, maybe (*ma*) I will’, *kamalh ntss ti ka smlhk* ‘if I were a fish (*smlhk*)’.

15.8 *wastu* ‘and so’ precedes predicates: *wastu alh?ay tuyu* ‘and so he is really (*tu*) like that (*alh?ay*), eh (*ya*)?’

15.9 Considerably more numerous than proclitics are enclitics. The majority of them begin in a consonant; when this consonant is *ʔ*, it glottalizes preceding stops.

15.10 *ma* ‘maybe, possibly, probably, likely’ appears after predicates and *axw* ‘not’: *wicana ma t’axw* ‘it must have been them (*t’axw*)’, *ka tl’apilh ma* ‘maybe we will (*ka*) go (*tl’ap*)’, *axw ma kmalaycs* ‘I do not think he is ill (*kmalayc*)’, *ka alhwlalhmtnilh ma* ‘it looks like, I think we are going to have (*-m-tinilh*) some rain (*alhwlalh*)’.

15.11 *mas* ‘predictably, as expected, forever!’ (said naggingly, when finding fault or complaining) is found after predicates and *axw* ‘not’: *naaxwma mas* ‘they are forever dancing (*naaxwm*)!’’, *axw mas ic?akwkwas* ‘he never does the shopping (*ic?akw.kwa*)!’

15.12 *tu* ‘emphasis: really, indeed’ occurs after predicates and *axw*: *axw tu yas* ‘it is really not good (*ya*)’, *alh?ay atuu?* ‘is it indeed so (*alh?ay*)?’’, *tics tu tc* ‘that really is (*tic*) the one, that IS the one’.

15.13 *tuu* ‘heavy emphasis, exactness: just, even, too, exactly’ is found after predicates and *axw* ‘not’: *alhʔaynaw tuu c lhmilh* ‘they are just like (*alhʔay*) us (*lhmilh*)’, *axw tuu alhʔays!* ‘it is not like that at all!’, *ays tuu sʔicaasnms* ‘even he, too, was searching (*icaasnm*)’.

This enclitic can also be inserted between nouns and enclitical deictics: *ta tlʼmsta tuu tx* ‘the very same person (*tlʼmsta*)’.

15.14 *tsk(i)* ‘wh...ever, it would appear that, I guess that ...’ occurs after indefinite-interrogative predicates and arguments: *was tututsk ti ka tlʼap* ‘somebody (I wonder who) will go (*tlʼap*)’, *axw alhnapits wa tsʼktanap tsk* ‘I don’t know (*alhnap*) whatever (it is that) you are doing (*tsʼkta*)’, *maasklhaw tsk wa nan* ‘I wonder how many (*ʔmaask*) grizzly bears (*nan*) there were’, *ta mants tski* ‘the one I figure is my father’.

15.15 *tsʼ(n)* ‘now, already’ follows *axw* and predicates: *tcwi tsʼ!* ‘it is enough now, enough already!’, *lhwaaskʼmtam tsʼ* ‘it has been two days (*lhwaaskʼmt*) already’. In these affirmative sentences, the allomorph *tsʼ* is given preference over *tsʼn*.

In negative and interrogative sentences, this enclitic translates as ‘yet’ (*tsʼn* is then found with the same frequency as *tsʼ*): *inicaʔiilh atsʼnʔ* ‘are we almost there (*inicaʔii*) yet?’, *inacutslhnu atsʼ* ‘have you had breakfast (*inacutsl*) yet?’ Margaret Siwallace once commented that there was a third allomorph, viz. *tsʼi*. This variant was formerly used in the Kimsquit region, and as such is now considered obsolete. However, *tsʼi*...is still found in enclitic strings (see 15.36, 15.49).

15.16 *tsʼakw* ‘if only, I wish that’ is found after predicates (that are themselves usually preceded by *ka*): *ka putlʼnu tsʼakw* ‘I wish you would come (*putlʼ*)’, *ka kulhtaats tsʼakw* ‘I wish I were rich (*kulhtaala*)’. Combined with *alu.../ alhu...*, *alutsʼakw/ alhutsʼakw* means ‘I wish that ... had happened, ... should have ...ed’: *yupalhtscw alutsʼakw!* ‘you should have let me pass (*yupalh*)!’, *alhinu alhutsʼakw alhtunica* ‘you should have been around (*alhi*) yesterday (*alhtunica*)’.

15.17 *su* ‘unexpectedly, surprisingly’ follows predicates: *nts su!* ‘surprise, it is me (nts)!’, *tic su t’ayc ti staltmc* ‘you might have not expected it, but he is a chief (staltmc)’.

15.18 *lu* ‘still, yet’ (often pronounced with a dragged or doubled *u*) is found after predicates and *axw*: *ksn^mmakilh lu* ‘we are still working (ksn^mmak)’, *axw lu alhpsts* ‘I am not eating (alhps) yet’. Cf. 15.22, 15.23.

After predicates ending in a sonorant or **a**, we find the allomorphs *lhu*, *lhlu*, *lhuu*, *lhú* (cf. 15.22): *alhpsaw lhu* ‘they are still eating (alhps)’, *ksn^mmaknu al(h)u?* ‘are you still working (ksn^mmak)?’

15.19 *kw* ‘quotative, reportedly’ occurs after predicates and *axw* (> *ax kw*): *ax kw yas* ‘they say he is no good (ya)’, *kmalayc kw* ‘I heard that he is ill (kmalayc)’.

15.20 *ku* ‘attenuative: ..., sir/madam, but, then, are you sure? (often with an increment of mild surprise)’ is found after predicates and *axw* (> *ax ku*): *axw aku yas ska tl’apnu?* ‘(but) would it not be right (ya) for you to go (tl’ap)?’, *alh?ay aku?* ‘is it so (alh?ay) then?’, *ax ku* ‘I do not think so, dear/sir/madam’. Cf. 14.7, 15.54.

15.21 *kw*, *k’u* ‘repeatedly, habitually’ occurs after predicates and *axw* (> *ax kw* / *k’u*): *ax kw s?inacutsilh* ‘we normally do not eat breakfast (inacuts)’, *tl’apa kw* ‘they kept going (tl’ap)’, *ax k’u ixq’maw* ‘they normally do not walk (ixq’m), they never walk’. Cf. 14.7, 15.73.

15.22 *alu* ‘not quite real: supposedly, almost, trying to’ (cf. 15.18, 15.23) is found after predicates, *axw*, and sentential arguments: *lhmilhh alu t’ayc* ‘this (t’ayc) is supposed to be ours (lhmilhh)’, *akwalhits alu* ‘I almost bought (akwa) it’, *wic kwalu awcwa* ‘they say it is (wic) supposed to be this place (awcwa)’, *putl’a kwalukw* ‘somebody said they kept trying to come (putl’)', *lhtnmts alu* ‘I tried to go up (lhtnm)’, *wa mnmntsts alu ?ats* ‘these children (mnmnts) of mine (who are not recognized as such by the other community members)’.

After words ending in a sonorant or **a** (cf. 15.18), we find the allomorphs *alhu* (after *u...*, *w...*, *i...*, *y...*) and *yalhu* (after *a...* and syllabic nasal): *tl'apawalhu* 'they tried to go (tl'ap)', *putl'nuayalhu?* 'did you try to go (tl'ap)?', *plikmalhu* 'he almost capsized (plikm)'.
 15.23 *alhtu* (*yalhtu*) is used post-predicatively in questions and statements of a hypothetical nature, and means 'coming close to the completion or realization of some act, gradually actualizing one's ...ing, still trying to ..., to ... at some time in the near future': *alhk'cicwalhtu?* 'are you beginning to see (alhk'c) it?', *q'lumawalhtu?* 'are they still trying to climb (q'lum)?', *ka,tl'apnualhtukw* 'if you will be going (tl'ap) some time soon'.

This enclitic is probably fused *alh(u)tu* 'unreal emphasis' (cf. 15.22, 15.12).

15.24 *ya* 'intimacy, confidentiality: ... right?' is found at the end of a sentence: *ya ti,suncwya?* 'it's a nice day, isn't it?', *yayaatwínuya?* 'you're happy, aren't you?'

15.25 *a* (*ya* after *a...* and syllabic or syllable-final sonorant) 'question marker, is ... the case?' follows the predicate or *axw*: *alhi,a alaats?* 'is (alhi) he here (alaats)?', *tic,a t'ayc ti,mannu?* 'is this (t'ayc) your father (man)?', *axw,aku alh?ays?* 'is it not the case (alh?ay) then?', *nusxl,ya?* 'is he smart (nusxl)?'

15.26 A number of clitic strings (cf. 15.49) contain *ks* 'beyond my knowledge or control, puzzlement, helplessness, frustration'.

15.27 *kuks* (cf. 15.20) 'through unforeseen circumstances, on the contrary, however, but' follows predicates and *axw* (> *ax,kuks*): *alhitsuks alaats* 'I guess I will have no choice but to stay (alhi) here (alaats)', *ax,kuks!* 'but I don't think so!'

15.28 *luks* (cf. 15.18) 'all along, as expected, inevitably (resignation)' follows predicates: *ay,maluks* 'that must have been (*ma*) the case (*ay*) all along then, I guess that is so then'.

15.29 *ṣuks, ṣuuks* (cf. 15.17) ‘... then!’ (conveying impatience) combined with imperative and interrogative predicates: *k’ct₁nasuks!* ‘look (k’c) at him then!’, *walh₁lisuuks?* ‘who are we (walh₁li...) then?’

15.30 *ṭuks* (cf. 15.12) ‘wh... exactly?’ combines with interrogative predicates: *stam₁ṭtuks wa₁kstut?* ‘what (stam₁ṭl...) exactly are they doing (kstut)?’, *alh₁ṭalatsicwakmtum₁ṭtuks?* ‘how (alh₁ṭalatsicw₁ṭl...) exactly is it prepared?’ (-ak ‘work, product’).

15.31 *ṣks, ṭiks, ṭlks* ‘puzzlement, beyond my knowledge, wh...?’ occurs after interrogative bases, which are treated in 12.10. This enclitic may be preceded by other enclitics (see above and 15.49). For the distribution of allomorphs, see 12.10 ff.

15.32 *ṣks* (*ṭiks, ṭlks*) is dropped (resp. clipped) before additional enclitics (cf. 12.14), and is then replaced by (reduced to) *ṣ(?)i...*, *ṣ(?)l...*, or *ṣli...*: *walnaw₁ṭlmit?* ‘who (wal...₁ṭl...) might (₁m...) they be now (₁ts)?’, *statmlhp₁litkw?* ‘(well,) what (stam...₁li...) is it usually used for (-lhp)?’, *stam₁ṭtuks?* ‘what (stam₁ṭl...) exactly is it?’, *wa₁ṭlma?* ‘who (wa₁ṭl...) might (₁ma) he be?’, *stam₁ṭlits?* ‘what (stam₁l...) is it now?’, *pacw₁lituts* ‘ska₁k’ctmacwilh?’ ‘when (pacw₁li...) will (ka₁) we see (k’c) each other (-tmacw) again?’, *walts₁ṭisuuks?* ‘who (wal₁ṭi...) am I then?’

15.33 A number of post-predicative clitic strings begin in *ṭi...* or *ṭit...*, and end in *...k*. This circum-clitic has a slightly contrastive function (‘next’). For the distribution of *ṭi...* and *ṭit...* see 15.55.

15.34 *ṭi...k* appears in combination with *ṭu*, **ṭs’i*, and *ṣlu*.

15.35 *ṭituk* ‘and, but’ (cf. 15.12): *tipyaaqts₁ṭituk alh₁ti₁t’xt₁tc* ‘and with my other (ṽtipi) leg (-aaq) I will be (standing) on the rock (t’xt)’.

15.36 ʔits'ik 'subsequently, next, and, therefore' (cf. 15.15): q'uxlcts, yallakts ʔits'ik 'I am tired (q'uxlcts), that's why I am sleepy (yallak)', k'anawilhts ʔits'ik 'and I will be at the bow (k'anawilh)'.

15.37 ʔiluk 'at first, initially, until now, and still (as before)' (cf. 15.18, 15.46): nutsutikts ʔiluk sPetertum, Thomtum ʔmaku tc 'at first I thought (nutsutik) his name was (-tum) Peter, but it looks like (ʔma) his name is Thom after all (ʔku)', sk'lcts ʔiluk! 'I am still cold (sk'lc)!'

ʔiluk is in free variation with ʔilhuuk: tl'apts ʔilhuuk ula stuu ʔats ala ʔka ʔatsalh ska tl'apilh 'I must go (tl'ap) to the store (stuu) first before (ala ʔka ʔatsalh ska ...) we take off (tl'ap)'.

15.38 ʔit...k occurs after ʔkw..., and before ʔk'u and *ʔaluu (= ʔalu).

15.39 ʔitk '(well, ...) and': tsutsut ʔkw'itk '(well,) and that is what he was reportedly (ʔkw) saying (tsutsut)'.

15.40 ʔitk'uk (cf. 15.21) '(well,) and ... as expected / again': unts'mtaaqllh, kmalaycam ʔitk'uk 'he ate too many (un-) smoked eulachons (ts'mtaaq), and so, as expected, he fell ill (kmalaycam)', ksnmakilh, alhps ʔitk'uk 'we are working (ksnmak), but he, of course, is eating (alhps) again'.

15.41 ʔitaluuk (cf. 15.22) '(well,) and ... did not quite (but was trying to) ...': pumputl'mim ʔkw'italuuk c ʔti scak '(well,) and the witch doctor (scak) reportedly kept (reduplication) trying to come to (putl'm) him'.

15.42 Some enclitics are used as imperative markers. Four of these begin in ʔi... (cf. 15.33), and all of them are applied as follows:

1. bare intransitive (+ -(n)aw) + imp. enclitic
2. transitive imp. minus imp. suffix (+ -(n)aw) + imp. enclitic
3. causative forms: (a) -txw + imp. enclitic

(b) -(n)axw + imp. enclitic, or -(n)aw + imp. enclitic

(c) imp. form minus -x (+ -(n)aw) + imp. enclitic

15.43 ʔit (cf. 15.33) ‘well, ...!’: tsayutsʔit! ‘well, shut up!’, k’ctsʔit! ‘well, look at me!’, k’ctanʔit! ‘well, look at them!’, alhpstumulhʔit! ‘well, feed us!’, axwtxwʔit aytup! ‘well, don’t do it!’ The pl. equivalent of ʔit is -(n)awʔit (besides -axwʔit in causative forms): tsayutsawʔit! ‘well, shut up, folks!’, alhk’ctawʔit! ‘well, look at him, folks!’, alhpstumannawʔit! ‘well, give me something to eat, folks!’, axwtawʔit aytup! = axwtaxwʔit aytup! ‘well, don’t do it, folks!’

15.44 ʔisu (cf. 15.17) ‘... again!’: quts’usmʔisu! ‘wash your face again!’, k’ctulhʔisu! ‘look at us again!’, qaaxlaʔisu! ‘have another drink!’, axwtxwʔisu aytucw! ‘don’t do it again!’

With a pl. addressee, -(n)awʔisu (besides causative -axwʔisu) is used: k’ctsawʔisu! ‘look at me again, folks!’, q’uxtannawʔisu! ‘call them again, folks!’, alhpstumulhawʔisu! = alhpstumulhaxwʔisu! ‘give us something to eat again, folks!’, mtawʔisu! ‘sit down again, folks!’, qaaxlatutannawʔisu! ‘give them some more to drink, folks!’

In the exclamation wayʔisu! ‘repeat it!’ (pl. waynawʔisu!), ʔisu may be a contraction of *naʔisu (cf. 15.48); we also find wayʔisu and waynawʔisu (with the same meaning).

15.45 ʔilhu, ʔilhú (cf. 15.18) ‘... first, ... for a while (before you do anything else)’: mtʔilhu! ‘sit down before you go anywhere!’, tctʔilhu! ‘cut it first!’, alhpstumʔilhu! ‘give me something to eat first!’, qaaxlatutanʔilhu! ‘give them something to drink first!’, axwtxwʔilhu aytucw! ‘don’t do it yet!’ With two or more addressees, we find -(n)awʔilhu and -axwʔilhu (the latter with causative forms only): tsayutsawʔilhu! ‘shut up for a while, folks!’, k’ctulhawʔilhu! ‘look at us first, folks!’, axwtawʔilhu aytup! = axwtaxwʔilhu aytup! ‘don’t do it yet, folks!’, qaaxlatutannawʔilhu! ‘give them something to drink first, folks!’

The exclamation way! ‘well, ok!’ (cf. 15.44, 16.7) can be combined with ʔilhu and -naw ʔilhu: way ʔilhu! ‘wait a while!’, waynaw ʔilhu! ‘wait a while, folks!’

15.46 ʔilhuukax (from * ʔilhuuk-a-x, cf. 15.37, 15.51) was used by Margaret Siwallace as a free variant of ʔilhu: yupalhts ʔilhuukax! ‘let me pass first!’, yupalhtsaw ʔilhuukax! ‘let me pass first, folks!’

15.47 ʔna may be related to na! ‘there you are!, take this!’: tsayuts ʔna! ‘shut up!’, tct ʔna! ‘cut it!’, alhʔalhʔawlhts ʔna! ‘keep following me!’, alhitxw ʔna wa ʔpapa! ‘pass me the pepper!’

The pl. equivalent of ʔna is -(n)aw ʔna (besides causative -axw ʔna): tsayutsaw ʔna! ‘shut up, folks!’, tctaw ʔna! ‘cut it, folks!’, alhʔalhʔawlhtsaw ʔna! ‘keep following me, folks!’, axwtaw ʔna aytup! = axwtaxwna aytup! ‘don’t do it, folks!’

15.48 ʔnas (pl. -(n)aw ʔnas) is of rare occurrence. It may be a more emphatic variant of ʔna, and possibly continues older * ʔna.su (cf. 15.17, 15.44). Examples: k’ct ʔnas! ‘look at him!’, k’ctaw ʔnas! ‘look at him, folks!’

15.49 Previously, we observed how enclitics can form strings, and often become fused within such strings. Some of these are: ʔsuts’ “unexpectedly + now” = ‘again (suddenly, unexpectedly)’, ʔtuts’ “indeed + now” = ‘again (as anticipated)’, stam ʔalwiks? ‘what (stam... ʔiks) is it supposed to (ʔalu) be?’, stam ʔkw’lks? [...k^w’l...] ‘what (stam... ʔlks) do they say (ʔkw) it is?’, qwalsam ʔkw’italututs’ik [...k^w’i...] ‘and (ʔit...k) now (ʔts’i) he indeed (ʔtu) almost (ʔalu) became (-am) hemlock needles (qwals), it is said (ʔkw)’, ayutsmim ʔkwk’uyats’n ‘reportedly (ʔkw), he was then (ʔts’n) told (ayutsm) several times (ʔk’u) to ..., you know (ʔya)’. See further 15.55.

15.50 Some enclitics are extended with **a...** after imperatives: q’uxtx ʔasuts’! ‘call him again!’, itskwix ʔats’! ‘get out of my way now!’, q’uxtx ʔatuu ta ʔArt! ‘call Art too!’

15.51 ʔi...k and ʔit...k vary with resp. ʔi...ka and ʔit...ka. The latter variants are often preferred after wic..., and in hypothetical and interrogative contexts: wic ʔits'ika ts 'and so it is them', wic ʔituka txw 'and it was then (that ... happened)', yanu ʔmits'ika syayaxmutsmicw "perhaps (ʔm..., see 15.52) it is good (ya) for you to ridicule (yayaxmuts) him" = 'you better be ridiculing him, I hope you are (only) making fun of him', stam ʔitka? 'well, what about it?, so what?'.
 15.52 ʔma has two positionally determined allomorphs, to wit ʔmi... (after ʔl... 'interrogative marker' (15.32)) and ʔm... (before ʔits'ik (15.33)):

walnu ʔlmits? 'who (wal ʔl...) might (ʔm...) you be now (ʔts')?', stam ʔlmits' t'ayc? 'what (stam ʔl...) might (ʔm...) this (t'ayc) be now (ʔts')?', yanu ʔmits'ik ska ʔl'apnu "perhaps (ʔm...) it is good (ya) for you to go (ʔl'ap)" = 'I think it may be best for you to go'. See further 15.55.

15.53 A few enclitics are also found with initial ʔs... (which may be from older *ʔsu, cf. 15.17, 15.48): xlahhnu ʔasts'n? 'are you still (ʔsts'n) hungry (xlahh)?', ka ʔlip'tsutnu ʔasts'? 'will you still (ʔsts') be coming back (lip'tsut)?', smqlanu ʔastu? 'are you really (ʔstu) thirsty (smqla)?', pacw ʔlists' ska ʔalhinu ʔsuts' ala ʔawcwa? 'when (pacw ʔli...) will you be (alhi) here (ala ʔawcwa) again (ʔsuts')?'

A connotation of negativity may be present in wayclhaw ʔsts' wa ʔl'msta ʔats 'these people (ʔl'msta) are still (ʔsts') newcomers (wayclh)', ʔkw'ists'ik = ʔkw'its'ik, ʔmists'ik = ʔmits'ik (see also 15.55).

15.54 Before enclitics beginning in **kw**, **kw'**, or **m** (15.10-11, 15.19-12, 15.27), the pronominal suffixes -(n)aw and -anaw (1.1, 12.1-3) are reduced to -(n)a and -ana, while axw 'not' becomes ax before enclitics with initial **kw** or **kw'** (cf. 14.7).

15.55 The order in which clitics are arranged in clitic strings is not random. Each member of such a string is assigned its place in accordance with the following hierarchy:

- A ʔa, ʔa ‘polar question marker’, kw ‘quotative’
- B (ʔ)l.... ‘non-polar question marker (I)’
- C ma, m... ‘perhaps’
- D ʔi(t)... ‘consequently, consecutively (I)’
- E al(h)u, ʔal(h)u, alhtu, ʔalhtu ‘unreal’
- F (ʔ)i... ‘non-polar question marker (II)’
- G (s)tu ‘emphasis’, su ‘unexpectedly’
- H lu(u), lhu(u), lhlh(u) ‘still, yet’
- I kw’, k’u ‘repeatedly’
- J ʔa ‘confidential’, ku ‘attenuative’
- K (s)ts’, (s)ts’n, ... (s)ts’i... ‘now’
- L ...k(a) ‘consequently, consecutively (II)’, ks ‘non-polar question marker (III)’, tsk(i) ‘apparently’, ts’akw ‘optative’
- M tuu ‘exactly’

Of all possible enclitic strings, I have the following on record:

ʔamatu (ACG), ʔayalhu (AE), ʔayalhtu (AE), ʔastu (AG), ʔatu (AG), ʔalh(l)u (AH), ʔaku (AJ), ʔats’(n) (AK), ʔasts’(n) (AK), ʔatuu (AM), kw’lks (ABL), kw’italututs’ik (ADEGKL), kw’italuluuk (ADEHL), kw’italuts’ik (ADEKL), kw’italuuk (ADEL), kw’itk’uk (ADIL), kw’itk (ADL), kw’ituts’ik (ADGKL), kw’ituk (ADGL), kw’isuluts’ik (ADGHKL), kw’iluts’ik (ADHKL), kw’ilu(u)k/ kw’ilhu(u)k (ADHL), kw’i(s)ts’ik (ADKL), kwma (AC), kwmayalhuts’ (ACEK), kwmasuku (ACGJ), kwmatuya (ACGJ), kwmaqu (ACJ), kwmakuts’ (ACJK), kwmat’s (ACK), kwalu (AE), kwalutukw’ (AEGI), kwalututs’ (AEGK), kwalulukw’ (AEHI), kwalukw’/ kwaluk’u (AEI), kwaluts’ (AEK), kwalutuu (AEM),

₁kwtu (AG), ₁kwtu.tuku (AG.GJ), ₁kwtuya (AGJ), ₁kwtuts'n (AGK), ₁kwsu (AG), ₁kwsuts' (AGK), ₁kwlu(u) (AH), ₁kwlukw' (AHI), ₁kwlukuks (AHJL), ₁kwlukukstuu (AHJLM), ₁kwluts' (AHK), ₁kwluks (AHL), ₁kwkw' / ₁kwk'u (AI), ₁kwk'uyats'n (AIJK), ₁kwts'n (AK), ₁kwtuu (AM), ₁kwts'tuu (AKM), ₁litkw' (BDI), ₁lma (BC), ₁lmits' (BCFK), ₁lituts' (BFGK), ₁lisuks (FGL), ₁lisuuks (BFG_L), ₁lituks (BGL), ₁lits' (BFK), ₁its' (FK), ₁liks (FL), ₁liks (BL), ₁litalututs'ik (DEGKL), ₁litaluuk (DEL), ₁litk'uk (DIL), ₁litka (DL), ₁lituk (DGL), ₁lituktuu (DG_{LM}), ₁liluts'ik (DHKL), ₁liluk' / ₁lilhuuk (DHL), ₁lits'ik (DKL), ₁matu (CG), ₁matuts' (CGK), ₁maluts' (CHK), ₁mats'(n) (CK), ₁maluks (CHL), ₁maku (CJ), ₁mak'u (CI), ₁masuks (CGL), ₁matuu (CM), ₁malhu (CH), ₁mits'ik(a) / ₁mits'ik (CDKL), ₁mituk (CDGL), ₁miluk (CDHL), ₁mats'akw (CL), ₁matski (CL), ₁al(h)uts'akw (EL), ₁alwiks (EFL), ₁allulukw' (EHI), ₁alhutsk (EL), ₁alhtukw' (EI), ₁tu.tutsk (G.GL), ₁tuts'(n) (GK), ₁tutuu (GM), ₁tuks (GL), ₁suks (GL), ₁suts'(n) (GK), ₁sutsk (GL), ₁luts'(n) (HK), ₁lutsk (HL), ₁luks (HL), ₁kuks (JL), ₁ts'ntsk(i) (KL), ₁ts'tuu (KM)

The above inventory clearly indicates that:

- (a) ₁li...k and ₁l*i*...k are in complementary distribution: ₁li...k combines with G, H and K, whereas ₁l*i*...k is found with E and I;
- (b) the interrogative marker ₁li... (15.32) is complex: its members have different hierarchical values (B vs. F);
- (c) ₁mi... (15.52) consists of ₁m... (C) and ₁(*l*)i... (D and F);
- (d) the conditions under which ...l... alternates with ...lh... (15.18, 15.22) are not always operative in enclitic strings.

In terms of immediate constituents (IC's), the majority of the clusters listed above regularly appear in clauses that have the structure

{PREDICATE, ENCLITIC STRING}

In several cases, the string can itself be divided into IC's, e.g. ₁matuts' = {₁ma{₁tu{₁ts'}}}, ₁kwmatuya = {{₁kw{₁ma{₁tu}}}₁.ya}.

Occasionally, however, we encounter sequences (not strings) such as ..._{ts}'_{tu} ("KG"), ..._{lu}'_{tu} ("HG"), ..._{ma}'_{kw} ("CA"). But in such cases, the clause IC structure is

$$\{\{\text{PREDICATE_ENCLITIC}_1\}_ \text{ENCLITIC}_2\}$$

Example: $\text{alh?ay_ts}'_ \text{tu} = \{\{\text{alh?ay_ts}'\}_ \text{tu}\}$ 'it IS already so' (vs. $\text{alh?ay_tuts}'$ 'it is so again' = $\{\text{alh?ay}\{_ \text{tu_ts}'\}\}$).

16 PARTICLES AND VOCATIVES

Particles are non-verbonominal free morphemes. Most particles correspond to English adverbs; two are conjunctions, eleven are interjections. Vocatives are stand-alone variants of names and titles.

16.1 In 10.7 and 10.19, we considered the use of temporal predicates and predicative adjuncts. Most of these can also be placed after the predicate, and then behave like adverbial particles (see 16.2-4): $\text{ka_lip}'\text{tsutts_kamalacws}$ 'I will return (lip'tsut) next year (kamalacws)', $\text{cwpakmis_ala_wayci}'$ 'he finally (ala_wayci) let go of (cwpakm) him', $\text{qwlxulhtsutaw_ala_ayk}'$ 'they got together (qwlxulhtsut) a long time ago (ala_ayk)'.

The difference between temporal predicates and predicative adjuncts on the one hand, and adverbs on the other is one of emphasis: $\text{kamalacws_ska_lip}'\text{tsutts}$ '(it is) next year (that) I will return' vs. $\text{ka_lip}'\text{tsutts_kamalacws}$ 'I will return next year'.

16.2 There is, morphologically as well as syntactically, a difference between /s?aym-i.../ (predicative use) 'always' and s?aymis (adverbial use) 'id.'. The former is inflected transitively, whereas the latter is no longer understood as /s?aym-i-s/ (and has become a particle): s?aymit_sksnmakaw 'they are always working (ksnmak)' vs. ksnmakaw_s?aymis 'id.', $\text{s?aymicw_a_xlhalhnu}'$ 'are you always hungry (xlhalh)?' vs. $\text{xlhalhnu_a_s?aymis?}$ 'id.'.

16.3 A few adverbs associated with motion appear only as adverbial particles. These are: uuxnk ‘downwards’ (cf. qnk ‘low’), utl’uk’ ‘upwards’ (cf. tl’uk’ ‘high’), tqwnl’ ‘hither, this way’, tculi ‘this way, here’, tcula ‘that way, there’, txwnayaax ‘across the river’. Examples: tl’apaw uuxnk ‘they went (tl’ap) down’, putl’x tqwnl’! ‘come (putl’) here!’, ixq’maw tcula ‘they walked (ixq’m) that way’, tayamktx txwnayaax!, ‘throw (tayamk) it across the river!’

16.4 Some verbs of motion can also be used as adverbs (in which position they are not conjugated): usqanaw = tl’apaw usqa ‘they went (tl’ap) out’, ustcwaw = tl’apaw ustcw ‘they went in’, ulxlhaw = tl’apaw ulxlh ‘they went upriver’, tculatl’saw = tl’apaw tculatl’s ‘they went to the interior, east of the mountains’. Cf. 10.5.

16.5 The conjunction n/in ‘and’ connects syntactic arguments: inu (i)n nts ‘you and I’, ixq’maw ti_mants_tc (i)n tsi_stants_tsc ‘my father (man) and mother (stan) are walking (ixq’m)’.

16.6 The conjunction putl’s, putl’aw ‘plus’ connects cardinal numbers: see 13.5. It derives from putl’ ‘to come’. It is glossed as ‘and also, as well’ in e.g. sxtl’ikm_tuu sslaql’kms putl’s wa_sk’stlits’_ʔats ‘he is even (tuu) preparing (-m) the fish backbones (sxtl’ik), the fillets (slaql’k), as well as the skin (sk’stlits)’.

16.7 Interjections are syntactically independent:

- 1 way!, wii! ‘well!, okay!’ This interjection can also precede imperative and adhortative verbal forms: way ustcwnu! ‘come in (ustcw) then!’, way nuyamlhilh! ‘come on, let’s sing (nuyamlh)!’
- 2 yaw! ‘hi!, hello!’ is often followed by a vocative form (see 16.8): yaw smatamc! ‘hello, friend (smatmc)!’, yaw staltamc! ‘hello, chief (staltmc)!’
- 3 tst!, tsst!, hatst!, hatsst! ‘hey!, pst!’
- 4 aw ‘yes’
- 5 wisxw!, wísxw!, wiisxw! ‘yes indeed!’

- 6 axw, k'axw, ik'axw 'no' (cf. 14.5, 15.54)
- 7 na! 'there you are!, please take this!'
- 8 huyp! 'a dance cry'
- 9 anana!, ananay! 'ouch, oh my!' (exclamation expressing pain or shock).
With infixal -anaats- (5.16), ananaatsanay! renders extreme pain or shock.
- 10 axxa! 'yuck!, disgusting!'
- 11 tl'tuu! 'damn it!'

16.8 A few nouns that refer to a beloved or respectable being have a vocative form which is used to address such a being. This form is characterized by insertion of **a** or **y**, or addition of **w**: smatamc! 'friend (smatmc)!', staltamc! 'chief (staltmc)!', sksay! 'in-law (sksi)!', satayc! 'buddy (satic)!', kw'liways! 'brother-in-law (kw'liwas)!', Taataw! 'God!' (tata 'father, daddy').

An element -aw can be placed after pl. imperative suffixes and enclitics when one yells a command: nitstumanxaw! 'save (nitstu-) me!, help!', nuk'ciktawaw! 'inspect (nuk'c) it (container), folks!', tl'alhinaw, ?itaw! 'come on (tl'alhi), folks!'

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APPENDICES

Two sets of unanalyzable names are listed below: (1) originally legendary, mythical and supernatural beings (and one noun formerly indicating social status), and (2) geographic locations. In all cases, the stem has no evident Nuxalk meaning, but we do detect an apparent affix (such as s-, nu-, -ani, -(i)la, -(a)qs) here and there.

Legendary, mythical and supernatural beings

- 2138 Iclhacwani *a man's name* (McI48 *xl̥exwan̥i*: Wife of North Wind)
- 2139 Ip'ats'xti *a mythical name*
- 2140 Lhaluuxmana *a mythical name*
- 2141 Masmasalanixw = Mas.masalanixw *the four Carpenters*
(supernatural beings)
- 2142 Nuakila *name of one of the first men*
- 2143 Qtaysalh *a woman's name* (McI48 *q̥t̥aiset̥*: Supernatural creature
resembling a diminutive human being)
- 2144 Smawn *the father of Lhaluuxmana*
- 2145 Twalalhʔit *a supernatural goat hunter*
- 2146 Tl'itsaplilhana *one of nine supernatural siblings*
- 2147 Tswaast *one of Raven's female Crow relatives*

- 2148 Wanqlhh *name of a Kitlope woman* (McI48 *Wanql*: Name of Smaoan's grandchild in the beginning of time)
- 2149 Wismkilakw *daughter-in-law of Smawn*
- 2150 Yatsalt *name of a female chief* (McI48 *yetsalt*: A woman who has attained an honourable position through being many times repurchased from her husband; virtually, a female chief)

Geographic locations

- 2151 Acati *name of a number of locations*
- 2152 Alhiqwis *Port John*
- 2153 Alhku *Elcho Harbour*
- 2154 Ats'aaxlh *South Bentinck Arm* (= entry 222)
- 2155 Hawʔyat *name of a river below Minerva Creek towards Bella Coola*
- 2156 Ista *location on King Island*
- 2157 K'mckw'itxw *Kimsquit*
- 2158 Kats't *Brynildsen Bay*
- 2159 Kltiilh *Cascade Inlet*
- 2160 Kwaasla *Smith Inlet*
- 2161 Kw'alhna *Kwatna* (cf. √kw'alh?)
- 2162 Kw'qwla *Clayton Falls*
- 2163 Kw'yay *name of a North Wakashan village west of Naʔmu*
- 2164 Miaysila *a geographical name*
- 2165 Mlqis *Alert Bay*
- 2166 Naʔmu *Namu*
- 2167 Naws *name of a village (at the head of Knight inlet?)*

- 2168 Nictsiqs *location south of Puuxin, north of Ts'iqwi*
- 2169 Nmkis *Nimpkish*
- 2170 Nuikw' *Noeick River*
- 2171 Nuk'atsu *Ulkatcho*
- 2172 Nulht'i *home of Nuakila and Nusmata*
- 2173 Nunuw'ays = Nu.nuw'ays *a geographical name*
- 2174 Nuqwilhtaaxw *Cape Mudge*
- 2175 Nusilawat *name of a bay north-east of Kwatna*
- 2176 Nusxiq' *Green Bay*
- 2177 Nutm *a village south of Ts'iqwi*
- 2178 Nuxalk *lower Bella Coola valley*
- 2179 Nuxwlst *Manitoo Creek, as well as the valley and creek*
- 2180 Pakwana, Pakwani *mountain north-east of Kwatna river entrance*
- 2181 Piisla *a creek between Nutcii.ctskwani and the Bella Coola river*
- 2182 Putsla *Mesachie Nose*
- 2183 Puuxin *point of land south of Yuyupaaxani (cf. puux, -xin?)*
- 2184 Qanxt'u *Deadman's Point*
- 2185 Qawats'i *a geographical name*
- 2186 Q'anuwkw *the bay opposite Jump Across Creek*
- 2187 Q'umk'ut's *name of a former village*
- 2188 Q'umuus *Comox*
- 2189 Q'uqwayaytxw *name of a Heiltsuk village*
- 2190 Q'usalq *location at the mouth of the water source at the head of Kwatna*

- 2191 Qw'ants *location in the Kimsquit area*
- 2192 Qw'apx *village on the east side of Asiixw creek (in one of the Talyu regions)*
- 2193 Salmt *Saloompt River and area between Licimutusayc and a mountain further east (cf. almk?)*
- 2194 Salhya *Tallio Point (a geographical name)*
- 2195 Satsk'ayxw *Mount Stupendous (cf. √tsk', -iixw)*
- 2196 Scwacwilk = Scwa.cwilk *Skowquiltz Bay*
- 2197 Sinalh *a geographical name*
- 2198 Sisaalhmc *Sechelt native*
- 2199 Sk'yaax *a geographical name*
- 2200 Slʔlapa *location west of Tsuusila, Kwatna Point*
- 2201 Sqwaamismc *Squamish native*
- 2202 St'inayalh *name of a mountain*
- 2203 Stwic *Stuie*
- 2204 Sumxulh *lake at Rivers Inlet*
- 2205 Sutslh *village in the Dean Valley*
- 2206 Swak'c *mountain on the north side of Nut'l*
- 2207 Talyu *all of South Bentinck; Talyu River; area around the mouth of Talyu River*
- 2208 T'uqwtaqs *Small Mouth Bay*
- 2209 Tl'knii *foot of Swak'c at Kimsquit (next to Qw'ants)*
- 2210 Tsawat *Knight Inlet*
- 2211 Tsuusila *small bay inside Kwatna channel*

- 2212 Ts'aamas *Victoria*
- 2213 Ts'awlhmin *Larso Bay or Camp 4 Bay*
- 2214 Ts'iqwi *Restoration Bay*
- 2215 Umtl'um = Um.tl'um *Deep Bay (north of Nascall)*
- 2216 Uqw'wani *the arm of Nuhawhawtalhh that goes down towards
Stsatsxwan Creek*
- 2217 Usnaaxwlh *a creek at South Bentinck*
- 2218 Wanukw *Rivers Inlet*
- 2219 Xawxawaalis = Xaw.xawaalis *a geographical name*
- 2220 Yaʔis *a bay situated southwest of Nuk'lat*
- 2221 Yalacłhay *Goose Island*